

NAMIBIA - GENERAL

APRIL 1989.

Thatcher in SWA today to meet Pik

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From KEVIN JACOBS

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British officials in Windhoek denied knowledge of such a visit, citing logistical and security difficulties, but strong speculation persisted among diplomats, officials and journalists.

Mr Botha, speaking to reporters six hours before the midnight start of the UN operation, said Pretoria relinquished control of Namibia proud of the territory's development under South African rule.

"We feel we have fulfilled just about every commitment we have given over the years to the people of this country and to the outside world," he said.

Mr Botha declined to be drawn on the rumours of Mrs Thatcher's stopover to Windhoek today before she returns to London.

Mr Ahtisaari arrived earlier yesterday to a colourful greeting by some 5 000 black Namibians supporting the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), with Swapo one of the two main contenders for power.

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Mr Ahtisaari told an airport news conference his arrival marked "the eve of an era" for the territory.

"Namibia has been a wound in the side of Africa," he said, predicting that the passage of UN supervision "will not be easy in a community polarised by past experience and by the agonies of a long war".

State of

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Smashin

ADRIAN KUIPER smashed Africa's bowling to pin Western Province crick victory in Omar Henry lands last night.

Kuiper struck 85 runs and nine fours off only 40 balls, maintained a scoring rate of 100 over to romp home with 10 overs to spare.

WP scored 125/1 in 100 out.

● Report, scores — Pa

State of emergency censorship

20 000 lives and nearly 23 years later . . .

Star 1/4/89 (221)

Africa's longest war ends with a whimper

WINDHOEK — It started on August 26, 1966, when shots echoed across the sandy scrub near Ongulumbashe in Owambo. More than 20 000 lost lives later, it ended, officially, at precisely 6 am this morning, half an hour before the sun had risen to take the chill off a late summer morning.

The end of one of the longest-running conflicts in Africa — between South African and insurgents of the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) — was a bit of an anti-climax, though.

Since September last year, when the tripartite peace talks between Angola, South Africa and Cuba were in full swing, there has been a de facto ceasefire in northern Namibia. Shots still echo through the night and day, but now they are indicating only that the departing South African troops are blasting off old and surplus ammunition that would be difficult or uneconomic to take back home.

From today, South African troops in Namibia will officially be confined to their bases across the country. In Owambo, they will have to sit tight at places like Oshakati, Ruacana, Ondangwa and Oshivello. In neighbouring Rundu and the important staging and re-supply post at Grootfontein, the rule will also apply, in compliance with the terms of the UN Security Council Resolution 435 peace plan, which will take Namibia to independence, and which got under way officially at midnight.

For the SADF, now under the watchful eye of peace-keeping troops from the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag), the only permitted move-

**BRENDAN SEERY,
SATURDAY STAR AFRICA NEWS SERVICE**

ments outside their base zones will be routine re-supply, together with troop and materiel transport in connection with the withdrawal.

By November this year, when Namibia will go to majority-rule elections under the UN plan, there will be only 1 500 South African soldiers left in the Territory, and they will be withdrawn after the election is certified as free and fair by the UN.

Their comrades-in-arms in the multiracial, multi-ethnic SWA Territory Force have already started demobilising. National servicemen from Namibia will be stood down within a matter of weeks. National Service men from South Africa will not have the same "min dae" feeling, though, as they have already started their moves to bases and depots on the other side of the Orange River.

Slowly dismantled

The SADF has also said it may take some SWATF National Service soldiers who may wish to continue in uniform and complete courses.

Movement of equipment, weapons, vehicles and administrative material has already started, and convoys move through Windhoek regularly during the hours of darkness. The bases in the north are being slowly dismantled, or left in reasonable order for the Untag units, who will rent them from the SADF.

BOITHA SWOP

POW deal
'nearly
wrecked'

From PETER DELMAR
RUACANA, Namibia. — Yesterday's prisoner-of-war swap between South Africa, Cuba and Angola was almost wrecked when the Angolan rebel movement, Unita, stalled over releasing two prisoners. South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, disclosed after the successful exchange.

South African Riftman Johan Papatius crossed the Angolan-Namibian border a free man at 1.25pm yesterday in exchange for 15 Cuban and Angolan POWs.

But Mr Botha told newsmen afterwards that things were "touch and go" just a few days earlier. "I think I may now reveal that on Wednesday at a certain stage, it was touch and go and this whole exchange would have been called off," Mr Botha said at a press conference.

"What happened was that two of the Cubans included in the agreement suddenly could not be handed over."

President Mr P W Botha had personally intervened by sending a special representative to Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, and by 2am on Thursday, the emissary had obtained Dr Savimbi's go-ahead and plans for the exchange continued.



From page 1

First to welcome Rifleman Papenfus was his six-year-old niece, Odette, who brushed aside diplomatic protocol to rush up to her uncle when he walked across the Namibian/Angolan border yesterday afternoon.

Next in line was Brigadier Chris Serfontein, Officer Commanding Sector 10, where Rifleman Papenfus was stationed when he was captured on May 4 last year.

Rifleman Papenfus, 26, shuffled past a group of 15 Cuban and Angolan PoWs released at the specially constructed Beacon 1 border post near the Ruacana Falls watched by some 120 local and foreign newsmen.

His brother Frank and sister Mariette were on hand to welcome him home, as were Mr Pik Botha and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

Rifleman Papenfus limped slightly as he walked to freedom. He was flown to Cuba last year to undergo extensive reconstructive surgery after receiving a wound to his left leg.

Among the PoWs swapped was Angolan pilot Domingos Devinez, whose Mirage fighter aircraft landed accidentally in Namibian last year.

As Rifleman Papenfus moved off to an awaiting minibus with his family, reporters asked him how it felt to be home.

"Good. I am very happy," he said.

On the other side of the border, the returning Cuban and Fapla troops were given similar treatment — mobbed by Luanda-based journalists before being whisked away to an official reception and a barbecue.

Military representatives of the three countries sat at a table straddling the border while a joint statement announcing the disbanding of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission was issued.

The commission was established in terms of the Geneva Protocol in August last year to monitor cross-border acts of hostility. In terms of UN Resolution 435, members of the UN's Untag peace-keeping force will take over JMMC functions today.

Later at a press conference, Rifleman Papenfus thanked all those who worked for his release.

He is expected to be removed from the public eye over the next few weeks while undergoing military debriefing. He will also take at least two weeks' leave due to him.

Govt launches advert drive in Namibia

Political Correspondent

THE government has launched an advertising drive to help prepare the electorate for the long-delayed — and potentially traumatic — process of Namibian independence.

A series of full-page advertisements, under the headline "The Sacred Trust", have appeared in daily newspaper throughout the country this week.

The adverts appear designed to allay the fears which many white voters might harbour about South Africa's decision to give up control of the territory.

Many of the arguments used in the adverts could be used to counter an expected propaganda onslaught from the Conservative Party in the run-up to an election.

Nationalist politicians have been adamant that an election in South Africa should precede the November 1 poll in Namibia, since it would be extremely difficult to market a possible Swapo victory to whites in South Africa.

The advertisements state that in terms of the 1920 League of Nations mandate, South Africa "accepted a sacred trust of civilisation to promote the moral and material well-being of the people of South West Africa".

The advertisements, issued by the Bureau for Information, submit that: "South Africa believes that it has carried out all its obligations to the people of the territory in terms of the mandate with honour and distinction."

The advertisements state that the agreement on Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola would not only ensure the security of the people of Namibia, but also help create the necessary circumstances for the resolution of the civil war in Angola.

UN troops hurt: Case postponed

WINDHOEK. — A case involving five Tsumeb residents who allegedly assaulted eight Untag soldiers at the northern Namibian town last Saturday was postponed yesterday till April 14.

Four men — Mr Adriaan Vermaak, 27, Mr Jacob Arangies, 24, Mr Paul Willers, 25, and Mr Stephanus van der Linde, 21 — as well as a 17-year-old youth appeared in Tsumeb Magistrate's Court yesterday.

They were not asked to plead and the court adjourned for further police investigation.

The hearing is a sequel to a brawl at a rugby braai, where four Australian and four British soldiers were injured.

A Briton, Lance-corporal Mike Jarvis, 25, received a compound fracture of the jaw and had to go to London for specialised medical treatment.

The soldiers are in Namibia as part of the United Nations peace-keeping force overseeing the independence process, which begins today. — Sapa

Thatcher flies into Windhoek

■ From Page 1

down in the peace agreements and would insist that Cuba withdraw its forces from Angola.

Speaking in Blantyre on the Malawi stop of her African safari last night, Mrs Thatcher said: "This is a time of new hope for southern Africa."

She cited as "encouraging developments" South Africa's assent to the Namibian independence process.

Of South Africa, she said: "One sees a growing acceptance that discrimination based on race and colour must end and will end. Black South Africans must be allowed to play their part in politics and government."

When that day came, Mrs Thatcher added, "we can begin to look forward at last to what . . . all of us want most to see: a southern Africa at peace, free from discrimination and oppression and able to develop its tremendous natural resources".

"High ambition"

"That is truly one of the greatest and most pressing tasks facing our world — a dream of justice, fairness and prosperity for all the people of Southern Africa. There could be no higher ambition."

Back in Windhoek Mr Botha hit out at what he called "slandrous" comments about South Africa's presence in Namibia and he called on the international community to "put its money where its mouth is and start providing aid money for Namibia".

And in perhaps the most spectacular manifestation of the new flurry of peace, South Africa's last remaining prisoner of war from the Angolan conflict, Johan Papenfus, 26, walked south to freedom yesterday.

Until early on Thursday, the Angolan rebel movement Unita was refusing to release two Cuban soldiers which Havana demanded as the price for the freedom of Papenfus.

Only a private letter sent by President P W Botha to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi managed

to convince the rebel leader to release the two Cuban soldiers.

Dressed in a grey safari suit, Papenfus walked to freedom at the small border post to be united with his brother and sister.

He ignored three Cuban and 12 Angolan prisoners who simultaneously crossed into Angola past fluttering flags at Ruacana amid a burst of applause from dignitaries.

The handover was watched by Mr Botha, General Malan and by senior army commanders from South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

"It's a big day for everyone," Private Papenfus told reporters at the Angolan-Cuban camp before he was taken to the handover point. "I feel fine."

Papenfus has spent 11 months in Cuba where he was treated for leg wounds.

Ceasefire

One hour before the prisoner exchange a joint commission of Angolan, Cuban and South African officers, set up in August to monitor a ceasefire in southern Angola, held its last formal meeting.

Papenfus was wounded and captured last May during one of South Africa's periodic raids into Angola.

Even the Russians have hailed the changing atmosphere in southern Africa. Speaking in Harare, the Soviet First Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Anatolim Adamishin, said his country would continue to supply arms to the African National Congress so long as the South African state "continued to practice violence".

However, Mr Adamishin said his country did not champion armed struggle as a way of achieving national liberation if more peaceful ways could be found.

Political solutions

He said there was positive change in the southern African region, with political rather than military solutions being sought to end regional conflicts.

Citing the Namibian independence exercise, Mr Adamishin said nobody could have thought

that a political solution would be reached.

It had only been possible because all the concerned parties had been committed to reaching an agreement and all had made concessions.

In a similar vein he believed it was possible to dismantle apartheid by peaceful means, but only if all sides were willing to make concessions.

"For this it is necessary that all sides make concessions. The other side should seriously consider its responsibility if things are heading for a clash. We champion the peaceful road but not the unjust road."

Hitch

The only fly in the ointment of peace last night appeared to be the Angolan government's attitude to South Africa's former ally in the Angolan war, Unita.

Angola yesterday strongly rejected an offer by Dr Savimbi to begin peace talks.

"Unita's alleged peace proposal . . . does not merit a scrap of credibility and cannot be taken seriously," said an editorial by the official Angolan news agency, Angop, which reflects government thinking.

Savimbi offered to free 100 captured government soldiers, cease all offensive attacks until July 15 and allow the strategic Benguela railway to reopen after 10 years of rebel sabotage.

The Angop commentary, monitored in Lisbon, said the United States was falling for the rebel leader's lies and was trying to interfere in internal Angolan affairs.

Buried in his work

SAN GIOVANNI (Italy). — A court clerk remained "buried" under fallen files for nearly five hours in this northern Italian town before local firefighters found the unfortunate scribe under a pile of files that had cascaded from a cabinet as the 53-year-old clerk was reaching for some documents. — Sapa-AP.

Aussies' heads down in Namibia

Weekend Argus Africa News Service 221
1/4/89

WINDHOEK. — A rather unkind yet popular perception of Australians is that they are mostly beefy, pot-bellied and beer-swilling hunks whose main pastimes in life include rabble-raising taken to ridiculous extremes.

In Namibia, the Aussies are not necessarily a lowly breed, even if they have to crawl on their bellies much of the time.

They have, arguably, the most demanding and most dangerous task of any of the Untag forces already inside the territory. Their primary job is to comb the heavily mined northern district of Oshana-kati for concealed explosives and other things which go bang in the night (and in the day).

All the Untag personnel — men and women, and civil servants and military corps from different nations — are now firmly in place in Namibia, even if their presence is overdue by more than 10 years.

Tower of Babel

Already a modern-day Tower of Babel with the seemingly endless influx of people from various parts of the world and speaking many different languages — apart from about a dozen tongues spoken by the various local groups — Namibia had yet another language added to its polyglot list with the arrival on Thursday morning of a Soviet Aeroflot cargo jet bringing in equipment.

So heavy has been the human traffic to Namibia in general, and the capital city in particular, that accommodation has become virtually non-existent for all new arrivals. Even the Untag personnel are, for the time being, having to stay up to four in hotel rooms.

There are already about 600 staffers and troops of Untag in Namibia, with about 1 000 civil servants still to arrive. Of the latter group, according to an Untag spokesman, the numbers arriving in the country might have to be slowed down because of the very critical shortage of accommodation.

Civil servants employed by the United Nations are 105, among whom are 12 staffers of the UN High Commission for Refugees.

The dozen officials from the commission will begin their task in earnest after today when thousands of refugees who left the country during the war against South Africa's rule return home to take part in the elections.

Independence in sight for Namibia

by BRENDAN SEERY
Weekend Argus Africa
News Service

After 75 years SA hands over

The elections, which will be held over about four days in the first week of November, will take place on a proportional representation basis, similar to that applied in the Zimbabwe independence poll in 1980.

Parties which get less than five percent of the total vote will be counted out, and their votes allocated to other parties on a pro rata basis.

Seats in the Constituent Assembly will be allocated on a proportional basis, according to the number of votes won by each party.

The Constituent Assembly elected in terms of the election will compile a constitution, but will have to reach agreement by a two-thirds majority, hence the fear among some Namibians that if Swapo gains enough votes to win more than two-thirds of the seats in the Constituent Assembly, the organisation will be able to dictate its own constitution, a document which its opponents claim will pave the way for the introduction of a Marxist, one-party system.

WINDHOEK. — They did not lower the South African flag at Windhoek airport when UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari set foot on Namibian soil.

Yet, as South African Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar put it: "The bell is ringing for the final lap. Namibia is at long last on the road to independence".

Ten years late, yes, but now Security Council Resolution 435 peace plan appears to be irreversible.

After 75 years of South African rule, and after a bloody, 22-year bush war that cost more than 20 000 lives, Pretoria will eventually be pulling out of the territory it regarded for many years as its fifth province, defying world opinion and UN resolutions to hold on to "South West".

Today the UN peace plan officially gets going.

An official ceasefire between

South Africa and Swapo came into effect at 6am.

SADF units will be confined to their bases in Namibia, and Swapo's insurgents will be confined to their bases inside southern Angola north of the 16th parallel.

The SADF has already begun its phased withdrawal from the territory. By November 1, when the country goes to the polls in its first majority-rule elections, there will be only 1 500 South African soldiers in Namibia, confined to their bases at Grootfontein and Oshivello.

The SWA Territory Force (SWATF), the Namibian arm of the SADF, has already started its demobilisation, a process which should be completed by mid-May, although all its soldiers will be paid until November.

Mr Ahtisaari takes over official command of the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag), which will oversee the South African administration, the withdrawal of the SADF and the elections.

A military component of 4 650 troops from 21 countries will ensure there are no ceasefire violations, as well as guarding military installations and the military drill halls where SWATF's weapons will be locked up.

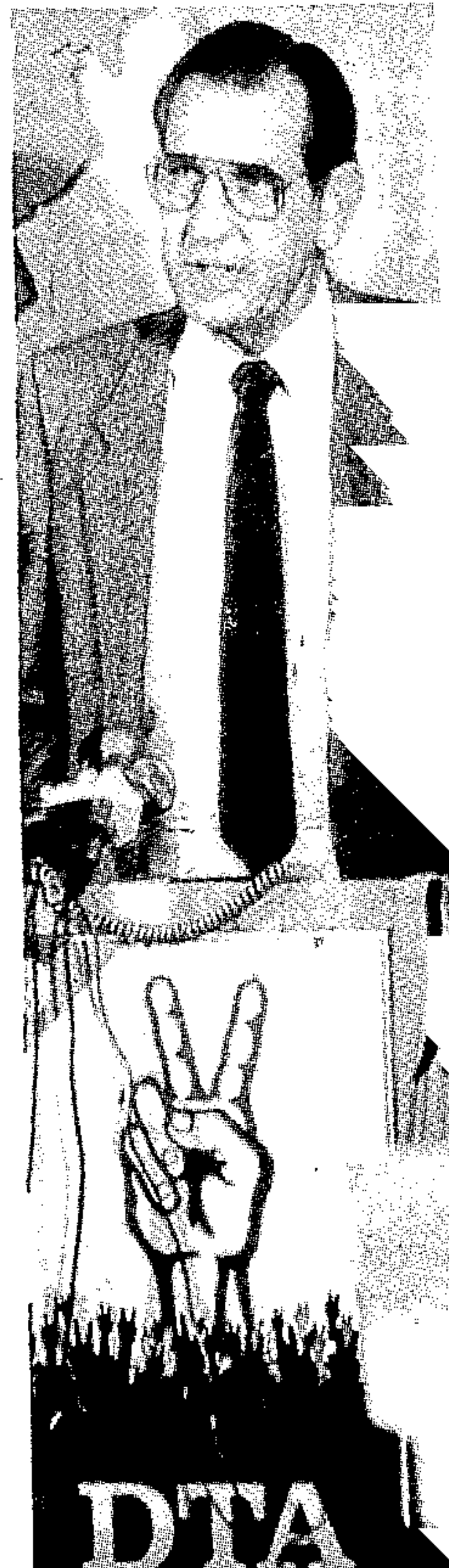
A civilian component of 1 500 observers and 800 employees will monitor the election arrangements, including the registration of voters.

Officials from the UN's High Commission for Refugees will be responsible for the return of what they estimate to be 58 000 Namibian exiles, the bulk of them in Angola.



Pictures by DOUG PITHEY of Weekend Argus, assigned to the Argus Africa News Service.

Swapo Central Committee members field questions at a press conference in Windhoek on the eve of the implementation of the UN Resolution 435 peace plan.



DTA chairman Mr Dirk Mudge in a bullish mood.

W/E Argus

1/4/89

'Ringing bell for last lap'

by KEN VERNON

Weekend Argus Africa News Service.

JOHANNESBURG. — While there will be little difference between yesterday and today in the daily lives of Namibians, April 1 will be a milestone in the future history of the territory.

Today will, in the apt words of Mr Louis Pienaar, Administrator-General of the territory, represent the "ringing of the bell for the last lap" before full independence.

It will be the official beginning of the implementation of

United Nations security Council Resolution 435.

Unscr 435 has become almost a cliché in the past months, a shorthand description for Namibian independence.

In reality it is far from that.

Vague

Resolution 435 itself is a short and vague document which merely reiterates the UN demand for South Africa to withdraw from the territory and orders the establishment of a UN Transitional Assistency Group (Untag) to supervise

South African withdrawal and a subsequent election.

The mechanics of the Namibian independence process are set out in a report to the UN secretary-general from the Western Contact Group that was attempting at the time 435 was adopted to find a way to resolve the dispute over the territory's future.

The report, which has become accepted as an addendum to 435, sets out the following steps:

● After a suspension of hostilities between South Africa and Swapo, which it has now

been agreed will begin at 4am today, monitoring of the ceasefire will come under the supervision of Untag and all South African, ethnic Namibian and Swapo troops would be confined to base. Untag would also begin surveillance of the border to prevent infiltration and begin to monitor the police forces. The security council would liase with neighbouring countries on these arrangements.

● Within six weeks South African troop levels to be reduced to 12 000 men, while the UN would move to facilitate the repatriation of exiles.

All discriminatory legislation is to be repealed and the command structure disbanded of all commando, citizen and ethnic forces and their equipment held under UN control.

8 000 men

● Week 9. South African forces to be reduced to 8 000 men, while repatriation of Swapo members through designated entry points begins. The release of all political prisoners is to be completed.

● Week 12. South African forces to number 1 500, confined to Grootfontein and Oshivelo bases, all other military bases de-activated.

● Week 23, elected constituent assembly is convened. All South African Army personnel leave country, all military bases de-activated.

Pik threatens to kick out Untag after 40 die in bloody border battle on Maggie's day of drama

NAMIBIA-ETHIOPIA

By PETER KENNY: Windhoek

THE Namibian peace deal was in the balance last night as the South African Government threatened to throw the entire United Nations force out of the territory.

The warning — issued directly to UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar — followed an announcement that 38 Swapo insurgents had been killed in a firefight with Namibian police on the northern border this weekend.

Two policemen were killed and 14 wounded. Last night British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, after her a whirlwind visit to the territory, called for an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council and strongly condemned the incident. She said the clash was a "most serious challenge" to the agreement and to the UN.

She expected the incident would be discussed on Wednesday when she met Soviet leader Michael Gorbachev for talks in London.

The clash and response has stunned Untag members and even senior South African Foreign Affairs officials.

UN Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari said he regarded the incident as a "very serious development". He pledged a UN team, comprising four senior military, civilian and police personnel, would be despatched immediately to the area.

The UN has also granted permission for SAAF helicopters to ferry out the wounded.

Swapo's violation of the peace accord was high on the agenda of talks Mrs Thatcher held in Windhoek with Pik Botha last night.

Afterwards Mr Botha said SA troops would be released from their restrictive bases in northern Namibia to assist police as needed to counter infiltrations. Mr Ahtisaari had agreed to this.

Mr Botha announced earlier that he had received information that Swapo fighters had infiltrated Namibia and that serious clashes had occurred.

He said "This is a most serious development. At the request of the President, I am communicating directly with Dr Perez de Cuellar."

"It amounts to a clear violation of the agreement with SA, Cuba and Angola and the repudiation of the UN, Soviet, Cuban, Angolan, South African and



Photographed by Lt Col Ian Donaldson and Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick

P. 10.

UN secretary-general that it would cease all hostile acts from April 1, is a farce and meaningless. Then came a sentence that indicated the full extent of the threat to the peace plan: "Unless the secretary-general makes his position clear on this flagrant violation of the decision based on international agreements, the SA Government will be left with no choice but to require Untag to depart from Namibia until Swapo can be brought to its senses. The Swapo attack came on the same day that Swapo President Sam Nujoma addressed a rally of 9 000 guerrillas in an Angolan base camp, praising them for their role in bringing about settlement in Namibia.

Last night Mr Nujoma said Mrs Thatcher's visit to Namibia was unfortunate and he asked her to leave the territory immediately. Mrs Thatcher's visit has given another push to the momentum of peace moves in southern Africa. She flew home to London last night. The Namibian visit brings SA-British relations to their most cordial since the visit of then Prime Minister P W Botha to Mrs Thatcher at Chequers in May 1984.

Initiative

It also strengthens the view that Mrs Thatcher — actively encouraged by other world leaders — will henceforth take the lead in addressing southern African issues.

SA — including her opposition to sanctions and unshakable belief in negotiations — figured prominently in almost every statement she made during her whistle-stop visit to five African states in a week.

It became evident that she would not be disinclined to offer her good offices in a peace initiative within SA itself.

Mrs Thatcher arrived in Windhoek to give her stamp of approval to the UN peace plan for Namibia which began yesterday amid festivities in the streets of the townships, a firefight on the border and a protest march which narrowly escaped turning into a pitched battle with the police.

The Prime Minister's Royal Air Force VC 10 flew into the J G Strijdom Airport 45 kms from Windhoek. A Union Jack fluttered from the cockpit as it taxied in.

By last night she had lunched with top UN officials, visited the Rossing uranium mine, chatted to British troops in the Untag forces and had talks with Foreign Minister Botha — a continuation of discussions held last month in London.

On the final leg of her African safari, Mrs Thatcher was met at the airport by SA's Administrator-General, Louis Pienaar, Mr Ahtisaari and the commander of the UN forces, Lieutenant-General Dewan Prem Chand.

After stepping from the aircraft dressed in a

threatened to withdraw its support from the UN and the

Namibian peace plan teeters on the brink

work of this unit can help to determine the whole future of southern Africa.

"They stand at the gateway to peace, to freedom, independence and justice."

Later, she flew to the world's largest open-cast uranium mine, Rossing, near the east coast holiday resort of Swakopmund. Rossing is a wholly owned subsidiary of the British mining conglomerate, Rio Tinto Zinc.

Clash

Mrs Thatcher then returned to Windhoek where she held talks with Mr Botha.

Her visit came on the first day of implementation of the long-delayed UN resolution 435 — the proposals for UN-supervised elections in the territory which would lead Namibia to independence.

But even as Mrs Thatcher was lurching came the first hiccup to the process: Mr

Botha issued the statement reporting the clash near Ruacana.

Only one hour after the official ceasefire between SA and Swapo had come into operation, about 15 000 Swapo supporters began marching from the township of Katutura towards central Windhoek at 7am.

A thin line of police confronted them and, after discussions between Swapo and the police, the march was called off.

In the Windhoek city centre, during the march, whites and other black Namibians went about their end-of-month shopping unaware of the drama unfurling on the outskirts.

A motorcade of Miss Namibia finalists in open cars, and clad in swimming costumes, waved breezily as they drove down the city's main thoroughfare, Kaiser Street.

Cubans and Russians

spend freely

April 1989

by TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

RUSSIAN and Cuban visitors to Cape Town this week bought everything from medicine to motor spare parts.

They were journalists and delegates attending the meeting of the Joint Commission on the Namibian peace talks.

A Russian journalist turned down an offer of a trip to Crossroads because he wanted to buy a spare part for his car, kept in Luanda.

Another Russian journalist bought large quantities of heart and ulcer pills for a friend in Luanda.

R1 000 bill

With a South African journalist acting as the go-between, a chemist in the end gave the medicine to him at cost price but his bill still came to some R1 000.

At a supermarket near the Cape Sun Hotel, where the meeting was being held, Cubans and Russians bought underwear for themselves and girl friends — "red of course", a shop assistant quipped.

Others bought "Cape Town" T-shirts.

The Angolans did not seem to have much money and mostly did window shopping.

Some of the visitors were looking for items such as coffee, and were going to supermarkets today before they set off on a bus trip around the Peninsula with lunch at Simon's Town.

This was arranged by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Some of the visitors will only leave tomorrow afternoon.

Weekend Argus political staff reports that countries which only months ago were facing each other on the battlefield stood together and toasted peace in the shadow of Table Mountain last night.

In an evening of total incongruity countries with virtually nothing in common but the desire for peace sat down around a traditional South African braai at historic Newlands House, Mr Botha's official residence.

A veritable United Nations literally and figuratively gath-

ered under the same yellow and white tent to celebrate the successful outcome of the Joint Commission.

It was a total onslaught of Cubans, Angolans, and Russians. And there was nothing Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, who sat opposite Mr Ustinov, could do about it even if he wanted to.

Asked why he was not applying the Suppression of Communism Act he quipped "We are keeping them under close surveillance."

Russian and Cuban taste-buds will soon be seduced by the titillating taste of South African wines.

Bottles of best

About 40 bottles of the Cape's best will be savoured on Russian and Cuban soil when the delegates return home.

The wines were presented to the Russian and Cuban delegations at the dinner last night.

Each delegate received a bottle of superior cabernet sauvignon and riesling and the delegation leaders, Mr Vyachislav Ustinov of Russia and Mr Carlos Aldana Escalante of Cuba, received a special bottle of 1985 cabernet in a wooden case.

American and Angolan delegates also received a presentation package containing the Paarl-grown red and white wines.

All the wines had special labels with an orange-and-blue band at the top with a sundial and the phrase *Pereunt Et Imputantur* — Latin for "the hours which have passed have not been in vain" — printed in the middle.

Mr Kobus Meiring, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, said the phrase was of special significance because of the number of hours the delegations had spent on finding a peaceful solution in Namibia.

Policeman shot dead

DURBAN. — A Westville policeman, Constable B W Gumede, has been shot dead by an unknown attacker while off duty and not in uniform. Shots fired from a car hit him in the face and chest. — Sapa.

SA cannot

Sham 2/1/87

(123)

hijack the Namibian elections

Zimbabwe Minister says Swapo poised for sure victory at polls

SOUTH Africa's attempts to avert a Swapo victory in the Namibian general elections were bound to fail, according to Zimbabwe's Foreign Affairs Minister, Nathan Shamuyarira.

"South Africa should be advised that she is engaged in a futile exercise, for the struggling people of Namibia understand what Swapo - their sole, legitimate and authentic representative - stands for and are determined to ensure its assumption of power in a new Namibia.

Shamuyarira said as the countdown to the Namibian independence neared its end "we note with regret and dismay South Africa's attempts to tilt the scales in favour of their puppets inside Namibia".

In a speech read on his behalf in Harare at a farewell function for outgoing Tanzanian high commissioner Nimrod Lugoe, Shamuyarira also urged "all parties tasked with the responsibility to oversee Namibia's transition to independence to ensure fair play and that free and fair elections are held".

The Tanzanian diplomat, who has represented his country here for more than seven years after serving at the United Nations, rose to dean of the diplomatic corps in Zimbabwe in 1987.

Lugoe, who will be accredited to Zambia, will be replaced as dean of the diplomatic corps by Canadian high commissioner Roger Bull.

An embassy official said Lugoe will be replaced by George Kahama who has been Tanzania's ambassador to Beijing.

Lugoe lauded his country's social and political development and pledged Tanzania's continued support in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and for the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease.

Sapa

LESTER VENTER LOOKS BACK DOWN NAMIBIA'S LONG ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE

Africa's last colony on way to freedom after 40-year haggle

THE longest chapter in the story of decolonisation in Africa ended yesterday when Namibia was launched on its journey to independence.

As the United Nations formally joined South Africa in overseeing the process in the continent's last colony, a 40-year-old diplomatic drama frequently verging on farce — and a 22-year-old bush war came to an end.

Since the UN first sought an advisory opinion on the status of South West Africa from the International Court of Justice in 1949, the issue rapidly grew into an international dispute that eventually embroiled the world's major powers.

It reached settlement when the New York Accord was signed at the UN Plaza three days before Christmas last year.

In between, roller-coaster rounds of conflict and diplomacy took place. The stage was set in 1950 when SA repudiated the court's ruling on the grounds of technicalities. Behind-the-scenes attempts at a resolution failed. In 1956, the UN asked the court for another hearing, once again to no avail. This initiated a round of oral petitions to the UN, where many of South West

Africa's black leaders — one of them, Swapo's boss, Mr Sam Nujoma — had their first exposure to big-time politics.

In 1962, the first UN visit to the country was headed by Mr Victorio Carpio. It ended abruptly when the visitors found no SA abuses in the territory — but Mr Carpio later retracted his report and said an illness at the end of his trip was due to SA agents poisoning his coffee.

The incident became immortalised in a popular ditty: "We hot die gif in die koffie repool?"

Another bid for international settlement through the court failed in 1965 when the judges ruled against the legal standing of the applicants — Liberia and Ethiopia. A year later, SA authorities arrested Herman Toivo ja Toivo, leader of Swapo for a bid to silence opposition to its administration.

in that poisoned atmosphere, it was decided to follow up the Wilhelm visit with one by his representative, Dr Alfred Escher.

Seeking to defuse the brewing conflict, Prime Minister John Vorster told Dr Escher SA was committed to self-determination and independence for SWA.

Then followed years in which the international community disbelieved SA's undertaking — and SA tried to introduce political structures to the territory.

In 1975, after Mr Dirk Mudge had formed a party seeking conciliation with black Namibians, the Turnhalle constitutional conference was called. It was to evolve a constitution under which the territory's people could sue for independence. Apart from allegations and warnings that SA was aiming at a unilateral declaration, developments

spurred the international community to a new sense of urgency and a "contact group" involving five major Western nations was formed.

After two fruitless missions to Cape Town by the contact group in 1977, it presented a comprehensive set of proposals to SA and Swapo the next year.

These proposals were agreed to by Mr Vorster and formed the basis of UN resolution 435 later that year, 1978.

Expectations ran high and Mr Maritz Ahisnaari came to Namibia as the UN's special representative to investigate the implementation of resolution 435. But by then the Angolan war had escalated. The demand by SA and the US for a "linking" settlement with a Cuban withdrawal from Angola was firmly in place. In addition, SA was now

demanding hard-to-meet guarantees of UN impartiality.

Along these lines, the peace plan slipped into the doldrums — where it languished until last year when moves were made to solve the issue.

The key was to deal with Angola and Namibia as a complex package.

Two important factors were: The Angolan government was becoming dependent at an economy-sapping war with no end in sight, and the development of new East-West relations began to dawn with the US and the Soviet Union seeking to cooperate on lessening regional tensions.

A series of links began in London in May under US sponsorship, followed by more in Cairo and Brazzaville. Eventually, agreement was reached on a staged withdrawal of Cubans in exchange for an SA commitment on the implementation of resolution 435.

It was that agreement — signed in New York — which finally wrapped up the Christmas gift Namibia's 1.1-million people had almost given up waiting for.

By DE WET POTGIETER

South African POW Johan Papefus was this weekend undergoing intensive medical and psychological tests after his 10-month captivity in a Cuban military prison.

Rifleman Papefus, 26, captured during heavy fighting in south Angola last year, was whisked away for examination soon after his exchange for three Cuban and 12 Angolan POWs at Runemann.

For the next few days he will be at No 1 Military Hospital, Pretoria. As he stepped on to South African soil for the first time in almost a year on Friday, Rifleman Papefus was met by a little girl clutching a gaily wrapped present.

His niece, Odette, 6, had brought her much-loved uncle a bottle of his favourite aftershave to say "welcome home".

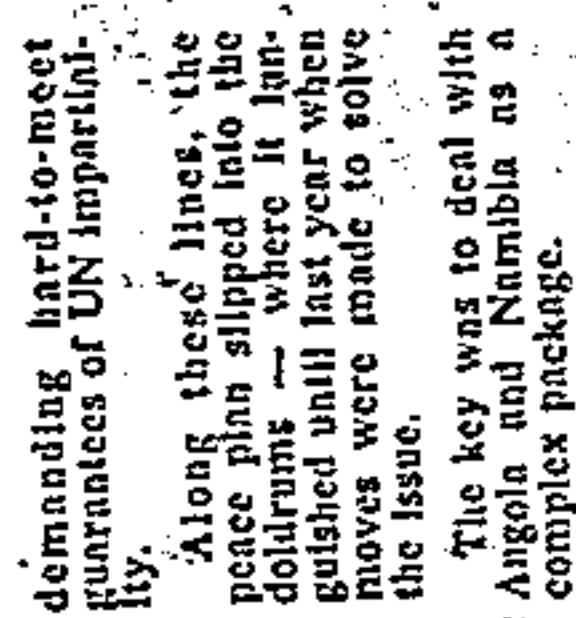
As he joyously reunited with his family, the young rifleman, captured in Angola 331 days before, gave thanks for his safe return and told waiting reporters: "I feel fine."

The Cuban and Angolan prisoners were dressed in shiny new suits and clutching suitcases containing purchases they made in Pretoria the day before their release.

Rifleman Papefus wore a blue suit, courtesy of the Cuban Government, and walked empty-handed down the dusty road near the Itancana Falls.

Johan Papefus lends an ear to Filk Botha. Picture: HERMANN PAINCZYK

Check-up for Papefus



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South Africa in bid to stop carnage

Star 3/4/87
By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent (22)

South Africa is attempting to establish a "ceasefire within a ceasefire" to halt the carnage on the northern border of Namibia, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said today.

As the fighting raged on last night, Mr Botha said in an interview today the situation was still grave, but "it can be overcome, particularly if South Africa continued to act correctly".

He did not give details of the new ceasefire attempts, apart from saying South West African police would not fire on Swapo unless fired on.

"We are working on finding a way to let them withdraw across the border."

Mr Botha said the Swapo invasion,

which he estimated to be as much as 1 000 strong, had shown clearly that "Swapo are the bad guys".

He said by 10 pm yesterday about 130 Swapo insurgents had died in fierce fighting and about 10 security force members had been killed.

He also released the contents of a letter due to be delivered today by Mr Jeremy Shearer, the South African ambassador to the United Nations, to the UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The letter details the situation so far and pointedly asks whether Untag is monitoring Swapo bases in Angola to ascertain whether Swapo is remaining north of the 16th parallel, as required by the peace accord.

In the letter to Dr de Cuellar, Mr

Botha said captured Swapo insurgents had indicated the purpose of the Swapo invasion was to establish bases in Namibia for propaganda purposes and not necessarily to become involved in fighting.

Swapo troops had been told by their commanding officer that they would not meet resistance because of the ceasefire, and if they did, "the United Nations would take care of them".

"One cannot help feeling compassion for such unnecessary carnage of Swapo elements who could have entered Namibia quite legally to participate peacefully in the political process, according to the agreed procedures of which they had obviously not been informed," Mr Botha wrote.

● See Page 3.

Namibia: 94 die

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Sowetan
3/11/87

REPORTS, pictures and comment in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency.

SEVERE fighting continued in northern Namibia yesterday amidst firm indications that preparations were being made to convene an emergency session of the United Nations Security Council to discuss the persistent

SOWETAN Correspondent

violation of the two-day-old formal ceasefire in the country.

Senior UN personnel and representatives of the office of the Administrator-General.

Mr Louis Pienaar, visited the conflict areas yesterday where 90 Swapo insurgents and four SWA police members have already died in the battles still going on last night.

Mr Pienaar and the UN's Special Representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari of Finland, held a meeting to discuss the crisis which began on

ALL THE SWO STAMP WINN

He said UN officials in Namibia also had reported an incursion by 150 guerillas.

The statement said Mr Perez de Cuellar was in contact with the Soviet, Angolan and Swapo envoys to the UN, in addition to his own chief military advisor, Major-General Timothy K Dibouma.

UN spokeswoman Nadia Younes said the world body would not comment on SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha's statements about re-activating troops or asking the UN force to leave.

94 are killed in Namibia

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• From Page 1

Saturday on the first day of Namibia's transition to independence under UN supervision.

Police spokesman Kierie du Rand said there had been 30 contacts with Swapo in northern Namibia.

On Saturday, 38 Swapo guerillas were reported killed in clashes which swiftly shattered any realistic prospects of a trouble-free implementation of the UN peace plan. Eight Namibian youths also died when South African helicopter gunships opened fire near the Angolan border.

South Africa says Swapo has contravened the UN peace plan by returning armed men into Namibia from Angola.

Swapo spokesman Daniel Tjongarero, speaking before leaving for Harare for a crisis meeting of the Swapo leadership, said the border clashes should not put peace in the region at risk.

"The independence process is only starting, we should give it a chance before making any accusations," Mr Tjongarero told reporters.

"I don't think the fighting will jeopardise the process. We need to be very realistic," he said.

In New York UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar issued a statement expressing alarm over the reported clashes.

140 killed in bitter Owamboland fighting

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(Contd from page 1) 221

one encounter and the other 17 in another and lost four men in the two battles.

On Saturday 38 died, while the police lost two men.

TREETOP LEVEL

Civilian pilots in the northern area were yesterday told to fly four metres above the treetops to outwit insurgents equipped with heat-seeking missiles.

It is not yet known if 101 Battalion has been involved in any of the battles because officers were scouring villages in the north for hundreds of men who have been on leave.

The battalion has been brought into the fighting following an agreement between the United Nations Special Representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtissari, and the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, that units of the South African Defence Force be

freed from restriction to bases to help the police force.

Mr Pienaar said about 700 Swapo insurgents had assembled immediately north of Namibia's border with Angola in violation of a formal peace accord which stipulated Swapo forces had to withdraw north of the 16th parallel.

The UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, earlier agreed that the incursion was a severe threat over the next few days and that South African military should help the police in guarding the border.

"The situation will be kept under continuous review and the movement out of existing bases will be monitored throughout by Untag military observers," a statement from Mr Pienaar's office said.

An aircraft left Windhoek at 11.30pm on Saturday with four senior UN personnel and four representatives of Mr Pien-

aar's office for northern Namibia to investigate the situation.

No border crossings by Swapo — Nujoma

The Star's Africa News Service 3/4/89

HARARE — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma, who has insisted that his troops have not crossed into Namibia from Angola in the past three days, says he is shocked and dismayed by the UN decision to allow the South African Defence Force to be re-deployed in Namibia.

Mr Nujoma, here for a West European parliamentarians conference on Namibia, said late last night that he had appealed to the UN Secretary-General to send the rest of the Untag force there immediately.

He described the South African forces who were supposed to be used to restore order as "killer squads".

Mr Nujoma repeated that Swapo and its military arm, PLAN, were committed to the ceasefire.

PARADE

On Friday, according to a Swapo statement, Mr Nujoma, addressing a ceasefire parade at Okatale in southern Angola said: "I received last week an identical ceasefire letter sent to the Government of South Africa.

"I have already signed the ceasefire agreement on behalf of the central committee and the military council of PLAN."

According to the report of what Nujoma said last night, he did not appear to be well briefed on latest developments.

He referred to fighting in Namibia as "a figment of the regime's imagination".

He insisted there had been no border crossing by Swapo and accused South Africa of scheming to halt the transition to independence.

US officials monitoring new violence

SKR 3/4/69
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The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — United States government officials were not commenting at the weekend on the bloody flare-up of violence in Namibia, but the operations room at the State Department in Washington was monitoring the situation closely.

The US is particularly anxious that Namibia move peacefully through its transition phase and internationally supervised elections to independence — not only because the independence package was mediated by America but also because the US hopes it will set the tone for the solution of southern Africa's other problems through negotiation and compromise.

Reports of the fighting were prominent in American newspapers and on radio and television newscasts at the weekend.

Some of them quoted Swapo's foreign secretary, Mr Theo Bengurirab, as saying in New York that Swapo forces "were not involved" in the clashes.



CAMPAINING . . . Supporters of the Namibian National Front at J.G. Strijdom Airport outside Windhoek welcome the U.N.'s Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev.

Thatcher will seek help from Gorbachev on peace

Own Correspondent

LONDON Mrs. Margaret Thatcher will seek the help of President Mikhail Gorbachev to try to avoid a collapse of the Namibian peace plan.

Mrs. Thatcher has also asked that the U.N. Security Council meet on the latest incursions.

It is understood that Mrs. Thatcher, who returned to London yesterday after a tour of Africa which included a stopover in Namibia, will use the Soviet leader's visit to Britain this week to explore how his influence could be used to stop Swapo making further

incursions into Namibia.

Any unilateral action by the South Africans against the U.N. would be an embarrassing blow to Mrs. Thatcher, for it would seem to undermine much of what she had apparently achieved diplomatically during her African tour.

However, by calling for a meeting of the U.N. Security Council immediately on hearing of the cross-border raids on Saturday, Mrs. Thatcher has attempted to regain the initiative on the volatile Southern African question.



WELLCOME . . . A supporter of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance at J.G. Strijdom Airport for Mr. Martin Amisaa's arrival in Windhoek on Friday.

Borderer war rages in 42 die

CAPE TOWN 3/4/89

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BY KEVIN JACOBS in Windhoek, WILLEM STEENKAMP in Cape Town and TONY WEAVER in Oshanafe

HEAVY fighting on an unprecedented scale was last night raging along a 300km stretch of the Namibia-Angola border, leaving at least 122 Swapo insurgents dead and scores of others injured.

Swapo fighters in a battle front commander, said that the fighting was the most intense since the start of the war in the territory in 1975. He said that the Swapo fighters were attacking the border in a series of small-scale operations.

With five full-scale battles in progress in the north of the territory, desperate efforts were being made late last night to save the fragile peace plan and keep the U.N.-sponsored Namibian independence process on the rails.

But police liaison officer Chier Jaspert said police brass predicted: "This line only just started. We are expecting the fighting to escalate and get much worse within the next 12 hours."

Police units - made up largely of former Kaovet members - backed with U.N. approval, by army units, are engaged in the biggest and fiercest internal clashes by far in the territory's 23-year-long insurgency.

Although the 20 security force dead were believed that there were many wounded on both sides, with what some security force sources in Oshanafe described as a "constant stream" of helicopters, Humvees and other military vehicles.

According to the SADF, one group of Swapo commandos - and one group of more than 50 guerrillas - is mounting attacks on the border in the past 24 hours.

It is thought that the Swapo fighters are attacking the border in a series of small-scale operations.

Namibia

What made Swapo break the peace?

By WILLEM STEENKAMP
Defence Correspondent

AFTER two days of fighting which left close to 100 Swapo members and policemen dead, there was still no clarity last night about why groups of insurgents simultaneously violated the border on Saturday.

Police officials in Windhoek were last night unable or unwilling to give reasons for the incursions. Swapo spokesmen have said only that the insurgents "fired only in self-defence after being hunted down and attacked", while Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma accused "the South African military engine" of provocation "with an intention of interrupting the peaceful transition to Namibian independence".

Possible explanations for the incursions, however, include the following:

● The infiltrations are part of a Swapo power-play designed to refurbish its image, among the local population as well as the United Nations, as a military force to be reckoned with.

According to one non-official source Swapo is worried by the fact that it has not made as much election-campaign progress as it had hoped, and that Democratic Turnhalle Alliance meetings have been drawing crowds of up to 4 000.



Mr Sam Nujoma

● The infiltrations are aimed at establishing a permanent base south of the border—something Swapo has not had since 1966, the year the insurgency started. The 1966 base, at Ongulumbashe, was knocked out by police and the insurgents were never able to establish another one.

● Members of the estimated 2 000 insur-

gents lying up in the "shallow area" just north of the border in violation of the spirit of the Geneva Protocol decided to take matters into their own hands, regardless of what the high command in Lusaka had ordered.

If this happened, there is a possibility that it is linked with the on-going leadership struggle which has already resulted in more than 100 senior members being arrested on the orders of Mr Nujoma.

● Insurgents in the shallow area were driven by hunger to violate the border in search of food—possibly because UNITA activities had cut off supplies of food from Angolan military depots further north. Observers feel this is unlikely, however, since food-seekers would be likely to drift across in twos or threes and not large groups of up to 50.

A worrying aspect about the weekend's infiltrations is that they involved more or less simultaneous known incursions over a 200km front—according to the police a total about 400 insurgents crossed the border—indicating they were part of a deliberate, carefully planned and co-ordinated move.

If so, it is unlikely that they resulted from hunger or a snap decision by discontented insurgents.

From page 1

Heavy fighting

Untag officials were last night accompanying the security forces—including the SWA Police, the SADF and SWATF—into action.

According to police, some of the captured guerrillas said they were coming through to surrender their arms to Untag.

The massive incursion began on Friday, with the first contacts occurring just 105 minutes after the ceasefire came into effect at 6am on Saturday when police spotted fresh tracks and locals informed security forces of the insurgents' presence.

Two guerrillas captured in the first skirmishes early on Saturday told police of further planned incursions. Three shootouts near Ruacana on Saturday killed 36 insurgents and two policemen and left nine policemen wounded.

Yesterday the fighting escalated dramatically as the full extent of the invasion was gauged and new insurgent groups encountered. At least 30 full-scale contacts had been reported by last night, some resulting in major battles.

A church field-worker described the carnage at the scene of one contact north of Oshakati, where more than 20 bodies lay strewn.

Military and police records of the weekend's bloody clashes show that at times three or more contacts took place per hour. At least five armoured vehicles have been destroyed by RPG armoured-piecing projectiles.

The atmosphere in the operational area is tense. All forces are on stand-by, while the threat to aircraft from SAM-7 heat-seeking missiles carried by the Swapo fighters is so serious that civilian pilots were yesterday morning ordered by the military to fly just four metres above the tree-tops.

The security forces claimed to have captured several SAM-7s as well as large quantities of medium and small arms.

After restrictions were lifted on some units of the SADF as well as SWATF, three mechanised infantry battalions were reportedly ferried in on some of the streams of transport aircraft which have been flying in supplies through the weekend.

The Ovambo-manned 101 Battalion was the first SWATF unit to be reactivated yesterday as the full extent of the incursion became apparent. Members of the regiment scoured neighbouring kraals and villages to recall soldiers who had gone on leave. Civilian Swapo sources in the war zones were yesterday angry at, and confused by, the dramatic

Did disregard

Six hurt in attack

SWATF at the

On Swapo to violations?

Defence Correspondent

THE weekend border violations might never have happened if Swapo, the Cubans and the Angolans had honoured an undertaking given to South Africa at last year's Geneva talks on the evacuation of foreign troops from southern Angola.

For months South African political and military planners have been protesting about the thousands of insurgents who have been lying up in the "shallow area" just north of the border in violation of the spirit of the protocol signed in Geneva.

In terms of the protocol South Africa agreed to withdraw all its forces from southern Angola, while Angola and Cuba undertook to use their good offices to persuade Swapo to withdraw to the so-called "quiteve line" on the 16th parallel, 150km north of the border.

All South Africans were out of southern Angola by September 31, but by the end of October there had been at least five violations of the border by Swapo guerrillas who had come from north of the Quiteve line.

South African protests about the violations were rejected by the Angolans on the grounds that they had no control over Swapo because it was an independent liberation organisation.

At the time military observers pointed out that this attitude lacked credibility, noting that Swapo was totally dependent on Angola for its supplies, bases and training facilities and worked in close co-operation with the Angolan military.

These complaints were taken to governmental level but were never settled and by early 1989 an estimated 2 000 insurgents had filtered down from beyond the Quiteve line and concentrated in the shallow area.

South Africa has feared for months that part or all of the insurgents would move over the border at some stage.

According to one observer the most optimistic possible interpretation of the weekend violations is that the Swapo groups crossed the border not to take military action but to find food, since their logistic links with Angolan military supply depots might have been disrupted by Unita insurgent operations in southern Angola.

on Swapo supporters

WINDHOEK. —

Six people were injured in a shooting incident yesterday involving Swapo supporters travelling back to the north in a convoy of vehicles after a Swapo rally in Katutura here on Saturday.

A spokesman for the National Union of Namibian Workers said reports had been received that unidentified people had shot at the convoy.

Six people, four men and two women, were admitted to Tsumeb Hospital with gunshot wounds, a spokesman said yesterday.

Two men whose condition was serious were transferred to Windhoek. Two of the injured were still being treated yesterday and two others had been treated and discharged.

According to an eyewitness account, two white men driving a white Mercedes Benz without licence plates overtook the convoy and pulled off the road. They then jumped out of the car and opened random fire on the convoy before speeding off.

The public liaison officer for the South West African Police, Chief Inspector Klerie du Rand, said last night that he was not aware of the incident. — Sapa

ready as phase begins

Defence Correspondent

TROOPS of the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) have only to draw their weapons from their armouries and they are ready for action against border violators.

And they know what to do, because detailed contingency plans have been drawn up in case the run-up to the implementation of Resolution 435 goes awry.

In addition, they have a back-up force of 12 000 fully armed South African troops who are on round-the-clock stand-by at various bases in and outside the operational area.

In terms of the detailed withdrawal plans the SWATF units have not been disbanded yet, and reduction of the South African troop presence is only just beginning.

The withdrawal plan, as outlined earlier by the chief of the South African Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, is as follows:

● **Phase 1: January 30 to April 1 (R-Day).** Planning and final preparations are made for the withdrawal, and the backloading of personnel and equipment starts. Final contingency plans are drawn up in case the process of implementing Resolution 435 "goes wrong".

● **Phase 2: R-Day to mid-May.** SADF troops are scaled down to 12 000 men, who remain on stand-by. Members of the South West Africa Territory Force are confined to their bases and their arms are locked up.

● **Phase 3: Mid-May to June 7.** SADF troops are scaled down to 8 000 men and backloading of most of their equipment begins.

● **Phase 4: June 8 to June 31.** SADF troops are scaled down to 1 500 men but remain on stand-by.

● **Phase 5: August 1 to November 1 (election day).** The remaining 1 500 SADF troops remain in two bases, still on stand-by.

● **Phase 6: November 1 to independence day.** SADF troops remain in their bases, still on stand-by while backloading of equipment continues, and are then withdrawn to South Africa at the end of the phase.

"The only hope for independence now is for the president (Mr Sam Nujoma) to repudiate the guerrillas," one Swapo source said. "The bloody and seemingly futile incursion has seriously damaged Swapo's image among the huge foreign press corps now in Namibia."

One journalist from Finland, a country strongly supportive of Swapo, said: "This is crazy, they have fought for independence for so long and now they throw it all away."

An SADF intelligence officer, Commandant Frans van der Merwe, claimed the Swapo incursion was "armed propaganda" aimed at "restoring Swapo's image".

"They lost the war and now they are trying to come in, in uniform and armed, to show the people they are still strong," he said.

Late yesterday senior UN investigators sent to northern Namibia returned to Windhoek to write a report on the weekend clashes for Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the Finn who heads the UN operation in the territory.

In urgent round-table talks with the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, Mr Ahtisaari and UN military commander Lieutenant-General Prem Chand, British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher insisted that South Africa should see the incursions and clashes as a challenge to UN authority and not a resumption of Pretoria's suspended bush war with Swapo.

Under the plan set out in Security Council Resolution 435, diminishing South African military forces in Namibia are confined to their bases, leaving law enforcement in the hands of the 7 000-member SWA Police.

Western diplomats and UN officials were last night desperately trying to contact Swapo officials to find out, in spite of denials by Mr Nujoma, whether it was engaged in armed incursions.

"One thing that will happen is there will immediately be greater pressure on Angola, either to have them put pressure on Swapo themselves or to have the UN do it directly," a senior diplomatic source said.

"What we have got to do is stop Swapo walking across the border with their guns and the only way of doing that is by a lot of people twisting their arms very hard."

"There is going to be cheating by all sides," the diplomat said. "Everybody is going to cheat all the time. However, if this was Swapo, then it is certainly beyond the tolerable or acceptable bounds of cheating."

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TROPHY NEWS

W W W

UN tries to prevent collapse of '435': 5 S Africans among 140 killed

Heavy fighting along border

SA 3/14/89

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The Star's Africa
News Service

Windhoek

Desperate efforts were being made today by UN and South African representatives to prevent the independence process from collapsing amid reports of continued heavy fighting between Swapo and Namibian security forces along the Angolan border.

Unconfirmed reports said the fighting, the heaviest inside Namibia since the bush war began nearly 23 years ago, was taking place along a 200 km front.

More than 140 men are reported to have been killed on both sides, with Swapo having lost more than 120. Five white South Africans are reported to be among the 20 security force members killed. Scores more have been wounded on both sides.

Both the SWA Police and SWA Territory Force would neither confirm nor deny the reports and referred all enquiries to office of the Administrator-General, Mr



STW
5/4/81

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Louis Pienaar.

Under the Resolution 435 independence plan the SWA Police (Swapol) are responsible for maintaining law and order, with the SWATF and SADF forces confined to base while demobilising and withdrawing, respectively. However some SWATF units have been reactivated at the request of the United Nations authorities.

A spokesman for the Administrator-General's office said he was holding an urgent meeting with his officials this morning and after considering his position would probably make a statement later this morning.

The United Nations Special Representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, who sent a team to the border over the weekend to investigate the fighting, was today discussing their report with his senior officials.

No comment was immediately available from Mr Ahtisaari's office.

The UN team is believed to be seriously concerned. Also at risk is the whole southern African peace initiative, possibly including the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, the effort to force a reconciliation between the warring parties in Angola and the moves to re-

It can't be true: Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma (right) said he was shocked and dismayed that the SADF was operational again.

solve the South African problem.

The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, warned on Saturday

between infiltrating Swapo forces and the Swapo, that if the UN did not bring Swapo to its senses then the Untag force would have to withdraw from Namibia.

Since then there have been more incursions, by Swapo insurgents across the border and the fighting has escalated sharply.

Details of the fighting were still unclear today as the authorities remained reticent. According to unconfirmed reports, as many as 2,000 Swapo combatants are involved in what appears to be a co-ordinated operation.

The purpose of the Swapo operation was unclear, however.

South African military officers confirmed that they had sent written warnings to Untag about the possibility of Swapo infiltrations.

SADF helicopters were called into action late on Saturday following a request from the commander of the Untag military component, General Chand, and it was said they would be used for casualty evacuation.

However, it is believed they have also been used in an offensive role as helicopter gunships.

Swapo leaders have denied launching an offensive but appear to have little information about what is happening along the border.

● See Page 3.

Stu 3/10/89 (21) (10)

Shock for Swapo as UN aid is halted

NEW YORK — The United Nations Secretary-General, Dr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, delivered a body-blow to the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) at the weekend, cutting off UN aid just before the deadline for Namibia's transition to independence.

The decision followed a stormy meeting at UN headquarters on Friday night and ended a decade of UN nurturing of Swapo. Dr. de Cuellar wants the UN to steer a strictly impartial course while monitoring Namibia's elections.

The decision was unrelated to clashes on Namibia's Angolan border.

Separate moves are under way to deny Swapo its privileged observer status at the United Nations. Some officials fear that South Africa might renege on the promise of independence if Swapo wins at the polls.

To forestall such a move, Dr. de Cuellar is trying to distance the UN from Swapo, but there are doubts whether he will succeed. — The Independent News Service.

'Incontrovertible facts' — Pik

Political Staff

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FOREIGN Minister Mr Pik Botha has released a copy of the strongly worded letter objecting to the weekend Swapo infiltration of Namibia he has sent to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dr Javier Pérez de Cuellar. The letter reads:

"With reference to our telephonic conversation of April 1 1989 I have to inform you that a grave situation has arisen on the norther border of SWA/Namibia as a result of continued and escalating violation by Swapo of the agreements signed in New York on December 22 1988, by the People's Republic of Angola, Republic of Cuba and the Republic of South Africa.

"The incontrovertible facts are:

● During the night of March 31 1989, and on April 1 1989, an estimated 600 to 800 Swapo elements crossed the border from Angola into Namibia. This figure could be as high as 1 000. They are heavily armed, with AK-47 semi-automatic rifles, mortars and even ground-to-air missiles. These elements entered the territory in their uniforms.

● On the basis of information obtained from those captured, Swapo elements were ordered to cross the border into SWA/Namibia in uniform and under arms, inter alia in order to establish bases in Namibia. They claim that their commanding officers informed them that, as a ceasefire was in existence, they need not fear resistance. Should resistance be encountered the United Nations would take care of them. Reliable information indicates that between 4 000 and 5 000 Swapo elements are presently below latitude 16 degrees south.

INEXPLICABLE ACTION

"Mr Secretary General, this inexplicable action on the part of Swapo constitutes a clear violation of agreements reached between South Africa, Cuba and Angola. These agreements were endorsed by the Security Council. We are clearly dealing with a situation where Swapo is flouting those agreements and is defying the Security Council.

"In addition Swapo has of

course violated the written undertaking it gave you to cease all hostilities as of April 1 1989.

"I trust you will agree that this is an intolerable situation. The Republic of South Africa has acted strictly in terms of its commitments and will continue to do so.

"It is significant, Mr Secretary General, that at the time of writing no statement has been made by the leadership of Swapo on this cynical disregard of its obligation to you, the Security Council and the international community at large.

"One cannot help feeling compassion for such unnecessary carnage of Swapo elements who could have re-entered Namibia quite legally to participate peacefully in the political process, according to the agreed procedures of which they had obviously not been informed.

"The leadership of Swapo will have to account for their callous disregard of human life and contempt for international agreements. They will have to explain their action and its dire consequences to the people of Namibia. Swapo's leadership should urgently be brought to its senses.

UNTAG'S ROLE

"As you are aware Swapo was required by this time to have all its personnel confined to bases north of latitude 16 degrees south. These bases should in terms of agreement be monitored by Untag.

"I should be grateful to learn whether Untag is, in fact, monitoring such bases and to inquire whether the monitoring reports could be made available to me.

"The Administrator-General will continue to act in concert with your special representative regarding the steps considered necessary to deal with the situation."

The letter adds: "I trust Mr Secretary General that you and the Security Council will make it possible for my government to continue to co-operate and fulfil its commitments in terms of the agreements. I appeal to you and to the Security Council to take a firm and clear stand on this act of defiance by Swapo."



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus

BOUQUET: South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha meets British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in Windhoek on Saturday. She is carrying roses.

Pik's bunch of roses for Maggie causes drama

Political Staff

IN the middle of all the drama of Saturday the attempts by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha to present Mrs Margaret Thatcher with a red rose almost failed and brought another drama of its own.

A bunch of roses brought into Windhoek Airport was crushed when the car in which two members of Mr Botha's staff were travelling left the road between Windhoek and the airport and rolled.

The staff members Mr Gerard Pretorius and Mr Dieter Petch were not injured.

Eventually replacement roses were found and Mr Botha could give Mrs Thatcher a chivalrous welcome.

Tale of ten cities - quest for peace

THE United Nations has now moved into Namibia and taken on joint control of the administration in terms of Security Council Resolution 435.

This is meant to lead to free elections under international supervision and to independence for Namibia, Africa's newest nation. It has been a dramatic turnabout of events in Namibia and neighbouring Angola where South Africa has been deeply involved.

For eight months last year, one of the most extraordinary diplomatic exercises in modern history was played out in cities around the world.

How did it all come about? How did these fierce and relentless enemies finally come to settle their differences? Who was involved and what actually went on behind the scenes at those secretive gatherings in London, Brazzaville, Cairo, New York, Geneva, Sal, Washington, Moscow, Luanda, Havana and Pretoria?

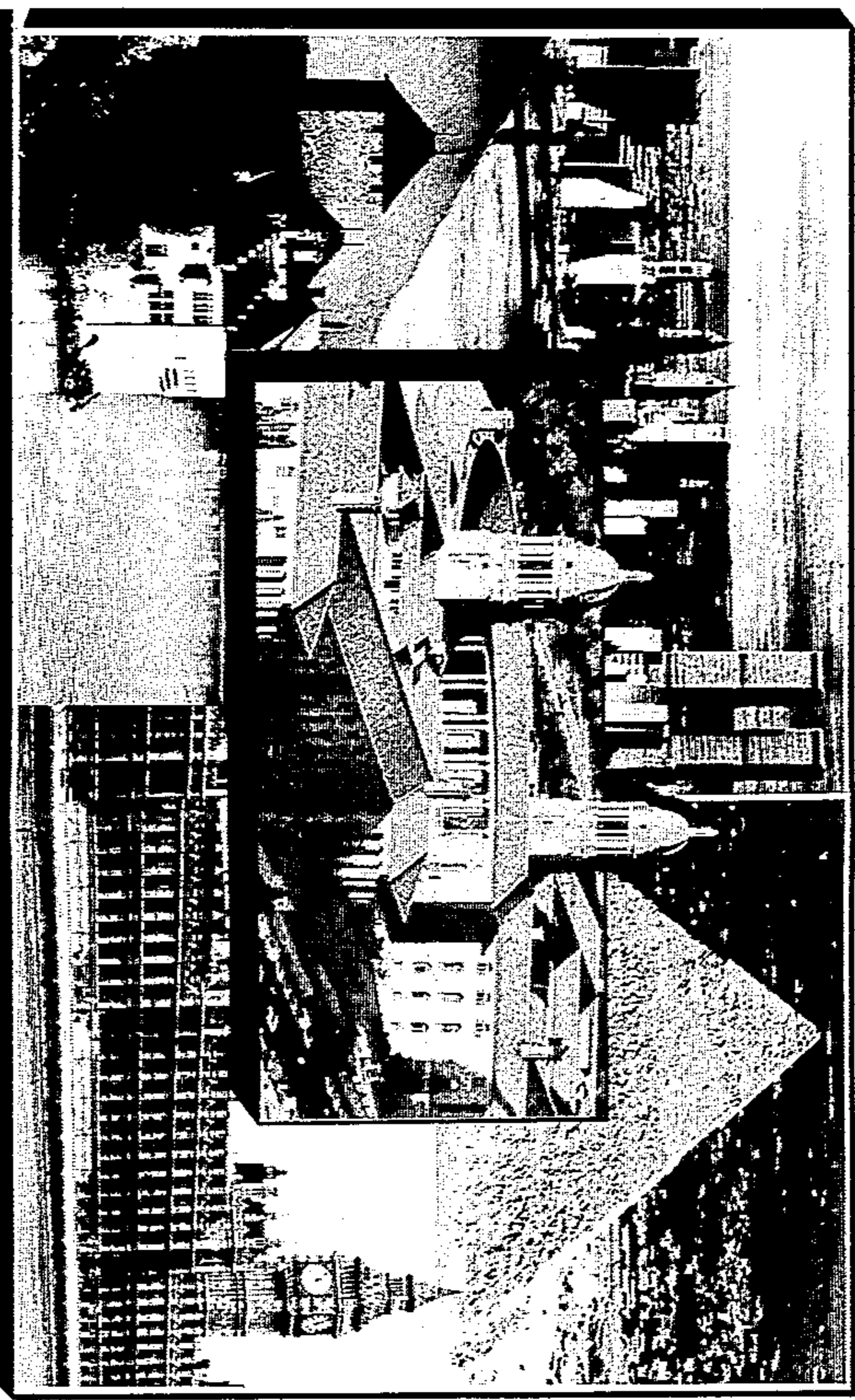
The Argus has reconstructed this fascinating story from its unlikely beginnings in Reykjavik, the Icelandic capital, more than two years ago, through the first formal meeting in London last May, to the signing of the final accords in New York at the end of last year.

Some of those who were present, and others who were closely involved in the process, were interviewed by The Argus special writer HUGH ROBERTON. Documents were placed at our disposal, and while much of the substance of the talks will remain confidential, perhaps for many years to come, The Argus is able to tell much of what happened, how it happened, and why it happened.

It is an intriguing and sometimes amusing story of patience, determination and diplomatic skill. Above all, it tells the story of a mission to bring peace to a part of the world where devastation and blood-letting stained the sub-continent.

● This is the first of our six-part series.

The inside story of international efforts to make the guns of Angola and Namibia fall silent



ers at the White House gave no hint of what decisions might have been reached.

But Dr Crocker was soon back in Luanda to discuss the prospects of a Cuban troop withdrawal, and early in February, 1988, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pk Botha, met Dr Crocker at the South African embassy in Geneva, a mission which takes up an entire floor of a building in the picturesque "old city" alongside the lake. Present, too, were representatives of the SADF and the National Intelligence Service.

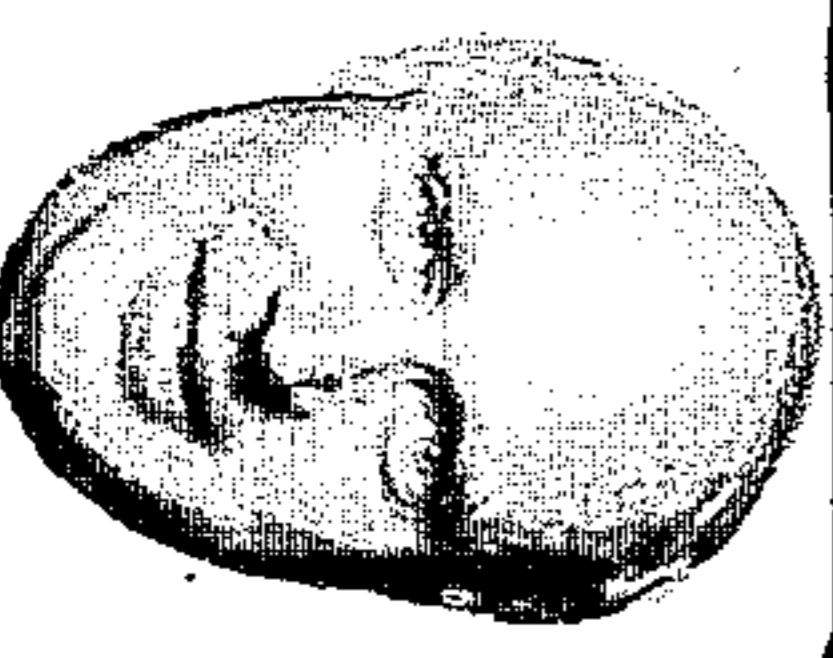
It was a formal meeting and Dr Crocker raised the possibility of a new attempt to resolve the Namibia issue.

unannounced for Washington to get clarity from Dr Crocker and to "firm up" the initial proposals.

The upshot a few days later was a visit to the Union Buildings headquarters of the Department of Foreign Affairs by the US ambassador, Mr Ed Perkins, who delivered a formal letter proposing "exploratory talks" in London at which the US would play a "facilitating" role between such entrenched adversaries as the South Africans, and the Cubans and Angolans. It was a bold and daunting proposition.

There was no indication yet of any overt Soviet involvement other than a further meeting between Dr Crocker and Mr Adamishin in London immediately before the talks

By
HUGH ROBERTON
Argus Special Writer



newspaper reports for the next eight months merely as "a member of NIS" although his identity was known to all parties).

The meetings took place on May 3 and May 4, 1988, in a basement conference room at

gotiations) he walked over and introduced himself to his Cuban counterpart.

"He broke the ice. After that there were small, informal, and initially rather stilted meetings over drinks, dinner and coffee," a diplomat noted.

Auret recalls: "It was the first time we had formally met the Cubans and, quite frankly, we were still very much feeling our way, as no doubt they were. But the process of building up professional contacts had begun."

Uncertainty, even nervousness, marked the start of the talks as the sides began trying to understand one another through the use of three languages — English, Portuguese and Spanish. Initially each side brought their own



PROTOCOLS OF PEACE
Part 1

But the battles around the town, and skirmishes deeper inside Angola, proved to the Angolans and Cubans that a military solution in the region was out of the question, in spite of an enormous increase in Cuban and Soviet military support. And according to Angolan diplomats at the talks, it was "assumed" that the South Africans, too, had realised the futility of pursuing an outright military victory.

Thick with suspicion

Aside from military considerations, both sides had pressing economic problems. Cuba's economy was in worse shape than at any time since the revolution and it was no longer getting the heavy Soviet sugar subsidies which financed the halcyon years of the revolution. South Africa's economy was beleaguered by the increasingly costly burden of Namibia, and by sanctions, a falling rand, and the impact of internal discord.

Both sides had every reason, therefore, to believe the other was seriously interested in peace, but neither side at this stage seemed to be wildly enthusiastic about it and, according to one of those present, "the air was thick with suspicion and downright dislike."

Before the conference began, Dr Crocker had sent to the South Africans a paper setting out the Angolan-Cuban point of view on a wide

of salads, desserts, cheeses, biscuits, and French wine and Dr Crocker's delegation arranged the seating.

But despite the surfeit of conviviality, there still was an air of tension. On key issues there had been apparently irreconcilable differences but at least agreement was reached that there would be next meeting and a South African proposal that it be held in Africa was accepted.

As the talks ended in rain-soaked London, the daily toll of war continued 8 000 km away on the "border". Lance Corporal Hendrik Jacobu Venter, 20, was killed in action, and Rifleman Johan Pentus, 25, was missing after the same engagement. Papefus, it turned out, was badly wounded and captured by the Cubans. He was moved to Havana for treatment and was released last week as part of a general prisoner exchange.

EVERYONE appeared to be apprehensive — "like shy teenagers standing around at a ball waiting for someone else to take the floor first"

Meanwhile at the Oshana military base in Owambo, the SADF marked the 10th anniversary of their raid on Cassinga, Angola, which had je

leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, behind the white clapboard walls of Reyjavik's government guest house, the Hoffdi. On their extensive agenda: regional conflicts.

The import of the meeting for Southern Africa was obscured by the fashionable consensus that the Reyjavik summit, one of three Reagan-Gorbachev meetings, was a failure. "Everyone was looking at arms control as the measure of the summit's success," a West European diplomat remarked afterwards. "But some sort of general, though probably tacit, understanding appeared to have been reached on regional conflicts at Reyjavik."

Even though the improving superpower relationship had produced agreement on a Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan in an effort to resolve that regional conflict, from Pretoria's perspective Afghanistan seemed like another world, the fierce mountain war of the *mujahadeen* but a flash compared with the four decades of wrangling over Namibia and the more than 20 years of inconclusive bloodletting on the "border".

Soon, though, the signs of a new approach to the conflict of Southwestern Africa began appearing thick and fast. Early in July, 1987, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, met his Soviet counterpart, Mr Anatoly Adamshin, at the US embassy in London to discuss the war in Angola and the implementation of UN Resolution 435 in Namibia. It was a discreet meeting which drew little media attention.

In mid-July, Dr Crocker was in Luanda. The once vibrant capital of Angola was drab and squalid, its palm-shaded sidewalks filled no longer with colonists and Portuguese troops seeking to hold back the tide of history, but with jaunty Cubans and a sprinkling of East Germans.

Dr Crocker had been assured of a strong Angolan initiative in a new peace initiative. But he returned to his office in the State Department, with nothing to show for his efforts. Dejectedly he told a Press conference that his mission had been "a waste of time".

There was a further Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Washington in December, 1987, at which, briefly, the Angolan conflict was discussed — although the terse statements and formal public appearances of the two lead-

IT was headed by Jorge Risquet, the Cuban Politburo member responsible for foreign affairs, a bearded man in the Fidel Castro mould, who the South Africans nicknamed "Oom Kaspaas" after the popular Afrikaans cartoon character.

Early in the discussions he told Pk Botha that the other side also was ready to talk.

"We came home and examined the whole thing at many different levels and we concluded that, yes, we should explore the new opportunity. The Cabinet took the final decision, and the matter was also discussed in the National Security Council, but it was our recommendation that we go ahead," a South African official recalls.

"In the past, we felt, initiatives had failed because we had tried to do too much all at once, and so we decided to adopt a step-by-step approach."

So, in March, 1988, the Director General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, and one of the country's diplomats with a long experience of Namibian negotiations, Mr Derek Auret, left

Luanda, and when the Cuban Africans arrived the word was passed on from Dr Crocker — the Soviets were, indeed, unobtrusively in the wings, willing to be helpful if their help was needed. Clearly the superpowers had reached an understanding on the peace process.

As the South African delegation, weary with jet-lag, began settling in to the Edvardian comfort of their rooms at the Berkshire Hotel, an intriguing report reached them. The Cubans had arrived in London on their own aircraft, but the plane — which was assumed to have diplomatic immunity — was unexpectedly searched by British customs officials. Large quantities of personal handguns, grenades and ammunition were found.

Mystery member

"We never asked them, obviously, what their intentions were," says Auret, with a smile. "But there was a lot of amused speculation. Fortunately, the incident passed and I suppose they must have given the British some acceptable explanation because we heard nothing more about it."

The South African team was headed by Neil van Heerden, with General Jannie Geldenhuys, Chief of the SADF (assisted by Colonel Neels van Tonder of Military Intelligence), and Dr Neil Bar-nard, Director of the National Intelligence Service (who was enigmatically described in all

Brown's Hotel, a small but elegant establishment tucked away in a side street, whose conference facilities were, according to one of the Angolans, "unimposing".

As rain poured down outside, about 60 negotiators crammed into a room so small that it was difficult for delegates to push back their chairs. They sat at a U-shaped table, the Americans at the bend in the U, the South Africans along one leg, facing by the joint Angolan-Cuban delegation along the other. Since the Americans were paying for the Brown's Hotel side of things, nobody was to complain of claustrophobia.

"IN the past, we felt, initiatives had failed because we had tried to do too much all at once, and so we decided to adopt a step-by-step approach."

One of the mysteries of the whole peace process was why it started in Brown's little basement room. Some suggest the place was "pre-bugged" so that the Americans (and perhaps the Soviets) could monitor what was being said inside each delegation, the better to manipulate the antagonists towards compromise.

But there was probably a less fanciful explanation. The tight intimacy of the place encouraged members of the opposing sides to strike up personal conversations and, indeed, all delegations concede that this was crucial to the future of the peace process.

The South Africans were surprised that the Cubans and Angolans came as one delegation. It was headed by Jorge Risquet, the Cuban Politburo member responsible for foreign affairs, a bearded man in the Fidel Castro mould, who the South Africans nicknamed "Oom Kaspaas" after the popular Afrikaans cartoon character. He had a direct link to Castro, having been one of the select hand who came down from the Sierra Madres with the Cuban leader at the end of their revolutionary war.

Present, too, was Cuba's Chief of Staff, General Ulises Rosales del Toro (to become known as "Ulysses the Bull"). The Angolans sent their Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Afonso van Dunem, their Minister of Justice, Mr Fernandes van Dunem, and the Chief of Staff, General Antonio dos Santos Franco.

Austrians, well, the US came up with "Alex", a shortish, dapper American with lightly greying hair.

Brilliant translator

Says Auret: "He has to be the best translator who ever lived. He's quite brilliant and he's the only translator I've ever heard who translates things right down to the inflexion on each word. He conveyed the fullest sense of what was being said, and Alex stayed with the peace process from that moment on at the request of all parties."

The South Africans had dealt with the Angolans before, so they were not the unknown quantity which the Cubans were. But the last time South Africans had spoken officially to the Cubans at such senior level was probably at a sugar conference in Havana before World War 2.

Dr Crocker opened the meeting, emphasising the US desire to be neutral, and the heads of delegation made their opening statements. Van Heerden also stressed that in the process there should be no losers. That, too, was accepted and these agreements ultimately provided the best guarantee there could be for success.

All delegations had made it clear beforehand that they would be prepared to talk to one another outside the formal sessions. There was a coffee bar in the cramped conference room and while everyone appeared to be apprehensive — "like shy teenagers" standing around at a ball waiting for someone else to take the floor first" — there was the first surprise of the meeting.

General Geldenhuys, described by an American diplomat as "somewhat quiet, taciturn and reserved", took the initiative. Dressed in a blue-gray business suit the wore civilian attire throughout the eight months of ne-

igator I've ever heard who translates things right down to the inflexion on each word."

After the artillery and air battles around Cuito Cuanavale, the strategic riverside village which briefly became the focal point of the war in Angola, both sides had made extravagant claims of victory. But the truth probably lay between those claims. Western newspaper correspondents who visited the scene reported that neither side appeared to have won, or lost. Cuito Cuanavale gave every indication of having been a costly, blood-drenched stalemate.

A variety of matters. The South African delegation had prepared a detailed response, addressing each point, which was put to the conference. "The Angolan-Cuban delegation very obviously didn't like what they heard one bit," says Auret. "There were some long faces, and after a lot of talking and disagreement, they said that since we had found unacceptable most of what they had put forward, it was our turn set down proposals for them to look at. That was one of the main decisions of the London talks — not much on the surface, yet with considerable potential."

There were rumours of an impending South African military response to the Cuban move southwards and seemed that peace was about to be eclipsed by gunfire and more bloodshed.

Take an armchair journey into the animal kingdom

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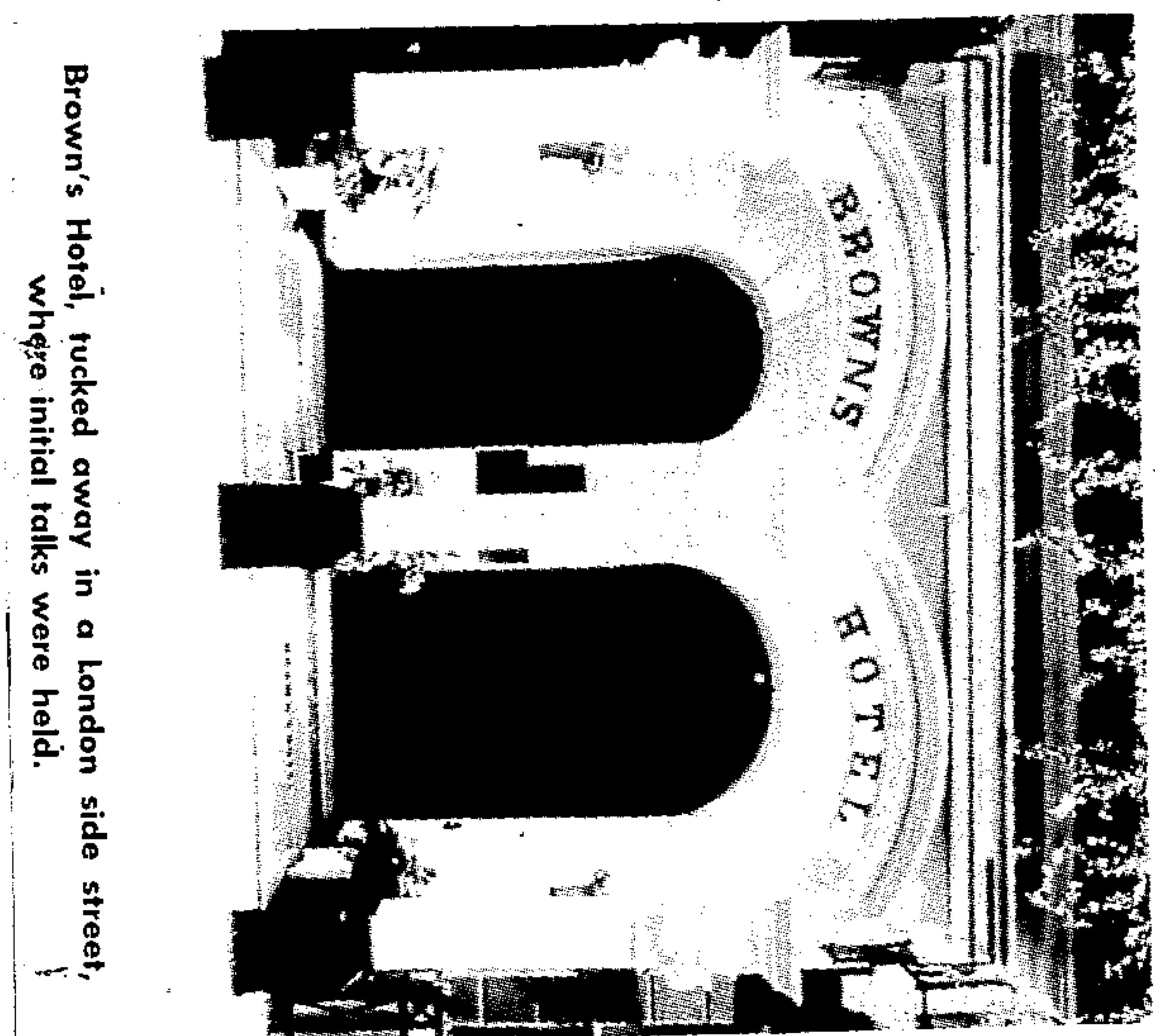


THE ILLUSTRATED ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
Wildlife



Malelane Lodge

First with the goodies



Brown's Hotel, tucked away in a London side street, where initial talks were held.

Namibia war crisis

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From BRENDAN SEERY, Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — Desperate efforts were being made today by United Nations and South African representatives in Namibia to prevent the independence process from collapsing amid reports of continued heavy fighting between Swapo forces and Namibian security forces along the border with Angola.

Unconfirmed reports said the fighting — the heaviest in Namibia since the bush war began nearly 23 years ago — was taking place along a 200km front and more than 140 men are reported to have been killed on both sides.

Swapo has denied launching the offensive and reacted today saying it was ready to order its guerrillas to stop fighting if South African forces did likewise. Sapa-Reuter reports from Luanda.

The liberation organisation's information secretary Mr Hideo Hamutenya said: "We are ready to send our commanders to the area and order a halt to the fighting provided the South Africans do the same."

Ahtisaari flies north

It is reported in Windhoek that UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari is on his way to northern Namibia today to personally investigate reports of full-scale battles between security forces and Swapo insurgents.

And, while the Finnish diplomat flies north, there have been reports of a mass exodus of people from the northern border areas of Namibia where the fighting is focused into the main centres of Ondangwa and Oshakati in the Owambo area.

Die Republikein newspaper in Windhoek said the Swapo in-

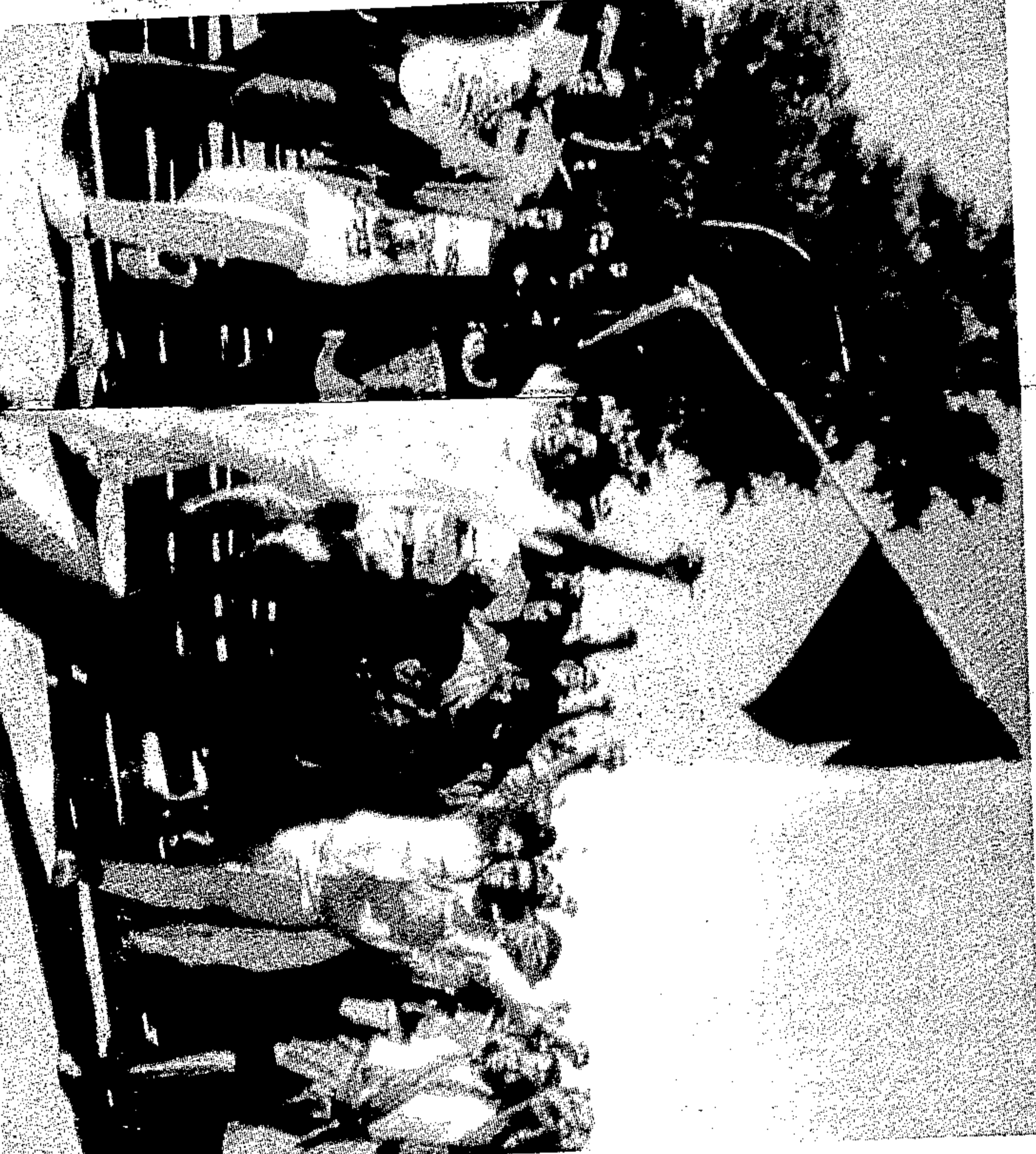


SHOCKED: Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma, speaking in Harare, says he is shocked by the bloodshed in Namibia.

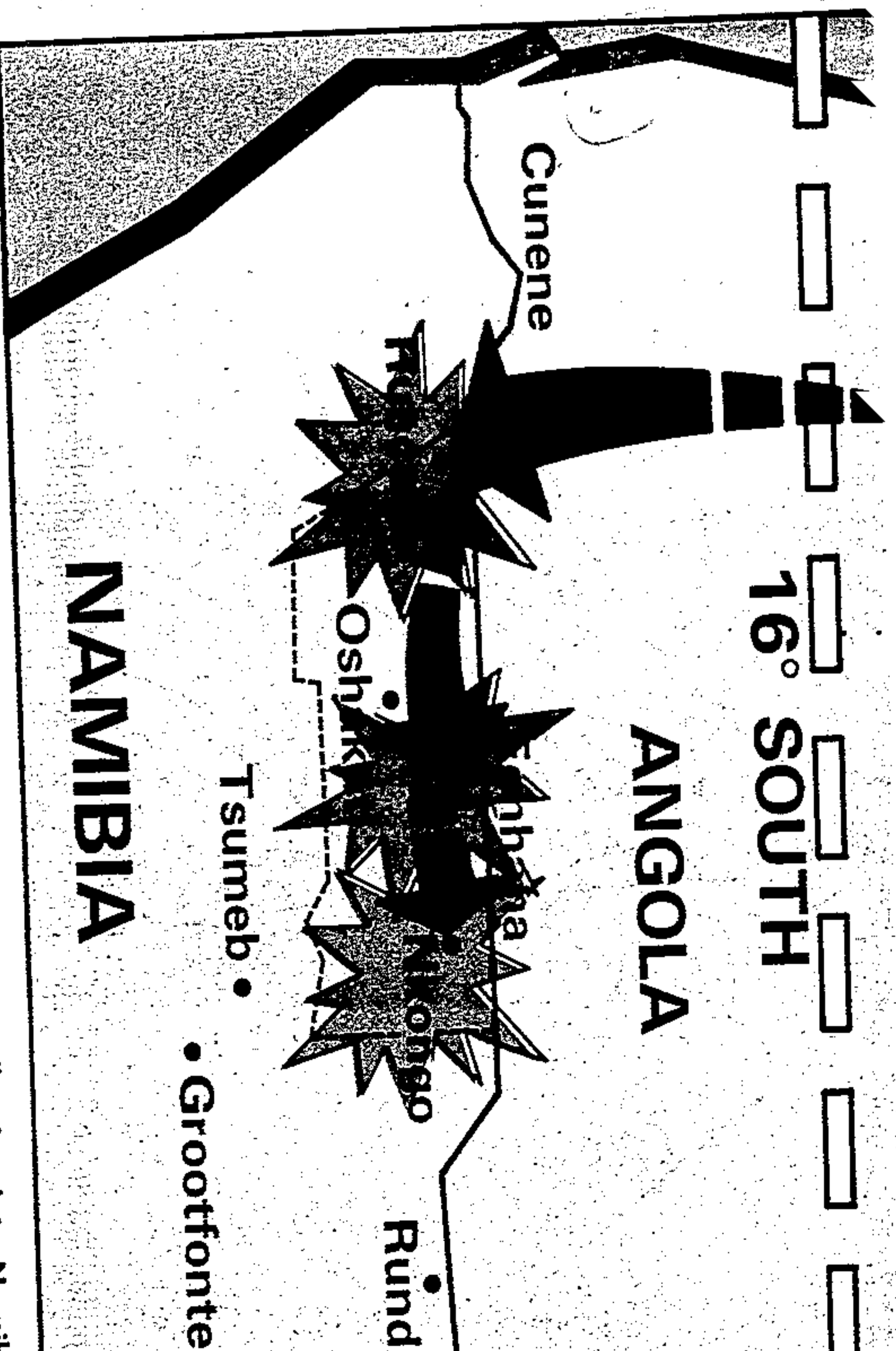
'Shocked' Nujoma puts blame on SA 'killer squads'

Argus Africa News Service
HARARE. — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma, who has insisted that his troops have not

PROTOCOLS



CELEBRATION: Swapo supporters march through Windhoek on Saturday to celebrate the implementation of the UN Resolution 435 peace plan.



140 killed in bitter fighting

From NORMAN CHANDLER
JOHANNESBURG. — In 52 hours of the bitterest fighting in Namibian history more than 140 Swapo insurgents and South West African policemen are dead and many wounded.

South Africa, with the agreement of the Untag peacekeeping force, has mobilised the white-officered and Owambo-manned 101 Battalion, which was in the process of being stood down as a result of the peace agreement to bring independence to Namibia. The battalion is based in the north of the country.

Continuous fighting has been taking place from 6am on Saturday as up to 600 Swapo men crossed the border along a 300km front. Some estimates have put the total at 1 000.

Police said fighting was going on throughout Owambo, the northern-most tribal area where Swapo guerrillas have had the most support during their 23-year war against South African control of the territory.

Fighting began 105 minutes after the ceasefire came into effect on Saturday morning. Villagers are said to have pointed out fresh tracks lead-

ing from Angola. Two insurgents were captured in the fatal contact near Ruacana. It is understood there were three contacts in all before severity of the invasion came apparent.

The captured Swapo told police more incursions were planned.

There were also clashes Oshakati and at Okabe among other places.

News reports from northern Namibia today said there "chaos" at Ohangalo, where people were fleeing the houses and seeking refuge in human-rights centre. Returnees were also converging on Oshakati and Ongwediva.

A police spokesman, Inspector Kierie du Rand, in Windhoek that battles "still raging."

There was a major battle north of Oshakati yesterday at least five armoured vehicles had been destroyed by RP mortar-piercing projectiles. Yesterday there were 30 tactics, "three an hour," a spokesman said, resulting in Swapo insurgents being killed. Police killed 25 insurgents.

(Turn to page 3, col

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crossed into Namibia from Angola in the past three days, says he is shocked and dismayed by the UN decision to allow the South African Army to be re-deployed in Namibia.

Mr Nujoma, here for a West European Parliamentarians conference on Namibia, said late last night that he had appealed to the UN Secretary General to send the rest of the Untag force there immediately.

He described the South African forces, who were supposed to be used to restore order, as "killer squads".

SIGNED AGREEMENT

Mr Nujoma repeated that Swapo and its military arm, Plan, was committed to the ceasefire. He recalled that he had signed an agreement on behalf of Swapo's Central Committee.

After the signing, he had addressed members of Plan, who were strictly ordered to honour it.

On Friday, according to a Swapo statement, Mr Nujoma, addressing a ceasefire parade at Okatale in southern Angola said: "I received last week an identical ceasefire letter. That is the same letter sent to the government of South Africa.

"I have already signed the ceasefire agreement on behalf of the Central Committee and the Military Council of Plan."

According to what he said last night, Mr Nujoma did not appear to be well briefed on latest developments.

FIGMENT

He referred to the fighting in Namibia as a figment of the imagination of the regime.

He again insisted there had been no border crossing by Swapo guerillas. He accused South Africa of scheming to halt Namibia's transition to independence.

Earlier, Mr Nujoma said he was still investigating reports of clashes between Swapo and security forces.

"But," he told Zimbabwe's national news agency, "I must make it clear that this provocation is coming from South Africa."

He said he had received reports that well organised South African groups had attacked civilians at various places, and that South African helicopters



TODAY The Argus begins a six-part series, **PROTOCOLS OF PEACE**, in which the extraordinary story of the Namibia negotiations is reconstructed from first-hand accounts of those who were there and from documents and other sources.

It is the story of an event which has transformed Southern Africa and brought hope to a sub-continent where not long ago the prognosis was death and destruction.

An exclusive interview with the American mediator in the talks, Dr Chester Crocker, concludes the series. The outgoing US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs gives his personal views on the eight months of negotiations — and some observations on the future of negotiations in southern Africa. ● See page 13.

bombed people who were celebrating.

He accused the South African government of having a well calculated policy of disrupting the election system.

An Angolan embassy spokesman here appealed to Namibians to remain united and not to lose sight of the objective of guaranteeing the territory's independence.

"It is not important that one, two or three people get killed at this stage," said the spokesman.

SA envoy warns Australia

The Argus Foreign Service MELBOURNE. — The South African ambassador, Mr David Tothill, has warned Foreign Minister Senator Gareth Evans that the lives of Australian peace-keeping soldiers in Namibia could be at risk.

He also called on Senator Evans to condemn alleged rebel incursions in Namibia.

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surgents involved in the infiltrations had come from the specialist "Typhoon" unit of SWAPO's armed wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN).

"Save 435"

The newspaper, which is the mouthpiece of Mr Dirk Mudge's DTA group, said the DTA had written to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar appealing to him to do all in his power to save the Resolution 435 plan.

Meanwhile, The Namibian newspaper — which supports Swapo — reported people in the battle zones saying villages were ablaze as members of the SWATF's 101 (Owambo) Battalion were deployed to help the police in the fighting.

The paper also said churchmen and journalists had flown up to Owambo to investigate reports that army members had "gone on the rampage" and were "harassing residents and assaulting them".

Another Windhoek newspaper, the Times of Namibia, had an eye-witness report by one of its staffers. He described scenes of chaos: "The people are shocked and deeply disappointed," he said.

Further details of the fighting were still unclear today though as the authorities remained reticent. According to unconfirmed reports as many as 2 000 Swapo combatants are involved in what appears to be a co-ordinated operation by the insurgent movement.

SADF helicopters were called into action late on Saturday following a request from Namibian Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar, Mr Ahtisaari and Untag commander General Dewan Prem Chand.

They were to be used for casualty evacuation but it is believed they have also been used in an offensive role as gunships.

The Argus Political Correspondent reports that South African Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha was today trying to bring about a "ceasefire within a ceasefire" to halt the carnage on the border.

Mr Botha has sent a letter to Dr Perez de Cuellar informing him of the "grave situation" on the northern border.

Mr Botha alleged that Swapo violations of the peace agreement were continuing and escalating.

Five South Africans are reported to be among the 20 security force members killed. Scores more have been wounded on both sides.

In Windhoek a spokesman for Mr Pienaar's office said he was holding an urgent meeting with his officials today and would probably make a statement later.

The South African State Security Council would also discuss the situation today.

● Pik's letter to UN, page 2.

Untag members back SA claim of Swapo incursion

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Malaysian and Pakistani members of the United Nations monitoring group, Untag, have backed the South African version of events.

The BBC reports that the Untag members, who flew into the battle zone yesterday, agreed that the clashes occurred after Swapo fighters crossed the border in the central sector near Ruacana.

The fighting made front-page news in Britain, with fears being expressed that it could threaten Namibia's progress to independence.

The Times said UN officials were understood to be "furious at the irresponsible conduct of the guerrillas".

International efforts were being made to "save the territory's independence process", it said.

Some reports said more than 120 Swapo fighters and 20 security force members had died in the bloodbath, which Swapo said was sparked by a security forces attack on PLAN members. Swapo has said it fought back simply to defend itself.

The Financial Times reported that international efforts to keep the Namibian settlement on track had taken on a "new urgency".

Britain's Mrs Margaret Thatcher would discuss the issue with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev when the two leaders meet in London later in the week. Regular consultations were also taking place with US officials, the paper said.

It noted that Pretoria had moved swiftly to take advantage of Swapo's apparent violation of last December's Namibian peace agreement by threatening to call for the withdrawal of UN military monitoring forces unless the organisation took strong action.



● AHTISAARI

● PEREZ

UN chief under fire over report

221 SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK — Under pressure from Swapo's non-aligned supporters UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar on Monday night presented a closed Security Council session with a watered-down version of Namibia fighting.

Council president Aleksandr Belonogov of the Soviet Union complained they were not shown special representative Martti Ahtisaari's original report.

It was on the original the US State Department is believed to have based its statement Swapo had launched a major infiltration from Angola.

East bloc diplomats said Swapo leader Sam Nujoma met military commanders in Ngiva last Wednesday and instructed them to start caching as many weapons as possible in Namibia before Swapo forces were restricted to bases in Angola.

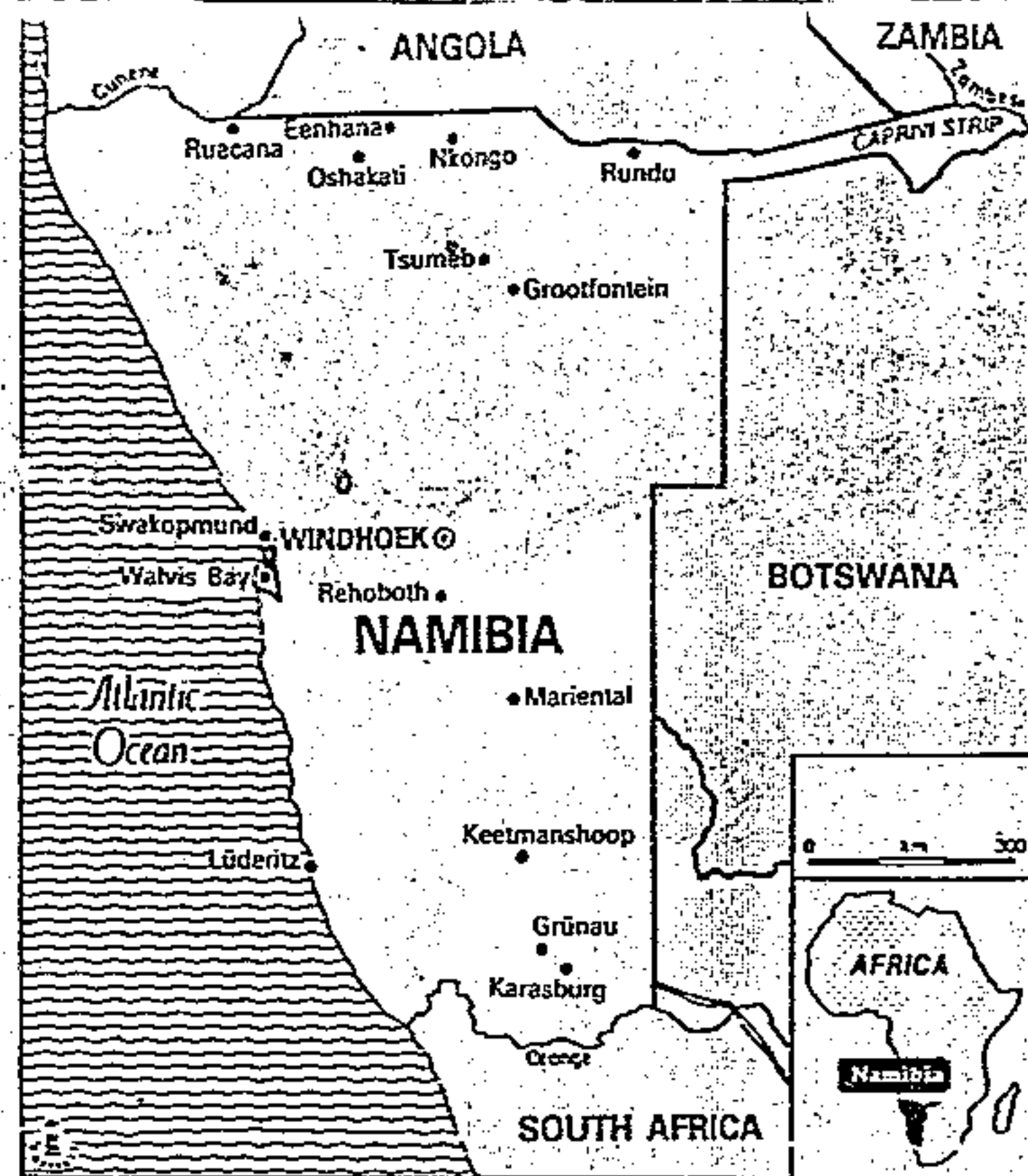
Ngiva is well south of the 16th parallel behind which Swapo was supposed to have withdrawn.

Swapo UN spokesman Theo-Ben Gurirab admitted Nujoma "addressed our combatants on March 29".

He added: "He issued directives to all of them and specifically instructed those inside the country to make contacts with Untag for the purpose of being confined and monitored by Untag. This is exactly what they were doing when they were attacked by SA."

Britain's Sir Crispin Tickell emerged angrily from the chamber and suggested Gurirab's remarks should be "taken with a large grain of salt".

Belogonov's delegation in private blamed Swapo for the fighting.



THE WAR ... From Ruacana in the west to Nkongo in the east, the dust of battle hung over the operational area yesterday after a huge Swapo incursion ended four months of unofficial and two days of official peace.

UN peace plan 'still on stream'

Cape Times 3/4/84
721

WINDHOEK. — United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia was "still on stream" despite the bloody battles raging in the north of the country last night.

This announcement was made by a spokesman for the Administrator-General of the territory, Mr Louis Pienaar, after 90-minute talks with UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the commander of the Untag peace-keeping forces, Lt-Gen Prem Chand and senior police and defence force officers on the situation.

Mr Pienaar said that "appropriate steps" were being taken by SWA Police to control armed Swapo insurgents infiltrating the north of the territory.

Senior UN official Mr Cedric Thornberry said, however, that Mr Ahtisaari's report to the UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, had not yet been completed.

It was understood that no statements would be coming from the UN special representative until he had consulted with Dr Perez de Cuellar, who has expressed alarm at the situation.

Mr Thornberry indicated that Untag police members would be sent to the north to monitor activities of police forces there.

Dr Perez de Cuellar had said on Saturday that he would take immediate steps to prevent a recurrence of the violence.

He agreed that the armed incursion was a severe violation of the Security Council Resolution agreed to by South Africa, Cuba and Angola.

He has consulted the Soviet president of the Security Council at UN headquarters on a possible meeting of the 15-member body that ordered the independence operation in 1978, officials here said.

British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher responded to the outbreak of fierce fighting by calling for an urgent session of the UN Security Council.

Meanwhile, in a statement from Luanda, Swapo blamed South Africa and the UN for the fast-deteriorating situation in Namibia.

Swapo guerillas had acted in self-defence when they were hunted down by South African forces before the troops on both sides had to be confined to bases, the organisation claimed.

It said Lt-Gen Chand had ignored a Swapo invita-

From page 1

435 on stream

tion to discuss the necessary steps for troop demobilisation and confinement to bases.

A spokesman for Mr Pienaar said that the Swapo statement failed to take cognisance of a provision in the peace accord that its forces had to be restricted north of the 16th parallel in Angola.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night that it was clear Swapo commanders had issued orders for armed Swapo members to cross the border.

He said it was not important what the insurgents' aims were — they were well armed and even had surface-to-air missiles with them.

He said the UN Security Council should meet immediately to discuss and condemn Swapo's actions.

Mrs Margaret Thatcher cautioned Mr Botha firmly against Pretoria scrapping the independence agreement and redeploying its military.

"If you do that, then you go back to the war, the Cuban withdrawal from Angola stops and the whole world is against you," a senior diplomat recounted her telling Mr Botha.

To page 2

SOWETAN

TUESDAY APRIL 4 1989

MORNING FINAL

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SAPA-Reuter

LUANDA — The incident that sparked the violence in Namibia was started by South African troops who fired at Swapo guerrillas trying to hand themselves in to United Nations officials, a survivor was quoted as saying yesterday.

South West Africa People's Organisation information secretary, Hiddjo Hamutenya, gave reports in Luanda a transcript of an interview on Sunday with Jekona Ngenomesho, an Oshakati State Hospital in northern Namibia. Ngenomesho, who was interviewed on Sunday by a member of the Windhoek-based Christian Churches of Namibia hospitalizing group, said he had witnessed the attack on April 1 at Okahenge, near Endola, 25 km south of the Angolan border.

The incident set off battles that killed at least 120 Swapo guerrillas and 20 members of the colonial police force in some of the bloodiest fighting in Swapo's 23-year bush war against South African occupation.

According to Ngenomesho, he and his brother were asked for water by a group of about 60 Swapo guerrillas.

"They told me they were not there to fight," Ngenomesho said. "They were there, they said, regrouping in order to hand themselves over to United Nations (United Nations Transition Assistance Group) and they were asking me if I had seen any United Nations people in the area," he added.

He did not say if the Swapo fighters were armed or where they had come from.

Ngenomesho said while he was talking to the guerrillas, a group of South African army armoured troop carriers arrived.

The South Africans started shooting first and I was shot in the leg. I fell

© To Page 2

SURVIVOR

blames

South

African

troops

for the

border

Naked bodies

© From Page 1

down and the next thing I found myself in Oshakati Hospital," he added. *Swetlan 414157*

The CCN document distributed by Swapo said a local pastor at Endola, whom it did not name, reported seeing 33 bodies, some in uniform, some naked, at the scene. The pastor said by late afternoon of the next day no United Nations observers had arrived.

Swapo officials and Namibian police have reported clashes across northern Namibia since the fighting started on the first day of the desert territory's UN-supervised transition to independence from Pretoria.

South Africa says heavily-armed Swapo guerrillas crossed into Namibia from Angola and attacked South African forces.

Swapo says its forces inside Namibia were attacked by South African-led security forces and were forced to defend themselves.

BLOOD

BATTLES

GIRLS' BOXER LONGS
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Namibian pall as fighting erodes a mood of optimism

BY BRENDAN SEERY,
The Star's Africa News Service

221
Chatting to South African journalists in Windhoek on Saturday, the day the UN Resolution 435 peace plan for Namibia came into operation, South African Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha was struck, suddenly, by a coincidence.

"Four, Three and Five add up to Twelve," he told amused scribblers, "and today it is exactly 12 years since I took this post (as Minister of Foreign Affairs)."

He did not say, though, whether he believed it was a good or a bad omen, as South Africa officially began disengaging itself from the territory it has controlled for 75 years.

Get out

HW 4/4/59
Only minutes after his jocular remarks he and General Magnus Malan were engaged in deadly serious discussions in the foyer of the SWA Territory Force Headquarters building here, having been told of the reported Swapo incursions and bloody fighting in northern Namibia, which left at least 120 dead and many wounded.

Still later, after talking on the telephone to President Botha, the Foreign Minister issued a blunt threat to the UN: Bring Swapo to its senses or get your peacekeeping troops out of Namibia.

At a press conference shortly after meeting British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher as she left Namibia, Mr Botha was visibly angry.

His anger was in marked contrast to his earlier bullish and optimistic mood when talking to the South African journalists.

Then the Foreign Minister had spoken with passion and conviction of his belief that the start of the Resolution 435 process and the visit of Mrs Thatcher heralded a new southern African momentum towards negotiation and dialogue. This momentum was an "irresistible force" which South Africa was prepared to "ride like a wave", he enthused.

Mr Botha spoke of having recently held discussions with "responsible Soviet representatives" (reportedly Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adami-shin). They had made it plain their government was "convinced sanctions will not resolve any of the region's problems", Mr Botha related.

He was clearly almost ecstatic about Mrs Thatcher's visit. He also appeared delighted that she had spoken against sanctions in her African tour.

He said the start of the Namibian process had already improved South Africa's image abroad, and as it progressed and it became evident Pretoria was serious, "then the spotlight will begin to fall more and more on the positive side".

The implementation of the Resolution 435 plan is, according to him, a triumph for the South African Government's oft-stated position of negotiation without violence. If it can be done in Windhoek, so, too, can it be done in Pretoria and elsewhere in the region, he implied.

Firefights in the dry scrub of northern Namibia are certainly not what is needed now.

Housing seminar looks at Namibia

Star 4/4/89 (22/11)
As Namibia heads for independence, key side issues emerge, not least of which is the housing question.

This will be one of the main topics at a housing summit to be held at the CSIR conference centre, Pretoria on May 16-17.

Leaders of the building industry and other business sectors will get together to thrash out the housing question under the title of Housing Scenarios for the Nineties.

Organised by the National Association of Home Builders, with the assis-

tance of the Conference Co-ordinators, CSIR, the objective of the seminar is to analyse all the factors affecting the urgent provision of affordable housing.

"The emphasis will be on the removal of the critical backlog and at the same time, keep pace with normal demand," says an NAHB spokesman.

Among the speakers are Mr Bob Tucker, managing director of the Perm, Mr Neville Berkowitz, chairman of The Property Economist and Mr Neil Fraser, president of the Building Industries Federation.

Blunder may have led to fighting

By Jon Qwelane,
The Star's Africa News Service

OSHAKATI — A mistake by Swapo commanders may have been the cause of the vicious battles in Namibia.

Two captured Swapo members yesterday told pressmen the guerilla movement believed its members could cross into Namibia from Angola with their weapons from April 1. They believed they would be directed to bases set up for them.

The two insurgents, among four captured by security forces since the fighting broke out at the weekend, were produced by Chief Inspector Derek Brune in Oshakati yesterday.

'BEATEN UP'

One of the insurgents said he arrived in the country on Saturday and the other said he had been in Namibia since December "to monitor the movement of the army".

One said he had been blindfolded and beaten up by security forces.

Chief Inspector Brune said heavy fighting between the security forces and Swapo was still continuing — "they are still fighting like hell out there" — and villagers from Eenhana near the Angolan border were fleeing southwards.

He said since 7.45 am on Saturday — almost two hours after the formal ceasefire between South Africa and Swapo came into effect — several hundred insurgents had infiltrated into country.

In one incident a police helicopter

was attacked in the west with a rocket launcher and AK 47 rifle fire.

On Sunday, a Swapo commander was killed when police clashed with a group of about 20 insurgents, just west of Ruacana on the border with Angola.

A document found on him contained details relating to the movement of a group of 169 insurgents and the kind of weapons they possessed.

DONKEYS

The local population at Oshikango, according to the police, reported Swapo members coming from Angola "with donkeys carrying 212 mm rocket launchers" used for stand-off bombardments and two cannons.

And in an attack on Sunday afternoon, allegedly by security force members, a number of Swapo supporters were shot at and seriously wounded on the road between Oshivelo and Tsumeb, when they returned from a rally.

Mr Veigo Nghifinkana (25) of Ingodiva Village, who was shot in the back, said a car in a convoy travelling towards Tsumeb "just turned around and began shooting at our lorry".

Other people here are also alleging trouble was started by pro-government agents provocateur.

Mr Joseph Shimpiloni (23) of Oshakati is in hospital with a serious injury in his back, which he says was caused by an assegai.

He believes that his mistake had been to wear a cap in the colours of Swapo and T-shirt of a trade union which supported the organisation.



Swapo survivors ... guerillas captured during fierce fighting are put on parade.

Gunfire keeps citizens awake

Staff Reporters

HEAVY gunfire in and around Ondangwa, the main air force base in Ovamboland, kept residents awake most of last night. However, it appeared that the shots could have been the Defence Force testing their weapons and putting on a show of strength.

Mr Simon Shikangalah, manager of a restaurant in the centre of Ondangwa, said there had been firing from the Defence Force camp and private houses throughout the night.

"Frankly, I didn't sleep last night. There was lots of firing all around, but I personally haven't seen any action and I don't know any details.

"It appears as if the army is letting us know they are in control of the situation. It was a very bad experience."

Mr Shikangalah said the town had been quiet for the past two weeks.

"HELL BROKE LOOSE" "Then all of a sudden with this outbreak of firing all hell broke loose. Yesterday was extraordinary."

The town was "not unusually busy", he added.

"People are keeping to their houses and their businesses. They are fully aware that the situation is very unstable and everyone is taking precautions."

Ondangwa bank manager Mr William Wilkie, who commutes to work from Oshakati each day, said he had not heard of any fighting.

He pointed out that there was a nearby shooting range used by 101 Battalion, reactivated because of the crisis, and that the firing could have come from there.

NO CASUALTIES

At Oshakati, the army's Ovamboland headquarters and the main town in northern Namibia, residents and businesses reported today that all was quiet.

A doctor at the hospital said there had been no casualties admitted from the war area.

He had not noticed increased military presence and the town's activities appeared to be normal.

Mr Charlie Nel, manager at J L Cohen Motors just outside the town, said that unlike local whites, Oshakati and Ondangwa's black community did not fear a guerrilla attack.

Moderate opposition gives Strong support to SA stand

By BRUCE CAMERON Political Staff

STRONG support for the Government and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha on the Namibian crisis came today from white moderate opposition parties.

Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall said: "We completely support the South African government in its actions in the current crisis."

Dr Worrall said it was important to resolve the situation in the interests not only of Namibia but of South Africa.

Progressive Federal Party spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz said Mr Botha had "to date handled the situation extremely well and he deserves the backing of the country."

"One hopes the international community will see Swapo for what it is and will take the necessary steps to ensure that the peace process and Resolution 435 continue to be implemented."

Swapo blamed

The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that the United States government has put the blame for the violent flare-up in Namibia squarely on Swapo's shoulders.

The Bush administration has accused Swapo of trying to slip its military forces across the northern border before the full deployment of United Nations peace-keeping troops.

Seven victims of Namibian fighting named

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 19 South West African Police Force members have been killed in battles with Swapo insurgents.

The names of only seven dead have been released so far.

They are Detective-Sergeant S.H. van Tonder, 25, of Vanderbijlpark; Constable L. Thorne, 22, of Ermelo; Constable J.J. Badenhorst of Secunda; Constable Christian Israel, 28, of Endola; Ovambo, Constable Uta-peka Tjipeka, 23, of Endola; Warrant Officer Leonard Benjamin, 32, of Endola; and Constable Simon David, 26, of Endola.

"All the information available to us indicates that a major infiltration of northern Namibia by military forces of Swapo is occurring," senior US official Ms Margaret Tutwiler said yesterday.

She called on South Africa to exercise restraint.

The Americans noted that UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisari's report on the fighting was not yet available but the Bush administration was clearly dismayed and holding Swapo to account.

Call to Soviets

The US called on the Soviets, Cubans and Angolans to persuade Swapo to stop the incursions.

Ms Tutwiler expressed US confidence in Untag and said the US would not change its mind on the size of the force. Swapo appeared to have tried to take advantage of the fact that the Untag forces were not yet fully deployed, she said.

Melbourne reports say that the Australian government yesterday refused to condemn an alleged Swapo armed incursion, pending a UN report.

Full Untag placement delays outlined by UN

By BRUCE CAMERON Political Staff

THE United Nations monitoring forces will not be properly in place in Namibia before the end of the month, United Nations Secretary General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar told an informal meeting of the UN Security Council last night.

Dr de Cuellar said the delay in reaching agreement in the United Nations on the size of the monitoring force had resulted in delays in having Untag in place by April 1.

"The six to eight weeks lead time which I had reiterated on many occasions as being the absolute minimum period necessary to permit Untag to be fully effective on April 1, was instead reduced to four weeks."

"Consequently, the operation capability of Untag in its early phase has been severely hampered by the as-yet limited availability of especially, vehicles, communications equipment and accommodation."



Picture: DOUG PITHEY The Argus, on assignment in Namibia. CAPTURED INSURGENTS: Swapo survivors are led into captivity by a Namibian police officer.

Swapo men face death or surrender

(Contd from page 1)

He said only about 200 of the 300 military monitors of the 4 500-strong proposed force were in place by April 1. He said "their effectiveness, also, was seriously hampered by their limited mobility and restricted access to communications."

Dr de Cuellar said it was unlikely that Untag's regional and district centres, to be spread throughout the country, "will be operational before late April."

"The police monitors, who have a vital role to play throughout the community, will also not be fully deployed until the same time."

"Furthermore, the three enlarged battalions that are to be deployed will not be fully entered until April 20."

It was because of the circumstances that he authorised a strictly limited and temporary suspension of the requirement for some units of the South African military to be confined to base.

Did Swapo invaders blunder into battle?

From JON GWELANE Argus Africa News Service

OSHAKATI. — A huge mistake by Swapo commanders may have been the cause of the vicious battles in Namibia.

Two prisoners told pressmen yesterday that the guerrilla movement believed its members could cross into Namibia from Angola with their weapons from April 1, the implementation date for the UN Nations plan for Namibian independence.

The two insurgents, among four captured, were produced by Chief Inspector D Brune in Oshakati with seized weapons.

The insurgents said they were members of Swapo. One said he arrived in Namibia on Saturday and the other said he had been in the country since December "to monitor the movement of the army."

It appeared that Swapo members thought they would be directed to designated bases set up for them inside the country.

One of the insurgents said he had been beaten up by security forces.

Police say 1 200 Swapo members have been infiltrated into Namibia since the weekend.

About 1 500 South West African and South African soldiers have joined the SWA Police in the battles, which were continuing today.

Swapo men face death or surrender

please plan. Swapo had already been implicitly condemned, while South Africa was complying with the peace plan.

Mr Botha stated previously that the contents of Mr Ahtisaari's report were of decisive importance for South Africa's future attitude to the situation in Namibia.

Misfired

He maintained that it was clear that Swapo had illegally crossed the border to establish bases in Namibia and that this action had misfired.

From Oshakati, Sapa reports that fighting between Swapo insurgents and SWA police backed up by territorial forces continued sporadically overnight in the area surrounding the main military headquarters here.

Heavy Swapo casualties were reported and police Chief Inspector Klerie du Rand said 161 guerrillas and 19 police have been killed. He said 41 policemen and an undetermined

Security forces maintain they did not start the shooting, saying units were ambushed. They would repel southward movements by the insurgents but if the insurgents headed back north into Angola, they would not be attacked.

Elusive battle

(Contd from page 1)

only blue herets seen in the area yesterday were those of a few Italian pilots checking their helicopters they had flown in.

Colonel Dreyer claimed Namibian soldiers and Pakistani officers were accompanying police patrols.

If they are in the combat zone, they may expect to see some action. Mr Derek Brund, a police commissioner, said that fighting was intense and hitmen were running repeatedly into ambushes. In one such engagement on Sunday, three of them died after being surrounded by about 200 guerrillas.

He said Swapo columns were still pouring over the border a seven points, but their deepest penetration so far was 32 km.

From the main Oshakati-Ruaacana highway, the terrain appears deceptively calm. But out in the bush, scores of armoured vehicles are seeking out their prey. — The Times News Service

SADF ready to help

Political Staff

THE fight against Swapo was being closely watched and the Defence Force was ready to help if needed, said Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

Violence, terrorism and revolution could not be afforded especially at the start of the independence process, he said at the opening of the new permanent SADF exhibition centre at the Rand Show grounds, Johannesburg.

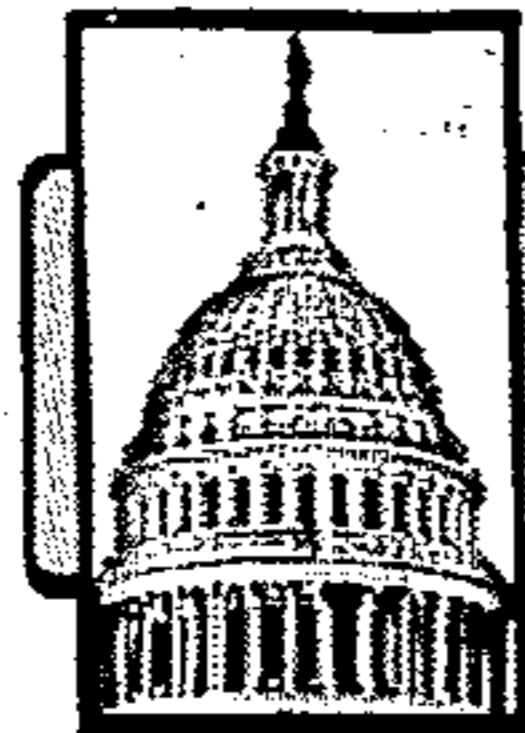
SWA Nats want weapons retained

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — The National Party of South West Africa urged that Citizen Force soldiers be allowed to retain or be reissued with their weapons and not be demobilised in the face of the fighting.

Transition too fast for Swapo to handle: Crocker

CHESTER 4/4/89



Washington Letter
by SIMON BARBER

221

IN an eve of April 1 interview (which will appear in fuller form in a forthcoming issue of Optima), the outgoing assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Chester Crocker, had some final observations on the Namibia/Angola settlement he has spent the past eight years mediating.

Perhaps most striking was his belief that the US, having taken the lead role in "creating the realities" that led to the settlement, should now let others, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in particular, shoulder greater responsibility of seeing it properly implemented.

In an echo of Harold MacMillan's "Winds of Change", as well as of President George Bush's inaugural theme, he opined that "there is clearly, on almost every front in southern Africa, a new breeze, a new set of windows that are open, and I think the British, as probably the world's most experienced external power on this set of issues, have been the quickest to pick up on it".

He noted Mrs Thatcher's lightning visit to Windhoek at the weekend. "I think she's quite prepared to make it known that the British have a contribution to make and I think she is absolutely right. In fact, in some respects, she has within her grasp more of the elements of creating things than almost anybody else."

Opportunity

"So if the British have ideas and are prepared to play that kind of leadership role, we would be — I speak for myself here but I don't think I'd be contradicted — the first to cheer... the same would apply on South African issues themselves."

"The door is open for others. It doesn't mean there won't be issues on which we take a lead, but it means there is now plen-

ty of opportunity to go round."

In the immediate term, there was a vacuum to be filled as the new administration got its act together. "We are a large polity and a large government and it takes us a while in a transition to define what we will deal with and what we won't."

More broadly, however, Crocker appeared to acknowledge that there were serious institutional obstacles to the US driving allied policy in the region. The administration cannot, for example, say we are obligated to provide \$128m (about R256) towards the expenses of Untag, and presto, the money is there. Congress must have the last word, and in having it, will likely create all manner of new problems by placing conditions on the funding.

Congress has also seriously limited both the US governmental and private sector roles in Namibia's transition by applying to the territory the same sanctions as it applies to South Africa itself. This might be "folly", as Crocker called it, but it is Congress's wont to demand equally stupid concessions whenever it is asked to undo its previous stupidity.

One may conclude, therefore, that the administration will look to Thatcher to help "create new realities" — a favourite Crocker phrase — both in Namibia and the region generally that will either pull Congress after them or at least restrain it from further ill-advised action. A case in point might be her ability to exploit the "new breeze" to promote negotiation between Pretoria and the ANC.

One aspect of the settlement in which the US will remain principally involved is the question of reconciliation between Unita and the MPLA. It heads Crocker's list of "areas, which if I were staying on, I would be keeping a regular eye on".

"If the MPLA continues to dither on the issue of internal peace or to try and solve it unilaterally, it's going to create a military pressure cooker inside Angola... which is going to put a strain on the Angolan-Cuban-Soviet relationship and it's going to be more difficult for those parties to carry out their side of the bargain."

The US is ready to medi-



Dr Chester Crocker...
"The Cubans would like to get out as soon as possible, that's what they've told us, I see evidence of it."

ate if asked — "Sure, but there's nothing new in that. We've always said before that this was an African agenda and the African neighbours are in the best position to play a role. But we have been prepared all along to pass ideas and messages when we're asked to do that and we've already done some of that, frankly."

"Perhaps we're closer today than we ever have been to an actual process that you could call a political process. One day Unita says these are our terms in a very bold, powerful statement. A week later, you see a statement from Luanda which clearly reflects that they got the message."

Mandate

Crocker sees the problem lying largely within the MPLA where "the atmosphere is frequently one of suspicions and factions and manoeuvring, allegations of corruption, ministerial swaps of portfolios and so on, it's going on all the time."

"But this is a particularly sensitive moment as, and we assume this is happening, President Dos Santos is seeking a mandate to negotiate with Unita... getting the consensus so the people are on board is a big operation... it may be that some people feel very directly threatened in a personal sense because of either the role they've played, the jobs they hold or the skills they have. They may feel vulnerable."

Crocker is confident that "the Cubans would like to get out as soon as possible, that's what they've told us, I see evidence of it". This leaves the Soviet Union with "some decisions that they haven't yet made... they're going to be left holding the bag because Luanda is going to be without its Cubans pretty soon. So either they're going to let history take its course and be left with that bag, or they're going to be encouraging, more directly than they already are, Luanda to reconcile with Unita."

Whatever he may privately believe about the new allegations of political killing within Unita, publicly Crocker is dismissive. He evidently feels that to lend the charges weight will only encourage those in the MPLA who do not wish to negotiate while at the same time angering Unita's congressional supporters (some of his most strident critics) into causing more problems for the regional settlement as a whole — by holding up Untag funds, for example.

"Isn't it a rather remarkable coincidence that this is being talked about in this manner at the very moment when the last remaining excuse for Luanda not to talk to Unita has been removed... if one wanted to resist the inevitable, one might certainly profit from the allegations, though I'm not saying the MPLA invented them."

Pretoria

On the question of Namibia itself, Crocker is concerned that neither Swapo nor any of the other parties is sufficiently prepared for "the monumental changes that are now going to be occurring".

"It's going to be incumbent on the leadership in Pretoria to do its best to make up for lost time in terms of the signals it's sending, not only to the white community but to others who may be nervous or insecure about the test of public opinion that's coming up... it's in the interest specifically of the National Party leadership to have it go right because it's their settlement."

As for Swapo, "I frankly don't think that from what I've seen up till now they ever expected things to move so fast. They have never had to face this kind of political test — how do you organise, what signals do you send, how do you re-integrate people who have been trained only for living in exile and living off the land and living by the gun?"

"What are the friends of Swapo going to do to encourage Swapo to be responsible and learn by the mistakes of others in Africa. The frontline states... have a central role. Do they send a signal of stridency and polarisation or a signal of statesmanship and economic common sense?"

4/4/89

22

duction to an African country with which Pretoria had not had much contact; it was a beguiling idea and so Brazzaville was agreed upon as the venue.

But, ironically, it produced an enormous logistical problem — how were the South Africans to get there? Because of the arms embargo and other restrictions, there were few aircraft in the country — aside from SAA Boeings, which were considered too large and expensive — with the range and capability for such a journey.

"It may sound strange in this day and age, but it is actually very difficult to get into Africa from here, unless you fly first to Europe and then all the way back again — and even then, there are few scheduled flights to and from places like Brazzaville," a South African diplomat noted.

The Department of Foreign Affairs asked businessman Dr Anton Rupert and the Anglo Vaal Corporation if their executive jets might be made available.

Not only did they agree, but they rescheduled all their own business so that Dr Rupert's sleek Falcon 900 and Anglo Vaal's Hawker-Siddeley 125 were readied for the Brazzaville venture.

The two South African jets flew over the scrubland of Namibia, over the dunes of the Skeleton Coast, then out to sea for 150 nautical miles.

They travelled North, parallel to the African coastline, and then turned East to follow the course of the meandering Congo River to Brazzaville. The first plane carried an advance party of security and communications experts and administrative officials whose task was to prepare the way for the second plane carrying the formal delegation.

With the advance party went a secret communications system which enabled the South African delegation to speak by telephone via satellite with their Pretoria headquarters "more or less whenever we wanted to" or, when necessary, to communicate by code.

The Press contingent were less fortunate; sending reports from Brazzaville to South African cities proved to be an endlessly tiresome undertaking with erratic results.

The Congolese capital has a splendid setting on the Congo River. Its many trees and parks, laid out by the French, give the incongruous illusion of coolness in the steamy tropical heat.

Across the broad river is Kinshasa, capital of Zaire, the former Belgian Congo.

There had been some misgivings about the choice of

meetings in Africa.

With them, the Angolans brought their Minister of Justice, Mr Fernandes van Dunem, who the South Africans had learned, could converse easily in what was "something akin to Afrikaans."

It turned out he had been a

ricans raised issues such as Swapo's infiltration and the general violence in the region.

The argument was put forward that there was a need for violence to end before peace could begin, and the two sides arrived at "substantial agreements."

was purely intended as a bilateral discussion. We had made contact for the first time officially for some years, there were urgent bilateral issues to be discussed, and we made it clear that we realised no solution to the problem could be reached without the Cubans.

"But, yes, there was an unfortunate negative outflow from our bilateral talks. Eyebrows were raised, suspicions created. The exercise was misinterpreted and for a while before and after our meeting this negative reaction continued to shadow the whole negotiating process."

Suspicion had existed in everyone's mind from the start and neither side knew what agenda the other was pursuing.

"So, once again, it was important to build on the professional relationships we had established in London, to build up trust," says Auret.

"We found out from personal contact that they didn't all have horns and cloven feet."

The Cubans had been a mystery to the South Africans in London.

But, in the words of a member of the South African delegation, "we found out from personal contact that they didn't all have horns and cloven feet."

The same process was taking place with the Angolans in Brazzaville, with Mr van Dunem's linguistic talent allowing for a spontaneity of contact which breached some of the language barriers that had existed in London.

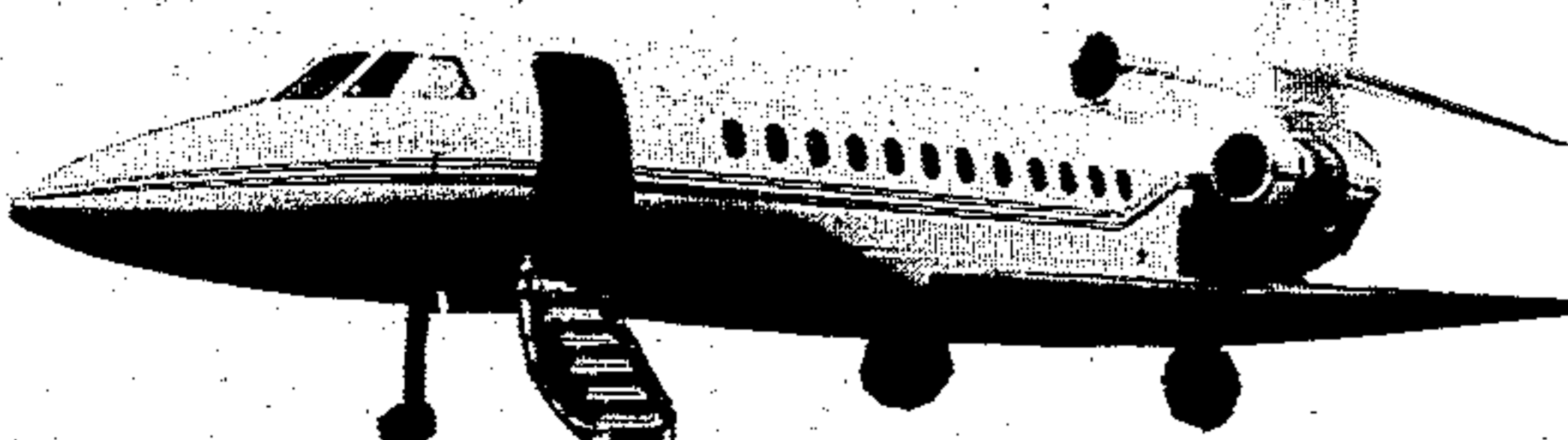
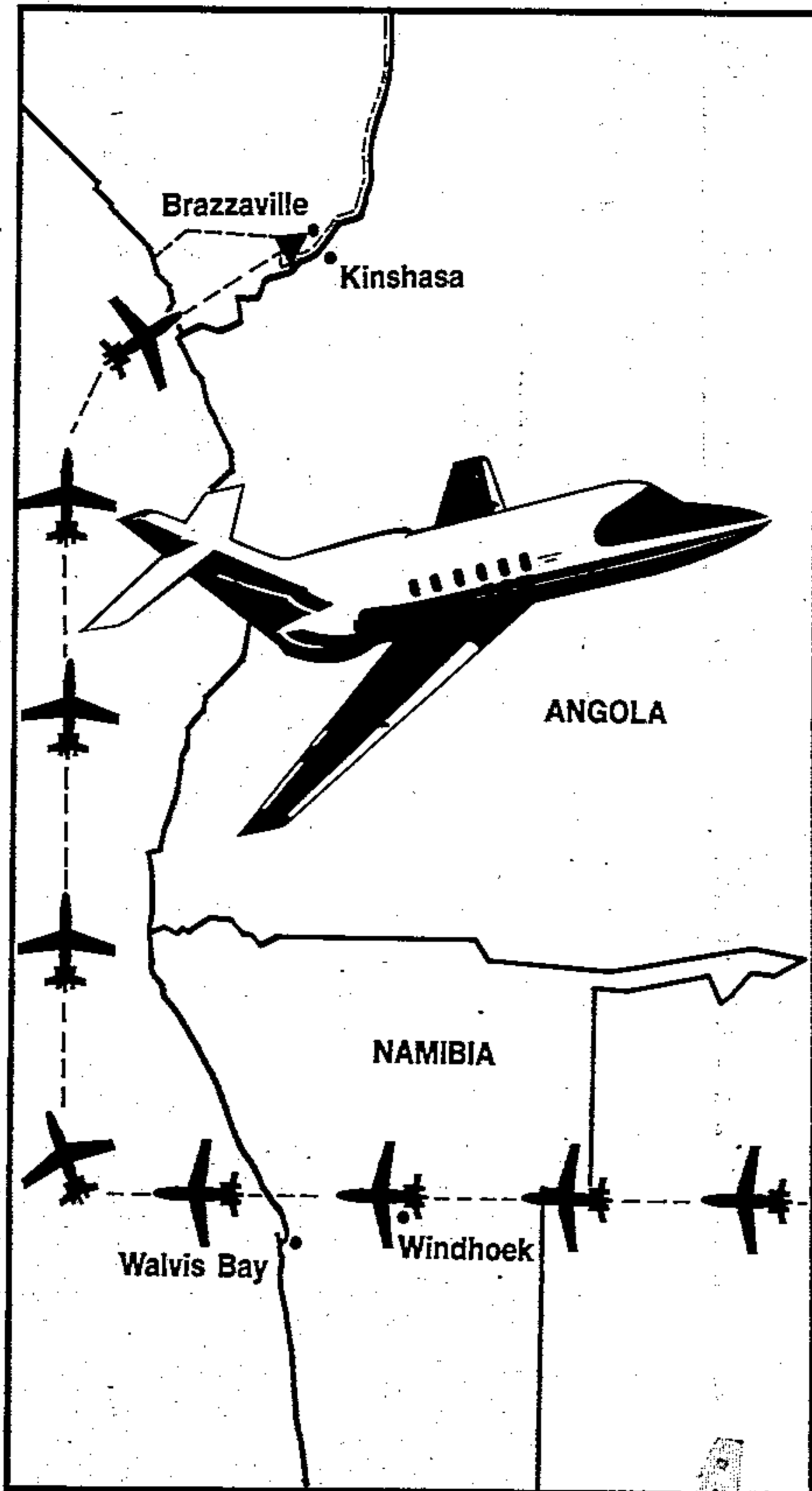
The main meeting in Brazzaville broke up into a number of side meetings. People got together with their opposite numbers — the SADF and NIS representatives especially, since they had specific technical matters to discuss with their counterparts.

There was constant interaction, which went on afterwards among members of the South African team themselves.

Brazzaville was a draining experience, with talks going on into the small hours, and it was followed by an arduous early morning journey back along the muddy Congo river with its verdant tropical banks, then far out to sea, down the African coast, and then east over Namibia and on to Pretoria.

But it didn't stop there. The team gathered in the Union Buildings almost immediately to begin an extensive and detailed examination of the talks to isolate the various possibilities, options, and directions which had emerged.

And then, outside the main meetings, South African envoys were sent out — unannounced, almost secretly —



The zig-zag route, aboard the Hawker Siddeley 125 (shown on the map) and Falcon 900 private jets (pictured above), taken by the South African delegation to the talks in Brazzaville.

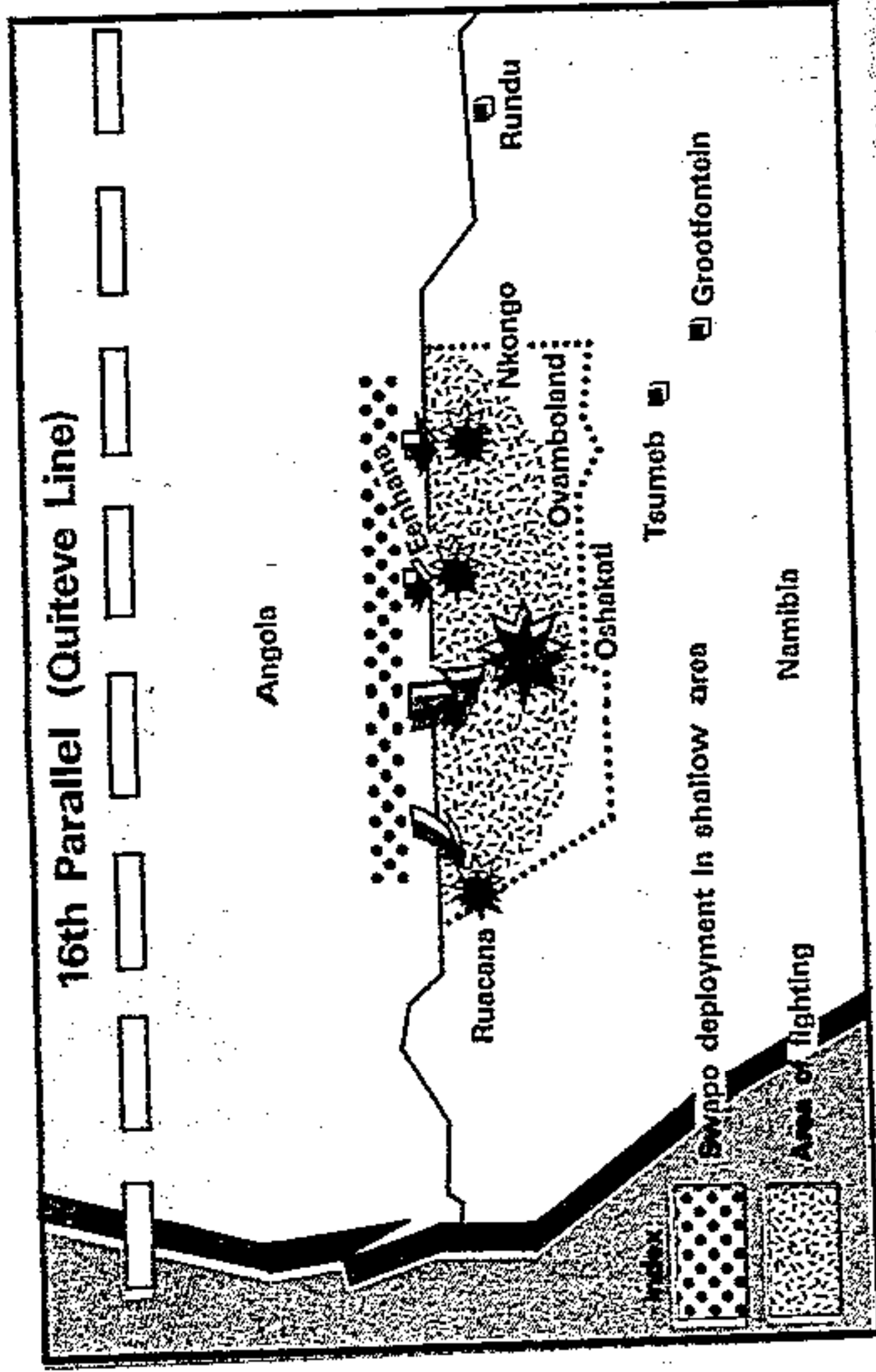


STONY FACED: Pik Botha and the heads of the delegations emerge from the talks in Brazzaville after a tough session. With him are Mr Fernando von Durem, Angolan Chief Justice and Antonie Oba, the Congo's Minister of External Affairs.

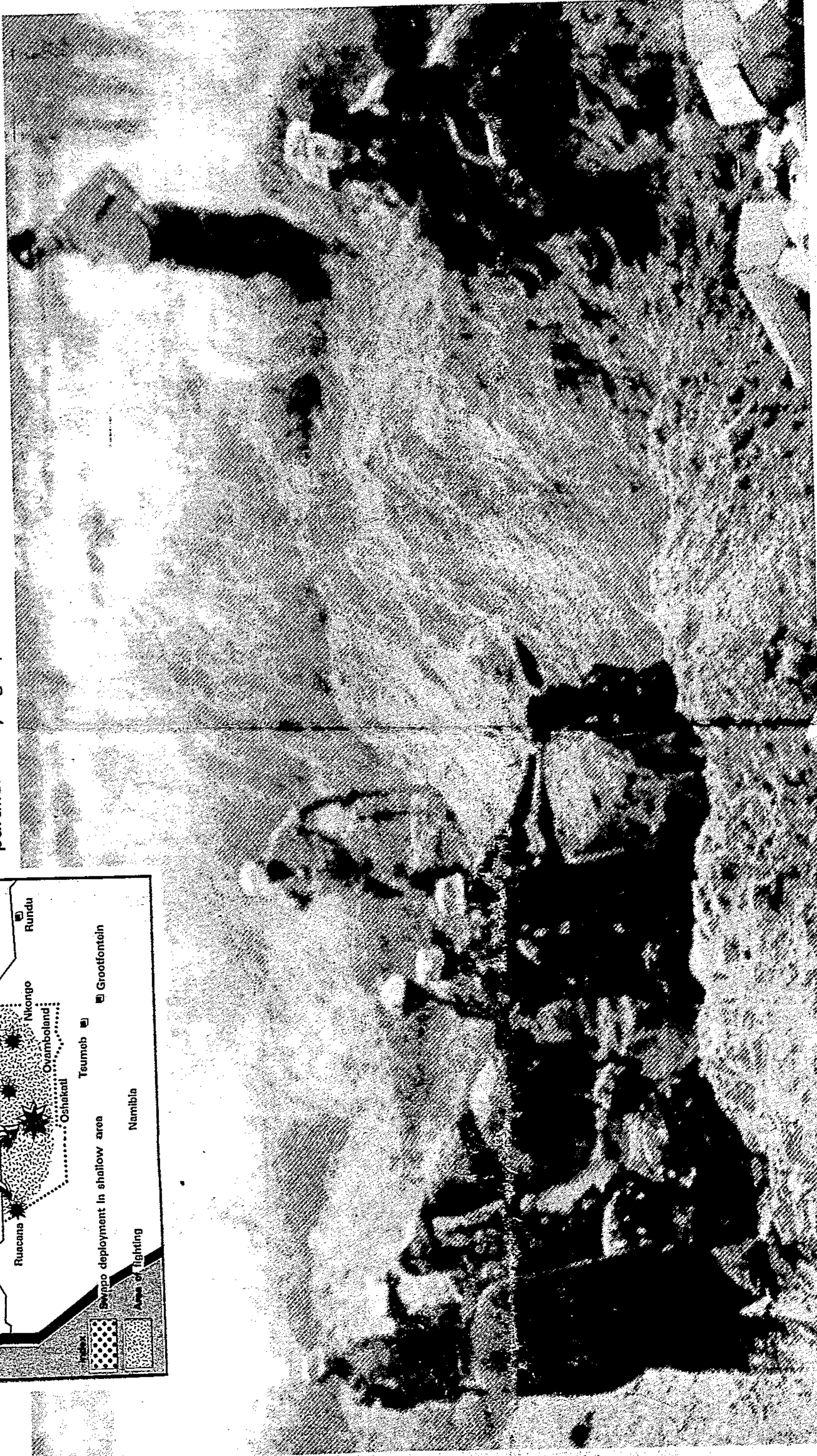
WAR NOTS UP

Battle for Oshakati begins

Cape Times
4/4/89
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WHERE THE FIGHTING IS ... With fighting continuing into its third day, this is how the situation in the operational area looked last night as security forces battled an estimated 1 000 Swapo insurgents, who had swarmed across the border after moving southwards from the Quiteve Line on the 16th parallel and lying up for months in the shallow area.



MASS GRAVE... Namibian police dig a mass grave for 41 Swapo guerrillas killed during the first action at the weekend.

Picture: REUTERS

OSHAKATI. — This garrison town was last night preparing for a full-scale attack by a large number of heavily armed guerillas as the focus of the huge Swapo incursion in northern Namibia switched from the bush to the military centres.

Small-arms fire was heard and flares were seen outside the town's gate at 11pm. Tension was running high with an attack expected "at any minute", reports Tony Weaver.

There was a "definite contact going up" outside the base, with warplanes in the air.

US backs SA

WASHINGTON. — The United States yesterday took South Africa's side and accused Swapo of mounting a major infiltration into Namibia. The US State Department said Swapo was "trying to take advantage" of the confinement to base of SA forces under the UN plan.

● Full report — Page 4

In other developments late yesterday:

● At Oshikango, a border post between Namibia and Angola 70km from Oshakati, a major battle started at 4pm. It was described by witnesses as "probably the worst of the incursion so far".

● Witnesses said that at 8.30pm two pick-up trucks sped past Ondangwa Air Force base with machineguns blazing, injuring two security force personnel, and

● Helicopters at Ruacana were grounded for two hours after a SAM-7 was fired at one.

Intense fighting continued to rage across almost the entire Ovamboland border with Angola yesterday on the third day of the fighting.

The number of Swapo insurgents estimated to be inside Namibia rose to at least 1 200 and the death toll climbed to an unofficial 182.

While the official toll of Swapo dead was given as 129, the figure late last night was believed to be 161 guerillas dead with 21 police.

Cape Times

9/4/89

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killed in three days of
the heaviest fighting yet

seen in the 23-year-old
bush war.

The exact number of
Swapo insurgents ready
to enter Namibia at
short notice was not
known but variously es-
timated at between 4 000
and 5 000.

Military sources said
there "definitely have
been civilian casualties"
but the bloody battles
and poor communica-
tions prevented confir-
mation and exact figures
of civilian dead and in-
jured.

Military and police
spokesmen were unwill-
ing to give details of the
number of wounded so
far, but eventually said
that "between 80 and
100" combatants on both
sides had been wound-
ed, including 41 police-
men.

However, the number
is believed to be much
higher, possibly several
hundred.

SA Air Force jets at
Ondangwa were last
night at the ready to join
the battle which has al-
ready seen 2 000 Nami-
bian policemen and at
least 2 100 SWA Terri-
tory Force and SADF
soldiers engaged in what
one soldier described as
"bloody hand-to-hand"
fighting.

Heavy fighting was go-
ing on at Ruacana, Ong-
wena, Eenhana, Etale
and Nkongo, police said.

Yesterday military
helicopters flew virtual-
ly non-stop missions out
of Ondangwa, some to
ferry dead and wounded,
but mostly to back up
ground forces engaged
in running battles with
bands of Swapo fighters
who had "bombshelled"
into less visible smaller
units.

To Page 4

Report says SAAF jets are in action

The Star's Africa
News Service

HARARE — Four South African Air Force Impala jet fighters have joined the battle against Swapo combatants in Namibia, according to reports here.

Quoting sources in Windhoek, the Zimbabwe news agency, Ziara, and the Pan African News Agency, Pana, said Major-General Hans Dreyer had revealed the despatch of the fighter aircraft to back up 101 Battalion. The report said Koevoet, the police counter-insurgency unit, had lost seven Wolf turbo vehicles and 15 others had been damaged.

In an editorial today the main Zimbabwean newspaper, *The Herald*, said there was no chance of the United Nations independence process for Namibia being reversed.

The presence of UN troops in the territory was in accordance with Resolution 435 which South Africa, on its own, could not abrogate.

The newspaper said Untag had a lot of blood on its hands for the deaths in Namibia.

Its forces should have been in place from the first day but they were not.

West sees
 hope in the
 example of
 Zimbabwe

LONDON — The West still believed the UN monitoring force would have enough men to supervise the independence process in Namibia, Western diplomats said yesterday.

About 1 000 members of the UN force — which at full strength will number more than 5 000 — are already in place.

The diplomats recalled that the Rhodesia-Zimbabwe independence exercise had been monitored by a Commonwealth force of only 1 200 men.

They said the population in Zimbabwe was several times larger than Namibia's and the Rhodesian bush war was more widespread.

The diplomats said the fighting on Namibia's northern border was unfortunate, but expressed confidence that the situation would be brought under control.

221 Confident

They pointed to the fact that in the run-up to Zimbabwe's independence there had been an assassination attempt on Robert Mugabe, intimidation and "dirty tricks" that cost dozens of lives.

"But the independence agreement still held up and we remain confident of success in Namibia too," said one diplomat.

"The parties to the agreement have got to be made to abide by it. You can pour thousands more men in, but it isn't going to achieve any better results if the parties refuse to stop fighting."

Black African states were critical when the major world powers insisted on reducing the UN force from an originally envisaged 7 500 men to the present number because they wanted to keep costs down. — Sapa.

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NAMIBIA

PETER DELMAR

SWAPO's internal Namibian political rivals believe the conflict raging on the territory's northern borders has seriously damaged Swapo's election prospects and are hoping the insurgents will be convincingly beaten.

Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) chairman Dirk Mudge yesterday described the resistance encountered by Swapo guerrillas as a "helluva setback" for Swapo.

Swapo, Mudge said, was attempting to create an impression that it was ac-

Poll rivals see Swapo's prospects plunge

81Daw 4/11/84
the DTA will almost certainly provide Swapo its stiffest opposition at the polls. Previous predictions were that

live within Namibia and to intimidate Namibians seven months before UN-supervised elections.

He said he suspected there may have been a breakdown between Swapo's Plan military commanders and its political leadership. Whatever prompted the attack, Swapo found itself in an inextricably embarrassing situation.

The DTA will almost certainly provide Swapo its stiffest opposition at the polls. Previous predictions were that

the DTA would get between 20% and 30% of the vote to Swapo's 50%-plus.

The UN's credibility had also been dented, Mudge said. In terms of restoring the Swapo withdrawal from the Angolan border and the return of disarmed Plan fighters to Namibian bases.

Asked about the effects of the conflict on the Ovambo population — who comprise 49% of Namibian voters — Mudge said the outcome would be crucial. "The

guy who wins this one, he's won."

The National Patriotic Front (NPF), one of the coalition groups formed to fight the elections, yesterday called for speedy and effective action against the Swapo invasion, but urged SA and the UN not to stop the independence process.

The Action National Settlement group said consideration should be given to disqualifying Swapo from the elections.

'A TRAGIC MISCALCULATION'

CAPE TOWN — Swapo had either made a tragic miscalculation, or it lacked information about the details of the ceasefire, or both, SA Institute of International Affairs director Prof John Barratt said yesterday. *BIDAN 4/4/87*

Namibia Institute of Social and Economic Research director Prof Gerhard Totemeyer said he felt Swapo had probably misinterpreted the resolution 435 settlement or there was a lack of communication between leadership and army.

Both said the SA government would be foolish to break off the settlement process because of the clashes on the Namibian border.

221 Political Staff

Although they agreed Swapo had made a serious mistake, they qualified this by saying this was based on available information.

Barrett said: "I only hope SA sticks to the settlement. I hope they don't feel this is sufficient measure to break off the process because that would clearly be madness. This is not something that shows lack of impartiality by the UN, and it is not in any way a permanent feature."

Totemeyer commented: "Everyone is over-nervous up here and there is tension, but it will be foolish to call off the initiative."

Security Council in talks on how to resolve crisis

22i

B/Dag 4/4/89

NEW YORK — UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said yesterday he was asking the Security Council president to hold consultations among members about the fighting in Namibia.

He said he expected the 15 representatives to hold talks during the day but did not know if this would lead to a formal, open meeting of the council.

Soviet ambassador Aleksandr Belongov is this month's president.

On a brief visit to Windhoek on Saturday, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said she expected the council to consider a report on the violence.

Perez said he had received the report early yesterday but had not studied it in detail and could give no indication of its contents.

The report was requested by his special representative in Windhoek, Martti Ahtisaari, who sent a team of investigators to the northern border.

SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha said on Saturday the UN peacekeeping forces could be expelled from Namibia if Perez's response to the events there was unsatisfactory to Pretoria.

Responding to a reporter's observation that it seemed the UN transition group in Namibia was turning out a failure, Perez said: "How can you say such a thing? Untag is not yet fully in Namibia."

"We have 300 men in the northern part of the area. In Namibia you cannot say it is a failure. It is too early."

He added there were still "days or weeks" to assemble the operation to

agreed limits.

A total of 4 650 UN troops and 500 police have been authorised for Namibia duty with provision for 7 500 soldiers if the initial number proved inadequate for the task.

Perez and Botha discussed the crisis by telephone on Saturday and UN spokesman Nadia Younes said the secretary-general was "greatly concerned".

She could not confirm a report that he had agreed there was a danger of incursions into Namibia from across the Angolan border and that SA security forces should be allowed to help the Namibian police keep guard.

Letters

The SA authorities have accused Swapo forces of violating a ceasefire accord that was supposed to become effective on Saturday.

Perez proposed the halt to hostilities and reported last Thursday that Swapo and SA had sent him separate letters accepting a ceasefire.

In Luanda yesterday Swapo spokesman Hidipo Hamutenya said his organisation was ready to stop combat if the South Africans stopped also.

Swapo has long been recognised by the UN General Assembly as the "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people", but its privileged status was to be withdrawn under an accord guaranteeing UN impartiality among the many political parties seeking control of the territory. — Sapa-
Reuter.

CAPE TOWN —
UN special representative Maarti Ahtisaari's report on Swapo's incursions into Namibia

Ahtisaari's report 'to determine SA action'

would be "decisive" in determining what action SA would take on the matter, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Until then, SA would abide by the commitments it had made.

He told a Press and diplomatic briefing he hoped to see a copy of the report by the afternoon.

The least that the "responsible powers" — the US, Britain, France and the Soviet Union — ought to do after the release of the report, would be to call a Security Council meeting, condemn the actions of Swapo and recommend steps to prevent incursions of this nature recurring.

It was clear from information from prisoners that Swapo commanding officers had instructed relatively large groups to cross the border, telling them to establish bases in the belief that, as a ceasefire was in

existence, there would be no resistance and that, if there was resistance, Untag would look after them, Botha said.

The negotiations had foundered in 1979 because of Swapo's insistence that it be monitored in bases in Namibia. No doubt Swapo would now like to claim that it had always had bases in the territory and should now be monitored there.

Swapo believed this would give the Namibian population the impression that they were a strong force.

He said it did not matter what Swapo's intentions were: the incontrovertible fact was that it had crossed in large numbers, illegally, in clear violation of the commitments undertaken by it that its forces would be restricted to bases north of the 16th parallel, for monitoring by Untag, by April 1. — Sapa.

Untag blamed for violations

B (Day) 4/14/89 (221)

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — Swapo leader Sam Nujoma yesterday blamed the Untag team for confusion that, he said, had enabled SA to violate the ceasefire in Namibia.

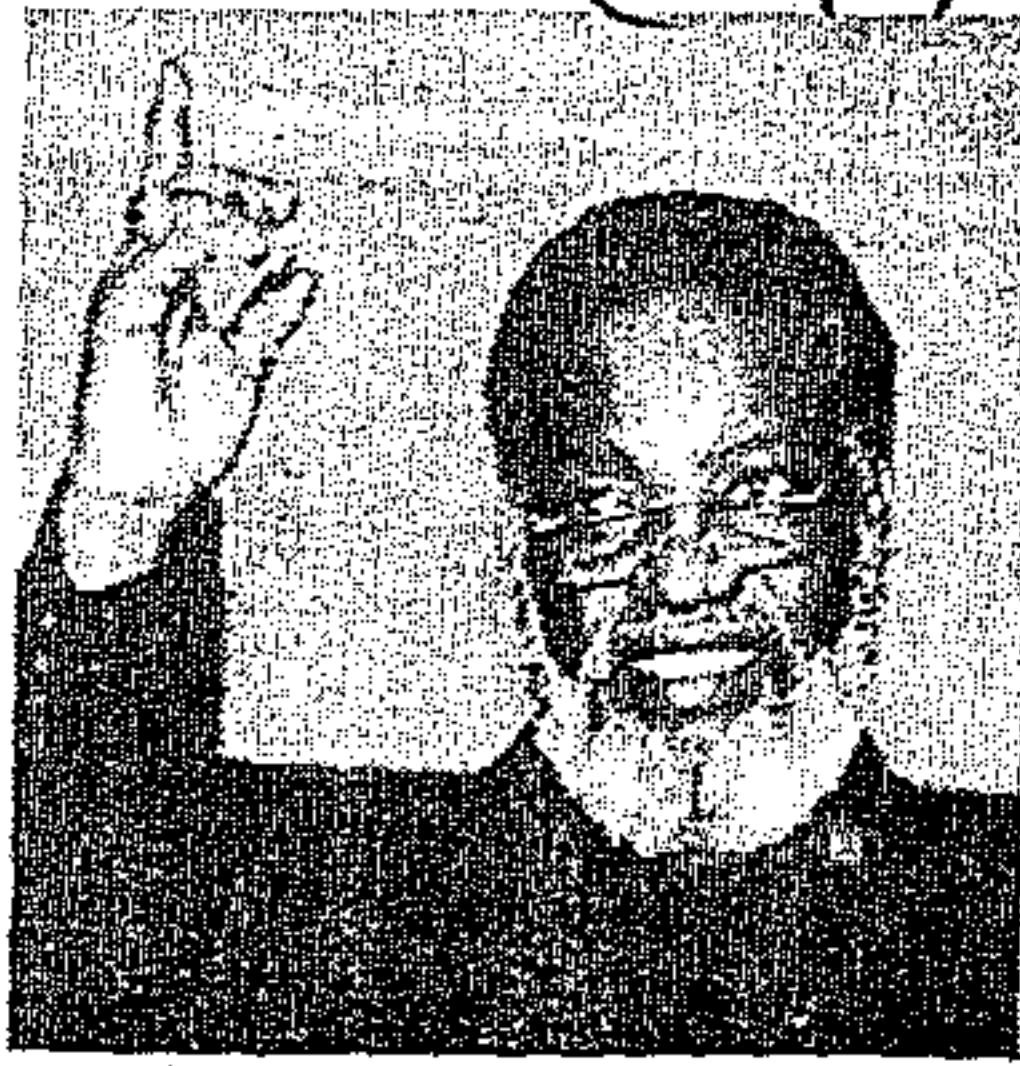
"The South Africans will not tell the truth because they are the ones who are bombing civilians," he said.

Interviewed while attending a conference of West European parliamentarians here, Nujoma claimed Untag representatives had failed to show up for a scheduled meeting in Luanda with guerrilla commanders of Swapo's army (Plan) to discuss the assembling under UN supervision of forces previously operating in the Namibian bush.

Their omission, coupled with scarcity of Untag forces in the field, had led to the situation at the weekend, when, he said, SA forces had attacked "thousands" of Swapo supporters.

No Swapo forces had crossed into Namibia from Angola, he said, expressing "shock and dismay that SA forces had been authorised to join UN troops on patrol".

He said the people attacked were



Swapo leader Sam Nujoma in Harare yesterday. Picture: REUTERS

civilians, returning to their homes in northern Namibia from celebrations in Tsumeb marking the start of the independence process.

He demanded urgent action by the Security Council to make good the deficiency of Untag forces in order to prevent more bloodshed.

Swapo was abiding by the ceasefire agreement and had only acted in self-defence, he said.

"Swapo ordered our fighters to remain constrained and be confined to

bases under Untag," Nujoma said. "If the situation gets out of hand, we will deal with it."

"The only problem is Untag, which has failed to carry out its responsibility."

Nujoma singled out UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari for criticism, saying he had not ensured all security force members were confined to their bases.

But Nujoma parried questions about his previous threats to take his forces back to the bush at this stage, until he was satisfied with conditions.

Nujoma also issued details of what he claimed were ceasefire violations by SA. They included:

□ At Okhange, Swapo members celebrating resolution 435 were allegedly attacked by SA soldiers (33 bodies found);

□ At Okalongo, seven people were shot dead, allegedly by members of 101 Battalion;

□ At Ananghulo and Okadila, eight people were killed in an attack by a helicopter gunship; and

□ En route to Tsumeb, thousands of Swapo members returning from a rally were allegedly ambushed.

SA, US 'jeopardise peace by supporting Unita'

B (Day) 4/14/89 (221)

LISBON — Angola yesterday accused SA and the US of jeopardising the prospects for peace in the region by continuing to support Unita rebels.

"Their support for the Unita bandits is unacceptable, unjustifiable and in complete violation of the New York accords," news agency Angop said, quoting a government statement.

It made no mention of the serious

clashes in neighbouring Namibia between SA-led forces and Namibian nationalist guerrillas.

Independence for Namibia, a process which began on Saturday, was agreed to in regional peace accords signed in New York last year.

Since then Angola's Marxist government has complained of repeated SA violations of the treaties which also provide for the withdrawal of

Cuban troops from Angola.

SA has denied helping Unita while the US says its aid will continue until the Luanda government agrees to hold direct talks with the rebels.

Angola has refused to consider talks, instead offering amnesty to all rebels except leader Jonas Savimbi.

"His crimes cannot be forgotten by our people," the government said in a separate statement. — Sapa-Reuter.

Get strong Untag force to area — clerics

6 (Das 4/4/81) (221)
WINDHOEK — The Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) called yesterday for the immediate deployment of a strong contingent of Untag troops in the "war zone".

CCN general secretary Abisai Shejavali, who returned from the north of Namibia yesterday, said in a statement in Windhoek the cutting of UN troops from 7 500 to 4 650 would hamper the peace process. He asked for the original number to be re-instated.

Shejavali, who on Sunday led a delegation of 10, which included CCN personnel and journalists, to areas where fighting has erupted in Owamboland, also asked for captured Swapo fighters and the bodies of

those killed to be handed over to Untag.

"This is unnecessary death on both sides," he said.

He wanted to know why SA forces had not first informed Untag of the presence of Swapo guerrillas.

"There are no signs of an Untag presence in the area and the people feel insecure," he said.

Shejavali added his "shock and distress" at hearing that 101 Battalion members, recently demobilised, "should regroup and work with the South Africans to help with law and order." — Sapa.

Extraordinary climax to Thatcher's African safari

LONDON — Margaret Thatcher's grimfaced march on Saturday night beneath the arclights of Windhoek Airport, one hand grasping a bunch of red roses, the other exchanging a perfunctory handshake with SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha, marked the end of a tumultuous day and an extraordinary African tour.

News of fighting on the Namibian border, and Botha's threat to expel the UN forces monitoring Namibia's transition to independence, appeared to put the settlement process in jeopardy.

Had the British Prime Minister's high-risk decision to be present on the first day of Namibia's seven-month transition turned out to be a booby trap that, as it exploded, shattered her southern Africa strategy of peace by contact, encouragement and negotiation?

Or had she played a vital on-the-spot role, helping the uneasy coalition of a *de facto* SA "governor" and the UN emerge intact from a crisis?

Most observers still believe the process will reach a successful conclusion.

Thatcher's day in Namibia had begun well enough, with a visit to British members of Untag.

But word was coming in of an incident with devastating implications.

Botha, whose news management of Thatcher's visit and the events surrounding it was singularly adroit, had issued a statement that in northern Namibia police had killed 38 Swapo guerrillas crossing from Angola.

This breach of the peace act, he said, made "meaningless" Swapo's commitment to the terms of the settlement, leaving SA — depending on the UN's response — "no choice ... but to request Untag" to leave until Swapo "came to its senses".

Given that Botha knew he was to meet Thatcher in Windhoek that evening, it seemed designed to place her under pressure, leaving little time to formulate a response.

At a tense Press conference Thatcher announced that consultations were getting under way with members of the Security Council and a UN investigation into the border incident was being carried out. But in apparent disregard of the investigation, she left no doubt that she had already decided who was to blame — Swapo: "A



● THATCHER

very serious incursion has taken place ... and we condemn it totally."

Officials close to the investigation believe it will show that armed Swapo insurgents were indeed crossing the border. But it could also be that Pretoria was

aware of the movements, for the high casualty figures raise the possibility of ambushes.

The border clashes raise a further issue: why only 1 000 Untag forces in place at a critical time?

Also open to criticism is the decision to deploy units of the SWATF forces, albeit in association with UN monitors, on ceasefire and border patrol duties. The most significant factor in the decision, however, is that it appears to have the consent of the Soviet Union.

The next few days could make or break a southern Africa strategy in which the superpowers and Britain have a shared interest. — Financial Times.

Military logs tell of route recesses and invasion plans

BY yesterday, 128 Swapo guerrillas had been killed and four captured in the bloodiest fighting in northern Namibia in 23 years.

Military logs showed a total of about 1 200 Swapo insurgents had shipped across the Namibian border from Angola since Friday evening.

SWA Police (Swapol) chief inspector Derek Brune said Swapo insurgent Phillipus Hanawa, dressed in civilian clothes and armed with a Makarov pistol, was captured on Saturday about 300km east of Ruacana. He told Swapol he was one of a patrol of three members doing a route recon for groups to follow.

Another insurgent captured at Eenhana — in

MANDY JEAN WOODS

central Ovambo-land — reported that two groups of 50 insurgents each were to cross the border at Beacon 28 and Beacon 20 on Friday night.

"The local population in Eenhana are fleeing south out of the area of Swapo infiltration.

"We received information that on Friday evening (March 31) a group of 200 insurgents were to infiltrate and launch an attack on Ombalantu (towards the west, on the road between Oshakati and Ruacana) where there is an army and police base," Brune said.

A Swapo platoon commander — "of Typhoon

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platoon, one of their better 'reccé' units" — reported that three groups (400 strong) were to infiltrate on Friday evening and their orders were to lie low, Brune said.

B/Daw 4/14/87

On Sunday, on the body of a platoon commander — killed in clashes with Swapol about 20km west of Ruacana — police found a book detailing the arms with which the 169-strong unit had been issued.

These included 95 AK-47 rifles, 26 SKS rifles, 16 mortars, 8 RPK machine-guns, 9 RPD machine-guns, 3 PKN machine-guns, 22 RPG anti-tank missile-launchers and Strella anti-aircraft missiles.

Hundreds flee homes as fight rages on

Planeloads of troops join fray

B/Daw 4/14/87

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OSHAKATI — Swapo guerrillas fought hand-to-hand battles with Namibian police and troops yesterday in some of the fiercest combat of the 23-year bush war.

By late yesterday, casualties numbered 128 members of Swapo and 18 of the SWA Police killed, 44 Swapo wounded and four captured. Forty-one police were reported wounded, while 21 police vehicles had been destroyed.

Heavy fighting continued at Ruacana, Ongwena, Eenhana, Etale and Nkongo in the Ovambo region. Hundreds of Namibians were reported to have fled to the safety of neighbouring villages.

SA reversed its military withdrawal from northern Namibia and called up troops to reinforce security forces.

"There's hand-to-hand fighting, ambushes, rocket attacks up there. The rebels are putting up fierce resistance," one source said.

Planeloads of soldiers arrived at Ondangwa, 35km outside Oshakati, and the normally deserted roads rumbled with armoured cars and supply vehicles.

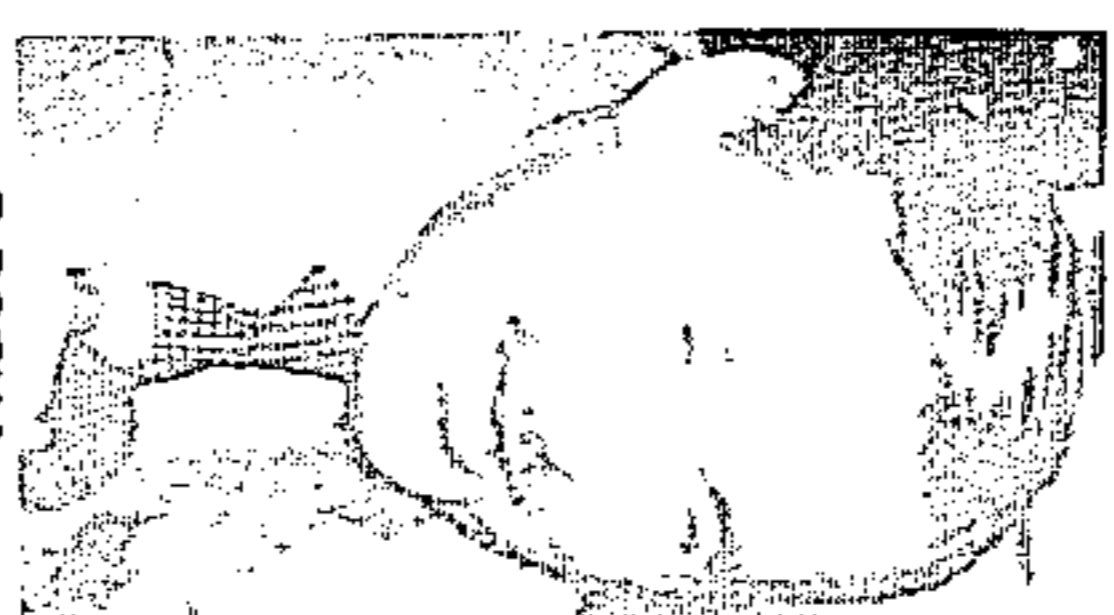
Four SAAF Impala jet fighters have now joined the battle, reinforcing 101 Battalion, Zimbabwean news agency Ziama reported from Windhoek.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha confirmed several skirmishes were occurring along a broad front in northern Namibia close to the border.

He stressed the deployment of units of the SWATF in the affected areas to provide support to the SWA Police had been done in accordance with an understanding reached between UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari, Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and Administrator-General Louis Pienaar.

See Pages 4 and 6

Official estimates were that about 1 200 Swapo members, heavily armed with RPG-7s, SAM-7 ground-to-air missiles and AK-47 rifles, had crossed the Namibian border at eight different points on April 1 — starting from Ruacana in the west to Kavango in the east. Botha said it was clear from information received from four captured Swapo



© BOTHA

guerrillas that their commanding officers had instructed them to cross the border and establish bases inside Namibia, believing there would be no resistance because of the ceasefire.

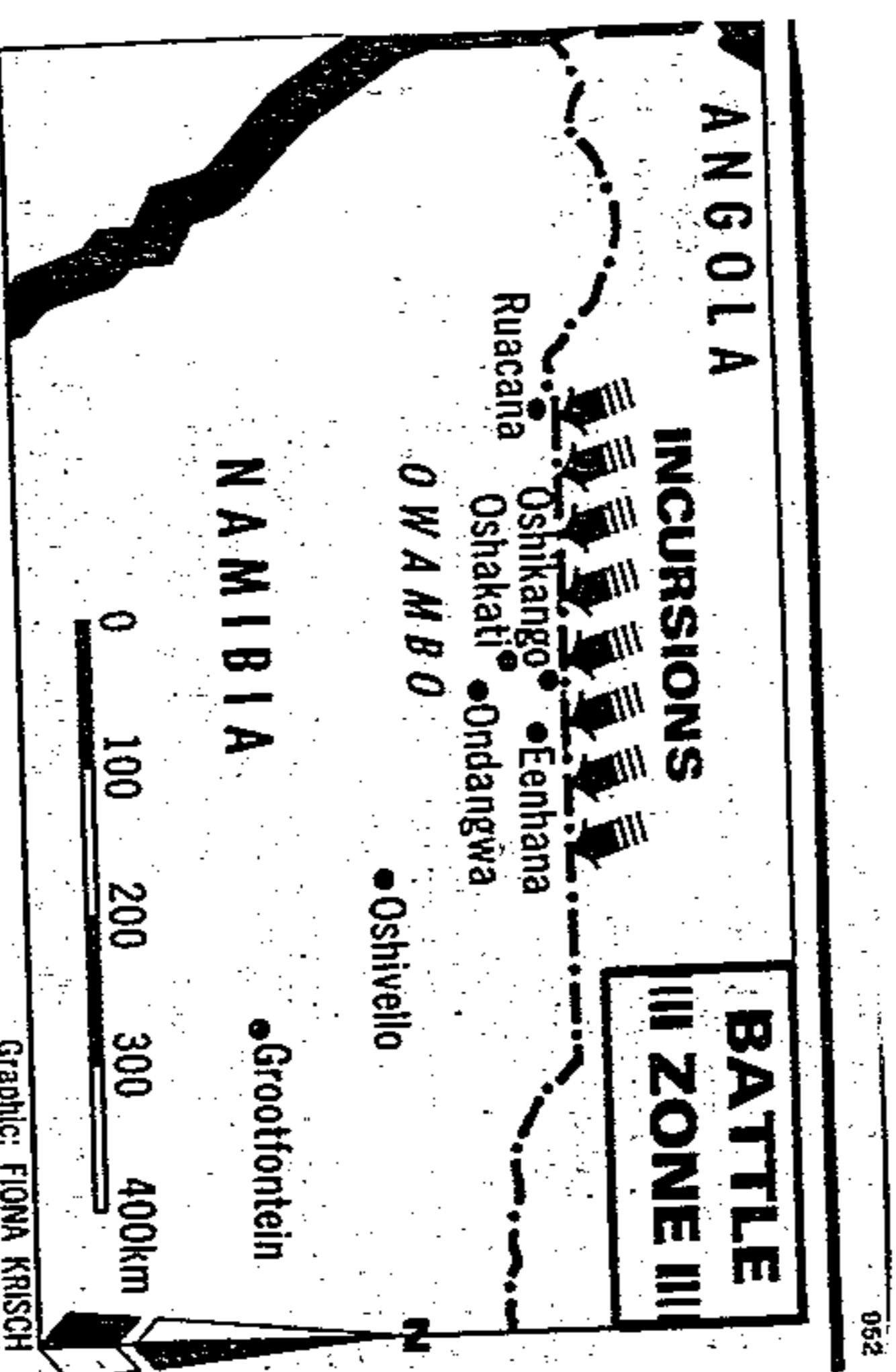
"I have no doubt the plan was to infiltrate Namibia and establish bases within the territory quickly so that they could be monitored once the peacekeeping force had been deployed."

An SA military spokesman said about 1 500 soldiers and thousands of Namibian police were battling the Swapo guerrillas.

In Windhoek, a spokesman for Pienaar said three battalions of Namibian soldiers — between 2 400 and 3 000 men — were also involved and an equal number were being readied in reserve.

Only about 1 000 of the 4 650 Unlag peacekeeping troops involved in the Namibian operation had arrived, and they had not intervened.

Swapo leader Sam Nujoma, speaking in Harare, said his guerrillas "were attacked inside Namibia and responded only in self-defence".



Malan: Swapo cares nothing for agreements

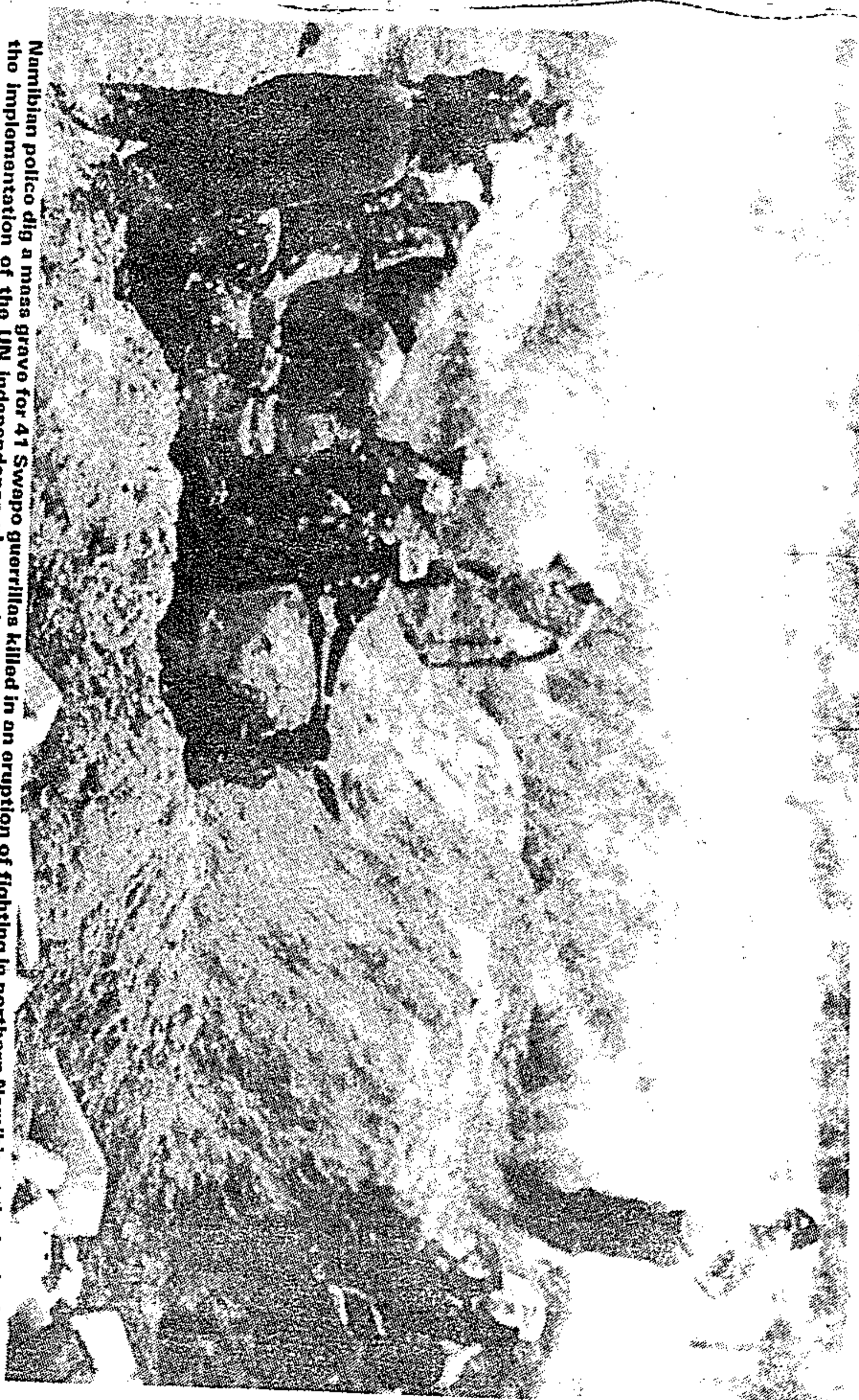
SWAPO's flagrant and provocative conduct in Namibia was clearly a planned action which showed the movement cared nothing for agreements, Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan said at the Rand Easter Show yesterday.

Opening the SADF exhibit, he said Swapo's actions amounted to aggressive recklessness and placed the spotlight on Angola's apparent inability or unwillingness to control Swapo.

He said he believed the international community was taking note of South Africa's controlled conduct, and trusted it also noted the Republic had gone out of its way to abide by all aspects of the agreements.

The situation was being carefully watched, he said. It was a fact that violence and terrorism could not be allowed to rule the roost. The absence of suitable steps by the international community could have far-reaching consequences for the peace process and for the whole of southern Africa.

He said the Defence Force was, as always, ready to give help where necessary, because the country could not afford violence, terrorism and revolution — especially at the beginning of the independence process to which so many people were looking forward. — Sapa.



Namibian police dig a mass grave for 41 Swapo guerrillas killed in an eruption of fighting in northern Namibia at the beginning of the implementation of the UN independence plan at the weekend.

Picture: REUTERS

UN 'must condemn Swapo action'

CP demands dismissal of Pik and Magnus

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Namibian independence process was balanced on a knife-edge last night with South Africa warning that the UN's response to the battles raging across Ovamboland would be of "decisive importance" to a possible suspension of Resolution 435.

But last night Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha said there were moves afoot "to resolve the matter in order to save lives" that could include a fresh ceasefire deal between Swapo and the SVA police, backed by the SVA Territorial Force.

Mr Botha said at an international press conference yesterday that the report being drafted by the UN secretary-general's special representative in Namibia, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, would be "of decisive importance for the South African Government to decide its attitude

Political Staff and Sapa

PRETORIA. — President P. W. Botha should dismiss Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan because they allowed a dangerous situation to develop in Namibia, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

The CP also demanded that President Botha immediately instruct the Defence Force to "restore

order and protect our people in South West Africa", and to stop the application of Resolution 435.

Speaking at a press conference, Dr Treurnicht said the two ministers should be dismissed because they had not kept their promises to ensure that the Cubans first left Angola. They had also allowed a dangerous situation to develop.

Observers perplexed by Swapo's motives

By WILLEM STEENKAMP and BARRY STREK

BEAD laming, a miscalculation about the United Nations reaction to a mass incursion south of the border and failure to respect the efficiency of the South West African Police were probably all factors which would lead to a military and political defeat for Swapo in the present fighting.

This was the opinion of observers yesterday, the third day of fighting.

According to the observers the incursion was wrongly timed from a military point of view. If Swapo had waited until after the 31st of the South West African Territory Force (SWATF) would have been irretrievably disbanded and the only fighting soldiers would have been 1 500 South Africans, confined to the Grootfontein and Oshana bases.

This early in the withdrawal, however, the basic military infrastructure was still intact. Up to 22 000 SADF members were still

In-country, and on standby, and the SWATF border battalions could be easily returned to duty.

Therefore it would not be difficult to mount a powerful counter-insurgency campaign to deal with the invaders.

One observer opined that in addition to making a mistake about the timing, the Swapo planners had made two other serious miscalculations.

Firstly, they had mistakenly believed that the United Nations presence was on their side and would automatically condone any action they took as long as it did not violate Resolution 435's implementation too badly.

Secondly, they had forgotten that although the military had been hobbled to some extent, the SVA Police was still active in the operational area.

He pointed out that when the SVA Police's "Keevoer" counter-insurgency unit had been disbanded its members had not been hawker-hatted but simply

reassigned, since most of them were career policemen.

All the observers agreed that it was unlikely that the move southwards had resulted from disorganised Swapo leadership's ordering the Swapo to observe the ceasefire, since the detailed planning and disposition of infiltration groups 350km apart could not have taken place clandestinely.

The director of the South African Institute of International Affairs, Professor John Barnitt, yesterday said he believed that Swapo had either made a tragic miscalculation or it lacked information about the details of the ceasefire, or both.

The director of the newly formed Namibia Institute of Social and Economic Research, Professor Gerhard Totemeyer, said he felt that Swapo had probably misinterpreted the Resolution 435 settlement or that there was a lack of communication between the Swapo leadership and its people in the army.

order and protect our people in South West Africa", and to stop the application of Resolution 435.

Speaking at a press conference, Dr Treurnicht said the two ministers should be dismissed because they had not kept their promises to ensure that the Cubans first left Angola. They had also allowed a dangerous situation to develop.

Yesterday Mr Pik Botha dismissed Dr Treurnicht's call. He accused the CP of having no plans for regional peace in Southern Africa.

Mr Botha said that an estimated 1 200 heavily armed Swapo insurgents had illegally entered Namibia from Angola in contravention of UN-supervised agreements in the past three days.

He said he expected the UN special representative's report to reflect these "incontrovertible facts" and that the "very least" that could be expected from Western powers was a "condemnation" of Swapo's actions at a UN Security Council session.

This should be accompanied by steps to prevent a recurrence of the contraventions and fighting, Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha said he hoped that Mr Sam Nujoma's advisers and Western leaders informed him that he had made a fool of himself — a total fool!

He said Swapo had "erred badly" and that the miscalculation would mean that "Swapo will have to pay a heavy price in terms of its political image".

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Botha said.

Mr Botha said it was his "impression" that there was "not really any doubt about the facts" between the South African government and those garnered by Mr Ahtisaari and the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, about the latest developments.

But he added: "But I cannot say if they have changed their mind or received new facts."

Mr Botha said that Swapo's "grant violation" of Swapo's commitment to UN-sponsored agreements was "one of the most stupid things" that the organisation had done.

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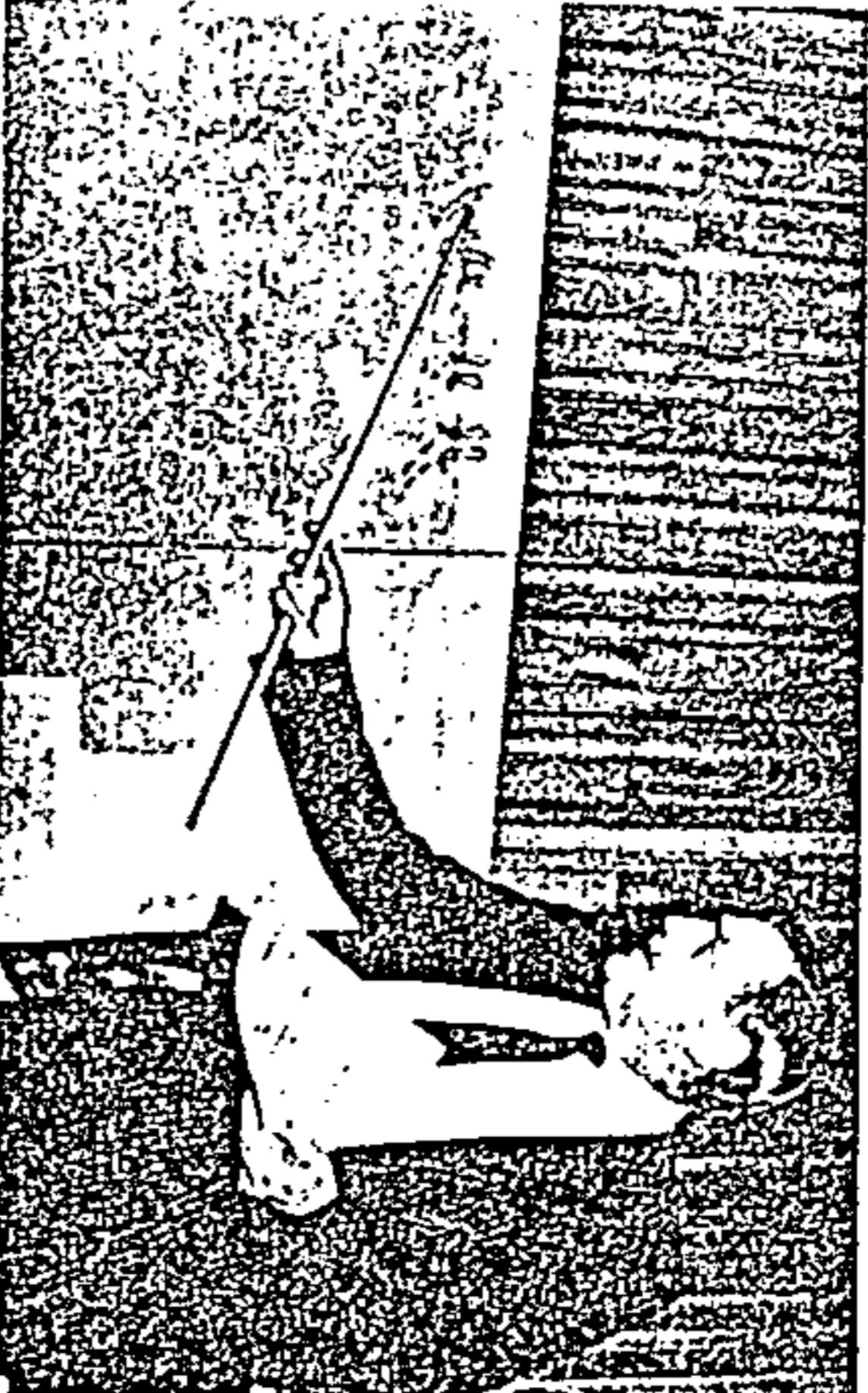
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PIK TELLS... The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, shows the points at which it is claimed Swapo infiltrated Namibia at the weekend.

US: Swapo guilty of infiltration

Owa Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The United States yesterday took South Africa's side and accused Swapo of mounting a major infiltration into Namibia.

The US State Department said Swapo was "trying to take advantage of the confinement to base of South African forces under the UN independence plan."

"We call upon all parties to exert their influence to ensure that Swapo is brought into prompt compliance with Resolution 435 and that South Africa continues to exercise restraint," spokeswoman Ms Margaret Tutwiler said.

"We have been in close touch with the UN secretary-general on this issue and will support any steps he may take to accelerate deployment of UN forces to the trouble area."

However, the US would not back any increase in the size of the UNing forces, she stressed.

"The problem at the moment is that UNing forces were not yet fully deployed while South African forces were confined to base. Swapo appears to have tried to take advantage of that and we are confident of the capacity of UNing to handle the situation."

The department placed the blame for the "major outbreak of violence" firmly on Swapo, even though it had yet to receive the report of UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari to the secretary-general.

"All information available to us indicates that a major infiltration of northern Namibia by military forces of Swapo is occurring — in direct violation of Resolution 435 and the Angola Namibia accords on December 22."

The department had not been in direct touch with Swapo but had asked Angola, Cuba and the Soviet Union to convey its dismay, Ms Tutwiler said.

"This serious incident must not be allowed to derail the process of decolonisation which so many have laboured so long to achieve."

The UN Security Council was due to begin urgent, closed-door consultations last night. Key questions were whether the South African would continue to side with its fellow permanent members, the US, Britain and France, and what position non-aligned Swapo sympathisers would take.

"All members of the Security Council should give the secretary-general their full support," Ms Tutwiler said, suggesting that Mr Ahtisaari and Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar had come to conclusions similar to Washington's.

"All members of the Security Council should give the secretary-general their full support," Ms Tutwiler said, suggesting that Mr Ahtisaari and Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar had come to conclusions similar to Washington's.

Dreyer, former Koevoet commander and the man overseeing the police action, said: "This is the heaviest infiltration and the worst fighting in my 10 years in Namibia. I don't know how this slaughter is going to be stopped."

Speaking at a press conference in Oshakati, SADF Colonel Japie Dreyer said that half of 101 and 102 Battalions had been remobilised and sent into action.

In all, six SADF battalions comprising 1 500 men had been reactivated, along with 600 SWATF members.

Police spokesman Chief Inspector Derek Brune said: "Swapo miscalculated. They thought South Africans would have to remain confined to their bases. They did not expect the UN to give permission for South African troops to remobilise — and they did not expect to be hit so hard and so quickly by the police counter-insurgency."

Stand-off fight

He admitted that nevertheless Swapo was putting up stiff resistance: "The fighting is bloody and entrenched."

The Swapo guerillas were bringing in heavy mortars and "an unidentified type of cannon on donkey-back".

"These are obviously weapons intended for a stand-off fight," he said.

In all the police and army units had lost 22 vehicles, most of them hit by rocket fire, including three armoured cars and 10 armoured personnel carriers.

Early yesterday plane-loads of soldiers arrived at Ondangwa, 35km outside Oshakati, and the usually deserted roads in this remote region rumbled with armoured cars and supply vehicles.

South African soldiers described vicious clashes with the Swapo troops.

"There is hand-to-hand fighting, ambushes, rocket attacks up there. The rebels are

It's pretty tough up there. Watch yourself," one battle-weary soldier warned a newly-arrived recruit.

Soldiers said hundreds of Swapo fighters had hidden in vast areas of desert scrub to ambush military patrols.

Witnesses said some of the worst clashes yesterday were at the western border crossing of Ruacana where SA, Angola and Cuba last Friday exchanged prisoners as a gesture of support for a UN plan to bring independence to Namibia.

Two Swapo prisoners were presented to the press in Oshakati yesterday. They said they were the only survivors of a group of 28 who had clashed with police and army units on Sunday.

They claimed to have been tortured by their captors, and said they had been instructed by their regional commander in Angola to enter Namibia and set up bases at three specific centres — Omutwe, Omedi and Nkule.

"We were told to observe if the Boers (SA forces) had been restricted to base — and to wait at our bases for the United Nations to arrive," Mr Johannes Kuntunda said.

Meanwhile, reports from the front indicated that large numbers of villagers in the area of the fighting have fled into the bush, in some cases leaving their burning villages behind them.

Villagers living at Okahenge, 15km south of the Angolan border and an hour's drive from Ondangwa, fled into the bush on Saturday during three hours of heavy fighting which claimed the lives of 38 Swapo and two Namibian policemen.

Some went to a church mission station 50km away to report the incident. At least one grass home was destroyed by mortar fire.

Olavia Nashimba, a 14-year-old cattle herder, was walking home from

when reporters gave him a lift on Sunday: "It was by the grace of God that I was not hit."

In backing the Pretoria's allegations of a huge Swapo infiltration, Washington accused the organisation of "trying to take advantage" of the confinement to base of SA forces under the UN independence plan.

"We call upon all parties to exert their influence to ensure that Swapo is brought into prompt compliance with Resolution 435 and that South Africa continues to exercise restraint," State Department spokeswoman Ms Margaret Tutwiler said.

"We have been in close touch with the UN secretary-general on this issue and will support any steps he may take to accelerate deployment of UN forces to the troubled area."

However, the US would not back any increase in the size of the Untag group, the spokeswoman emphasised.

UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar yesterday rejected suggestions that the outbreak of fierce fighting in northern Namibia meant that UN peace-keeping efforts had failed, saying the Untag force was not yet "fully in Namibia".

Meeting

Meanwhile, the Security Council has prepared for private consultations on the Namibian crisis, following a call for a formal meeting made on Saturday by Mrs Margaret Thatcher. No formal meeting of the council was scheduled, however.

The Angolan government yesterday denied that Swapo guerillas involved in the clashes in Namibia were based in Angola, the state news agency Angop reported.

Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro Van Dunem called for an immediate meeting in Windhoek of a tripartite joint commission to discuss the clashes.

The Namibia clashes will be raised as a matter of priority when Mrs Thatcher meets Soviet President Mr Mikhail Gorbachev in London tomorrow night.

Mrs Thatcher was being kept closely informed on developments in the territory yesterday and is expected to make a statement to Parliament this afternoon.

It is understood that she is confident that Mr Gorbachev will co-operate in ensuring that maximum international influence is exerted to keep the fragile settlement agreement on target. — Special and Own Correspondents with agencies

'will halt fighting' if SA does also

LUANDA. — Swapo said yesterday that it was ready to order its guerillas to stop fighting if South Africa did the same.

Swapo information secretary Mr Hidipo Hamutenya said: "We are ready to send our commanders to the area and order a halt to the fighting, provided the South Africans do the same."

He said South African soldiers had been terrorising the population and hunting down Swapo guerillas, trying to eliminate them or force them to leave the country. "Their response was to fight and it started to expand. The question is how to stop it."

Mr Hamutenya said Swapo military commanders were due to meet UN officials in Luanda yesterday to discuss the situation.

"We could stop it in a couple of hours if we could fly our commanders into the area," he added.

In Harare, Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma yesterday warned that thousands more could die unless the UN moved quickly to deploy its Untag monitoring force.

'Committed'

He denied that Swapo had violated the ceasefire or that his guerillas had crossed into Namibia from Angola.

Mr Nujoma said the guerillas had not started the battles with South African troops. "South African troops are killing anyone who is wearing a Swapo T-shirt."

Speaking in Zimbabwe's parliament to an audience of Southern African and West European MPs, he said Swapo was committed to the letter and the spirit of the ceasefire.

But South Africa was trying to abrogate the independence process without appearing to be the culprit.

He said the Swapo fighters who were attacked were busy preparing to be confined to base by the United Nations and were not expecting to be attacked by South African troops. — Sapa-Reuter

De Cuellar says UN has not failed

NEW YORK. — UN secretary-general Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar yesterday rejected suggestions that the fighting in Namibia meant that UN peace-keeping efforts had failed.

"How can you say such thing?" he replied to reporters.

"Untag is not yet fully in Namibia. We have 300 men in the northern part of the area. You cannot say it is a failure."

Mr Perez de Cuellar said he was asking the president of the Security Council to consult among the members about the fighting in Namibia.

He told a reporter that he expected the 15 representatives would hold talks during the day but did not know if this would lead to a formal, open meeting of the council. — Sapa-Reuter

Death on

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Elusive, senseless battle of the 5 000 . . .

From GAVIN BELL
OSHAKATI. — Almost 5 000 men are now engaged in an elusive, senseless battle which has become an unrelenting slaughter in the vast plains of northern Namibia.

There can be no victor, since it is not a war in the classical sense. There can be only a mounting toll of bodies as South African troops and paramilitary police hunt and destroy roaming bands of guerrillas who have no apparent targets or strategy.

The extent of the tragedy which should never have happened is apparent from accounts of the fighting by South African military commanders — and the confusion of their prisoners.

It is a bizarre, inexplicable conflict, since nobody can offer a satisfactory explanation for a guerrilla incursion which is little more than a suicide mission.

ONLY CLUE

The supreme irony is that most of the United Nations soldiers who were recruited to prevent such a bloodbath have not yet arrived in Namibia, and those who have are powerless to stop it.

The only clue to the mystery came from two Swapo prisoners, who were presented to journalists yesterday at a military camp in the combat zone.



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Surrender

Swapo forces are running out of ammunition as heavy fighting goes on

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

AN international peace initiative has been launched to stop the bloody clashes on the northern border of Namibia which have cost nearly 200 lives.

South African government sources were cautiously optimistic today that the fighting could be stopped within four days. Swapo forces in the territory are understood to be in serious trouble, running short of munitions and without a possibility of re-supply.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was today insisting that any peace plan would have to involve the surrender of all Swapo forces in the territory and their return to bases in Angola where they would have to be monitored by Untag forces.

The peace proposals are understood to involve a ceasefire, the surrender of Swapo insurgents, possibly to UN forces, and their return to Angola.

Mr Botha confirmed that a major initiative was under way involving numerous countries, both Western and others.

Plans were being made for an urgent meeting of the tripartite joint commission in Windhoek at the suggestion of the Angolan government. He declined to give details of the peace plans.

Within 48 hours

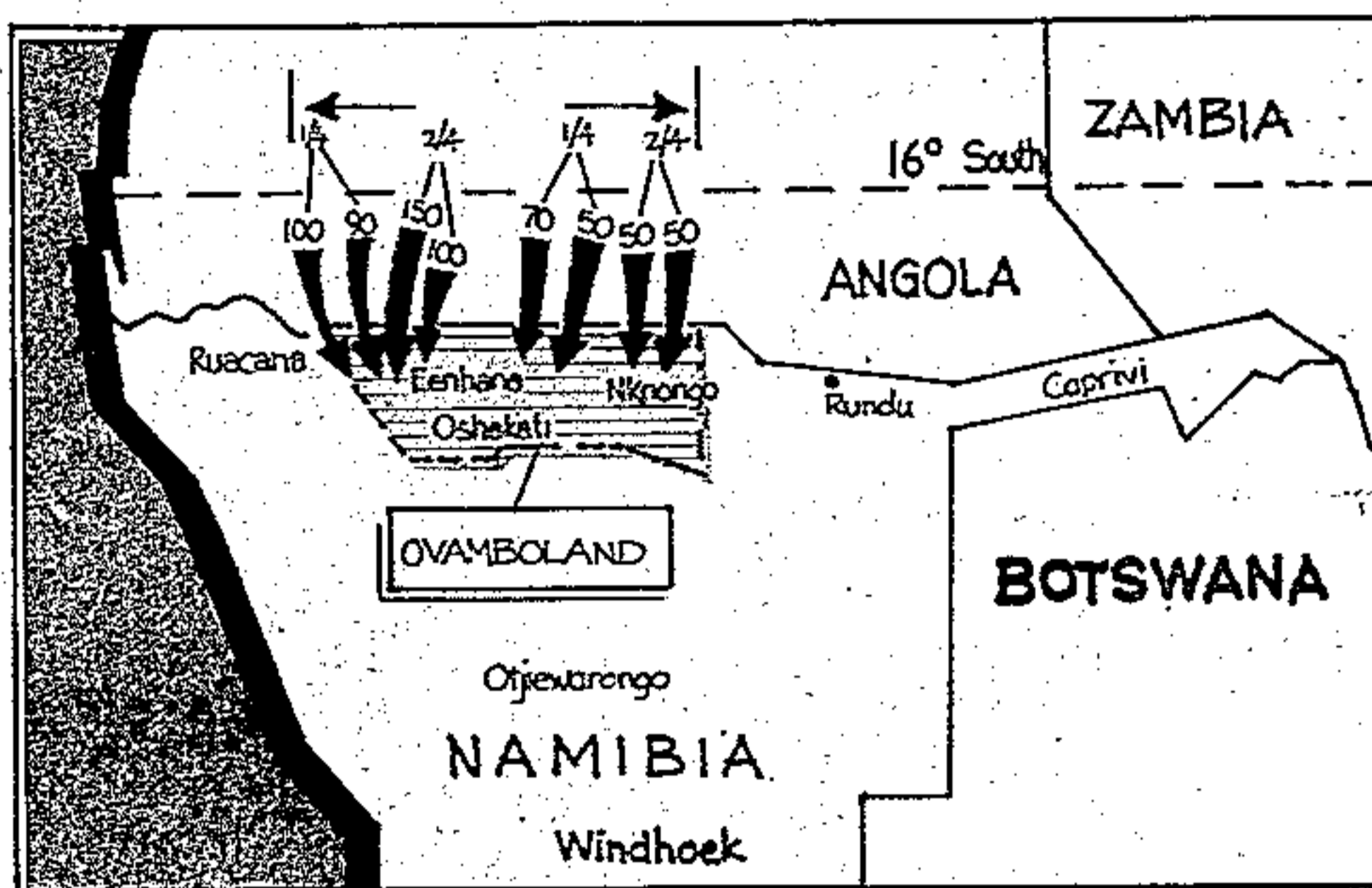
The meeting could be held within 48 hours and at ministerial level. Russia and the United States, closely involved in the efforts to end the crisis, are observers of the commission and could be expected to attend.

Mr Botha said a report of the UN representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, had as far as he was concerned confirmed South Africa's version of events. It had shown that Swapo leader Sam Nujoma lied when he claimed that Swapo forces had not crossed the border.

In the report from an Untag team which Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the United Nations, has mentioned in informal consultations with the Security Council, two captured Swapo insurgents have said they had been told by regional commanders to enter the territory, but not to engage the security forces.

He said that, in being interviewed, the two prisoners stated to the Untag team that they were the persons reported to have been captured by the security forces on the previous day.

According to the report he had received they stated that they belonged to



SWAPO INCURSIONS: Map shows eight places where Swapo units crossed from Angola into Namibia. The estimated strengths of the groups are given and above those figures are the dates on which they are alleged to have entered Namibia.



PURSUIT: SADF troops hit the road in pursuit of Swapo insurgents in northern Namibia.

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Mr Phillipus Mateus, an infantry section commander, and Mr Johannes Katumba, a reconnaissance officer, appeared to have no clear idea of the aim of their mission.

Mr Katumba said their primary objective had been to establish bases in Namibia, and then to declare their presence to the UN assistance group. Asked whether the bases would be military or civilian, he said that would depend on what the assistance groups told them.

Mr Mateus said they had been given no orders to attack the territorial security forces.

"DUMB THING"

Asked why they had brought a formidable array of weapons with them, he replied: "We had nowhere to leave them."

One guerrilla unit was said to have been equipped with automatic rifles, machine-guns, mortars, armour-piercing grenades and anti-aircraft missiles.

Colonel Japie Dreyer, commander of the joint operation by the South African Defence Force and the South West Africa Police, assumed the incursion was aimed at influencing the territory's forthcoming election campaign, concluding it was "a dumb thing to do".

"I don't think you can expect any country to stand idly by when 1 000 heavily armed men cross its borders," he said.



Pictures: DOUG PITHEX, The Argus, on assignment in Namibia.

CAPTURED: Weapons from the Swapo incursion in northern Namibia on display in Oshakati, including heavy machine-guns, mortars and rockets.

More troops roll north

From BRENDAN SEERY

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — Heavy troop reinforcements were rolling north into Owamboland today from the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) units that have been reactivated under United Nations auspices to meet the Swapo incursion.

Long convoys of armoured vehicles carrying troops were seen early today near Oshakati.

The presence of a limited number of the UN peacekeeping force Untag, has failed to halt the fighting.

"They are fighting like hell out there," Chief Inspector D Brune, said in Oshakati.

Some accounts suggest that the fighting might have started when Swapo units entered Namibia from Angola in the belief they were entitled to do so when the independence process began on April 1.



Angola's deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Venancio de Moura, said in Windhoek yesterday that all Swapo fighters in Angola were confined to bases north of the 16th parallel.

The diplomatic efforts to end the fighting appeared to be taking place mainly in Luanda and at the UN but even if arrangements are made to recall the Swapo combatants to Angola, it is uncertain whether this could be communicated to them as they move around the Owamboland bush in fierce battles with Swapo and SWATF units.



PICKET: Namibian students and workers protest against Untag's handling of the war crisis.

Swapo armed units and that they had been told by their regional commanders to enter Namibia.

Each said he had been instructed not to engage the security forces, even if he saw them, because a ceasefire was to be in effect and there was to be no more fighting.

The unit to which each belonged was, however, to carry with it all its arms, even rockets and anti-aircraft devices.

Entered alone

One had entered alone, the other in a group of between 40 and 50.

One said he had been told by his detachment commander that he would be instructed, in Namibia, where he should go so that the United Nations would supervise him and his colleagues.

The other said he had been sent to find out whether the security forces were still hunting Swapo fighters or were observing the ceasefire. His commander was to join him in Namibia.

Their purpose was then to establish bases inside Namibia.

The team asked the detainee if the bases were "for fighting or for peace". He replied it was necessary to have a base inside Namibia and United Nations personnel would then come and take care of them.

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Untag can fire only if fired at

By HUGH ROBERTON, Special Writer

WHEN the full Untag force has been deployed in Namibia by the end of this month their offensive role will be limited to shooting only when shot at, diplomatic sources say.

So far only 300 United Nations troops have arrived in the northern "combat zone".

Under UN "conventions and traditions", Untag is strictly a peacekeeping force.

Its primary role is to monitor the compliance of combatants with the provisions of Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council in a spirit of "visible impartiality".

DISCRETION

But the officer commanding the Untag force, General Prem Chand of India, and the UN Secretary General's special representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, have wide discretion in varying the role of Untag troops and ensuring the maintenance of order.

Thus, after consulting General Chand, Mr Ahtisaari has granted permission for elements of the SADF and the SWATF to be released from the bases they are confined to under Resolution 435 specifically

to deal with the present emergency.

If the peace process falls apart as a result of armed conflict the UN Secretary General, Dr Peres de Cuellar, in consultation with members of the UN Security Council, could order more troops into the territory and request special military assistance from member countries — including South Africa.

Under Resolution 435 the SWA Police — a force of some 7 000 — are responsible for maintaining law and order in the territory under Untag supervision and, where necessary, with Untag military backing.

CONTINGENCY PLANS

The SADF presence in Namibia will remain considerable in coming weeks.

The Chief of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys, has said contingency plans have been drawn up in case the implementation of Resolution 435 "goes wrong". He has not disclosed what these plans are.

Diplomatic sources say Mr Ahtisaari can, throughout the peace process, ask for SADF or SWATF assistance — as was probably done this week.

The South African government can refuse to assist.

Each reiterated several times that they had been told the war was about to end and that they were to enter Namibia and help to establish a base which would then be under the UN.

Dr de Cuellar said the Windhoek office of the international committee of the Red Cross had been informed of the details of these captives.

Untag team

The situation would be kept under continuous review and the movement out of existing bases would throughout be monitored by Untag military observers.

In addition, a team of senior Untag officials had immediately departed for northern Namibia to investigate the situation.

The team, comprising the deputy force commander, Brigadier-General Daniel Opande, and military police and civilian personnel, travelled to Oshakati. In the course of the night they discussed all aspects of

(Turn to page 3, col 5)

"Don't you call that an act of war? I do."

Colonel Dreyer said about 1 500 regular soldiers had been mobilised to defend their bases and to assist the police in their operations against the guerrillas. The South African Air Force was also involved.

SIMPLE ANSWER

It seems plausible the guerrillas were misinformed, and expected to return to their homeland as heroic liberators under UN protection. The fact that their armed presence violated the UN-sponsored independence process appears to have eluded their commanders.

Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma fuelled the conflict at the weekend declaring his dismay that the assistance group had allowed South African troops to leave their bases. The simple answer is that, faced with the Swapo invasion, the embryonic UN force had little choice.

It agreed to limited South African military intervention under its supervision, but the

(Turn to page 3, col 8)

Swapo gets blame as troops clash in northern Namibia

Frantic moves to end battle

A major international peace initiative has been launched to end the bloody clashes on the northern Namibian border which have already cost the lives of 154 Swapo insurgents and 18 members of the South African/SWATF security forces.

The new moves are being made as heavy troop reinforcements roll into northern Namibia and fighting continues to rage along the border, threatening the territory's independence programme.

Long convoys of armoured vehicles loaded with troops have been seen heading northwards after South West Africa Territory Force units were reactivated to combat the Swapo forces.

South African Government sources were cautiously optimistic today that the fighting could be stopped within four days.

South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha today insisted that any peace plan would have to involve the surrender of all Swapo forces in the territory



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and their return to bases in Angola where they would be monitored by Untag.

The peace plan is understood to involve a ceasefire and the surrender of Swapo troops, possibly to UN forces.

Diplomatic sources said Swapo forces in Namibia were in a dire predicament because they were running low on ammunition and had no supply lines to Angola.

Mr Botha said plans were being laid for an urgent meeting of the tripartite Joint Commission (JC) — of Angola, Cuba and South Africa — in Windhoek, at the suggestion of Angola, to deal with the crisis.

It is understood the JC meeting could be held within 48 hours at ministerial level.

Mr Botha said the report of the United Nations Special Representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, on the

fighting had confirmed South Africa's version of events. "It has shown that Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma lied when he claimed Swapo forces had not crossed the border."

He was also pleased that the report confirmed that South African Defence Force elements were called to assist the SWA Police with the explicit approval of Mr Ahtisaari. International reaction makes it clear that Swapo is taking the full brunt of blame for the battle on the Namibia-Angola border.

The United Nations monitoring force in Namibia, Untag, reported to Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar that up to 1 000 Swapo guerillas infiltrated from Angola.

UN officials conceded yesterday

that the decision to allow South African forces to go into action against Swapo at the weekend was the price which had to be paid to stop Pretoria from suspending the independence agreement.

The United States Government has put the blame for the violent flare-up squarely on Swapo's shoulders. It accused Swapo of trying to slip its military forces across the northern border before United Nations peacekeeping troops were fully deployed in the territory.

"All the information available to us indicates that a major infiltration of northern Namibia by military forces of Swapo is occurring," a senior US official said yesterday. A spokesman for the Administrator-General of Namibia, Mr Louis

Pienaar said Mr Pienaar and UN envoy Mr Ahtisaari were "doing their utmost" to ensure peace was restored.

The spokesman, Mr Gerhard Roux, said six battalions of the SWA Territorial Force had been activated and the restriction to base on these battalions had been lifted.

Mr Roux said Untag observers were accompanying the battalions but they would not be with troops when they engaged Swapo.

● The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, yesterday demanded that the State President dismiss the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Defence and immediately give the SADF the opportunity to restore peace and to protect the people of Namibia.

Mass grave . . . policemen dig a huge hole before burying 41 Swapo guerillas killed in bloody clashes with Namibian security forces.

Skulduggery by either side seems to be irrational

Puzzles arise from clashes in Namibia

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Star 4/1/87

By GERALD L'ANGE
The Star's Africa News Service

The clashes between Swapo units and security forces in northern Namibia have raised puzzling questions.

Most puzzling of all is why Swapo should have launched a large-scale military offensive into northern Namibia from Angola, as claimed by authorities in Windhoek, at the risk of severely damaging its image.

Swapo has denied doing this and has accused South Africa of provoking the clashes.

However, the reports of relatively heavy casualties among the SWA Police forces indicate that the Swapo units involved in the clashes were heavily armed. And they were well south of the 16th parallel, contrary to the provision in the Angola-Namibia peace accords that they should stay north of it.

Swapo had given a written undertaking to the United Nations Secretary General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, that it would abide by the peace accord, which implicitly bound it to cease hostilities and keep its forces north of the 16th parallel.

Unless Swapo can come up with a convincing explanation of the sudden appearance of large, well-armed units of its armed forces in northern Namibia, it stands to suffer serious damage to its credibility and to the international support that has been its mainstay throughout its long struggle to oust South Africa from Namibia.

A United Nations official in Windhoek has suggested that Swapo might have been under the impression it was entitled to bring armed men to assembly points inside Namibia.

This would provide a theoretical explanation for the clashes and for the fact that they took place imme-

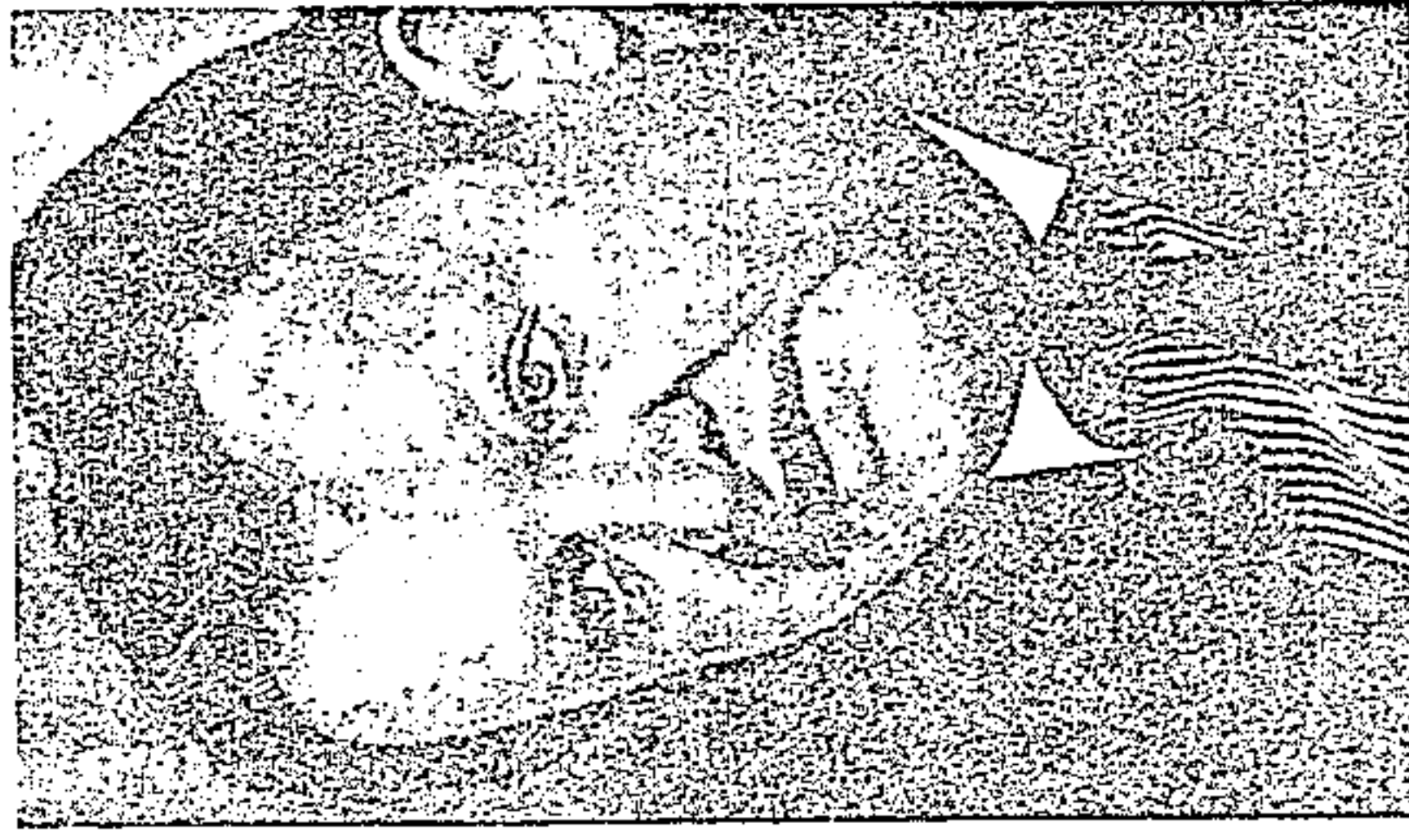


Mr Sam Nujoma ... don't Swapo contravene ceasefire.

diately after the official start of the independence process on April 1.

But there is no provision in the independence plan for Swapo assembly points in Namibia. According to the South African interpretation of the plan, Swapo is supposed to keep its forces north of the 16th parallel until suitable arrangements for their return to Namibia have been agreed on between the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, and the South African Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pheasant.

On this basis a shootout would be



Mr Martti Ahtisaari ... to negotiate Swapo assembly points.

almost inevitable if Swapo units in Namibia were to run into patrols of the SWA Police, who are responsible for maintaining law and order with the army confined to base under the independence procedure. But it would reflect little credit on Swapo's understanding of the situation, on its leadership's communication with its forces in the field or on its control over them.

There are several other possible explanations for the clashes. The most

extreme is that Swapo deliberately sent strong forces into Namibia in the belief that they would meet no opposition with the army safely out of the way. If successful, such a tactic would have boosted Swapo's chances of sweeping the independence election, but only at the cost of a badly tarnished international image.

Another possibility is that the deployment reflects a split within Swapo between relative moderates supporting the UN plan and hardliners favouring continuation of the armed struggle.

Alternatively, the Swapo forces could have been sent into Namibia by dissident regional commanders.

Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, has denied that his organisation has violated the ceasefire and has reiterated Swapo's respect for the independence plan. He said yesterday during a visit to Harare that the Swapo combatants were attacked inside Namibia and responded only in self-defence. The implication is that the Swapo combatants were in Namibia with their arms before April 1 and were entitled to stay there as long as they respected the ceasefire.

This interpretation conflicts radically with South Africa's.

Mr Nujoma accused South African security forces of attacking Swapo supporters who were peacefully going about their business — an action that would be as counter-productive for South Africa as a Swapo incursion in strength would be for Swapo.

Aside from any questions of deliberate violation of the agreements, the clashes demonstrate the vagueness of the process agreed on between South Africa, Angola and Cuba for bringing independence to Namibia, especially as it relates to Swapo, which was not a signatory to the pact.

Pik demands a firm stand in letter to UN

Mr Pik Botha has called on the UN Secretary-General to take a firm stand over Swapo's "violation of the ceasefire agreement" in northern Namibia at the weekend.

The text of a letter sent by the Minister of Foreign Affairs yesterday to Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar was released today.

It reads: "With reference to our telephone conversation of 1 April 1989, I have to inform you that a grave situation has arisen on the northern border of Namibia as a result of continued and escalating violence by Swapo of the agreement signed in New York on 22 December 1988 by the People's Republic of Angola, Republic of Cuba and the Republic of South Africa.

"The incontrovertible facts are:

● "During the night of 31 March 1989 and on 1 April 1989, an estimated 600 to 800 Swapo elements crossed the border from Angola into Namibia. This figure could be as high as 1 000 men. They are heavily armed

with AK47 semi-automatic rifles, mortars and even ground-to-air missiles. These elements entered the territory in their uniforms.

● "On the basis of information obtained from those captured, Swapo elements were ordered to cross the border into Namibia in uniform and under-arm, inter alia, in order to establish bases in Namibia.

"They claim that their commanding officers informed them that as a ceasefire was in existence they need not fear resistance. Should resistance be encountered the United Nations would take care of them.

Swapo elements

● "Information indicates that between 4 000 and 5 000 Swapo elements are presently below latitude 16 degrees south.

"Mr Secretary-General, this inexplicable action on the part of Swapo constitutes a clear violation of agreements reached between South Africa, Cuba and

Angola. These agreements were endorsed by the Security Council. We are clearly dealing with a situation where Swapo is flouting those agreements and is defying the Security Council.

"In addition, Swapo has of course violated the written undertaking it gave to you to cease all hostilities as of 1 April 1989.

"I trust that you will agree that this is an intolerable situation. The Republic of South Africa has acted strictly in terms of its commitments and will continue to do so.

"It is significant, Mr Secretary-General, that at the time of writing no statement has yet been made by the leadership of Swapo on this crucial disregard of its obligation to you, the Security Council, and the international community at large.

"One cannot help to feel compassion for such unnecessary carnage of Swapo elements who could have re-entered Namibia quite legally to participate peacefully in the political process according to the agreed procedures.

"The leadership of Swapo will have to account for their callous disregard for human life and contempt for international agreements.

"They will have to explain their action and its dire consequences to the people of Namibia. Swapo's leadership should urgently be brought to its senses.

"As you are aware, Swapo was required by this time to have all its personnel confined to bases north of latitude 16 degree south. These bases should, in terms of agreement, be monitored by Untag.

"I should be grateful to learn whether Untag is in fact monitoring such bases and to enquire whether the monitoring reports could be made available to me.

"The Administrator-General will continue to act in concert with your special representative regarding any steps considered necessary.

"I was in the territory on 31 March and 1 April 1989 where I met with your special representative and his staff. I have a deep understanding of the onerous task assigned to them, particularly at this time of such threatening crises.
"I trust, Mr Secretary-General, that you and the Security Council will make it possible for my Government to co-operate and fulfil its commitments in terms of the agreements. I appeal to you and to the Security Council to take a firm and clear stand on this act of defiance by Swapo." — Sapa

'They made a mistake, trying to pull fast one'

From BRENDAN SEERY
Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — On the stairs near his office a Windhoek estate agent was discussing the fighting in northern Namibia: "No man, they made a big mistake when they thought they could pull a fast one on South Africa. Did you see Pik on TV the other night? Hell, he was kwaad, jong."

Elsewhere on the streets of the Namibian capital the subject of the Swapo/security force battles is on everybody's lips. Some agree with Foreign Minister Pik Botha that Swapo was trying to infiltrate huge numbers of its men when South Africa's back was turned and its hands were tied by Resolution 435.

Others, mainly it must be noted, the members of the black community where Swapo enjoys considerable support, feel the Swapo bush fighters may have genuinely been trying, peacefully, to return to bases or set up assembly points so they could ask for UN protection and monitoring.

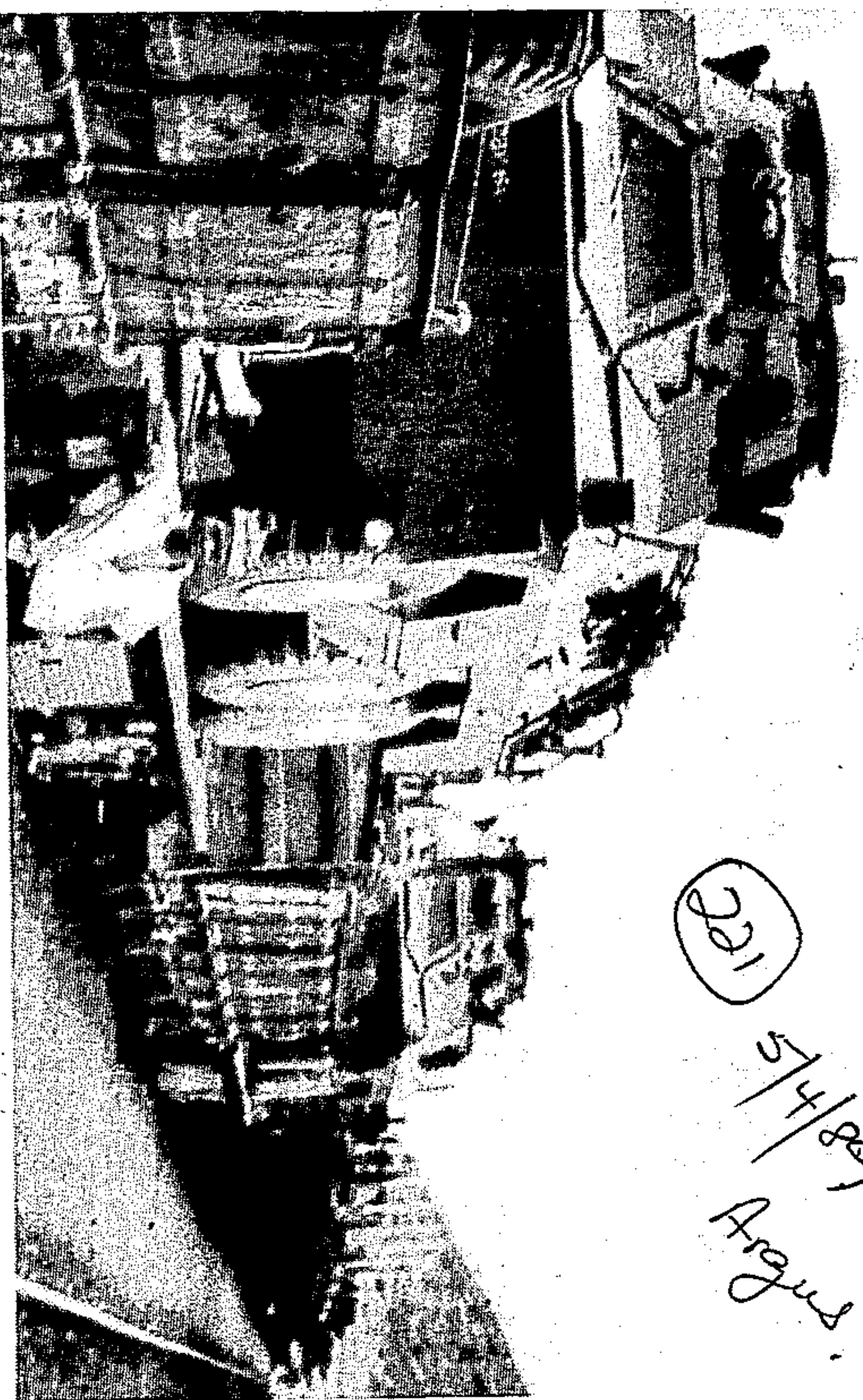
Roaring trade

Kaiser Street's newspaper sellers have never done such a roaring trade. These days there are three daily papers out every morning, whereas before there was only one.

The papers cover the spectrum of views, from Mr Dirk Mudge's DTA mouthpiece Die Republikein, to the Namibian, outspokenly anti-apartheid and very sympathetic towards Swapo. Some people buy all three newspapers.

Many of the hundreds of foreign journalists in town have headed north in search of "bang bang" — TV crew slang for action footage.

The airport has become a beehive of activity as newsmen throw rolls of US dollars about,



South African armoured cars on a train moving up to northern Namibia, where the war against Swapo guerrillas has flared again.

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Threat of new Swapo incursions

(Contd from page 1)
Swapo group after a fierce contact.

Near Oshikango, 20km below the Oshikango border post, several contacts were made with a 200-strong Swapo group.

A strong force of 20 SADF Ratels was acting in support of 15 Casspirs of the reactivated SWATF 101 Battalion and police units.

At 2.30pm yesterday the 15 Casspirs from the group roared off into the bush after a tracking group reported they had picked up the trail of the 200 Swapo guerrillas.

About two hours earlier 12 members of the Swapo group were killed in a contact 10km south-east of Oshikango, while earlier there had been a contact 7km north-west of the village with yet another Swapo group.

At Eenhana, scene of some of the bitter early fighting, bleary-eyed Swapo members were constantly returning to base to rearm and pick up supplies before once again heading into the bush.

Many wore bandages covering light wounds.

Inside the Eenhana army base were several police Casspirs which had been disabled by Swapo rockets, including one in which two policemen had died when it had burnt out after being hit by rifle-grenade fire.

At Oshigambo, one member of the reconstituted 101 Battalion said he thought Swapo had undertaken the incursion because they had heard that the SWATF had had to hand in their weapons and were defenceless.

"But now we have got our guns back and maybe we won't be so foolish again," he said.

At a press conference last night, the officer commanding Owamboland, Colonel Dreyer, said 50 percent of the SWATF's 101 and 102 Battalions had been reactivated to meet the Swapo threat, while Battalions 51, 52, 53 and 54 were all in the field, mainly in a support role and usually acting under the directions of Swapo who continue to direct the fight.

He said that about 11 500 SADF soldiers had been released from their obligations to

De Cuellar is lying, says Nujoma

GABORONE. — Swapo leader Sam Nujoma says UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar's allegation that Swapo was infiltrating troops from Angola into Namibia was a lie, the Botswana Press Agency, Bopa, reports.

Mr Nujoma told Radio Botswana in an interview to be broadcast this evening he had learnt that the UN special representative in Windhoek, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, sent four Untag members to the north and they got their information from two wounded people in Oshakati. The information they received was not true.

He said the UN representatives should have gone to the battlefields.

Mr Nujoma said the Untag representatives had failed to do their job properly and had not been able to confine South African or Swapo troops to their bases.

He said, however, that the UN forces could succeed in their mission if there was enough political goodwill on both sides.

He said Swapo had the political will and they were ready to co-operate with the Untag force.

Swapo fighters were already under strict orders to maintain the ceasefire and accept confinement in military bases. He said South African troops were waging a war against the entire Namibian population. — Sapa.

● See page 9.

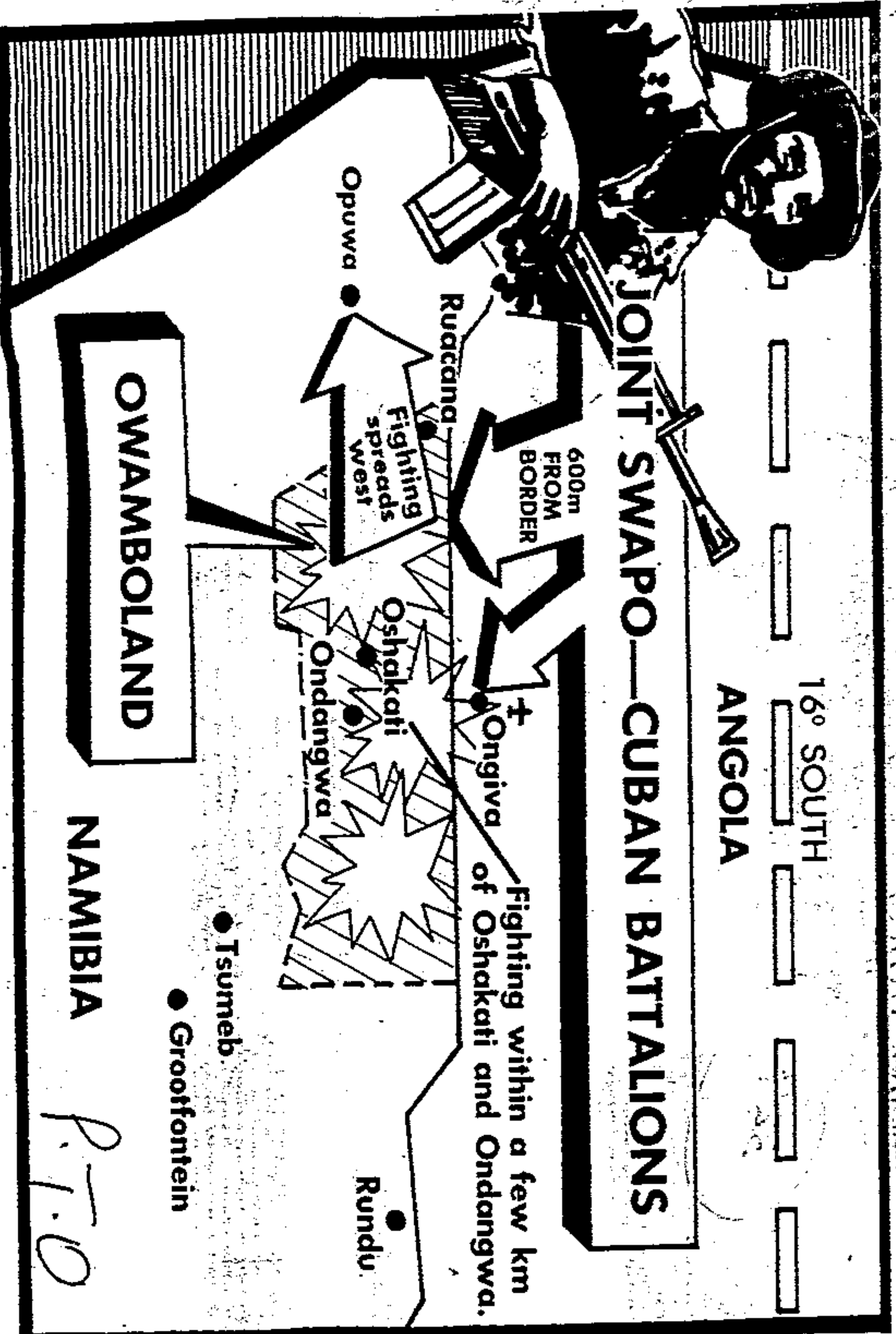
Who's to blame? — UN's not saying

From BRENDAN SEERY
Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — It is unlikely that the report of UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari on the fighting in northern Namibia will be made public, says a senior UN official.

Mr Cedric Thornberry said here today that the UN would not say if it believed Swapo was guilty of breaking the ceasefire.

"It's not our policy to say 'at fault'."



Eenhana — back to war

(Contd from page 1)

The Eenhana police station is a hard, barren and comfortless shell, inhabited by hard-eyed, dirty, fighting men.

It is an island of well-worn grubbiness amid the pristine order of the army camp.

While the army OC occupies a spotless, wood-panelled office lined with awards and military ornaments, the police commander's room is lined with broken chairs, draped with tired policemen.

The crackle of radio transmissions drowns out conversation, and urgency rather than order is the priority.

LITTERED WITH BUTTS

In contrast to the clean-shaven soldiers, the police have dirt-ingrained faces covered with a week's stubble of beard.

The police station is littered with cigarette butts and discarded tackies. Cacti grow along the path in a futile attempt at decoration.

Smiles are rare here, and even the army officers who are drawn to the place seem in awe of the "police".

For the past five days, these men have borne the brunt of fighting the largest Swapo incursion in the history of the 23-year-old Namibian war.

PICKED UP TRAIL

They have seen several of their friends and colleagues killed and many others wounded and, if he keeps well out of the way, a journalist will be tolerated for a while — but only just.

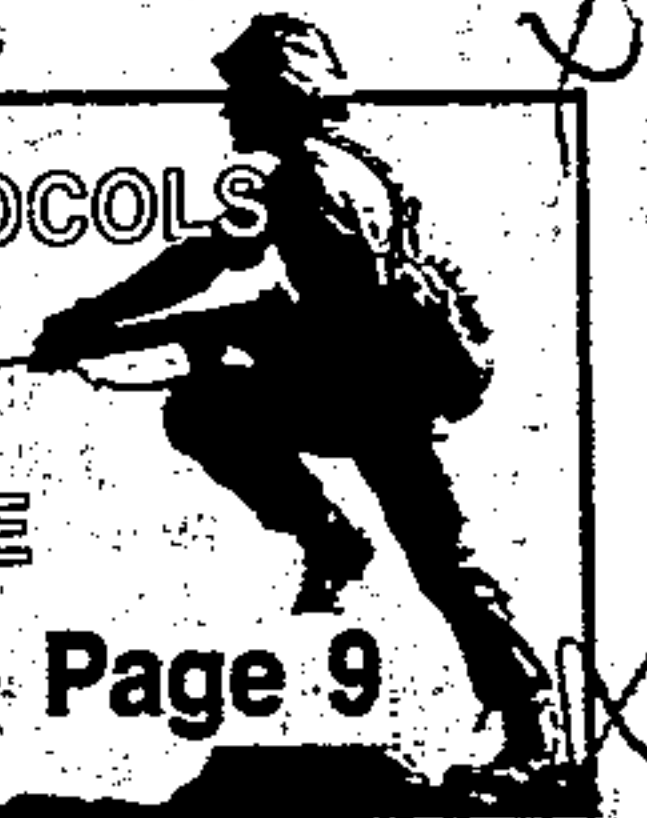
Near Eenhana, I witnessed 15 police Casspirs roaring off into the bush after a tracking group reported they picked up the trail of 200 Swapo guerrillas. Among these policemen, weariness has not dulled the fighting spirit.

Inside the army base were several Casspirs which had been disabled by Swapo rockets. Another was burnt out after being hit by a rifle grenade.

The two policemen inside it died.

PROTOCOLS
OF
PEACE

● See Page 9



Joint Thatcher-Gorbachev push for Namibia peace

From SUE LEEMAN

The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — A bullish Mrs Thatcher has called for all parties to observe the Namibian peace plan and has signalled her strong desire to see the independence process put back on stream.

Her call came yesterday after a day of discussions with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, in London for talks on a wide range of issues. The recent bloodshed in Namibia has given the subject a high priority here.

Spokesmen said the pair had agreed that "joint action" was the key to solving the Namibia question — leading to speculation that the two leaders may decide on some initiative of their own to get the Namibian show back on the road.

Together they carry a lot of clout in the region. Mrs Thatcher has great influence with Pretoria while Mr Gorbachev has the ear of most Front-line governments, not least the government in Luanda.

No 10 dinner

The importance Mrs Thatcher attaches to the Namibian issue was clear during a wide-ranging speech she made at a dinner for Mr Gorbachev at No

UN troops due to fly to SA border base

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — The deployment programme for United Nations peacekeeping troops in Namibia has been accelerated because of the fighting in the north of the territory.

The first infantry troops will be airlifted to the South African air base at Grootfontein at the weekend.

Senior UN official Mr Cedric Thornberry said in Windhoek that nations had offered to fly the troops to northern Namibia.

However, equipment and supplies needed to sustain infantry soldiers would begin arriving in some cases as much as a few weeks from now, he said.

It was "exceedingly difficult for Untag battalions to be deployed in the middle of a shooting war".

10 Downing Street last night. Other regional questions rated little more than a passing reference.

Mrs Thatcher said the world was seeing progress towards solving some long-standing regional problems, "for instance in southern Africa where I was a few days ago — and I pay tribute to the Soviet Union's role in securing agreement on Angola and Namibia".

"It is of course very important that all parties observe that agreement strictly. It matters for the whole future of southern Africa.

"And if only we can finally see an end to apartheid in South Africa, I believe that great country could become the motor for the economic development of southern Africa as a whole."

She praised Mr Gorbachev for placing new emphasis on finding negotiated solutions to conflicts. Implicit here was her abhorrence of violence — an attitude which keeps her from talking to the African National Congress.

Mrs Thatcher is known to want Mr Gorbachev to put more pressure on the organisation to suspend its armed struggle.

Momentum

Mr Gorbachev, who will make a key speech at London's Guildhall today, is believed to be equally optimistic that the momentum for change in southern Africa is now so strong that it cannot be stopped — and that international co-operation can help seal Namibia's peaceful transition to independence.

It is reported from Washington that the United States has issued another sharp rebuke to Swapo, saying the movement could not now argue in good faith that it was free to act in utter disregard of agreements which had made the implementation of Resolution 435 possible.

A US State Department statement released last night said that Swapo infiltration of combatants into Namibia in an attempt to establish bases in the territory was a flagrant violation of the obligation Cuba and Angola had undertaken to ensure Swapo's forces would be redeployed northwards of the 16th parallel.



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus.

SCHOOL BUS: War or not, it is school as usual for these children who are taken to classes in Oshakati by armoured personnel carriers.

Two more South Africans die of battle wounds in bush war

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Two more South Africans have been killed in conflict with Swapo guerrillas in Namibia, increasing the death toll of South Africans to six, Defence Force headquarters in Pretoria has announced.

They were Corporal Hermann Carstens, 20, of Warmbaths, Transvaal, and Constable Danie Fourie, 22, of Ladysmith, Natal. Both died of wounds in hospital at Voortrekkerhoogte.

"Corporal Carstens was part of the South African force which is currently deployed in support of the South West Africa Police to combat the infiltration of Swapo terrorists from Angola into South West Africa/Namibia," the statement said.

He died "in a contact with Swapo terrorists in the opera-

tional area on Tuesday morning."

Corporal Carstens is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs J F Carstens of Drivers Street, Warmbaths.

"We feel very positive about Hermann's death. He felt he had a duty and he did it willingly," said his mother, Mrs Maree Carstens.

Constable Fourie, of Bungalow Street, Ladysmith, died of wounds received during a skirmish with Swapo on Sunday. He was flown to Voortrekkerhoogte on Sunday night.

His parents, Mr and Mrs Danie Fourie, drove to Pretoria on Monday.

"Danie was in a coma. He didn't know we were there. He was brain-dead," said Mr Fourie, a police warrant officer.

Constable Fourie went to the operational area after joining Koevoet two years ago.

He will be buried with full military honours today.

The Swapo information secretary, Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, said in Harare that the casualty figures for Swapo combatants given by South Africa were a deliberate lie.

Interviewed in the Angolan capital Luanda by the Zimbabwean news agency Ziana, Mr Hamutenya said that as of Tuesday 38 Swapo fighters had been killed in battle, five had been captured, nine were missing and 51 had been wounded.

South Africa has claimed that more than 200 Swapo fighters have been killed, but Mr Hamutenya said the South Africans were killing civilians, not guerrillas.

"They are counting the huge number of civilians they have killed in house-to-house searches where they suspect Swapo fighters are hiding, or the people of being Swapo sympathisers," he said.

IT WAS a sad week in southern Africa as Mr Sam Nujoma sent his young men across the border to die in futile exchanges of fire with the South African security forces.

As a new era was supposed to be dawning in Namibia, Nujoma's reckless breach of the settlement terms collapsed in bloody failure, jeopardising the entire UN plan and the chances of peace throughout the sub-continent.

What Nujoma thought would happen, we surmise, was that his heavily-armed cadres would move without resistance into an Ovamboland which had been cleared of the SADF, which was confined to bases in terms of the peace plan. The Swapo infiltrators would be able to fade into the landscape. Or else, Nujoma seems to have thought, making contact with Untag, they would hand over their arms and be confined to bases in Namibia.

Either way, what Nujoma had in mind was an election-winning ploy in emulation of Mr Robert Mugabe's triumph in Zimbabwe. Swapo guerillas would be everywhere in evidence during the election campaign, as victors returning to claim the spoils of victory.

Tried a fast one

But there is at least one important difference to note between Zimbabwe on the eve of independence and Namibia as the UN peace plan comes into force: Mr Mugabe's guerillas were in control of vast areas of the country when the whistle blew for a ceasefire to come into force, whereas Swapo did not control an inch of Namibian territory, militarily, when April 1 dawned. In terms of the agreement, they were supposed to be confined to their bases north of the 16th parallel in Angola.

Nujoma tried to pull a fast one, we conclude, getting his men into position to engage in armed election propaganda to counter the belated minds-and-hearts campaign which the SAP, many of them ex-members of the disbanded Koevoet counter-insurgency unit, have been pursuing with such energy in Ovamboland.

How Nujoma thought he would get away with it heaven only knows.

There's more at stake than just Namibian peace

CAGE Tmp's 7/4/89

221A



Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

While the agreement confined the SADF to bases on April 1, the SAP were in charge of law and order and were not so confined, as Nujoma must have known. And so the ex-Koevoet bravos were on hand in strength to engage Swapo as the waves of infiltrators came over the border.

Why did Nujoma attempt anything so foolish? Most observers believe he was headed towards an electoral walkover in Ovamboland anyway. Swapo's origins are largely in Ovambo and, in any event, Swapo's status as the Namibian freedom-fighter organisation rates high in the territory. What is more, Koevoet's depredations during its highly successful anti-Swapo operations in Ovamboland had angered and affronted the hapless civilian population. Koevoet was highly successful — in terms of kill rates and "neutralizing" insurgents, that is: but hugely counter-productive in human and in political terms, which are the terms which ultimately count.

Better judgement

Mr Nujoma was going to win anyway. Now his tragic blunder has all but shattered the most promising movement towards peace in this region for years.

If 435 gets back on track, as we may hope will happen eventually, and Namibia proceeds to independence in good order if rather behind schedule, Mr Nujoma deserves to be booted out of the Swapo leadership and replaced by someone with better judgement.

Will 435 get back on track? Let us hope so, because there is rather more at stake than merely the independence of Namibia. What is also at stake is the new opportunity for reconciliation between South Africa and the Frontline states which has been so carefully fostered by the admirable Mrs Thatcher, following Dr Chester Crocker in the role of peacemaker-in-chief in the region.

The decade of SADF destabilisation of the sub-continent was drawing to a close. A new era of mutual co-operation between Pretoria and its neighbours was in prospect.

Placed in jeopardy

At the same time, and closely intertwined with regional reconciliation, there has also been the slowly-dawning prospect of negotiation between Afrikaner and African nationalists to bring peace to South Africa itself.

All this has been placed in jeopardy by the Swapo breach of the agreement. It may be that Mr Nujoma has an explanation to offer which makes what he has done seem less culpably reckless. I doubt it.

Meanwhile, let us hope that the peace is not beyond saving and that the high hopes of a few weeks back have not been dashed to make way for yet another decade of violence.

SA alarmed by report of 'approval' for Swapo bases

Fiercest fighting in 23 years

The week-old fighting in northern Namibia looks like turning into a full-scale war.

In scenes far worse than anything seen in the 23-year bush war between South Africa and Swapo, clashes are taking place across a broad 200 km front in Owambo and adjacent Kaokoland. Convoy systems have been introduced and there is a possibility that a curfew will be imposed shortly.

Some airlines and air charter companies have cancelled their flights into the area because of the danger of anti-aircraft missiles.

Police say more than 1500 Swapo insurgents are in action.

One of the bloodiest battles took place in Owambo yesterday. Thirty police casualties, mostly former members of Koevoet, were reported and an unknown number of Swapo insurgents were wounded.

Police used every available vehicle, working through the night to repair damaged Rabats and Casspirs. The pitched battle between the insurgents, who had been attempting to hit the Casspir and Rabatborne security forces raged in for several hours before the insurgents scattered.

Police spokesman Chief Inspector Rennie de Rand said 212 Swapo guerrillas and 48 security force members had died since

The Star's Africa News Service and Political Staff.

continuing in the eastern Owambo area close to the border with Kavango. He said a number of groups of insurgents had managed to cross the main road south between Oshakati and Usakani.

Similar there appears to have been no response by the insurgents to a plea by Administrator General Mr Louis Pienaar last night for them to lay down their arms.

Mr Pienaar set a deadline of 11.00 tomorrow for the insurgents to make up their minds warning that after that they would be hunted down ruthlessly by the security forces.

South Africa, Angola and Cuba will all send delegations to the emergency meeting in Windhoek of the Joint Commission.

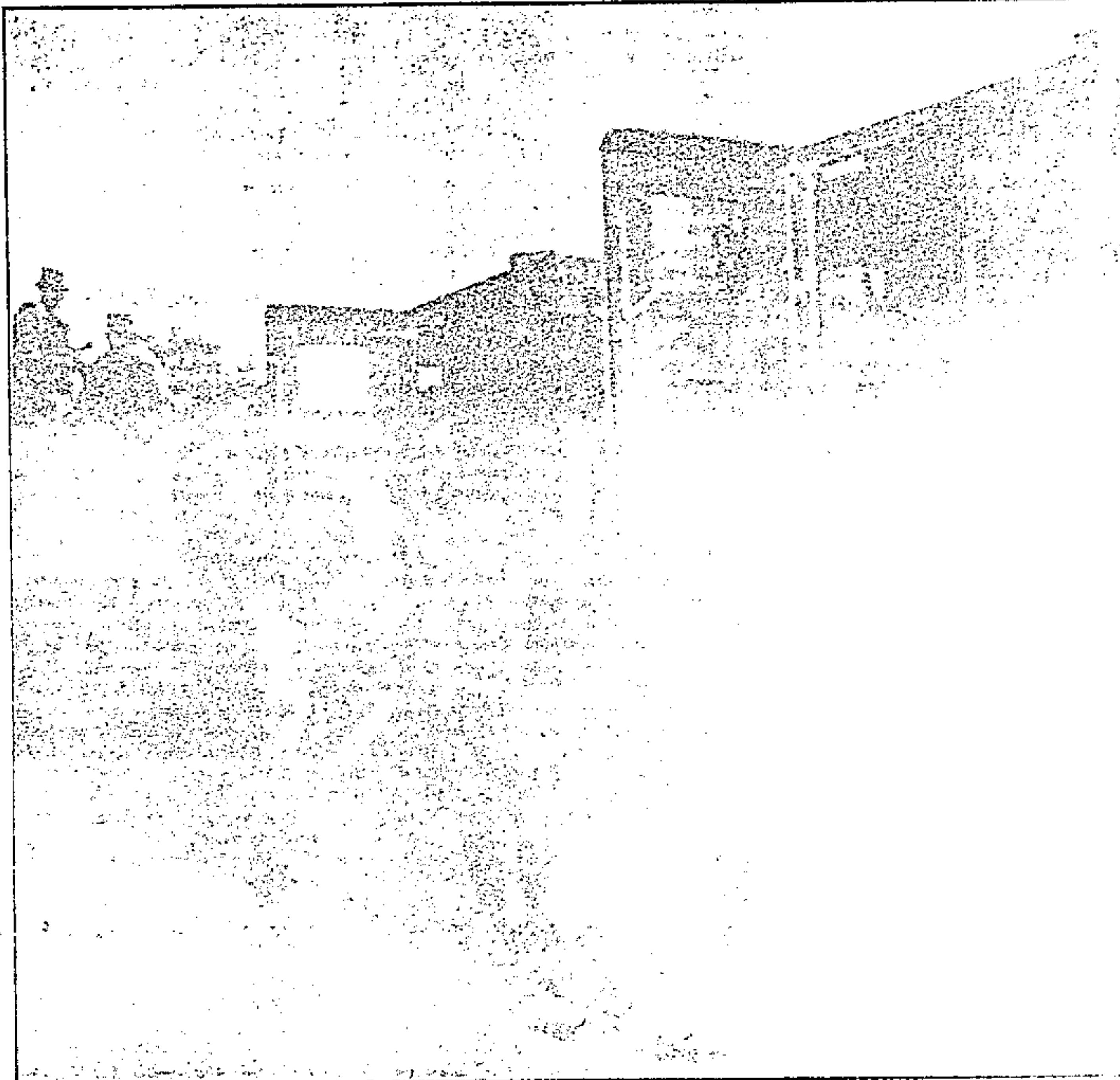
Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has rebuffed Swapo for failing to control its fighters.

Angola regrets that the Swapo leadership could not exercise total control over its guerrillas at the critical moment. Mr dos Santos said at a Luanda meeting attended by Frontline leaders and Swapo chief Mr Sam Nujoma.

The UN has accepted a United States offer to airlift Finnish troops and their equipment to join the under-strength UN force in Namibia, a United Nations spokesman said yesterday.



Contact... South African troops scramble for their vehicles after hearing of a skirmish with Swapo insurgents in their sector.



School "bus" ... children are delivered safely to classes in Oshakati, northern Namibia, by the SADF. The armoured troop carrier is built to withstand small arms fire and landmines.

More SADF deaths.

Page 3

After independence.

Page 9

Saturday Seven: three Swapo fighters died between Wednesday night and last night.

South Africa is seeking urgent clarification of a report that UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar is to allow Swapo to set up bases in Namibia.

Dr de Cuellar was reported on Radio France Internationale on Wednesday as saying he intended allowing Swapo to establish bases inside Namibia.

He would submit this proposal to South Africa for consideration "because unfortunately they are obliged to accept it", he was reported to have said.

This would run contrary to the position held by South Africa and supported by Britain, the US and Canada — that under the peace protocols, Swapo must withdraw to bases north of the 16th parallel in Angola.

There were unconfirmed reports late last night that South African Air Force Impala strike jets had been used to attack Swapo fighters holed up in a rocky gorge in Kaokoland.

Police Chief Inspector Derek Brune said heavy fighting was

Parties gear up for crucial election later this year

Political Staff

Political parties are immediately gearing up for a general election which they believe will significantly determine the constitutional future of South Africa.

In the white House of Assembly elections, Reef constituencies are expected to become a major battleground between the Nationalists and the Conservative Party, while the new Democratic Party will be launching a major campaign in Johannesburg and constituencies north of the city.

This follows the announcement in Parliament yesterday by President Botha that there will be a general election for all three Houses later this year.

Mr Botha indicated this in a joint sit-

action months ago as speculation about a general election increased.

Nationalist MPs are said to be unhappy that no firm election date has been announced nor that Mr Botha announced outright that he is retiring.

The CP's Transvaal director, Mr Kobus Beyers, today said his party would dramatically increase its representation in the Transvaal.

He said the way in which the National Party had "sold out the whites in Namibia" would be used by the CP in a general election.

One of the three co-leaders of the DP, Dr Denis Worrall, welcomed the announcement of a general election.

Trevino foots it back into the picture

AUGUSTA — US golfer Lee Trevino discovered something odd about his feet — and the difference may have launched him on his way to an Augusta Masters triumph, the only major championship he has not yet won.

Trevino, who fired a five-under-par 67 yesterday to give him a one-shot lead (over Nick Faldo) in the opening round, says he owed his success to a "curious circumstance".

The owner of the house he rented in Augusta for the tour-

Pick a pear for

Soviets, US to be at ceasefire talks

WINDHOEK — The United States and the Soviet Union will both be represented at high-level emergency peace talks in Namibia tomorrow, designed to end the fighting between security forces and Swapo.

A special meeting of the Joint Commission, which was established at South Africa's insistence to monitor the progress of the UN plan, will bring together ministerial teams from Cuba, Angola and South Africa at a farm outside Windhoek.

Under the terms of the tripartite New York agreement, signed on December 22 by the three governments, delegations from America and the Soviet Union will also attend as observers.

The deputy Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoli Adamishin, will head the delegation from Moscow, according to well-placed sources in Cape Town. The meeting of the Joint Commission is a final attempt to rescue Namibia's transition to independence.

The intervention of both the superpowers in the ceasefire negotiations reflects the impotence of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag), which still has only about a thousand personnel in the country, and is still a long way from being in a position to implement a ceasefire itself.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, speaking in Parliament yesterday, repeated the government's insistence that all the terms of the ceasefire be adhered

The Cubans are going, says Pik

CUBA shared the South African government's concern over the situation in Namibia and there was also objective evidence that Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola was continuing, Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

Cuba's concern over the situation had been confirmed by recent diplomatic exchanges, he said. Allegations of Cuban involvement in the present hostilities in northern Namibia were denied in the exchanges, in which the Cubans reiterated their commitment to peace.

"This indication of the Cuban government's position is timely, coming as it does on the eve of the ad hoc meeting of the Joint Commission near Windhoek tomorrow," said Mr Botha. — Sapa

to, and that all guerillas must leave Namibian territory before independence elections in November.

"I want to state here today that Swapo has no military bases or camps inside Namibia. I am not aware of a single person who can contradict this fact.

"It is quite clear what Swapo's plans were — afraid to enter into a democratic procedure and to campaign in a democratic manner — to project itself as a force-

ful intimidatory organisation. Its plan backfired. Swapo miscalculated."

If any party was allowed to violate its obligations, the whole process would disintegrate.

Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan lead the South African delegation to the emergency session of the Joint Commission.

Asked if it could still succeed, a grim but confident Mr Botha said: "We are going to the Joint Commission meeting with the Cubans, Angolans, the Russians and the Americans. We will iron out something."

The Foreign Minister said last night that there could be "no going back" for South Africa and the Swapo action would have to be stopped.

However, Untag forces were not in a position to maintain control.

In a statement yesterday afternoon, Mr Botha indicated that South Africa had accepted an assurance by the Cuban government that it was just as concerned as the South Africans were about the serious situation which had arisen.

"Cuba has reiterated that it remains committed to a peaceful settlement. Allegations of Cuban involvement in the present hostilities taking place in northern Namibia are denied," he said.

"There is also objective evidence that Cuban troop withdrawal is continuing." — Own Correspondent and Political Staff

From page 1

At Tsandi, close to the Angolan border near Ombalantu and about 80km north-west of the main military base at Oshakati, a dispersed group of about 200 Swapo fighters were being engaged over a wide area, police said.

Swapo was reported to be taking heavy losses in a similar battle in particularly dense bush 40km from Eenhana, about 100km north-east of Oshakati.

Swapo insurgents were reported by police to have penetrated well south, and armed convoys to escort civilian traffic on the tarred roads between Oshivello, nearly 200km south, and Ruacana, 200km to the west of Oshakati, were reinstated yesterday.

Meanwhile, an international airlift spurred by the heavy fighting will ferry the first UN peace-keeping battalion to the embattled northern region at the weekend — but it will not be deployed until the shooting stops.

A senior UN official yesterday urged UN member states to provide more transport aircraft to hurry the movement of buffer troops and desperately needed jeeps to the territory.

The airlift coincides with a special meeting of the Joint Commission — established at South Africa's insistence to monitor the progress of the UN independence plan — which will bring together ministerial teams from Cuba, Angola and South Africa at a farm outside Windhoek.

Soviet and US observers will also be present.

Surrender deadline

South Africa will be represented by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

The meeting of the Joint Commission will also coincide with the deadline set by Pretoria for Swapo guerillas to surrender, or cross back north into Angola.

In Luanda, a Swapo spokesman said the movement's military commanders were ready to call a ceasefire, but insisted the guerillas be confined to bases inside Namibia.

UN officials in Windhoek said an international diplomatic effort was under way to salvage the billion-rand independence plan knocked off balance by the incursions.

Senior administrator Mr Cedric Thornberry said emergency airlift offers triggered by the fighting would bring a Finnish infantry battalion to Grootfontein at the weekend.

But the UN also needed air transport to ferry up to 500 four-wheel-drive vehicles to Namibia from factories in Japan to make the battalions mobile, he said.

Arrival of the monitoring battalions making up the bulk of the 4 650-strong Untag military component was delayed last month by wrangling at the UN's New York headquarters over the military strength and costs of the operation.

Mr Thornberry has said prompt deployment of the battalions along the northern border would have prevented this week's bloody clashes. — Own Correspondents, Sapa-Reuter-AP and UPI

Two white cops killed in first clashes

WINDHOEK — Two white South African policemen were overpowered and killed by a group of about 100 Swapo guerillas in the first clashes in northern Namibia on Saturday, according to a news report here yesterday.

A police fighting unit consisting of the two whites and 20 blacks drove into a Swapo-laid ambush with Wolf Turbo armoured carriers, which the insurgents knocked out of action with RPG-7 rockets.

The policemen decided to withdraw from the battle but the two whites stayed behind to destroy the

vehicles, so that the equipment would not fall into the hands of the insurgents.

One policeman was dragged from a vehicle and killed with a shot in the forehead.

The other man tried to shelter under a vehicle, but the insurgents beat him to death with rifle butts before they shot him in the face.

A police spokesman in Windhoek yesterday confirmed the incident, but declined to identify the victims.

The report appeared in the Republicain yesterday morning. — Sapa

Police digging up Swapo corpses

OSHAKATI — SWA police have started digging up the bodies of Swapo fighters buried in the bush during the past six days, to take them to morgues for autopsies.

The bodies of some insurgents, covered in sand and already decomposing, were seen to be well equipped in new boots and uniforms, some of them in Angolan army camouflage.

Police dug up the

Russia, UK Untag defends to press SA mobilisation

Read

LONDON. — Russia and Britain agreed yesterday to press for an urgent "cooling" of the situation in Namibia.

This was disclosed by Whitehall officials after talks between Russian president Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev and British Premier Mrs. Margaret Thatcher.

Mrs Thatcher, anxious to see an end to the fighting in Namibia after visiting the country last Saturday, raised the matter with Mr Gorbachev on his arrival in London yesterday.

British sources said Mrs Thatcher believed the Russians could be influential in ending the present border battles.

The sources said the British Premier had appealed to SA Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha not to pull out of the UN independence plan for Namibia. — Sapa

© 'New spirit' between East, West — Page 5

WINDHOEK. — The United Nations peacekeeping force in Namibia, under fire for the way it has dealt with the fighting, yesterday defended its decision to unleash South African troops.

Untag, which is monitoring the territory's emergence as an independent nation, last Saturday allowed South African troops to join Namibian police involved in battles with Swapo guerrillas.

Untag spokesman Mr Cedric Thornberry said the go-ahead for mobilisation was given late on Saturday by UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar. "I think it must have been one of the most difficult decisions that any secretary-general of the United Nations can ever have taken," Mr Thornberry told a Windhoek news conference.

"The situation which the UN found on Saturday night was one which was totally without parallel. We had the alternative of accepting the decision by South Africa to take all necessary means to deal with what it could see as a major threat in this country... or for a controlled move out of bases to deal on a strictly interim basis with that situation while it was being assessed," he added.

Swapo and African countries have condemned Untag for allowing the South African redeployment and blames the peacekeeping operation for having too few people in the north to control the situation.

Only a small part of the total Untag contingent of 4 650 peacekeeping troops and 500 police have arrived in Namibia following delays in approving the budget in the Security Council.

Emergency airlifts of troops are to start soon but the major problem is a lack of vehicles, food and accommodation. "Nowadays an army marches not on its stomach, but on its four-wheel drives," Mr Thornberry said. — Sapa-Reuter

bodies buried on the spot over the past week, following reports that insurgents without hostile intentions were slaughtered mercilessly.

SABC-TV also reported last night that Swapo had brought an urgent application to the Windhoek Supreme Court for the bodies to be exhumed, but it was withdrawn pending an out-of-court settlement.

Photographers and TV crews took pictures as soldiers unloaded the corpses from trucks. Some of them had apparently not been shot, but run down by armoured vehicles.

Documents taken from the bodies, laying out attack and ambush strategies, were also shown to the media.

Meanwhile, the bodies of some policemen killed in the fighting were ceremoniously loaded into aircraft waiting to ferry them to Windhoek or SA. — Sapa

Congo, Cyprus . . . Chand in hot spots

NEW YORK. — The veteran Indian soldier commanding UN forces in Namibia served 27 years ago in the Congo in a UN operation which got into serious difficulty.

General Dewan Prem Chand led UN troops in Katanga, a rich province of the former Belgian Congo that clashed with UN units in an unsuccessful bid to secede from the nation now called Zaire.

General Chand, 73, also had an important UN post in 1977 when he was named to negotiate "military and associated arrangements" for the transition of Rho-

desia to majority rule.

General Chand also commanded the UN force in Cyprus, but he is not well-known. The official biography offers hardly any clues to his personal life, stating only that he is married.

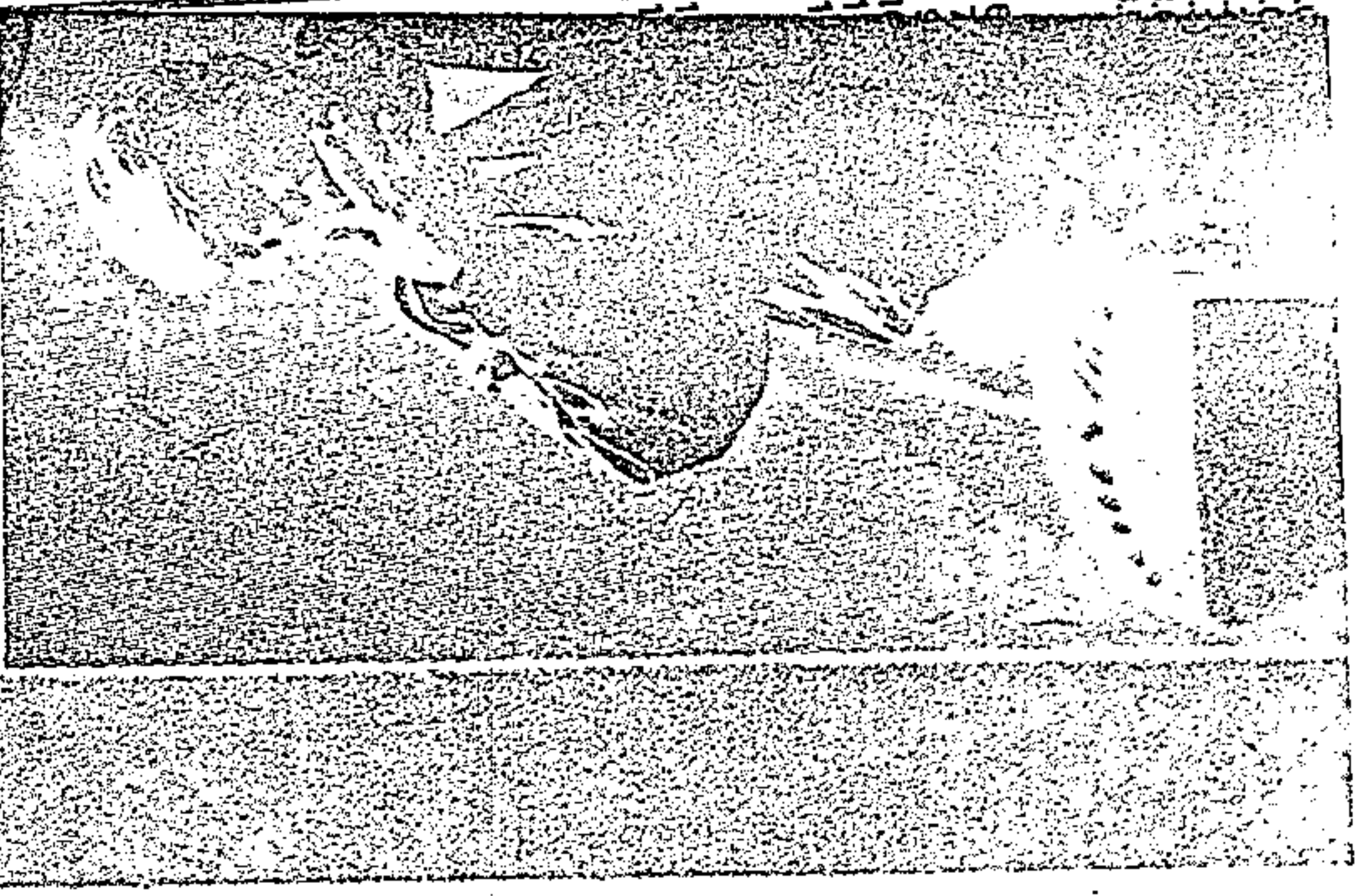
Born in British-ruled India in a town that now is part of Pakistan, Prem Chand obtained an army commission in 1937 and served a year with a British regiment, the Dorsetshires, on the North-west Frontier. Posted to the Baluch Regiment, he served in the same area and in Malaya in the closing phase of World War II.

Returning to India, he was posted to the General Staff, going on to become an instructor at the Defence Services Staff College in England. Back in New Delhi, he held headquarters jobs before commanding an infantry brigade in Jammu and Kashmir.

He was a major-general by the time he joined the UN force in the Congo in April 1962.

Retired from the army in 1967, he returned to military duty as UN commander in Cyprus from 1969 to 1976 and was promoted to lieutenant-general during that service. — Sapa-Reuter

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Brisbane Battle

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Angola rebukes Swapo leadership

LUANDA. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola yesterday sharply rebuked Swapo, saying it had failed to control its guerrillas when the UN plan for Namibia went into effect on April 1.

The rebuke came after a meeting of the frontline states here in which Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Tanzania offered to reinforce UN peacekeeping forces in Namibia with their own troops to help end the fighting.

According to Western diplomatic sources, President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe is isolated among frontline leaders in his continued support for Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma's claim that Swapo guerrillas have every right to remain inside Namibia.

Even Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, a long-term enemy of South Africa's and a champion of black African solidarity, is understood to be arguing strongly for Mr Nujoma to show restraint and for Swapo to honour its obligations.

Dr Kaunda has exchanged personal letters with President P W Botha within the past few days. Meanwhile, Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, Swapo's information secretary, said in Luanda yesterday that his organisation's military commanders were ready to meet Untag observers to announce a ceasefire.

"We believe we can do this in a matter of hours, but we have had no response from Untag yet," he said. The frontline states said they

and Swapo would be ready to accept a UN proposal for Swapo guerrillas to be disarmed after a ceasefire and remain inside Namibia.

President Dos Santos said: "Angola regrets that the Swapo leadership could not exercise total control over its guerrillas at the critical moment of the start of Resolution 435 by stopping anyone from crossing the frontier."

Swapo leader Mr Nujomo attended the meeting. Swapo leaders made it clear they would not accept being sent back to Angola. "That's not on," Mr Hamutenya told reporters after the meeting.

South Africa has given an ultimatum for the Swapo fighters to withdraw from Namibia by tomorrow. — Sapa-Reuter

MORE ON PAGE 2

- Soviets, US at ceasefire talks
- Cubans are going, says Pik
- Police dig up Swapo corpses
- Chand was in the hot spots
- Russia, Britain to press for calm
- Two cops killed in first clashes
- Untag defends SA mobilisation

WINDHOEK. — The heaviest fighting of the six-day-old war in Namibia raged across 400km in Ovamboland last night as South Africa, Angola and Cuba arranged emergency talks for tomorrow aimed at salvaging the UN-sponsored plan for the country's independence.

In the bloodiest battle of the past four days, security forces in Casspirs and Ratels yesterday battled up to 200 Swapo guerrillas dug into trenches at Ongha, north-east of Oshakati. About 30 police casualties were reported, mostly former members of Koevoet, and an unknown number of Swapo insurgents were injured. Police used every available vehicle, working through the night to repair damaged Ratels and Casspirs.

The pitched battle between 200 insurgents, who had been attempting to lie low, and the Casspir- and Rattel-borne security forces raged for several hours before the insurgents scattered. It is believed that at least three Swapo

The number of Swapo men killed rose to 253 last night, 74 up on Wednesday's toll, and police expected the number of fatalities to keep rising during the night.

Heavy fighting

So far 26 members of the security forces are reported to have died in the 232 battles over the past six days.

Counter-insurgency police chief General Hans Dreyer said in Oshakati late yesterday that skirmishes had spread across 400km of Ovamboland.

Heavy fighting was also reported to have broken out in eastern Ovamboland where about 340 armed cadres of Swapo's Far East Detachment have poured into Namibia from Angola.

Police said a group of insurgents were at present being tracked south of Oshikango following information received of a planned Swapo ambush near Miershoop in southern Ovambo. The group was equipped with a B10 cannon and other weaponry.

The intensified battle, taking place in the dense bush but also close to villages along the main road in central Ovamboland, came after a relative lull on Tuesday and Wednesday, which followed pitched battles with large Swapo groups at the weekend.

SWA police, backed by six battalions of the South African army and territorial forces, have pressed every available armoured vehicle into service over a 500km front ranging from Nkongo in the east to beyond Ruacana and into the Kaokoveld in the west, where the latest incursions by up to 100 insurgents have taken place and are being tracked down.

To page 2

Angola hits out at Swapo chiefs

LUANDA — Angolan President, Jose Eduardo dos Santos delivered a sharp rebuke to Swapo, saying it had failed to control its guerillas when a UN independence plan for the South African-ruled territory, UN security council Resolution 435, went into effect on April 1.

South African authorities say 200 Swapo guerillas and 23 security force members have been killed in the fighting since Saturday. Swapo says its losses are much lower.

"Angola regrets that the Swapo leadership could not exercise total control over its guerillas at the critical moment of the start of Resolution 435 by stopping anyone from crossing the

SAPA

(Angola/Namibia) frontier," Dos Santos told the meeting.

Six Southern African frontline states on Thursday offered to reinforce United Nations peacekeeping forces in Namibia with their own troops to help end the fighting there.

The offer was made by the leaders of Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Tanzania.

Proposal

The frontline states said they and the Namibian nationalist group, Swapo, would be ready to accept a UN proposal for Swapo guerillas to be disarmed after a ceasefire and remain inside Namibia.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said each of the six frontline states was prepared to provide one battalion to boost the military force of the UN transition assistance group for Namibia (Untag).

"They would be on site to assist the United Nations and not Swapo," President Kaunda said.

He added the frontline states were sending the

proposal to UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar through UN under-secretary for political affairs, Murrack Goulding, who is in Luanda trying to arrange a ceasefire in northern Namibia.

Meanwhile, one of the bloodiest battles in the current fight between Swapo insurgents and the SWA Police and territory force took place in Owambo yesterday, SABC TV news reports.

Thirty police casualties were reported, mostly former members of Koevoet, and an unknown number of Swapo insurgents were injured.

Police used every available vehicle, working through the night to repair damaged ratels and casspirs.

The pitched battle between 200 insurgents, who had been attempting to lie low, and the casspir and ratel-borne security forces raged on for several hours, before the insurgents scattered.

An ambush on the road between Ondangua and Oshivallo was unsuccessful.

The number of Swapo guerillas who have died in action in northern

Namibia last night rose to 252, 73 up from Wednesday official figure of 179, a police spokesma, Chief-Inspector, Kierie du Rand, said last night in Windhoek.

Police expected the Swapo fatalities to continue to rise during the night, he said.

There had been 232 battles in the six days of fighting since Namibia embarked on the road to independence under United Nations supervision.

Ziana reports from Harare that Swapo said yesterday it was willing to announce a cessation of hostilities.

JMC set to meet

AN URGENT meeting of the Joint Monitoring Commission between South Africa, Angola and Cuba for the ceasefire in Namibia would take place in Namibia within the next few days, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

Addressing a joint meeting of Parliament, he said the Soviet Union and the United States would participate in the meeting as observers. — Sapa.

A black eye for the peacekeepers

By ANTHONY GOODMAN
of Reuters at the
United Nations in New York

THE United Nations, which won a Nobel Prize last year for peacekeeping, suffered a black eye this week in Namibia but it was not the first time that the world body had run into trouble in the field.

UNITED NATIONS

Another African peacekeeping operation, in the former Belgian Congo (now Zaire), led to the near-collapse of the United Nations and cost the life of its second secretary-general, Dag Hammarskjöld.

When the United Nations began in Namibia last Saturday one of its most ambitious operations since the Congo it was to the accompaniment of machine-gun and rocket fire.

Swapo fighters, who have been battling South African rule in the territory for 23 years, clashed with local police on the Namibia-Angola border, leaving more than 180 dead so far. UN peacekeepers were nowhere near the action.

Most of the 900 troops in the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) which is to oversee Namibia's advance to independence were still awaiting deployment and the bulk of the 4 650-member force had yet to arrive in the territory.

Their commander, General Dewan Prem-Chand of India, authorised South African troops to leave their bases, drawing a storm of African delegates' protests against Untag.

As Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar hurried to recon track, veteran diplomats recalled that it was not the first time that peacekeeping had landed the United Nations in political trouble.

The 1960-64 Congo operation aimed at helping what is now Zaire to consolidate independence from Belgium and combat threats of secession turned into the worst-ever UN disaster.

The operation, which at its height involved nearly 20 000 troops, cost more than 400-million dollars — an enormous sum at the time, but slightly less than the

proposed cost of Untag — and took the lives of about 230 U.N. soldiers.

It also landed the United Nations in a grave financial and political crisis that virtually paralysed the organisation.

Hammarskjöld, in bitter conflict with the Soviet Union, was no longer recognised by Moscow and his relations with the United States, Britain and France cooled perceptibly. Congo political turmoil eventually cost his life in September 1961 in a plane crash when he was on a peace mission in the region.

In 1967, when U Thant of Burma was secretary-general, the United Nations was blamed for precipitating the six-day Middle East war by acceding to Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser's demand to withdraw UN buffer troops sent to Sinai and the Gaza after Britain, France and Israel had invaded Suez in 1956.

U Thant referred Nasser's request to the Security Council, which did not object. The Bur-

mese official always maintained that an arrangement made between Hammarskjöld and Cairo left him with no choice but to pull out the UN Emergency Force, some elements of which were already leaving unilaterally.

Other UN operations have run into trouble. The UN Interim Force in Lebanon (Unifil) has had an uneasy existence since its formation in 1978 — partly because it functions in an area lacking any effective central government and criss-crossed by a profusion of private militias.

But other UN forces and observation groups have managed to function with only minor hitches, including the UN Peacekeeping force in Cyprus — marking its 25th anniversary — and the UN Disengagement Observer Force stationed between the Syrian and Israeli armies on the Golan Heights since 1974.

A smaller UN observer group monitored the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan while other UN teams are on duty without complaint, in the Gulf area, Angola and Kashmir.

The bloodshed marking the launch of the UN operation in Namibia has already led to mutual recriminations, with African envoys incensed that Namibians were being killed, as one put it, "by South African forces under the United Nations flag."

They were also angry that Untag, reduced from a proposed 7 500 troops to 4 650 to save costs but against their wishes, had fielded about 20 percent of its strength by its April 1 start-up. Few troops were anywhere near the northern border of a territory the size of France and West Germany combined.

The United Nations, in its own defence, has blamed delays in approving the despatch and financing of Untag on squabbling over its size and cost.

Many UN diplomats said they hoped a disastrous start might soon be remedied, a ceasefire restored and that Namibia would proceed in peace to elections and independence by next April, as the secretary-general proposed. — Sapa-Reuter

SAM NUJOMA'S decision to sanction the incursion by Swapo fighters into Namibia has raised doubts about his leadership, writes RICHARD DOWDEN of The Independent in a profile of the Swapo leader.

Nujomo loses his touch



protest and struggle which have distinguished Swapo's external policies for the past 20 years.

NOW, however, something else is needed. Towards the end of last year it slowly dawned on Swapo that it might lose the title of "sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people", which the United Nations granted it in 1976, and that it would soon have to fight an election and, perhaps, rule a country.

So far, the external leadership has failed to grasp the new realities — to the increasing alarm of the internal leadership. The front-line states are known to have lost patience with Mr Nujoma, too.

Leaders are not easily removed peacefully in Africa, but Swapo has an alternative in Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, its general-secretary. If Mr Nujoma is to back down, Mr Ja Toivo could find himself the focus of those seeking a new leader.

Man". He doesn't drink or smoke and is reported to be obsessive about his health — an obsession reflected in his almost paranoid mistrust of anyone who does not adhere to the party line.

That party line is not the hard-line Marxism Pretoria has depicted. Mr Nujoma is at heart an old-fashioned African nationalist whose Marxist rhetoric is unlikely to turn into socialist policies in a free Namibia.

MR Nujoma, 59, has been president of Swapo since it grew out of the Ovamboland People's Organisation in 1960. In the 1950s, he was a railway steward, a job which took him to Cape Town, then in political ferment with the rise of the African National Congress.

He was sacked because of trade union activities and became a leading opponent of the apartheid authorities' plan to move non-whites to a new township outside Windhoek. In December 1959, he was arrested at a

demonstration, but was released pending trial and fled the country in February 1960.

Later that year, the Ovamboland People's Organisation merged with the South-West Africa National Union and Mr Nujoma assumed the presidency. Since then, he has travelled the world preaching Swapo's cause and has survived at least two serious revolts against his leadership.

Although he has become the embodiment of the liberation movement, Mr Nujoma may not determine its policies. At a recent meeting of Swapo's Central Committee in Harare, he proposed that he should become a unifying national figure seeking reconciliation with Namibia's other parties. He was overruled, revealing that he may be as much a prisoner of the party as its leader.

The core of Swapo's external leadership comes from the Kwan-yana sub-group of the Ovambo

people, the largest ethnic group in the country. Mr Nujoma comes from another small Ovambo group, but the Kwan-yana do not have an alternative leader so they have adopted him.

These loyalties and power-bases would not necessarily have been important in Swapo's politics, but the recent events have brought them to the fore. No one has identified more closely than Mr Nujoma with the slogans of

Dateline: WINDHOEK

SAM NUJOMA, Swapo's president, has just made what is probably the biggest political and military blunder in Swapo's 29-year history.

There is now little doubt that he gave his blessing to the infiltration of more than 1 000 Swapo fighters into Namibia just as the independence process began.

However, such is the almost mythical status of his leadership that it will probably not cost him his job.

Mr Nujoma is a shrewd politician. He is no intellectual, but he knows how to survive. His burly frame and greying beard give him gravitas which he combines with an easy charm and a broad smile.

Within the movement they call him, affectionately, "The Old

LOSERS and WINNERS

THE big loser in this week's violent start to Namibia's new era is Swapo leader Sam Nujoma.

This is the consensus among many American analysts, one of whom said: "This was supposed to be his week, the start of his emergence as an international statesman. However, he managed to screw up all on his own."

Their view is that Sam Nujoma must bear the responsibility for the disastrous incursions by armed Swapo bands from Angola into northern Namibia — even if, personally, did not order his guerrillas to move south.

One Africa specialist who has been closely involved in the Namibia independence issue described Swapo as a "pretty low-capacity organisation".

The Swapo move outraged the US government which branded it immediately as a violation of a series of firm international agreements, perplexed the Soviets and, according to some sources in Washington, caused consternation among its Cuban and Angolan friends.

Some intelligence analysts believe that the sighting of Cuban forces near the Angola/Namibia border at the height of this week's fighting between Swapo and security forces should not be interpreted as Cuban support for Swapo.

"They may have been there in case of South African hot pursuit across the border," one well-placed analyst suggested.

THE Soviets were dismayed because the flare-up threatened to derail a regional peace agreement which symbolised a new spirit of co-operation between the superpowers — a development in which the Soviets have taken a great deal of pride and which they fully intend to exploit for international and domestic prestige.



by NEIL LURSSSEN
Weekend Argus Foreign Service
Dateline: WASHINGTON

Just last week, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, who is in Windhoek this weekend for an emergency meeting of the Angola/Namibia Joint Commission, told Russian TV viewers: "Were it not for the role played by our country in the broad context of international affairs, and in this particular case for a regional settlement, I think there would have been no accord. Thus our role here was integral."

In case anyone missed the point, he added: "... all the parties to the talks, including the US intermediaries, put a high value on the Soviet Union's role."

Mr Adamishin noted significantly that the Angola/Namibia agreements met the interests not only of Angola and Cuba, but also of Swapo — and that the Soviet Union saw sufficient advantages in that.

This week, Swapo's actions threatened to spoil the peace momentum with what the New York Times called a "brazenly il-

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legal infiltration" — and Mr Nujoma's Soviet allies were not pleased.

The belief here was that the Soviets, while not publicly chastising Mr Nujoma, would have him on the carpet privately.

Meanwhile, American analysts are still scratching their heads over Swapo's motives.

ONE theory was that there was a split between Swapo's military and political leadership and that the military commanders decided to take advantage of what they saw as a power vacuum in northern Namibia with security forces confined to the bases.

They set out to achieve what they had failed to do in a quarter century of rebellion — establish permanent bases.

Another theory was that there was no split between the Swapo wings and the move south was an overall Swapo decision to go in armed because of a fear that the SA government had no intention of letting Swapo win the elections.

Fearing violence, the UN Security Council would reverse its decision to reduce the size of the Untag monitoring force.

According to one scenario, Swapo would seize Ovamboland and, with the South Africans immobilised in their bases and constrained by world opinion, Nujoma would simply declare Namibia Independent.

Another general belief here is that South Africa scored substantial points this week.

The South Africans demonstrated effectively that they would not be pushed around, made the right impression by expressing compassion for those Swapo killed and came up with a good way to end the crisis by calling for an emergency meeting of the Joint Commission and offering safe passage back to Angola for the Swapo guerrillas.

SOME analysts noted that it was a strange turn of events that saw SA-controlled security forces acting under United Nations auspices against a guerrilla movement that, until this week, was the darling of the UN.

American analysts wonder now how long Sam Nujoma can survive as Swapo's leader.

They say he is erratic, his handling of Swapo's internal tensions has also been poor, adding that the organisation has some members who are clearly superior to Mr Nujoma.

One analyst put it this way: "Swapo leaders have been living on the backs of their followers for many years now. It has been a good life for them.

"They have every right to be nervous now. They have to fight an election under international scrutiny and they will probably win. Then they have to run a country and make tough, intelligent choices.

"They are facing reality — and I guess they, since they are pretty low-capacity organisation, are frightened."

of the resolution 435 plan. Mr Pik Botha said in Windhoek last night that South Africa believed the current violence in northern Namibia meant a "de facto suspension" of the implementation of the UN plan.

Obviously, if Mr Botha does not get the answers or commitments he wants from the Angolan and Cubans today or tomorrow, South Africa could well carry out its threat to scrap the peace plan and order the UN out of Namibia.

Political observers here note that the South Africans have detailed what they say was a careful build-up over at least five months prior to the Swapo infiltration, which began during the night of March 31/April 1.

It has been said that the Angolans cannot have been unaware of what was happening as the build-up reportedly involved vehicles and large-scale supply movements.

In addition, SADF military intelligence claims that some of the "mechanised" units — including tanks — seen close to the border on the Angolan side have included white soldiers. The Cubans and Russians will no doubt be asked about this.

It is understood that the Cuban, Soviet and American delegations flew into Namibia early this morning. The US delegation is being headed by the outgoing Under-secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, who is deeply concerned that the UN Resolution 435 peace plan for Namibia, which he did so much to help revive last year,

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435 Wrangle a sobering issue for the tough

Picture: DIRK HEINRICH
South African soldiers, above, load a flag-draped coffin carrying one of their fallen comrades on an SAAF aircraft for a flight back to South Africa.

Picture: DOUG PITHEV, Weekend Argus.
Members of the SWA Territory Force, right, fan out looking for tracks of Swapo insurgents in Northern Namibia.

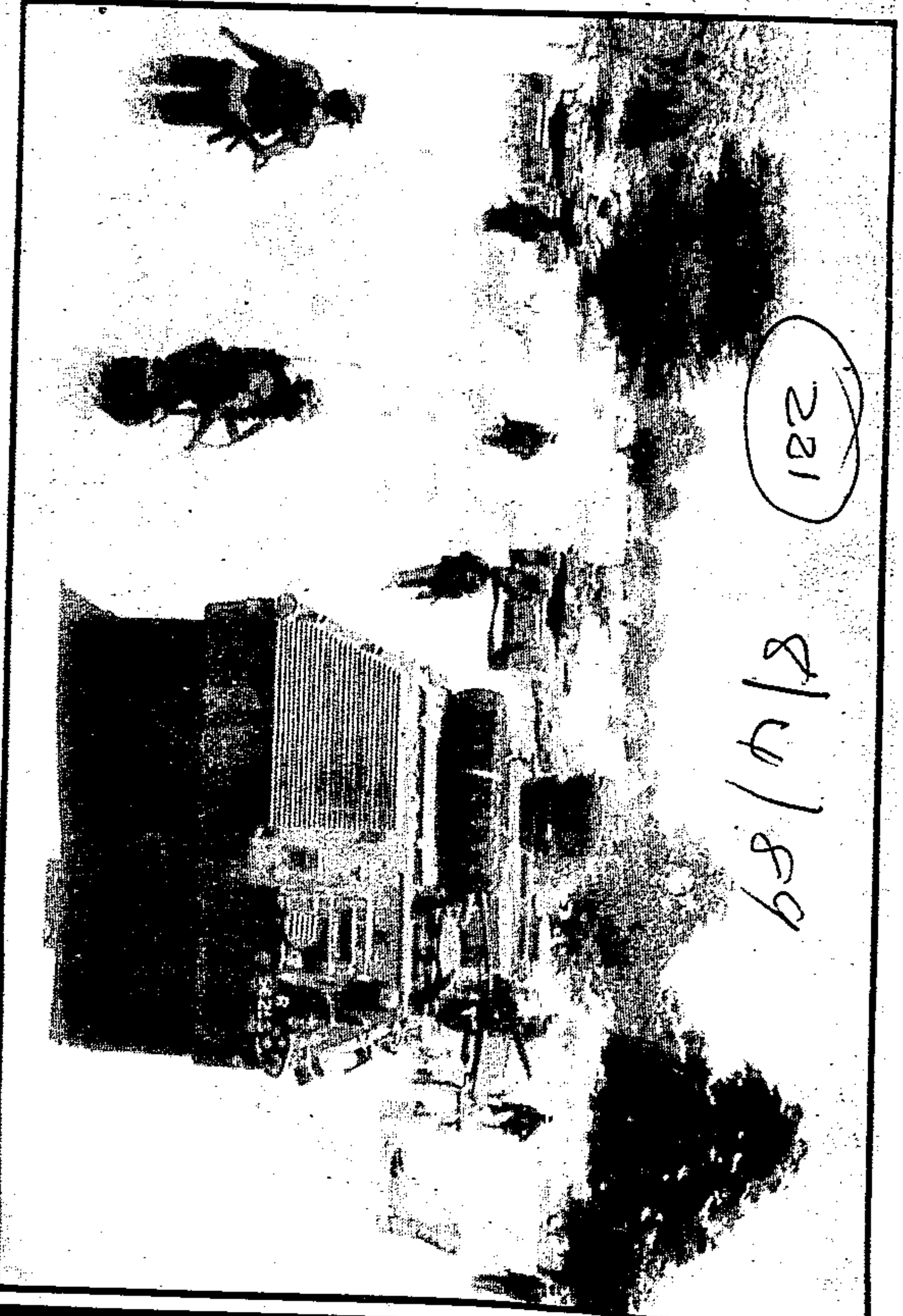
by KEN VERNON

Weekend Argus Africa News Service OSHAKATI. — Not even a rocket attack will quieten the raucous public bar at the Oshakati Guest House.

But on Friday night the 11 o'clock newscast did what rockets could not.

After hours of heated, semi-drunken discussion over the meaning of Foreign Minister Pik Botha's statement that resolution 435 had been "de facto" suspended, the 11 o'clock news was broadcast.

The news was listened to as never before.



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Willie, the manager, clouted a regular customer over the ear when he made a noise, and the permanent smile of Frans, the owner, disappeared when the barman rattled a glass.

Not even the sound of machinegun fire in the background from an unknown source could distract this "wild bunch" from the 11 o'clock news.

Was 435 at an end or not?
If so, what now?

This was heavy philosophy indeed for the regulars at the Oshakati Guest House public bar.

But the unprecedented philosophical debate underlined how seriously the suspension of 435 will affect the lives of everyone in Namibia.

A trio of senior Untag police officials in the bar remained characteristically non-committal. They would be "happy" if initial reports of the death of 435 turned out to be greatly exaggerated.

After a long and, for many, painful period of readjustment, the whites of Namibia have come to accept 435 as a positive development.

Pik on the 11 o'clock news has just confused them again.

BRITAIN

Urgent bid by Namibia parties to avert all-out war

by BRENDAN SEERY

Weekend Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — The three-country Joint Commission has begun its emergency meeting at the picturesque Mount Etjo game ranch about 150km north-east of here, as Namibia teeters on the brink of all-out war.

South Africa, Angola and Cuba say they will be trying to bring peace to strife-torn northern Namibia, where Swapo insurgents have been battling units of the SADF and SWA Police for exactly a week now.

Included in the Mount Etjo summit will be the United States and the Soviet Union, who hold observer status on the Commission. The Commission was set up to monitor and adjudicate disputes related to the peace accords and agreements signed late last year by South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

South Africa has accused Swapo of violating these peace accords, and the Security Council Resolution 435 peace plan, by infiltrating its insurgents into northern Namibia in large numbers.

As the delegations sat down to talk, South African intelligence officers said there were as many as 1 800 Swapo members currently in Namibia and involved in heavy fighting, plus a further 1 300 insurgents just north of the border preparing to infiltrate.

“De facto”

Citizen force units have been mobilised in the farming areas around the Etosha National Park, and convoys and a curfew have been introduced in Owanbo.

It stake in the talks will be nothing less than the



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Desert hikers have a new hazard to face — war

by JANE CONYNGHAM

Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — With the flames of war fanning behind them, a band of 12 men and women this week forged south through Kaokoland, their desert adventure converted overnight to a war zone.

But in spite of the bitter battles between South African troops and Swapo which raged only 50 km behind them, their minds were set only on the brutal natural elements they face during their 700 km hike through one of the most inhospitable terrains in the world.

The marathon hikers, chosen from 237 applicants for the Namibia Trek sponsored by Richards Bay Minerals, have committed themselves to a daunting 28 days on foot.

Their walk through war-torn Kaokoland, Damaraland and the formidable dunes of the Namib desert to Swakopmund is to raise the plight of the endangered desert rhino and elephant in the eyes of the world.

Their challenge: to pit mind and body against a vast, almost waterless territory — one of the last great wildernesses of the world, and largely uncharted, except by Swapo insurgents and bands of patrolling SADF and SWA Territory Force units.

Into war zone

The hikers had planned their Namibia-trek in aid of conservation to coincide with the dawning of a new era for the territory — April 1, the implementation of Resolution 435.

As they set off from Opuwa, just south of the Angolan border, as dawn rose on the ceasefire day, little did they know that their trek was to plunge into a war zone.

But by day three of the trek, as fighting had broken out around Opuwa, and Swapo insurgents were reported heading south through Kaokoland, the hikers were battling with problems of their own.

On day two, just 25 km from Opuwa, morale plunged when the team took a wrong turn in the bush and hiked in the wrong direction. With heat, lack of water and blisters against them they were forced back to camp, having made only 4 km headway.

On the third day, with Swapo insurgents closer on their heels, a freak rainstorm bogged down support vehicles, which in spite four-wheel drive were left stuck in mud.

Only lifeline

With roads and tracks converted to raging rivers the hikers returned to base. Some used walking sticks to ski poles and practised their prowess at mud skiing.

The microlight, planned as their only lifeline through formidable terrain inaccessible to support vehicles foundered, too, as a river of mud coursed through the aircraft that night, buckling a wing rib.

By late this week none of the hikers had dropped out — in spite blisters, heat and fatigue, radio and communications problems, water problems and lack of access to the support team.

Laden with weighty water supplies and food, by the weekend they were headed over a mountain pass towards Sesfontein.

Surviving the elements, and not war, was on their minds.

NAMIBIA

The riddle of Sam's missiles

Whatever the real reason for Swapo's flagrant violation of the Namibian peace accords this week, there is little doubt that it backfired badly and severely tarnished the organisation's international image.

Despite the drama of the past few days the incidents are unlikely to derail the peace process. But they may have a marked effect on Swapo's showing in the independence election later this year. The beating that its forces are taking at the hands of Namibian and SADF units (ironically with United Nations approval) may seriously demoralise supporters and go a long way to countering propaganda claims that the organisation's guerrillas "liberated" Namibia.

As the FM went to press fierce fighting was reported to be continuing across a 300 km-wide front just south of the Angolan border. In Windhoek, Martti Ahtisaari, Special Representative in Namibia of UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, was completing an urgent report to De Cuellar after teams of Untag observers had returned from the battle zone. The SA government was confident that the report would vindicate its position and crucify Swapo.

In Cape Town on Monday night Foreign Minister Pik Botha told journalists that the only logical interpretation of Swapo's action was an attempt to quickly infiltrate large groups of insurgents who would then establish bases inside Namibia to give the impression that the organisation was a formidable fighting force capable of liberating the territory. Swapo apparently believed that because there was a ceasefire in operation and SADF units were confined to their bases that it would get away with the move.

"I don't think Swapo realises that the old days are over. This time Untag is in the territory and Untag teams have personally visited the area.

"I expect Mr Ahtisaari to submit a report to the Secretary-General today (Monday) and I expect it to contain the facts, not my facts, but the facts as they were observed (by Untag) and as they are in the northern part of SWA," he said.

Botha is clearly in a strong position. There is no doubt that Swapo has grossly violated a

series of accords to which the organisation's leader, Sam Nujoma, committed himself in writing to De Cuellar and the UN Security Council.

In terms of the accords Swapo forces should have been north of the 16th parallel by April 1 where they were to be monitored by Untag personnel.

peace process to take action including the calling of a UN Security Council session to condemn Swapo's action.

"There is no possibility of a dispute. Swapo crossed in large numbers armed with heavy equipment in violation of its clear commitment to the Secretary-General ... and in defiance of the Security Council."

He says SA has so far acted in terms of its commitments even to the extent of waiting for Ahtisaari's permission before reactivating SADF units to bolster the police attempts to halt the Swapo incursion. However, he says, government came close to halting the peace process on

Saturday and would have been entitled to do so in terms of international law, but didn't do so "because there is so much at stake."

He was also urged to keep the process on course during weekend talks in Windhoek with British PM Margaret Thatcher, who, he says, agreed that if the facts were correct, Swapo was in flagrant violation of the accords.

Botha says it is ironic that after all the condemnation suffered by SA in the UN over the years on the Namibian issue, the Security Council may now be called on to censure Swapo. It is also ironic that Namibian and SA forces are being used with UN agreement to curb Swapo's violations of the peace accords.

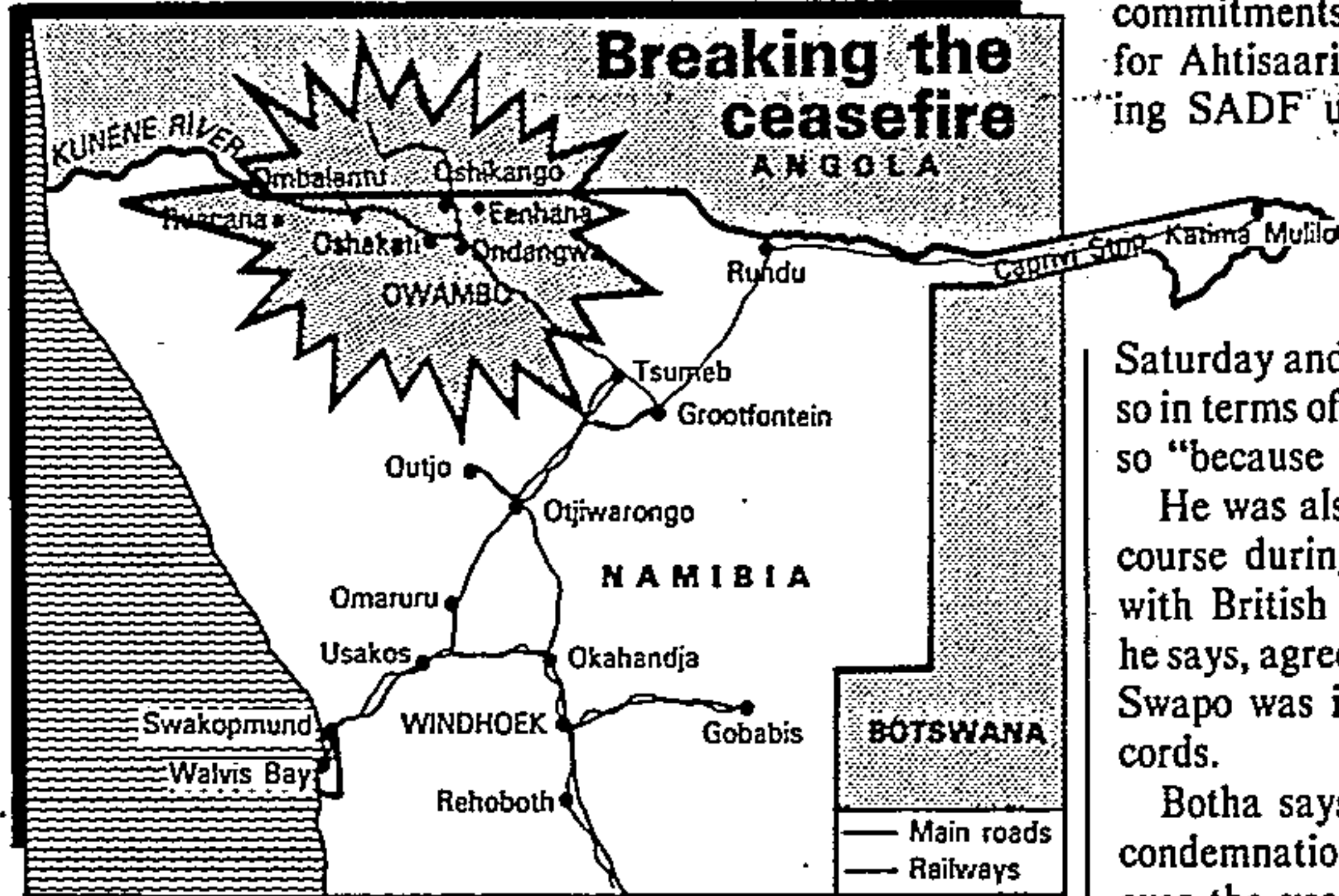
He says while there is no doubt that Swapo miscalculated its strategy, it is not clear to what extent Swapo leaders really know what is happening or if there has been a split in the organisation and a difference of opinion in strategy.

The incursions have also brought into question the readiness of Untag to perform its task. According to Botha, Ahtisaari did not even have an aircraft immediately available on Saturday to fly a team to the battle area and was offered one by the South Africans.

It also seems that the Untag force is far too small to satisfactorily monitor events in the vast territory with any degree of real accuracy.

Botha says government will now wait for Ahtisaari's report to De Cuellar. He declines to speculate on what course government will take if the report is not to its satisfaction, but there seems little doubt that he is well aware that this time at least SA is unlikely to be blamed.

Will the settlement process survive? Tentatively, yes. Nationally and internationally bureaucratic machines are in motion. ■



Botha says Nujoma is so far out of line that he does not deem it necessary to respond in any detail to the Swapo leader's counter-allegations against the Namibian police and SADF.

"I hope that by now one of his (Nujoma's) advisers or a responsible government has



Nujoma



Botha



Ahtisaari

informed him that he is making a total fool of himself."

He says information from the four captured Swapo insurgents was that they had been ordered by the commanders to cross the border and establish bases.

They were apparently told that their safety was assured by the ceasefire and by the Untag presence.

Botha says the facts of the violation are not in dispute.

The Foreign Minister now expects the world powers with interests in the Namibian

● Army mobilises to repel massive Swapo invasion

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Peace plan is heading for rocks, warns Pik

BRENDAN SEERY,
SATURDAY STAR AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

WINDHOEK — South Africa has re-activated demobilised citizen force units in northern Namibia to help cope with the massive incursion of Swapo insurgents, which is now threatening the country's major tourist attraction, the Etosha National Park.

In Windhoek last night, on the eve of an emergency meeting of the joint commission of Angola, Cuba and South Africa, a grim-faced Pik Botha warned that the new developments in the region had led to a situation which had the effect of a "de facto" suspension of Resolution 435.

It was the factual state of affairs arising from Swapo violations of the accord and was not in any way a unilateral, judicial act by South Africa, he said. South Africa remained committed to 435 for as long as other parties made it possible to do so.

After he spoke, a senior SADF intelligence officer said that there were presently about 1 800 Swapo insurgents inside Namibia, and that a further 1 300 were massed just north of the border ready to infiltrate. The organisation could commit an additional 4 000 men to the battle, he said.

South Africa's Administrator-General in Windhoek Mr Louis Pienaar, said he did not believe that free and fair elections could take place in the current

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situation, and that he had, after a request by Police Commissioner General Dolf Gouws and consultation with UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari and UN force commander General Prem Chand, decided to authorise the re-activation of certain "area force" units.

These units would be re-activated in the Tsumeb, Grootfontein and Outjo areas, which surround the Etosha National Park.

In a security briefing, SADF Colonel Herman du Plessis said security forces had information that a group of insurgents, possibly 100-strong, was heading south towards the farming lands around Etosha.

Saturday Star Foreign News Service photographer Doug Pithey visited the farming area today and reported that the farmers were on a war footing and carrying arms. Isolated homesteads were linked by

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BLOOD

Spillers

Namibia's peace process

NAMBIAN MOURNERS: Members of the Lutheran Church in Namibia stand at a mass grave after burying 21 Swapo guerrillas killed in a clash with South West African troops on Thursday.

KEN VERNON, Saturday Star's Africa News Service

ONDANGWA — The airfield at Ondangwa has become a crucial way-station in the dusty battle being fought in northern Namibia.

School is over

— now it's the

killings grounds

NORMAN CHANDLER

The boy's name is Neale. He was little more than a schoolboy when he went into the army last year. Today he is a man, fighting with many others against the Swapo incursion into Owamboland.

Somewhere up there he is in the thick of it with the South African military, doing his bit as a national serviceman in the dust and grime of the scrublands which are the border between Namibia and Angola.

It is only a few months since Neale, and a thousand or so like him, left behind a year of intensive training at the elite School of Infantry at Oudshoorn for the killing grounds of Namibia.

With the United Nations coming in to keep the peace, there was a good chance that Neale and his mates would soon be back in "the states", as South Africa is known by old and new soldiers. That was the humdrum they all awaited. And then came last Saturday — and back to the

Giant C130 transport planes disgorging new troop arrivals tower over helicopters ferrying casualties from the fighting.

The ambulances make a short, 50 m trip to a cluster of prefabricated buildings huddled under shade cloth. This is the hospital.

As a helicopter clattered in to land next to an ambulance yesterday, a group of soldiers waiting to be ferried north to reinforce the hard-pressed garrison at Ruacana watched silently as a stretcher case was taken away.

If they had any thoughts about the scene, they kept them to themselves.

So far, relatively few members of the SADF, SWAFF and SWA Police have seen the inside of the hospital.

In the past week 78 members of the security forces have been wounded badly enough to be kept in hospital.

Biggest battle in 23 years

But in and around Ondangwa and nearby Oshakati, others can be seen daily riding Casperts and sporting fresh white bandages over wounds not deemed serious enough for a spell in hospital.

The troops are part of South African and Namibian forces who, only a few days ago, were well into an elaborate demilitarisation exercise that was to have confined the Namibians to base and taken all but a handful of the South Africans out of the territory before the United Nations-monitored independence election.

Now some are back in action in the biggest and bloodiest battle in the 23 years of the SWA/Namibia war.

Swapo seeks assurances over status

Matcher accused of telling tribe lie

Lamprecht may trial's not over

JANET HEARD

ACTOR and former SABC voice artist Don Lamprecht (49) relaxed at his Victory Park home for the first time in almost six months yesterday after being fined R10 000 for sodomy, indecent acts with young boys and possession of pornography.

Johannesburg regional magistrate Mr. A. Auret imposed a further three years' suspended sentence on Lamprecht. The actor paid the fine as an alternative to six years' imprisonment.

Clearly relieved at his light sentence, Lamprecht said yesterday his biggest fear during the trial was that he would go to prison. "It is all very academic until it happens to you. Suddenly it becomes real."

He said he had begun to realise the importance of pleasures in life such as exotic food and the theatre, and he had come to the "frightening realisation that these things may be taken away from you."

During the trial, Lamprecht said he had cut himself off from public events, and had not gone to restaurants or shows. He had walked into two shops only out of necessity.

"It is the most fantastic feeling to be given a second chance," he said. "I am very grateful to the magistrate, who showed great understanding and integrity."

Lamprecht has no plans for the future. "There is nowhere I can go without being in



DON LAMPRECHT: "I still feel the guilt and embarrassment — I'm going to have to walk naked in front of people now."

© Picture by Keren Fletcher.

peace, there was a good chance that "peace" and the "hates" would soon be back in "the states", as South Africa is known by old and new soldiers. That was the homecoming they all awaited.

And then came last Saturday — and back to the thick of battle as Swapo crossed the border. The hopes of parents throughout the land nosedived. Sleepless nights spent wondering about the welfare of sons has been the norm this week. Some parents have heard the worst; others pray that the dreaded knock by the military officers will not come. You study newspaper photographs of the action, hoping to see that face you know so well.

Parents face the question: How do you find out if your son is alive and well? You think of the popular radio programme Forces Favourites is the ideal medium to get a message to the border. It usually is.

The phone-ins to the announcer this week have been dramatic, laced with sadness, and reflecting the concern of the ordinary men and women of this country. Now comes the news that the battle is escalating. Another week of purgatory, another week of wondering what's happening far from home, another week of listening and watching every news broadcast. Parents are in that frontline, too. I should know. I have been there all week, because Neale — the schoolboy-turned-man — is my son.

Swapo seeks assurances over status

NEW YORK — As the United Nations faces a debate in Namibia on a scale not seen since its involvement in the Congo 29 years ago, the reputation of the UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar as a mediator is being tested as never before.

The key failure in the UN plan for Namibian independence: the absence of any firm agreement on the status of Swapo guerrillas inside Namibia, was apparent in the mind of Mr. Perez de Cuellar on Thursday.

UN sources say his immediate concern is to establish a ceasefire between Swapo and South Africa, while the emergency airlift of Finnish, Kenyan and Malaysian troops to Namibia is organised. But diplomats said appeals to Swapo to pull back and to South Africa to show "restraint" were being ignored.

The latest ceasefire plan calls for Swapo guerrillas to leave Namibia to points designated by the UN force

Thatcher accused of telling triple lie

SATURDAY STARS FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

LONDON — Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) has accused Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of telling a "triple lie" to Parliament on the question of Swapo's alleged incursion into northern Namibia.

AAM executive secretary Mr. Mike Perry said that Mrs Thatcher had lied on three counts.

Mrs Thatcher has already apologised to the House for misleading it by quoting documents on Namibia she said were freely available in the Commons library, but later admitted they were not.

Mrs Thatcher accused Swapo of challenging the UN's authority

standing and integrity." Lambrecht has no plans for the future. "There is nowhere I can go without being recognised."

"I have not got over the sense of guilt or embarrassment. The court case is over, but the rest of it is not. My cloak has been taken away, and I must now get used to being naked in front of people."

"I will be staying at home tonight. I have no other plans apart from hugging my dog, looking after my cat and feeding my fish. All I have is the four walls in which I live, where I can lick my wounds."

"I am scared. I may sound relaxed but remember I am an actor. I will remember. I know I went through things while society condemns, and which I condemn."

Asked by the Saturday Star if it was possible for him to resume the life he had before his arrest, he said he believed he still had the same talents, but everything depended on whether people accepted him back.

He said he took strong exception to press reports in October last year which accused him of being the ring-leader of a gang of child molesters.

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honouring an undertaking to use its "good offices" to urge Swapo to withdraw from Southern Angola.

Mr Babb warned that this put Swapo in a position to interfere with the Namibian elections and could "affect independence."

Swapo — almost suicidally — trekked across the border on All Fools' Day, knowing they were defying part of Resolution 435.

Analysis and intelligence sources claimed this week that Swapo feared that it was playing in a poker game with a player who held a loaded deck of cards, but forgot that the South Africans were just as nervous and wary of Swapo's intentions.

After all the comfortable years as the UN-acknowledged "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people", Swapo went into the transition to independence phase with disadvantages that Zimbabwean president Mr Robert Mugabe or Mr Joshua Nkomo would not have tolerated when the British plan for Zimbabwean independence was foisted on them.

South Africa, unlike Mr Ian Smith and his colleagues in Rhodesia, was holding most of the cards and was in a position to cut and shuffle the deck.

SWAPO needed the very powerful psychological weapon of armed men coming back into the country and, rightly or wrongly, proclaiming they had won the war.

Many analysts claim Swapo miscalculated their entry date — hence the bloody confrontation.

In 1979 and 1980, tens of thousands of Zambians and Zippa guerrillas streamed into "assembly points" across Zimbabwe, with their weapons and a very obvious aura of victory.

Not only did this provide Zanu and Zapu with political clout, but it also gave their leaders the muscle they needed to resist if anything went wrong or if the Rhodesian government attempted to dictate things — such as the elections.

Was Swapo's leader attempting the same ploy?

Captured Swapo fighters this week claimed they had been told to establish bases in Namibia — a proof, intelligence sources claim, that Mr Nujoma was attempting to establish "armed propagandists" within the territory to help boost election fervour in Swapo's favour.

Meanwhile, people continue to die.

Crucial test for UN chief

by LEONARD DOYLE
Dateline: NEW YORK

Swapo guerrillas to be confined in UN-supervised bases within Namibia, as the Swapo leadership insist

WARNINGS GAME FROM BOTH SIDES OF FENCE

by MARK STANSFIELD
Weekend Argus Reporter

On the South African side, there were also continuous warnings that they were unhappy with Swapo's apparent continued presence south of the 16th parallel.

DEPARTMENT of Foreign Affairs spokesman Mr Roland Darryl confirmed that the major parties to the disarmament and troop withdrawal talks — Cuba, the Soviet Union, the US and Angola — were continuously told that Swapo was not sticking to the ceasefire agreement and were warned of the consequences of allowing them to do so.

He said: "At the talks held in New York in January, in Luanda in February and in Havana last month, we constantly referred to the danger of allowing Swapo elements south of the 16th parallel.

"We warned them verbally and in a constant flow of telexed messages. They were supplied with detailed lengthy information on troop strengths, positions, weapons and the intentions of the armed Swapo contingent once the independence process was underway."

The South African Defence Force also constantly reminded the West of the threat.

On February 17, SADF chief General Janjie Geldenhuys warned that both Cuba and Angola were "rocking the peace boat" by allowing "several thousand" Swapo fighters to operate south of the 16th parallel in violation of the ceasefire agreement.

THIS was one of the main items on the agenda when the Joint Military Monitoring Commission met in Luanda a few days later.

At the same Press briefing, the Deputy-Director of Foreign Affairs, Mr Glen Babb, said the Cuban-backed Angolan government was not

THIS WEEK, after an uneasy six-month truce, men again began to die in their scores in northern Namibia.

Yet, less than three months ago, the world was assured that the baying dogs of war were to be leashed, confined in specified kennels and would soon be under the control of competent Untag handlers.

We were also told that they were gagged and bound by ceasefire agreements which restricted the Swapo element to the north of the 16th parallel in Angola and the disarmed SADF/Namibian contingent to specified bases within the territory.

So how — and more importantly, why — were the leashes relaxed to such an extent that bullets have once again become the official spokesmen in the southern African independence plan?

We — and the rest of the world — were warned that it could happen. Both Swapo and South Africa tried to spell out their fears and the inevitable result.

Ten days before heavily-armed Swapo troops crossed the Namibian/Angolan border and clashed with Namibian police patrols, Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma openly stated at an Organisation of African Unity meeting in Mali that he would take his men "back into the bush, open fire and fight to the end" if he was not happy with the independence proceedings.

Again, on March 31 — one day before shots again began ringing out across Namibian soil — he warned that if South African and Western "mischiefs" did not stop, "Swapo will open fire and fight to the end".

It is significant, however, that Swapo has never been party to the independence negotiations and have always regarded the proceedings with suspicion.

NERVOUS fingers would, quite naturally, still have been on triggers — just in case. Swapo leaders regarded the initial talks, held under US chairmanship, as a plot to further delay independence.

They were not hopeful of anything positive emerging. An indication of this was when the breakthrough finally came, in Geneva on November 16 last year, the Swapo president was in Mali. Watching an anti-apartheid camel race!

"When the independence train finally arrived and Swapo were told this was their stop, they didn't believe it," one observer remarked dryly at the time.

Mr Nujoma's subsequent statements betrayed a paranoid fear that he was being led into a fiendish Western plot.

His warnings that his troops would fight "to the end" are chilling in the light of what has happened so far in the north of Namibia.



WEEK OF CRISIS

FOR Foreign Minister Mr Pk Boshaba the Namibian crisis has

phones buzzing and urgent calls to the government and to the UN Secretary-General.



As the UN faces a debacle in Namibia on a scale not seen since its involvement in the Congo, 29

Alert since January

by STEPHEN WROTESLEY
Weekend Argus News Editor

NAMIBIAN police were planning for last weekend's incursion on the "red border" as long ago as January, security sources have indicated.

The Swapo infiltrators who moved at a time that they thought the troops in Namibia were tethered by Resolution 435 were unaware that trained bush police were already awaiting their crossing, they claimed.

Police confirmed this week that members of the South African force were seconded to the local police in Namibia earlier this year and while local police deny there was a recruitment drive as such, police sources said this week that all volunteers were promised more money.

The men who joined the police in Namibia on a two year contract were promised extra pay — said to be R300 a month.

"Most who signed up did so for the extra money," a source said this week.

THE extra policemen were ostensibly recruited to assist with the run-in to elections, but sources said this week that all would have been trained bush fighters, capable of mounting a holding operation if there was an incursion.

"The Namibian police hierarchy must have been planning for what happened last weekend when the search for police from South Africa was launched," a source said.

"The extra men who were drafted in would have been expected to assist the highly mobile police units already in position to delay the insurgents until the troops could be freed from their bases and the restrictions of 435," a former member of the now disbanded police unit known as Koevoet said.

Koevoet, which police said this week ceased to exist in April 1981, was a grouping of South Africans and Namibians including former members of Swapo's military wing, Plan. They conducted the brunt of the internal fighting against Swapo insurgents in recent years.

A South African police spokesman said that after Koevoet was disbanded, the South West African police's counter-insurgency unit was responsible for all activities against Swapo insurgents.

Many of the members of this unit were ex-Koevoet members.

OVER the years, the unit was criticised for excesses in action but their knowledge of the border terrain was unrivalled.

With their specially designed Casspirs, the unit's members could move at great speed and with impressive fire-power, tackle opposition of far greater numbers.

"Backed by the extra policemen seconded from South Africa, they would have been a highly effective fighting machine," the ex-Koevoet member said.

Police sources said this week that 95 percent of South African policemen had served time with either Koevoet or Cohn (counter-insurgency) — many of them on the Namibian/Angolan — known in police jargon as the red border.

From the moment the newfound peace flared into war he has been a key figure in the handling of a potentially disastrous situation.

For Mr Botha the stakes were high. A single mistake could bring the collapse of the Namibian peace plan — with years of hard work down the drain and a possible escalation of conflict.

Yet, in a sense Mr Botha's week of crisis — although still unresolved — has been a diplomatic triumph. Against heavy odds, he gained significant international support for South Africa's stand against Swapo incursions and for new peace moves to end the immediate conflict.

THIS account of Mr Botha's handling of the crisis so far has been pieced together from reports this week and information obtained from sources close to him.

The drama began last Friday on the eve of the official peace process in Namibia. Mr Botha was among dignitaries at a remote border post near Ruacana where the last prisoners of the 14-year Angolan war were exchanged. It was the culmination of seemingly endless negotiations for peace.

Later, in Windhoek, Mr Botha and his government colleagues addressed media representatives in the historic Turnhalle before going on to a working dinner with UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the commander of the UNtag forces General Prem Chand, and South Africa's administrator-general in Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar.

Mr Botha said then South Africa would leave the territory with no regrets but with a sense of having fulfilled its duty there with "honour and dignity".

That night, at the working dinner, Mr Botha warned the UN officials about the possibility of a Swapo incursion from southern Angola. He told them South African forces had information that Swapo was planning an incursion from the north.

RESCUING THE PEACE

THE United Nations is being squeezed by South Africa on the one side and African nations on the other to rescue its independence plan for Namibia, which is on the brink of collapse.

"The situation is very, very fragile," is how one senior Western ambassador put it. The African states at the UN have denounced the Secretary-General's representative in the region, Martti Ahtisaari of Finland, for giving permission to UN troops to side with South Africa against Swapo forces.

So far, there are no signs of a ceasefire as the UN put the toll in the fighting at 200, with 90 percent of the victims Swapo fighters. There is widespread evidence that the South Africans are ruthlessly wiping out the insurgents.

South Africa, in a series of letters by its Foreign Minister Pk Botha, threatened the UN that it would break its side of the agreement unless Swapo forges



Diplomatic triumph for Pk

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

The discussions with the UN officials continued far into the night. Mr Botha got to bed at 2am on Saturday and was up again at 7am to resume his activities on the most crucial day of the peace operation.

IT happened to be April Fool's day when the UN peace plan for Namibia was formally set into motion in terms of UN Security Council Resolution 435.

He delayed a 9am meeting when news arrived that there had been major border crossings into northern Namibia during the night.

The new development resulted in a flurry of activity for Mr Botha and his officials throughout the day, with tele-

The situation took a more serious turn when information came later that there was heavy fighting in the border region, as police went into action against the infiltrators.

There was more drama when British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher flew in for a brief visit to Namibia on the final stage of her Africa tour.

EVENTS reached a critical point as it became known that serious clashes between Swapo insurgents and SWA police in northern Namibia had plunged the whole peace plan into jeopardy.

What had been planned as largely a courtesy meeting by Mr Botha with Mrs Thatcher at the airport on Saturday night soon turned into crisis talks focused on an urgent need to save the plan.

After Mrs Thatcher's departure, the drama continued with Mr Pk Botha making an urgent telephone call to UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar about Swapo's incursion.

During that conversation Dr De Cuellar gave permission in principle for South African troops to be used to repel the Swapo incursion. This was to be done in accordance with circumstances and in consultation with the UN representatives in the territory.

FOR Mr Botha the response by the UN officials was a diplomatic triumph. It meant, in effect, that for the first time South Africa could take military action against Swapo with UN approval.

It was nearly midnight when Mr Botha boarded an aircraft for his return flight to South Africa. He landed at Watkloof at 1.20am on Sunday.

Since then there has been virtually no rest for him as he continued to deal with the crisis and surrounding events.

By the end of this week it was clear that Mr Botha's handling of the crisis had the approval and backing of the major powers and others involved in the Namibian settlement agreement.

by DAVID JULIUS in New York

were sent to camps in Angola monitored by the UN Transitional Assistance Group (Untag). But according to a third letter handed in on Wednesday night Botha said he was "encouraged by the firm and positive" response by member governments.

The United States and Canada have stepped in and offered to airlift troops to the territory in an effort to alleviate the situation. But Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar does not want troops in place without their equipment, which is still on its way by sea. De Cuellar has blamed the delay in getting UN troops in place on wrangling in the General Assembly and Security Council over the size and cost of the force.

Amid this background, three of the five permanent members of the Security Council — the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union — were working be-

years ago, the reputation of the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, as a mediator is being tested as never before.

The key failure in the UN plan for Namibian independence is the absence of any firm agreement on the status of Swapo guerrillas inside Namibia.

The plan does not provide for

South Africa, however, wants Swapo forces to be escorted out of the country.

UN officials now concede that was naive not to have foreseen Swapo would try to take advantage of the loophole in the independent plan.

■ The Independent News Service.

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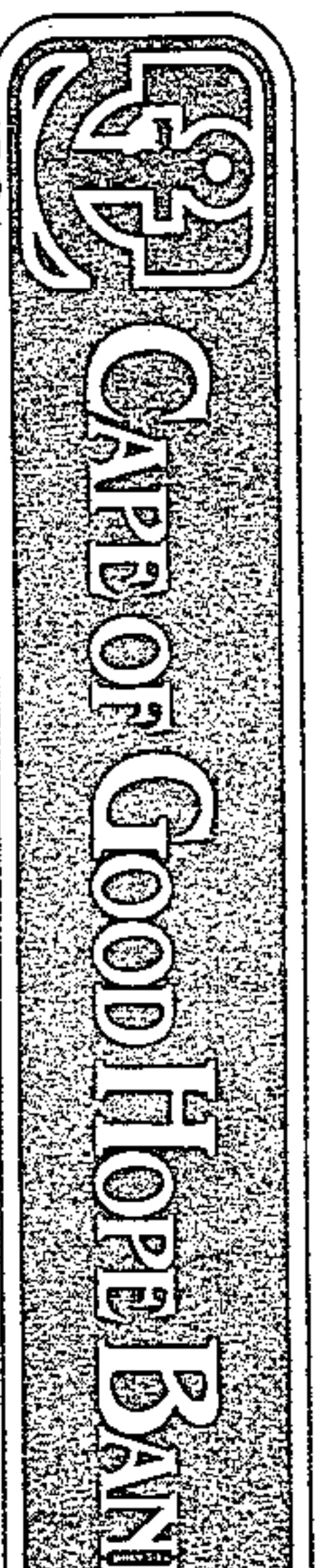
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Whites want truce deadline for Swapo

ARGUS
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Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — The Namibian independence process, already threatened by the recent fighting in the north of the territory, is coming under further political pressures.

While Swapo attacked the United Nations for its handling of the independence exercise, members of three largely white communities in Namibia called for Swapo to be given a deadline for complying with the Mount Etjo agreement. They said that if the organisation failed to do so the independence process should be re-considered.

The implementation of the independence process continued today to be clouded by confusion over the situation inside Namibia following the fighting, which began on April 1 and cost more than 300 lives.

Neither UN nor the office of the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, was able or willing to say when and how the Swapo insurgents who had given themselves up at Untag assembly points during the fighting would be sent back to Angola.

Might be prosecuted

There was uncertainty also over the fate of the insurgents captured by the security forces. Mr Gerhard Roux, spokesman for the Administrator-General, suggested yesterday that the captured insurgents might be prosecuted if the authorities felt they had broken the law.

No provision is made under the Mount Etjo peace proposals, which came into effect at noon last Tuesday, for captured fighters. However, those Swapo insurgents who do hand themselves over to UN-manned and monitored assembly points are guaranteed safe passage to Angola, where they will be restricted to bases north of the 16th parallel.

So far, only seven insurgents have reported to the UN assembly points, while South Africa estimates that 380 fighters have crossed the border heading north, and ignored UN assembly points. However, UN, Angolan government and Swapo estimates put this figure at more than 500.

Transport difficulties

None of those who have so far reported have yet been transferred to Angola. South African and UN officials have said the delay was caused by transport and logistics difficulties, but that the first insurgents should leave soon.

Swapo President Sam Nujoma yesterday called on the UN to ask South Africa to withdraw its forces in Namibia to their bases and allow Swapo guerrillas to pull back unhindered to Angola.

The Namibian authorities are believed to fear, however, that if left to themselves the Swapo infiltrators will cache their weapons and try to mingle with the civilian population so that they could practise intimidation during the independence election campaign.

Reuters reports that Mr Nujoma said in a statement distributed in Luanda that South Africa had deployed a division of troops along the Angola-Namibia border.

He said the troops were patrolling the frontier and mounting ambushes around the assembly points.

The SABC has reported that the communities of Grootfontein, Tsumeb, Outjo, Otjiwarongo and Mariental have handed memorandums to the Administrator-General and to the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, demanding that Swapo be given a deadline of no later than the end of April to comply with the Mount Etjo declaration.

'Don't spoil it,' top Red envoy urges Swapo

From NEIL LURSEN

The Argus
Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — In a remarkable appeal for reason in Namibia, a top Soviet official has warned Swapo that it would be foolish to undermine the independence process.

The rest of the world would take it amiss if the international attempt to end the conflict

that, the battlefield should no longer exist and that the Namibia agreement was a compromise with no winners or losers.

"The leaders of the future independent Namibia must display wisdom and determination, suppress emotions, and concentrate all their energy on clearing the minefields of mistrust,"

Mr Asoyan said.

If the effort to find peace in Namibia failed, he warned, it would ... "without doubt, complicate the process of improving the situation in other hotbeds of tension in Southern Africa and ultimately slow the pace of steps to eliminate the main source of conflict in the region — the apartheid system."

were to be spoiled, the official, Mr Boris Asoyan, wrote in the Moscow newspaper Izvestiya.

"Too many efforts and resources have been invested to make this agreement reality," he said.

"Undermining it would mean striking a blow against the new atmosphere of trust in the world." Mr Asoyan said the world was watching Namibia's transition to independence.

"Any attempt to gain one-sided advantages at the expense of the other side will not go unnoticed.

"It would simply be foolish to count on this." Mr Asoyan, who is widely respected by American officials and analysts, has played an important role in the evolving relationship between Pretoria and Moscow.

Mr Asoyan said the armed clashes in northern Namibia had exacerbated the situation and jeopardised the UN independence plan.

The participants had still not grasped the fact

P.T.O. for Pictures

UN silent on delay of elections

NEW YORK. — A spokesman for UN Secretary-General Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar said yesterday that it would be unwise for him to comment on the South African decision to delay elections in Namibia which had been scheduled for November 1.

"We will not react to every statement that comes out of Windhoek," Mr. Francisco Giuliani said, adding: "In any case it would not be wise at this stage."

Mr. Giuliani was referring to talks between the UN and South African capital and today's scheduled meeting of a commission comprising representatives of South Africa, Angola and Cuba, with US and Soviet observers.

"We will have to wait until the talks are over," Mr. Giuliani said.

Mr. Perez de Cuellar was due to meet members of the Security Council later to brief them on developments in the Namibian crisis and diplomats predicted an angry reaction by African members to the decision about the elections. — Sapa



BREATHER... South African troops have a rest on their way to the Angolan border yesterday. Picture: Reuters

DTA dismayed at Swapo

WINDHOEK. — At a press briefing here yesterday the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance voiced "total dismay" at reports of 10 Swapo brigades advancing southwards in Angola.

DTA vice-chairman Mr. Katutuire Kaura said he had heard of three brigades with Russian T57 tanks poised to cross the border into Northern Namibia, where fierce fighting has been raging between Swapo guerrillas and combined South West African Police and Territory Force units since Saturday.

The DTA and Swapo are the front-runners for the elections in the United Nations-supervised peace plan for an independent Namibia in November.

The heavy clashes broke out on April 1, the day the peace initiative was due to take effect in the country.

Mr. Kaura said that Swapo denounced calls for a ceasefire and intended setting up a government by military action. By doing so it had given South Africa a pretext for coming back into Namibia.

Swapo's insistence on bases inside Namibia, DTA chairman Mr. Dirk Mudge stressed, was the reason UN Resolution 435 had not been implemented in 1978 as first planned.

The DTA had been under the impression the problem had been resolved, he said. — Sapa

UN plans to end fighting wait for SA approval

From PASCAL FLETCHER

LUANDA. — UN plans to separate battling Swapo guerrillas and South African-led police are waiting for South African approval, according to a senior UN envoy.

Leaders of the six Southern African frontline states and Swapo had broadly accepted the UN plan for Swapo forces to be disarmed after a ceasefire was declared and confined to bases inside Namibia under UN protection.

It remained to be seen whether SA would accept this, UN under-secretary for Political Affairs Mr. Marrack Goulding told reporters on Thursday night.

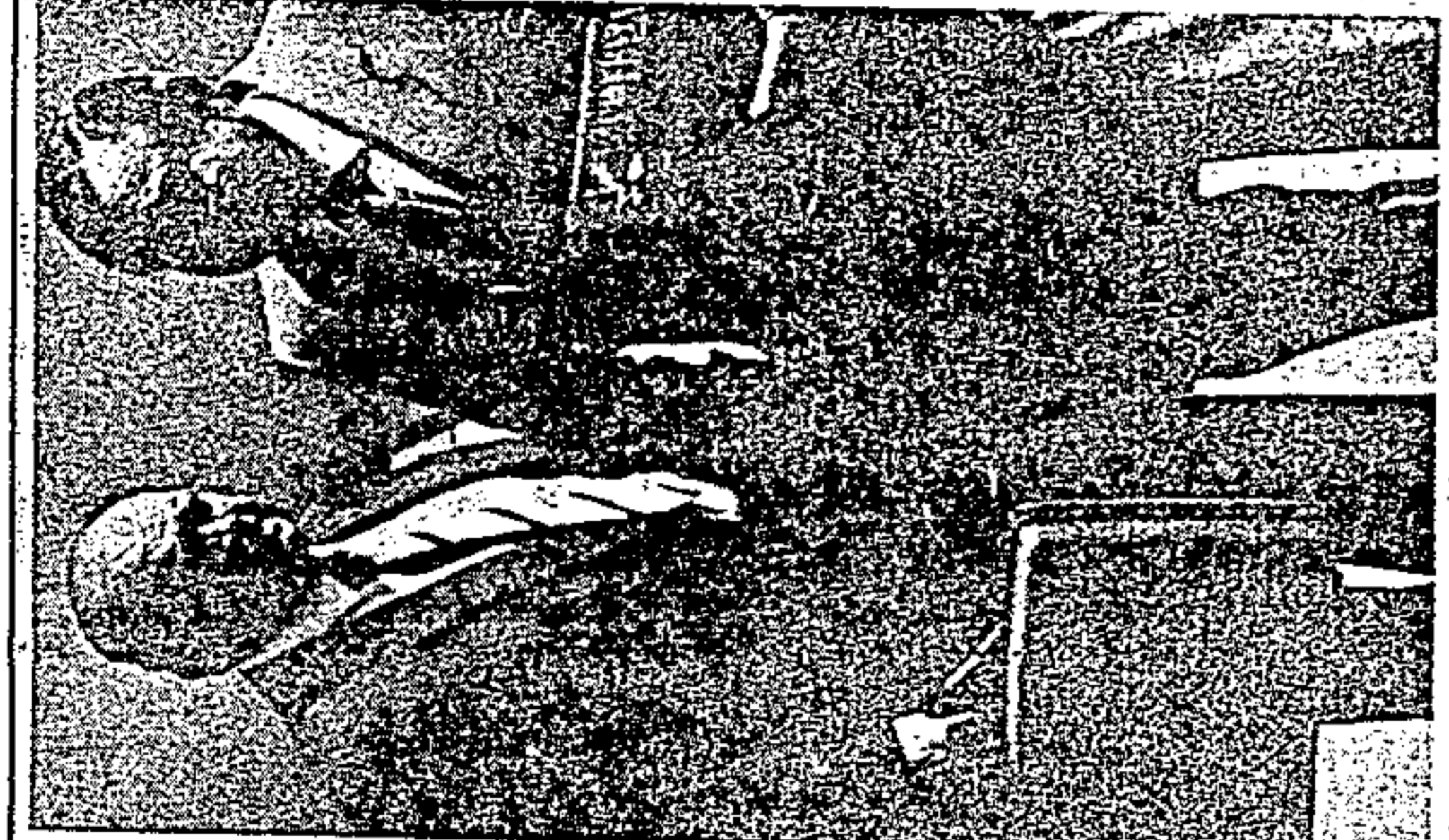
"I hope we can get the agreement of both sides at an early date."

Namibian police reported yesterday that the death toll in the fighting had risen sharply after two major clashes.

No specific date or time for a ceasefire has been fixed in the latest UN plan and UN officials are still trying to agree with SA on what to do with the guerrillas once the new ceasefire has been proclaimed.

Mr. Goulding, who is also head of the UN peace-keeping force worldwide, has been in Luanda since Tuesday holding talks with leaders of Swapo and the Angolan government.

Mr. Goulding said he was satisfied Angola was doing its best to comply with peace accords signed with SA in December in which it pledged to keep Swapo guerrillas in Angola well away from the Namibian frontier. — Sapa-Reuters



CRISIS MEETING... South African Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan arrive at Windhoek airport yesterday to attend the multinational meeting today on the situation in Namibia. Picture: Reuters

SA leaders in Windhoek to thrash out settlement

WINDHOEK. — South African leaders arrived here yesterday for an urgent meeting with Cuban, Angolan, Soviet and US officials in a bid to end the intense fighting between Swapo guerrillas and security forces and start Namibia's independence programme back on track.

South African Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha, who said on Thursday that he hoped diplomatic efforts would soon "iron out something", arrived from Cape Town for the weekend meeting of the joint commission set up to monitor the regional peace accord that paved the way for Namibia's independence.

US Assistant Secretary of State Dr. Chester Crocker, the key American architect of the peace plan linking resolution of the conflicts in Angola and Namibia, left Washington on Thursday and was expected to arrive in the territory this morning.

"We will iron out something," Mr. Botha told the SABC on Thursday night.

Emergency airlift

A United States-led emergency airlift of troops assigned to the 4th Airborne Division component of the UN Truce Supervision Force is being rapidly set up to strength.

More than 400 Finnish soldiers previously scheduled to arrive here with Kenyan and Malaysian infantry battalions were expected to land today, but officials said they would not be deployed until the shooting stopped.

Negotiations take place in the Angolan capital on securing a ceasefire that shattered within hours of taking effect last Saturday, evidently were centered on Swapo troops surrendering to Unitag.

What would happen following a surrender to the Unitag forces is unclear.

South Africa historically has rejected Swapo assertions that it has bases in Namibia and has demanded for the past week that the Swapo forces return north of the 5th parallel in Angola as specified in the peace accords.

UN peacekeeping missions chief Mr. Marrack Goulding remained in Angola for a third day yesterday, trying to hammer out a solution acceptable to both sides.

Leaders of Southern African states ended a meeting in Luanda on Thursday with an announcement that each of the frontline states was ready to place an army battalion in the service of Unitag to reinforce the UN consent.

The offer was rejected by South Africa. — UPI

SWA Police's policy to catch, not kill

OSHAKATI. — The task of the South West African Police was not to carry out a war but to apprehend the enemy, Chief Inspector Derek Brune said at a press conference here yesterday.

Swapo has killed, with only slight aid from army forces, 259 Swapo guerrillas since fighting started in Ovambo a week ago. Eight Swapo have been taken prisoner to date.

"It is only in very isolated incidents that one (guerrilla) will actually give up and stand still," the inspector said in explanation.

"It is their policy to carry their wounded back with them and after a contact they usually disperse into smaller groups and escape from the area."

With regard to Swapo's contact policy, the inspector said: "The police force is not there as an army to carry out a war, we are there to apprehend."

"In other words our first interest, unless we are attacked, is to arrest these people."

The inspector said the police had not, however, met with a similar attitude from Swapo. "They have throughout attacked immediately when they have seen any of our units," he said.

"No member of Swapo has ever attempted to give himself up."

Inspector Brune said police had not received instructions on what police policy would be after Swapo's deadline to surrender today.

Asked if police policy might then change to one of kill-before-capture, he said: "I assume this would be the case." — Sapa



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heads for 'triangle', death
Swappo troops as Curfew, more

WINDHOEK. — With a new wave of Swapo guerillas streaming into Namibia, the South African government late yesterday suspended the run-up to the elections for the territory.

It also brought back the dusk-to-dawn curfew in Ovamboland and recalled citizen units in the north's white farming areas.

Armoured-car escorts are shepherding civilian traffic along the busy Ondangwa-Oshakati road and jet fighter-bombers have been called in for the first time to assist security forces in heavy firefights.

At least 100 Swapo infiltrators were last night reported heading south for the white farming areas of Tsumeb, Grootfontein and Outjo, known as the "triangle of death" from previous guerilla attacks.

There were also fears that the invasion tension would trigger violence between Swapo supporters and DTA and other groups in Katatura township outside Windhoek.

350 insurgents

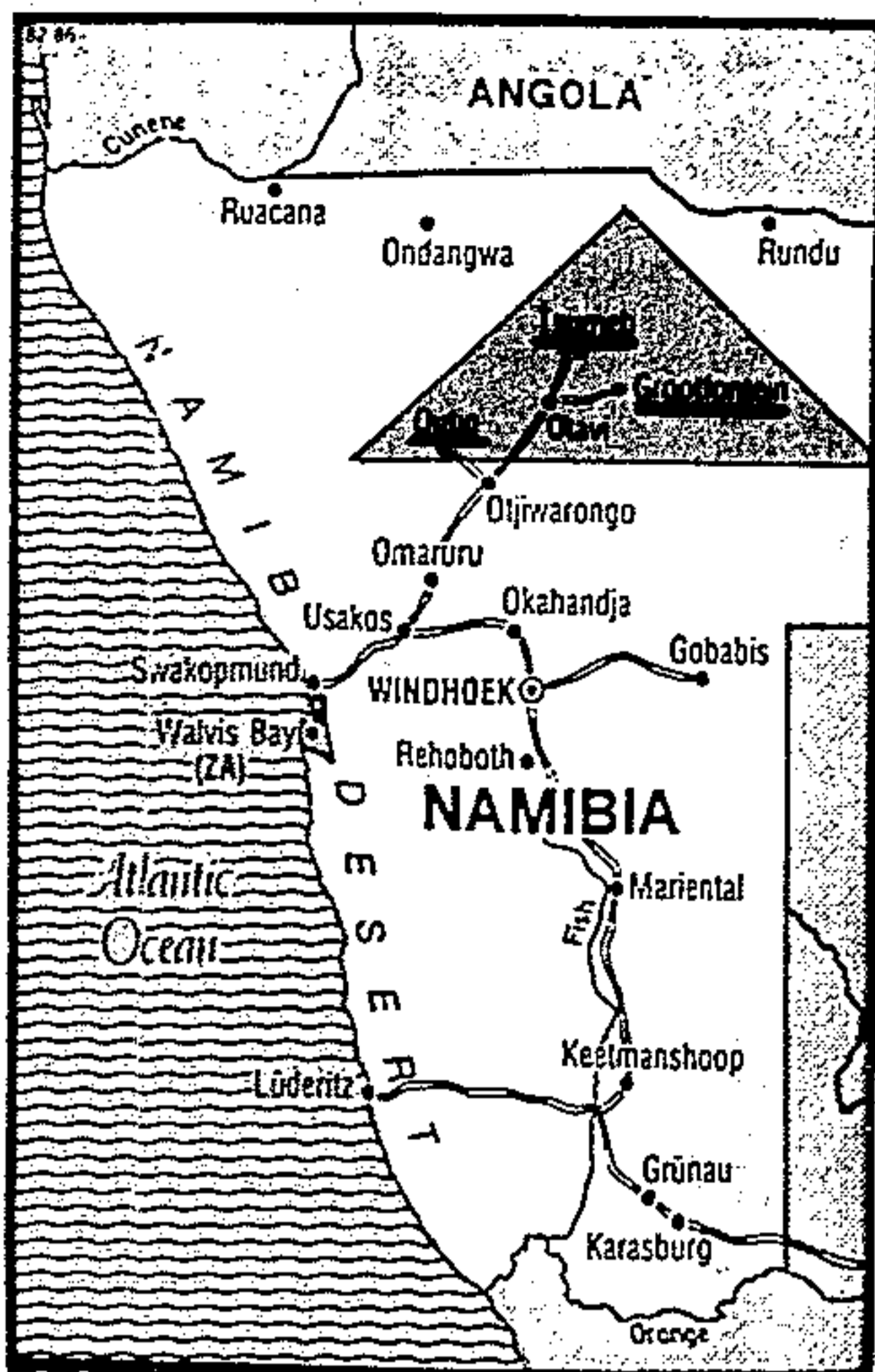
A SWA Territory Force spokesman said Swapo was in the midst of a full-scale attack, intended to force the international community to accept Swapo bases inside the country.

Colonel Herman du Plessis said 350 insurgents had crossed the border in the past 36 hours, making a total of nearly 2 000 since April 1. Some may have penetrated as far as 100km into Namibia. Some 700 more are massed close to the border.

The death toll last night stood at 261 Swapo guerillas and 26 security force members killed, with 78 police injured, some in a critical condition.

Yesterday the territory's South African-appointed administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, announced that the continuing incursions of Swapo guerillas from Angola had made it "impossible to contemplate" free and fair elections scheduled under UN Security Council resolution 435.

"One is, therefore, faced with a de facto



suspension of that resolution," he said.

He said he would resume talks with UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari on day-to-day steps towards elections, originally scheduled for the first week in November, at an unspecified date.

Mr Pienaar said he was ordering reactivation of demobilised Citizen Force commando units to protect farming communities and families around Tsumeb, Grootfontein and Outjo.

The announcement came only hours before UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar was to convene the 15-nation Security Council to discuss the crisis in implementing the 10-year-old resolution bringing independence to Africa's last colony.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in a letter to Mr Perez de Cuellar, said "It is with great dismay that I must report to you that the situation has further deteriorated.

"Swapo incursions are assuming such

Cape Times

8/4/89

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proportions that in the words of General Prem Chand (the UN military commander in Namibia), no UN force would have been able to handle the situation in any event," Mr Botha said.

He told a news conference he hoped the urgent meeting of the joint monitoring committee today at a farm outside Windhoek involving US, Soviet, Cuban, Angolan and South African officials would lead to "agreement on practical steps to be taken to stop the unnecessary and senseless killings started exclusively by Swapo".

"It is a sad, tragic situation," Mr Botha said after telling Mr Ahtisaari that more Namibian soldiers were being armed to stem the Swapo invasion.

Advance flights carrying UN peace-keeping battalions are expected to arrive today at Grootfontein, but officials say they won't be deployed until the shooting stops, and Mr Botha cast doubt on their effectiveness.

'Confined in Namibia'

Mr Botha said he and Mr Pienaar told Mr Ahtisaari that without further troop deployment to bolster and relieve combined police and military units battling the insurgents the past week, authorities "will not be able to safeguard the lives of the people in those districts".

In Luanda, UN peace-keeping operations chief Mr Murrack Goulding told reporters yesterday that the UN, Angola, other frontline states and Swapo had agreed to proposals that would allow disarmed Swapo guerillas to be confined at least temporarily in Namibia by Untag forces.

But Mr Botha was adamant Pretoria would not concede to Swapo claiming territorial rights it failed to win during the bush war.

"My government will insist that Swapo must be stationed north of the 16th parallel (in Angola)," he said.

"How they are going to be taken there is a practical matter. The South African government would be prepared, as a matter of compassion, to consider any practical means that will get them there. These matters will be under discussion," he said.

— Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter-AP

● More reports, pictures — Page 2

Business future bright

Chen 9/4/89

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But sweeping economic changes not viable at present

By **CONNIE MOLUSI**

BRIGHT prospects exist for businessmen and prospective investors in post-independence Namibia, according to a University of South Africa academic who has recently returned from a research visit to the territory.

Prof B van Rensburg gave a business insight into the economic possibilities after a two-week visit.

Namibia presents a natural export market for all types of South African merchandise which needs to be fostered and cultivated with a view to penetrating the African market.

Van Rensburg argues that Swapo will play a major role in the government of an independent Namibia, but is expected to tone down its Marxist socialist ideals. He posts

several factors:

- The country needs the white section of the population - who control or own the major proportion of investment in the country - to remain in Namibia with their capital and entrepreneurial skills to maintain the present economic activity.

- If the confidence of the white section of the population breaks down, it will be difficult to convince foreign capital to invest in an independent Namibia.

- Post-independence Namibia will have to tone down its orthodox Marxist ideology so that it does not alienate South Africa and West Germany - a large section of Namibia's white population are Germans.

- Because Swapo will probably not obtain a two-thirds majority in the election it will have to compro-

mise with parties to the right.

Van Rensburg describes Namibia's economy as "dualistic Third World" - comparable to South Africa's. He says it consists of a large, impoverished, traditional subsistence sector, where most of the African population depend on living from the land, while a small commercial sector is in the hands of whites.

Commercial farming is relatively well developed and contributed 12 percent to the gross domestic product in 1987. Key products are red meat and karakul pelts.

Mining plays an important role in the economy and contributes to the GDP and earns foreign currency.

In 1987 mining contributed almost 25 percent towards the GDP and 73

percent towards export earnings.

Van Rensburg sees Namibia's economy as a typical mineral/agricultural economy - illustrated by its dependence on world market-determined prices for its mining and agricultural products.

Namibia has considerable resources of gas, oil and coal, although these are presently not exploited.

About 1,5 percent of the economically active population is engaged in fishing - which, although it contributes a relatively small proportion towards GDP - is regarded as one of the areas of possible future growth.

The fishing industry contributes to foreign exchange earnings mainly through export of unprocessed fish and rock lob-

ster.

The fishing industry is looking forward to the extension of the economic territorial waters to 300km after independence, which may change the character of the industry. Renewal of the territory's fishing fleet will need great investment capital - an area where foreign investors may make a valuable contribution to future economic development.

Namibia has a well-developed infrastructure.

According to Van Rensburg: "No matter which party dominates the government of post-independent Namibia, there are a number of powerful economic forces which will inhibit the degree of freedom of that government to follow economic policies which do not harmonise with those forces."

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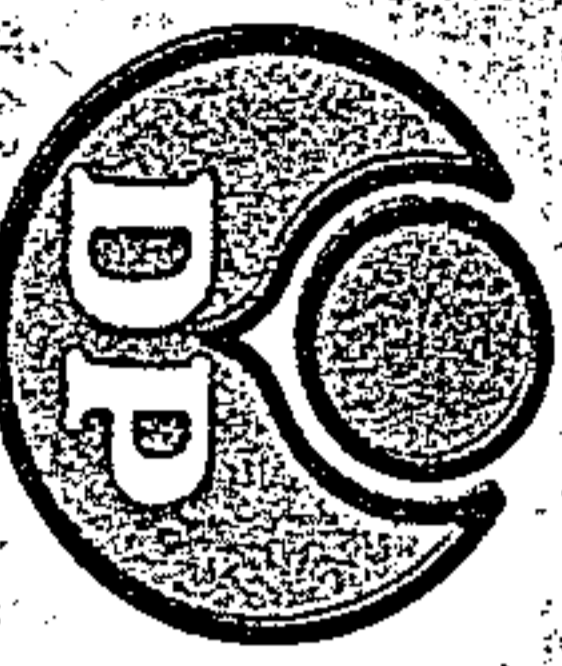
New Pik warning to UN as five nations hold peace talks in bush

NAMIBIA'S NIGHTMARE

1/4/89 Times



SAM NUJOMA



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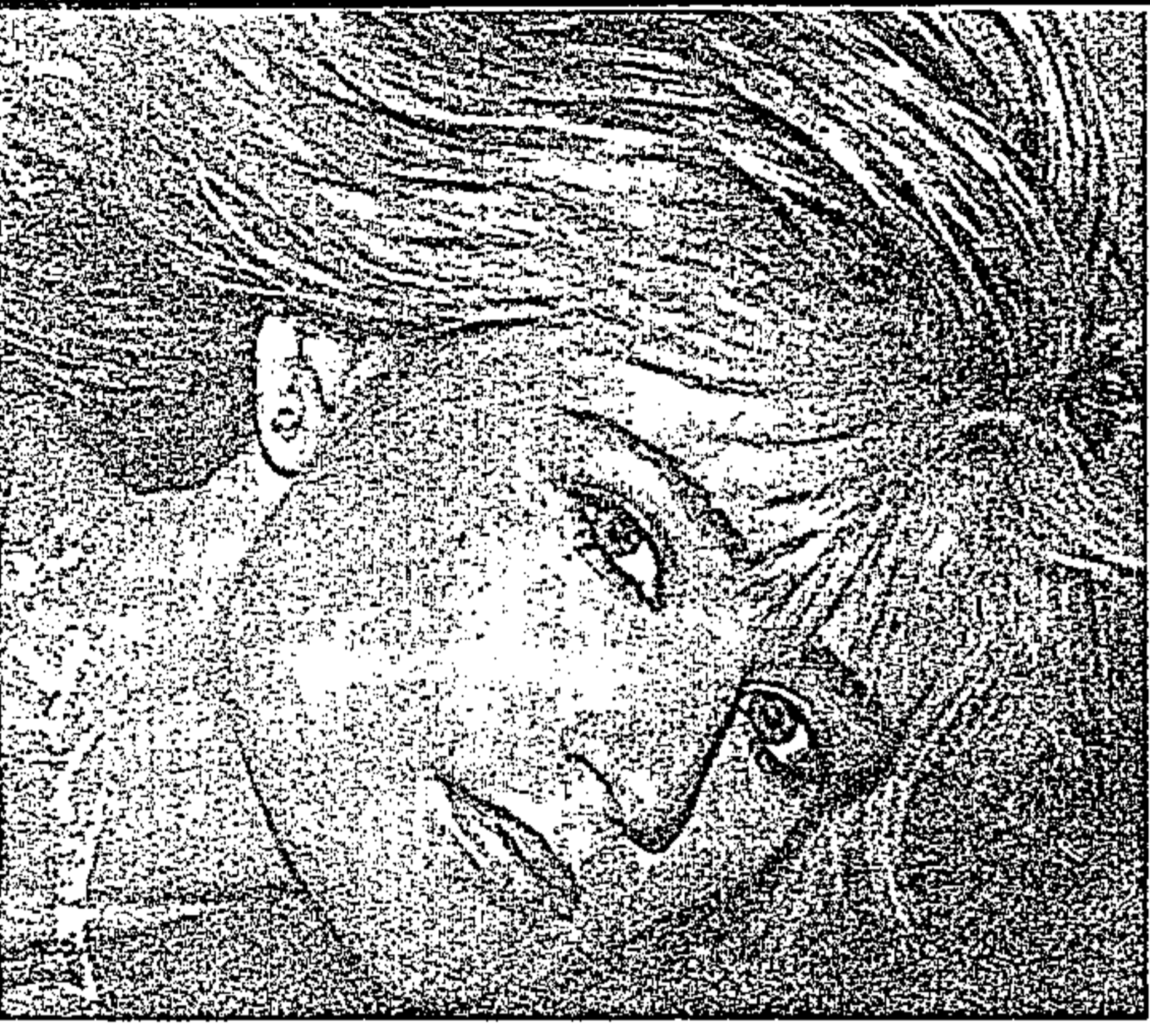
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LAUNCHES

NEW PARTY

By BRIAN POTTINGER
THE Progressive Federal Party brought the cash, the Independent Party the visual effects and the National Democratic Movement greetings from the extra-parliamentary opposition. Thus was South Africa's latest



Actress Sonia Basson, who claims Baronet asked her to marry him
I was boxing idol

By PETER KENNY: Windhoek

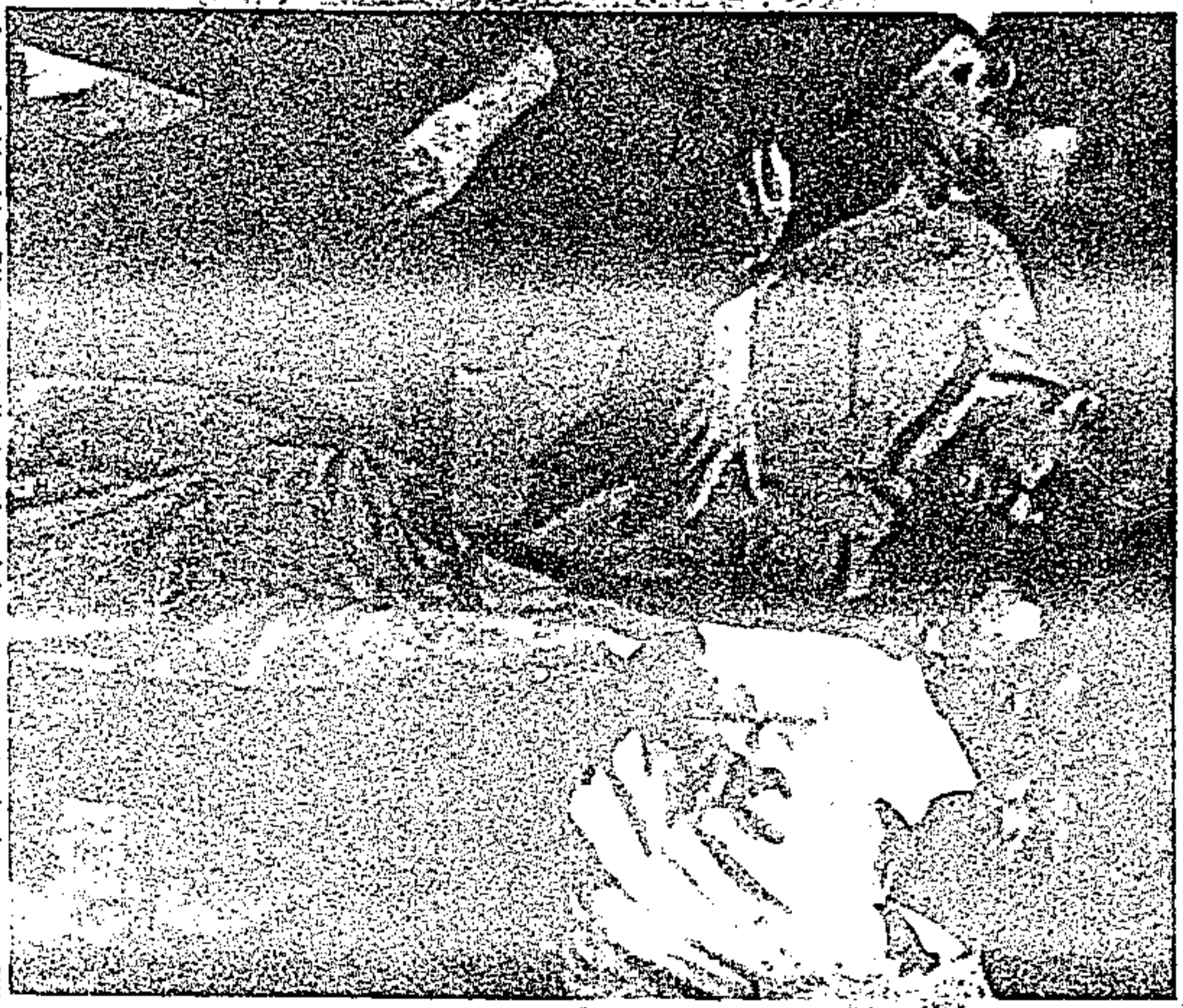
FOREIGN MINISTER Pik Botha yesterday sent a blunt ultimatum to the UN Secretary-General: Force Swapo back into Angola or renegotiate the whole Namibian peace deal.

Although couched in careful diplomatic language, Mr Botha's letter to Dr Javier de Cuellar accuses the UN of unilaterally changing the terms of the agreement which was so painstakingly put together in countless meetings.

It leaves no doubt that, unless Pretoria receives a satisfactory reply, the Government may reconsider its commitment to the UN peace formula. Mr Botha told Dr De Cuellar of his concern that the Secretary-General had proposed in the Informal Security Council meeting on Friday that Swapo forces in

SLAP DOWN SNEAKY NATIONAL
Sunday Times Opinion, Page 16

Namibia be given the option of being confined to UN-supervised bases in the territory or returning to Angola. It came as a "personal shock" to him that the Secretary-General would have thought South Africa would even contemplate the proposal that Swapo bases be established in Namibia. "It was indisputable, said Mr Botha, that in terms of all the agreements Swapo forces must retire north of the 18th latitude, be monitored there by Urhag, remain restricted for six weeks and be brought back to Namibia under supervision. Allowing Swapo to set up bases in Namibia meant it would have succeeded in projecting itself as an independent force and amount."



A worried looking Pik Botha talks to other delegates to yesterday's peace talks in the Namibian bush. Picture: PHILIP LILLINGTON

The long nightmare

□ From Page 1

logistics base at Grootfontein to the battle area was crowded with South African armoured columns. Many vehicles had been hastily removed from freight trains bound for South Africa.

Outside the main airbase at Ondangwa, a 21-year-old SAP constable serving with the feared SWA police tracking unit, Koevoet, stood red-eyed with fatigue.

The unshaven constable from Durban said: "I have had only two hours sleep in the last three days.

"The whole time we have been fighting. I reckon we've killed close to 40 Swapo. But God, it's been terrible.

"I have lost two of my men. My commander is in hospital badly wounded."

Waving to the group of four battle-scarred Casspirs in his unit, he shook his head and said: "I'm running this outfit

now. I hope they don't call on us, our vehicles are not up to a decent battle."

Two helicopters clattered low overhead on a final approach. Through the open doors wounded SA troops could be seen strapped to stretchers and being tended by medics.

As the choppers landed outside the field hospital the young police constable's radio crackled.

"There's a contact with Swapo close by," he said. "We've got to go."

Although yesterday, the eighth day of clashes, was "fairly quiet", Chief Inspector Derek Brune said the lull was "definitely not" seen as an indication that any of the estimated 1 900 insurgents had taken up the noon deadline to lay down their arms.

Another police spokesman was reported to have said Swapo infiltrators were beginning to run out of ammu-

nition and food.

More firefights could take place at any time.

Security forces maintained that no Swapo units had so far crossed the "red line" which separates strife-torn Owamboland from the white-owned farming areas around Tsumeb and Grootfontein.

But the threat exists, and citizen force units, consisting of mainly the farming community from Tsumeb, Grootfontein and Outjo, have been activated.

Unofficial reports that a farmstead in the Tsumeb area had been attacked and that a farmer had been shot could not be confirmed.

During the bloodiest fighting this week there were hardly any UN officials in the war zone.

The only visible UN soldier was a young officer at the military gate into Oshakati. He counted troops moving in and out and returned to reading a paperback novel.

The main body of troops expected to monitor the Ovambo region are expected to arrive from Malaysia soon, defence force officials said.

WEEKEND Argus

April 8 1989

The need for peace in a troubled Namibia

THURSTING powerfully out of the blood and mayhem in northern Namibia is another force which it would be foolish to ignore: It is the absolute desire of some of the world's greatest powers that the much-battered peace process in the territory not be allowed to collapse.

Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Britain Prime Minister, has made this clear to the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev who, no doubt, has passed these sentiments on to the government in Angola which has already responded by declaring that Swapo is in the wrong.

The United States, which brokered the deal, will not have been idle in the process either.

Simply put, and no matter how bad the war might look right now, there is too much riding on this settlement for it lightly to be allowed to fall.

High among the priorities — as seen from abroad and apart from matters of injured pride — is the perception that a bloody and unhappy end to the Namibian peace initiative will put back the cause of a negotiated end to the problem in South Africa itself by many years.

What South African whites do not need right now is further evidence that black rule, even under the "guiding hand" of the international community, leads to figurative and literal disaster.

South Africa, it is widely perceived, is on the brink of a new era under the likes of someone like Mr F W de Klerk.

Disaster in Namibia will aid only the Conservative Party here and there is no future in that for anybody save the CP.

The Russians for their part, apparently eager as they are to improve their relations with the great Western powers, will be anxious to gain what kudos they can in London.

SAM NUJOMA'S decision to sanction the incursion by Swapo fighters into Namibia has raised doubts about his leadership, writes RICHARD DOWDEN of The Independent in a profile of the Swapo leader.

Dateline: WINDHOEK

SAM NUJOMA, Swapo's president, has just made what is probably the biggest political and military blunder in Swapo's 29-year history.

There is now little doubt that he gave his blessing to the infiltration of more than 1 000 Swapo fighters into Namibia just as the independence process began.

However, such is the almost mythical status of his leadership that it will probably not cost him his job.

Mr Nujoma is a shrewd politician. He is no intellectual, but he knows how to survive. His burly frame and greying beard give him gravitas which he combines with an easy charm and a broad smile.

Within the movement they call him, affectionately, "The Old Man".

He doesn't drink or smoke and is reported to be obsessive about his health — an obsession reflected in his almost paranoid mistrust of anyone who does not adhere to the party line.

That party line is not the hard-line Marxism Pretoria has depicted. Mr Nujoma is at heart an old-fashioned African nationalist whose Marxist rhetoric is unlikely to turn into socialist policies in a free Namibia.

MR Nujoma, 59, has been president of Swapo since it grew out of the Ovamboand Peoples Organisation in 1960. In the 1950s, he was a railway steward, a job which took him to Cape Town, then in political ferment with the rise of the African National Congress.

He was sacked because of trade union activities and became a leading opponent of the apartheid authorities' plan to move non-whites to a new township outside Windhoek. In December 1959, he was arrested at a

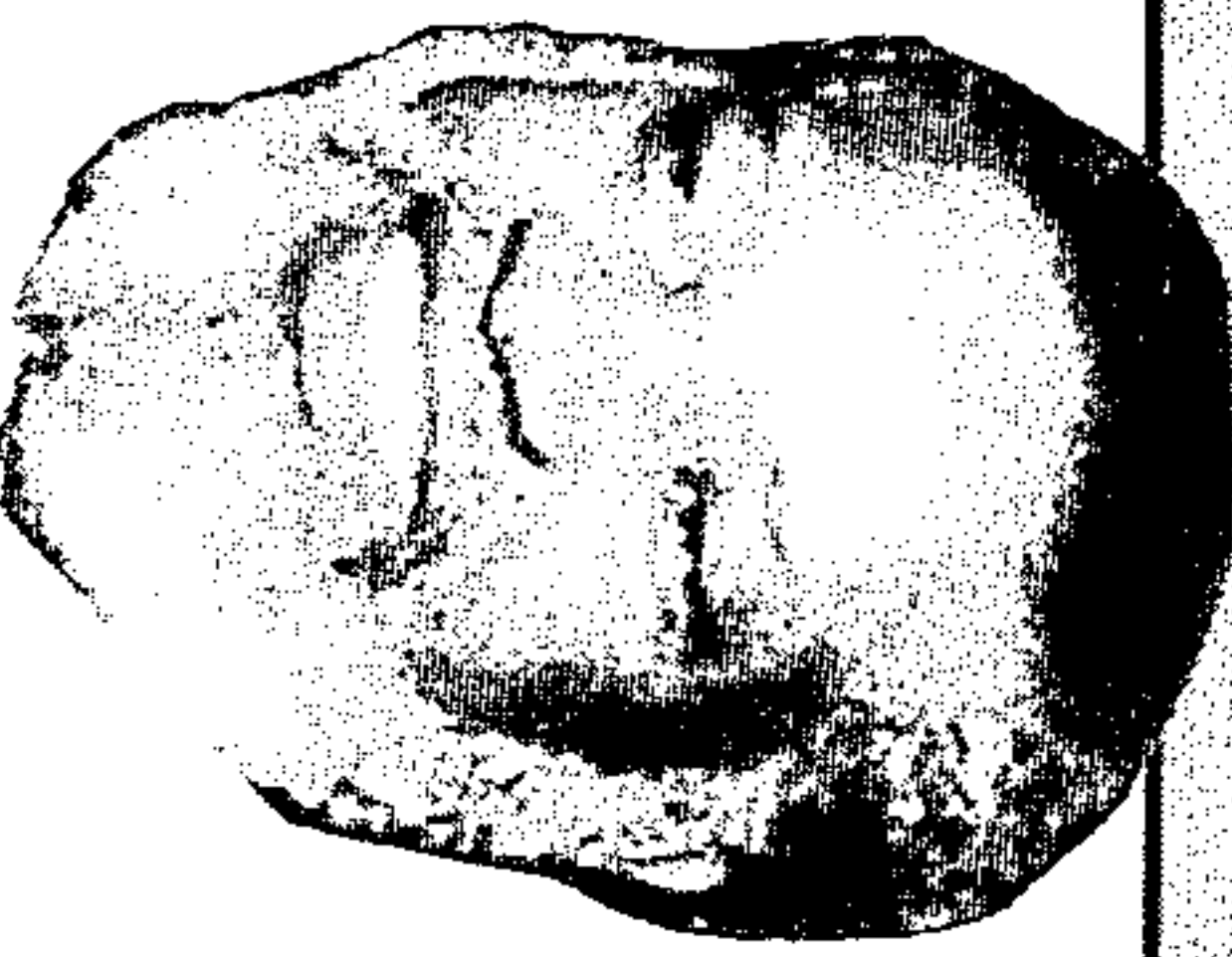
demonstration, but was released pending trial and fled the country in February 1960.

Later that year, the Ovambo and Peoples Organisation merged with the South-West African National Union and Mr Nujoma assumed the presidency. Since then, he has travelled the world preaching Swapo's cause and has survived at least two serious revolts against his leadership.

Although he has become the embodiment of the liberation movement, Mr Nujoma may not determine its policies. At a recent meeting of Swapo's Central Committee in Harare, he proposed that he should become a unifying national figure seeking reconciliation with Namibia's other parties. He was overruled, revealing that he may be as much a prisoner of the party as its leader.

The core of Swapo's external leadership comes from the Kwanyana sub-group of the Ovambo

Nujomo loses his touch



protest and struggle which have distinguished Swapo's external policies for the past 20 years.

NOW, however, something else is needed. Towards the end of last year it slowly dawned on Swapo that it might lose the title of "sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people", which the United Nations granted it in 1976, and that it would soon have to fight an election — and, perhaps, rule a country.

So far, the external leadership has failed to grasp the new realities — to the increasing alarm of the internal leadership. The front-line states are known to have lost patience with Mr Nujoma, too.

Leaders are not easily removed peacefully in Africa, but Swapo has an alternative in An-dimba Toivo ja Toivo, its general-secretary. If Mr Nujoma is to back down, Mr Ja Toivo could find himself the focus of those seeking a new leader.

LOSERS and WINNERS

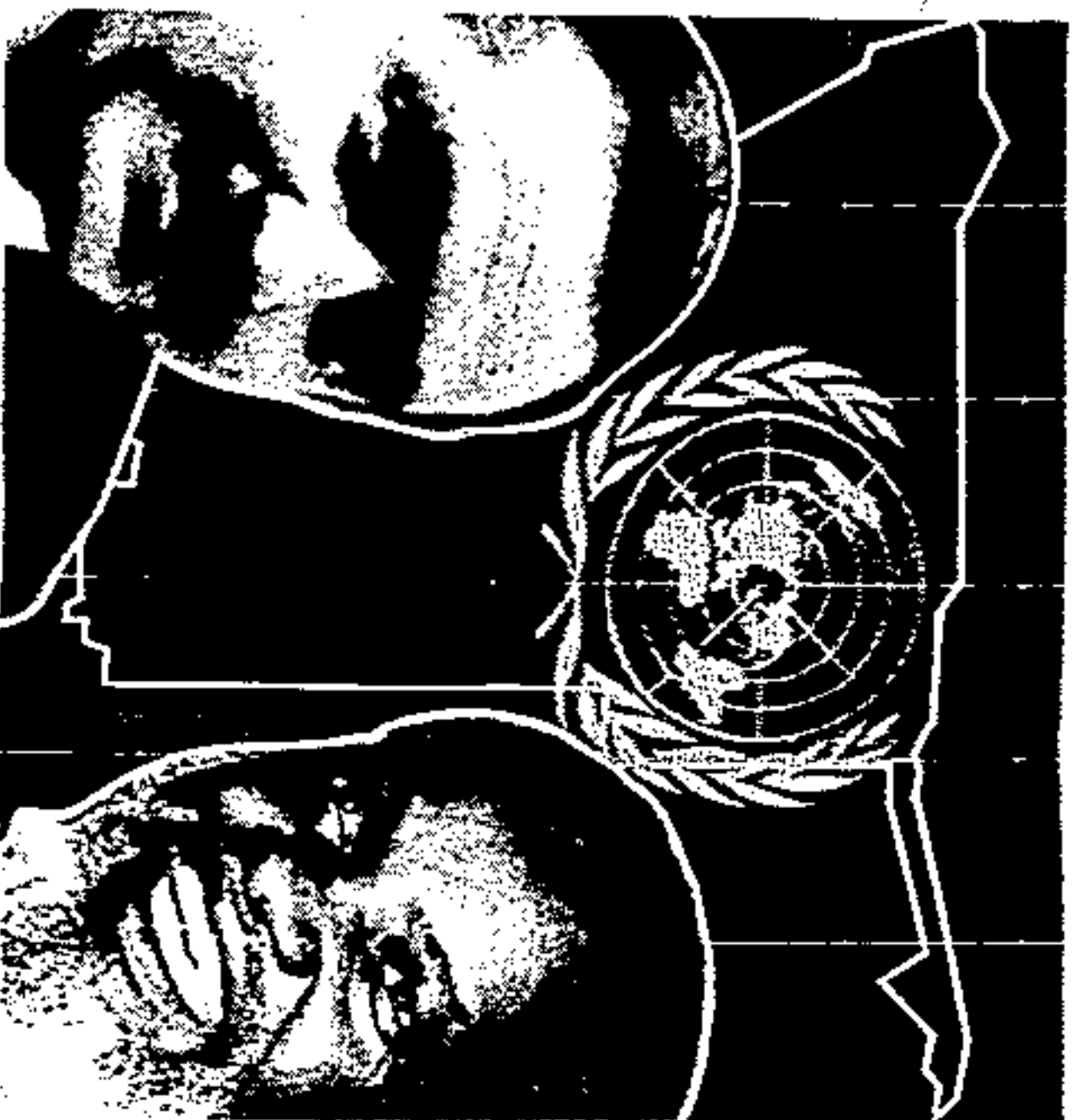
THE big loser in this week's violent start to Namibia's new era is Swapo leader Sam Nujoma.

This is the consensus among many American analysts, one of whom said: "This was supposed to be his week, the start of his emergence as an international statesman. However, he managed to screw up all on his own."

Their view is that Sam Nujoma must bear the responsibility for the disastrous incursions by armed Swapo bands from Angola into northern Namibia — even if he, personally, did not order his guerrillas to move south.

One Africa specialist who has been closely involved in the Namibia independence issue described Swapo as a "pretty low-capacity organisation".

The Swapo move outraged the US government which branded it immediately as



by NEIL LURRSSEN
Weekend Argus Foreign Service
Dateline: WASHINGTON

in the

legal infiltration" — and Mr Nujoma's Soviet allies were not pleased.

The belief here was that the Soviets, while not publicly chastising Mr Nujoma, would have him on the carpet privately.

Meanwhile, American analysts are still scratching their heads over Swapo's moves.

ONE theory was that there was a split between Swapo's military and political leadership and that the military commanders decided to take advantage of

The South Africans demonstrated effectively that they would not be pushed around, made the right impression by expressing compassion for those Swapo killed and came up with a good way to end the crisis by calling for an emergency meeting of the Joint Commission and offering safe passage back to Angola for the Swapo guerrillas.

SOME analysts noted that it was a strange turn of events that saw SA-controlled security forces acting under United Nations auspices against a guerrilla

FOCUS 4



DAV 7
by ANDREW DRYSDALE

A column by the Editor of The Argus which reflects some of the week's news and gives readers an idea how their newspapers work.

It's here for the fighter and the writer

THOSE who have known the place, know the place, know the place. It is both late and real.

All these troubled there has been beguilingly about "the boy". When first you go to N you can't help wonder what the trouble's about such a vast and lonely sparsely populated 1.3 million).

Why this urge to fight there is so much space

The terrain ranges the mighty dunes along the coast, through desert, rocky ridges, hills and yons to the flatland Ovambo and elsewhere. The flatlands are the towering wooden observation posts or crouch atop towers to watch for movement across the plains of scrub, impa-bush and oceans of sand. This is where the

On the surface, Gesell's ruling would have evidence would have been charged with any to Congress when pilot en

W.C. News 8/4/89

Washington and the like for helping to settle a distant, regional conflict.

In the circumstances it seems Swapo's insistence that its troops — or more properly its armed propagandists — have a right to be in Namibia is on increasingly shaky ground.

The real possibility is that Swapo is, literally, going to be taken by the scruff of the neck and yanked back into line — as, it seems, it deserves to be.

At very least, that must be the hope. The consequences of calling this process off now and going back to a sort of UDI solution among "internal" parties will be pretty dismal. Indeed, it simply isn't a realistic option.

agreements, perplexed the Soviets and, according to some sources in Washington, caused consternation among its Cuban and Angolan friends.

Some intelligence analysts believe that the sighting of Cuban forces near the Angola/Namibia border at the height of this week's fighting would not be interpreted as Cuban support for Swapo.

"They may have been there in case of South African hot pursuit across the border," one well-placed analyst suggested.

The Soviets were dismayed because the flare-up threatened to derail a regional peace agreement which symbolised a new spirit of co-operation between the superpowers — a development in which the Soviets have taken a great deal of pride and which they fully intend to exploit for international and domestic prestige.

elgn Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, who is in Windhoek this weekend for an emergency meeting of the Angola/Namibia Joint Commission, told Russian TV viewers: "Were it not for the role played by our country in the broad context of international affairs, and in this particular case for a regional settlement, I think there would have been no accord. Thus our role here was integral."

In case anyone missed the point, he added: "... all the parties to the talks, including the US intermediaries, put a high value on the Soviet Union's role."

Mr Adamishin noted significantly that the Angola/Namibia agreements met the interests not only of Angola and Cuba, but also of Swapo — and that the Soviet Union saw sufficient advantages in that.

This week, Swapo's actions threatened to spoil the peace momentum with what the New York Times called a "brazenly il-

llogical and unhelpful" attitude in northern Namibia with security forces confined to the bases.

They set out to achieve what they had failed to do in a quarter century of rebellion — establish permanent bases.

Another theory was that there was no split between the Swapo wings and the move south was an overall Swapo decision to go in armed because of a fear that the SA government had no intention of letting Swapo win the elections.

Fearing violence, the UN Security Council would reverse its decision to reduce the size of the UNTAG monitoring force.

According to one scenario, Swapo would seize Ovambo land and, with the South Africans immobilised in their bases and constrained by world opinion, Nujoma would striply declare Namibia independent.

Another general belief here is that South Africa scored substantial points this week.



THE bloody woman's in diplomatic overdrive," a veteran of the Downing Street media corps remarked at the end of Mrs Margaret Thatcher's Press conference in Malawi last week.

The Iron Lady had been under full steam again calling for cool heads and regional peace talks and a reduction in sanctions against South Africa.

However, in all of it there was an unmistakable suggestion that Maggie's main mission was to grease frontline palms towards a greater end: black co-operation to bring about negotiation with Pretoria.

Then, to an extent, the boiler bust. Mrs Thatcher flew off to Windhoek for a meeting with Mr Pik Botha and landed slap-bang in the middle of a war.

Not any old war, but a war in a country she had paraded in speeches and discussions with black leaders during that week as a shining example of how peace could be achieved by getting people to talk to one another.

Maggie must be regretting now her impetuosity in going to Namibia. Her trip will be seen — certainly by such as Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe — as a physical association with failure.

However, the question that presents itself is why Maggie should be expending all this energy at this time on a bet-nice-to-South Africa drive.

Maggie's mission of peace

by JOHN RYAN, Weekend Argus Africa News Service

MUCH of Maggie's enthusiasm may derive from the settlement over Angola and Namibia, in which British diplomacy played a significant part. Perhaps she is confident she can carry on where Chester Crocker left off.

Mrs Thatcher's natural vanity has been fed by her achievements in improving relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. She is justified in regarding herself as a skilful broker.

She is the leader of the most respected member of the Commonwealth of states are members. It is likely Mozambique, and even Namibia, will apply for membership at some stage in the future.

So, in that area, she is in a position of much influence.

However confident Mrs Thatcher may feel about her prospective role as a mediator in the southern African situation, she has already encountered one solid obstacle in the form of Robert Mugabe.

Apparently, Mr Mugabe's response to the Thatcher proposal for regional negotiations with South Africa was a stony negative. In their private discussions in Harare, her appeal that the ci-

darling of the UN. American analysts wonder now how long Sam Nujoma can survive as Swapo's leader.

They say he is erratic, his handling of Swapo's internal tensions has also been poor, adding that the organisation has some members who are clearly superior to Mr Nujoma.

One analyst put it this way: "Swapo leaders have been living on the backs of their followers for many years now. It has been a good life for them."

"They have every right to be nervous now. They have to fight an election under international scrutiny and they will probably win. Then they have to run a country and make tough, intelligent choices."

"They are facing reality — and I guess they, since they are pretty low-capacity organisation, are frightened."

then exploded into ferocious full-on carnage this week. When enduring peace, international supervisor to be ushered in.

Out there . . .

But then, menace lurked there all along. Of it has been a war of wounding and waiting. Of charging and running. Out there, where, is the menace.

Over all these years of border" the helicopter ships have gone flap, flap just above tree-top the gunners' sweaty eyes piercing and reading just in case.

The army was there to course. The fortified were protected by weak with "fields of fire" so Some they would to down just about anything just in case.

And from the bases, the terminable sweep for mines and the caution bumpy rides in armoured hicles with men strapped harnesses . . . just in case OUR own men in the correspondents and photographers of The Argus Africa News Service (AANS), had a hectic time since broke loose in that far place.

Action galore, but getting there, then being able to the story before it's over en by the next wave of e is what it's about.

No sightseeing

Says AANS editor C L'Ange:

"Getting to the war, the big problem. It's raging in the bush and hard to catch up. We've ally been driving out our own. That can be dangerous. It's no sightseeing "Trouble is you don't know where the action until you're on top of it. If you get unlucky you get a bullet."

And it also means long, hours and the of having to control limited communication ties and huge distances and huge distances. The likes of reporter Vernon and Jon Gweh photographer Doug who have been at "the end" while Brendan keeps tabs on Windhoek. Getting the story (after driving a or hitching a ride on a plane) is only part of the job. Getting to a place or any phone — or making connection to fly film time to meet dead) something else. Sure, you want to know what's going on. The boys in the bush are . . . just in case.



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END OF THE PHONEY PEACE

CARNAGE and destruction returned to northern Namibia this week as bloody war erupted, shattering a phoney five-month peace.

At noon yesterday there were no signs that marauding Swapo guerrillas had heeded a call by Administrator-General Louis Pienaar to lay down their arms or leave Namibia for Angola, from where they had launched their infiltration.

The South African Defence Force said Swapo guerrillas were continuing to infiltrate Owambo — pushing through over a 500km front from the desert land of Kaokoland to the denser bush of eastern Owambo — in the worst fighting of the 23-year war. Throughout the week police backed by army units engaged in pitched battles with groups of guerrillas, some more than 100-strong.

At least 18 armoured vehicles are believed to have been knocked out by guerrillas carrying RPG-7 grenade-launchers and armour-piercing rifle-launched missiles.

Truckloads of captured arms including landmines, surface-to-air missiles, rockets, cannons and mortars were ferried into the military nerve centre at Oshakati that had been gearing itself for peace until April 1.

Civilians, police and soldiers all appeared shocked and dismayed by the war that broke out so suddenly on April 1, a day that was expected to herald the start of peace.

Jittery

The United Nations stepped up the pace of deploying its forces as it faced accusations from Namibians, especially black Namibians, that it was not fulfilling its task.

At least 300 Finnish combat soldiers are expected to arrive in Grootfontein today to swelter it out in the north-eastern border region of Namibia.

The Finnish soldiers have been preceded by their own batch of sauna baths, airfreighted from Finland. The Finn who heads the UN team in Namibia, Martti Ahtisaari, paid an emergency visit to the war zone, saying: "We have to reach a ceasefire here somehow."

In the capital, Windhoek, life continued as normal as residents scanned the media for news of the war.

But up north jittery white farmers in the Grootfontein/Tsuneb/Otavi area south of the Owambo border demanded that their local citizen force unit which had been disbanded under the UN peace plan, be immediately reactivated.

Administrator-General Louis Pienaar agreed to the demand as farmers and civilians in the area, known as



Death

returns

to the

bush as

Swapo

and the

militia

renew

bloody

conflict



ON PATROL... a policeman leaves a deserted hut in the bush of the

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9/4/89

Report by PETER KENNY Pictures by PHILIP LITTLETON

slaughter. The army intelligence chief in the Owambo region, Colonel Japie Dreyer, told the Sunday Times: "The terrorists have penetrated 100km south."

The first shots of the flare-up were fired around a desolate kraal at Okahenge, a few kilometres west of Ruacana's hydro-electric station.

Corpses

"When villagers saw armed guerrillas arriving on April 1, they thought the war had ended and that UN forces would be there to greet them," black people in Owambo said this week.

But they did not realise it would result in the worst fighting in a single week since the Namibian border war began in 1966.

At Ondismitwa, about 30km north-west of Oshakati, villagers gathered for the unceremonious burial of 22 guerrillas killed in the fighting last Sunday.

Pastor Thomas Ndawakalanga, of the Evangelical Brethren Church in Namibia, was angered that police had not removed the bodies by Wednesday when villagers

dragged the tattered corpses into a mass grave.

"Instead of being greeted by UN forces, the guerrillas met the full force of the police as they gathered under the tree here," a man said, pointing to a bullet and shell-scarred tree.

South West African Police Spokesman Chief Inspector Derek Brune said: "It is our policy to bring bodies back to the State mortuary for post mortems. But our manpower has been too stretched to do this."

After a full week of fighting Swapo units, some of them manned by former members of the Koevoet counter-insurgency unit, returned wearily to rest and replenish.

"It doesn't matter if we have to fight for six months, we are ready," said a policeman.

The police were supported by mechanised brigades of Ratels and Elands backed by about 1500 infantrymen. This is the first time

reporters covering the war have been allowed to take photographs freely, but in some cases they have been stopped by grim-faced soldiers and policemen.

In the garrison town of Oshakati there was one telephone to serve the scores of journalists trying to transmit news of the war to the world.

Coffins

Residents of Oshakati were warned that Swapo guerrillas were expected to launch a mortar or artillery bombardment of the town.

But for construction company owner Gottfried Donik it was business as usual as he continued building a school for handicapped children in Ongwediva, about 10km from Oshakati.

"Ag man," he said, "we are used to this war. We will just carry on with our work as usual and let others do the fighting." The State mortuary at Oshakati was bursting with

the mutilated corpses of those killed in the battle. At the Ondangwa air base, 35km from Oshakati, South African Air Force helicopters ferried in the wounded either to be treated there or to be "cas-evacuated" to Pretoria.

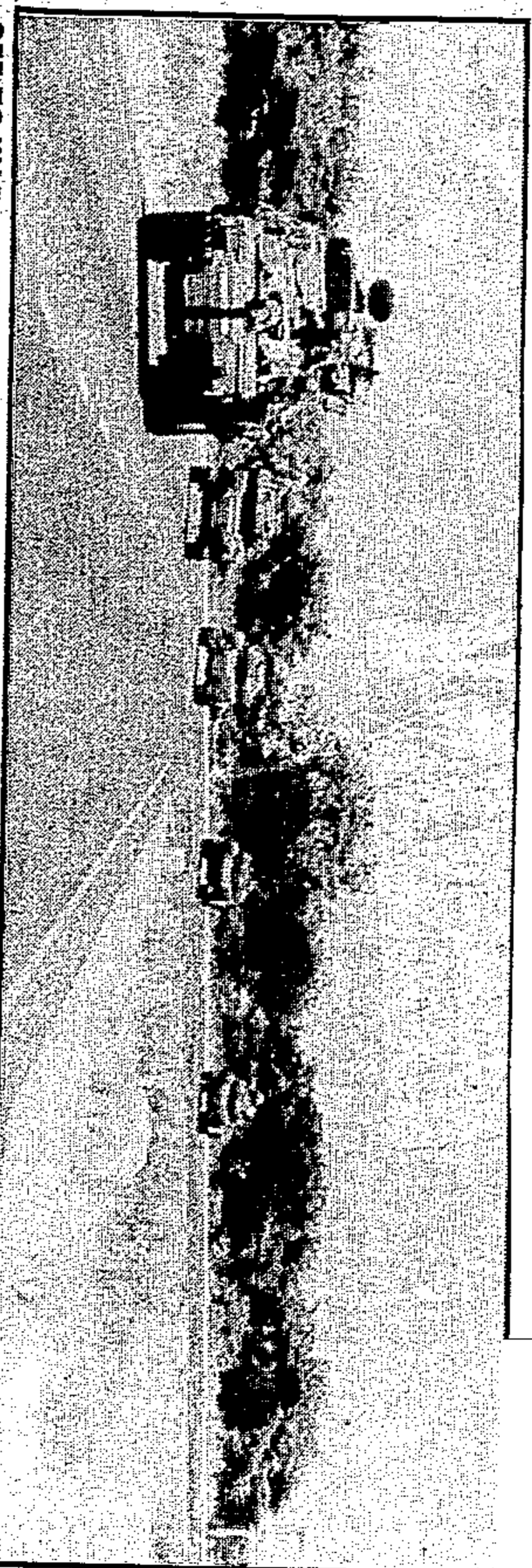
On at least two occasions, coffins draped with the South African flag were slow-marched into the bowels of huge Hercules transport aircraft to be transported home for their final rest.

The army and police said Swapo was trying to establish permanent bases in northern Namibia against the spirit of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435.

SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha insisted the Swapo guerrillas would have to return above the 16th Parallel in Angola before the United Nations plan for peace and independence in Namibia could be returned to its proper course.

Some black Namibians are angry about South Africa's insistence that the guerrillas leave Namibia.

"They are our brothers. Why should they leave Namibia?" a resident of Ondingweva asked.



OFF TO WAR... SWA Police armoured cars set out from Oshakati to join the hunt for Swapo guerrillas

All is not lost, says British envoy

THERE is still hope for peace in Namibia — if the parties involved will return to the conditions of the settlement agreement.

This was the judgment passed on war-torn Namibia yesterday by British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick who addressed students at Rhodes University's annual graduation ceremony.

He said there was a genuine desire on the part of the governments involved to rescue the peace accord.

"The framework for a Namibian settlement is still intact. Mrs Thatcher worked most of the day she spent in Windhoek bolstering the agreement and resisting destructive unilateral action," Sir Robin said.

"What is important now is to get back to it. The forces that came across the

By CHARIS PERKINS

border will have to go back or hand over their arms.

"Swapo forces must stay north of the 16th line and those soldiers who wish to return must do so as civilians. The fighting ended, South African troops must also return to their bases.

"More urgently still, we have to work out terms for a ceasefire. Nearly 300 people have been killed in the past eight days. The fighting cannot be permitted to continue," he said.

Sir Robin praised the parties who negotiated the settlement for accomplishing an "immensely difficult task." "On March 31, just nine days ago,

Namibia was at peace. There had been no bomb explosions, no major incidents for months," he said.

"Twenty-four hours later the situation had changed. By then it was clear that armed groups were crossing the Angolan border in considerable numbers. In the Orwellian world in which we live a remarkable number of people sought initially to contest this.

"It is difficult for some to believe that those they hold in high esteem should act so foolishly. We have nevertheless to face the unpleasant truth that they are.

He said: "The tragic absurdity is that those who have most to lose from this debacle — after the people of Namibia themselves — are those who are most confident they have popular support."

FINALISTS IN

Rough ride

PROUD mum Catherine Macleod gave birth to a baby girl — on board a coastguard chopper taking her from the island of South Uist, in the Outer Hebrides, to hospital on Lewis.

CEASEFIRE

LUANDA — Swapo has bowed to world pressure and agreed to withdraw its guerillas to Angola.

But the week of bloody fighting in Namibia has been a major setback for the United Nations-sponsored independence process for the territory, diplomats said here yesterday.

"It took a long time to build up the confidence that was required, and now that's all destroyed," one diplomat said.

South Africa "may not go on with the independence plan until they get a 100-proof agreement on restriction of Swapo to bases in Angola with guarantees and everything," said another.

South Africa says at least 262 Swapo guerillas and 27 soldiers and police have been killed in clashes

which began on April 1, the day the independence plan was due to start.

Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma's pullback order to his fighters on Saturday has cleared the way for a formal ceasefire to emerge from a meeting near Windhoek between South Africa, Angola and Cuba and representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States and the UN.

Withdraw

South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday Swapo had no alternative but to withdraw.

"Discussions are continuing on practical measures to be taken to ensure compliance by all the parties to their obligations," he said.

Mr Nujoma called on Swapo guerillas to stop fighting, regroup and withdraw to Angola in 72 hours, an order which will go into effect once a ceasefire is agreed with South Africa.

The superpowers and the UN have been struggling to prevent the fighting in Namibia from derailing the UN independence plan and unravelling peace accords signed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba in December.

Guarantees

Apart from Namibian independence, the accords provided for a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola by mid-1991 and guarantees for Angola's future security.

South Africa insisted Swapo guerillas withdraw 150km north into Angola, a move originally resisted by Swapo which has come under increasingly heavy



SAM NUJOMA ... nothing to gain from more bloodshed.



CORPSES of Swapo fighters at Oshakali police station. They allegedly expected a UN welcome.

Kgame fights for his life

MR Steve Kgame, former Dobsonville councillor who was shot six times outside his shop on Thursday, is fighting for his life at a Johannesburg hospital.

Mr Peter Kgame said yesterday that his father's condition had worsened when he visited him on Saturday night.

Mr Kgame, former president of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa and chairman of the Dobsonville housing committee, was gunned down by three assailants just after closing his shop at

By **SY MAKARINGE**

the Dobsonville men's hostel on Thursday night.

He was hit in the back,



STEVE KGAME ... hit by four bullets.

neck and thigh, and another bullet grazed his head. He was rushed to Baragwanath Hospital where he was immediately transferred to a Johannesburg clinic, which was not identified for fear that his enemies might try to finish him off.

Last Thursday's incident was the second attempt on Mr Kgame's life in 14 months. In February last year, he was ambushed outside his shop and shot at by a gang of suspected hitmen.

The assailants have not yet been arrested and it is widely believed they are the same thugs who tried to kill him on Thursday.

Suspicious

Mr Peter Kgame said yesterday that his father told him at his hospital bed that three "suspicious looking characters" walked into the shop and bought food just before closing time.

"He later went to his car. Suddenly shots were fired from three different angles. He was hit in the back, thigh and neck. One of the bullets grazed his head. The assailants then walked away apparently thinking he was already dead," he said.

He said the family was baffled by the attack. He said they had never received any death threats.

A BAD DOSE OF RACISM

Doctors who won't treat black patients — Page 3

REPORTS, pictures and comments in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency.

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Dirt
Dirt on
Swapo's
Sam ²²¹
Nujoma
swelam 10/4/89

LONDON — In a book to be published next month, Sam Nujoma is accused of complicity with South African forces in the killing of a former Swapo chief-of staff.

The book is written by Andreas Shipanga, co-founder of Swapo and a former senior member of its executive committee.

Shipanga also alleges that thousands of dissidents have "disappeared" in Swapo camps in Angola and Zambia, many have been summarily executed, and women and girls have been raped by Swapo leaders. — Sapa.

PAC popularity peaking

swelam
10/4/89

THE popularity, programmes and campaigns launched by the Pan Africanist Congress are on the rise in South Africa, the special United Nations' Committee against apartheid in New York was told at the weekend.

During the organisation's 30th anniversary celebrations, PAC said Africanism and the political outlook of the movement had become superior in South Africa.

PAC was founded in South Africa on April 6, 1959, but was banned shortly before its first anniversary.

PAC said that because of this, many organisa-

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

tions are adopting the organisation as a vehicle to liberate the masses.

It noted that even political observers, analysts and views of many people in South Africa agree that PAC is "capturing the centre stage in the African people's opposition to apartheid."

Struggle

PAC also outlined the involvement and leadership of the organisation throughout the 30 years of its existence, and "in all events which stood out as landmarks in the

African people's struggle in South Africa."

It also pointed out the unconditional release last year from jail of the president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, as another factor that continued to consolidate and stimulate the organisation's happy development.

PAC also paid tribute to Mr Mothopeng's role in opposition to the system of education in South Africa. "He is an embodiment of service, suffering and sacrifice for a noble end," it said.

PAC will mark its 30 years of "principled struggle" with other major rallies in Dar es Salaam, Zimbabwe and London.

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UN probes 'harassment' in Ovambo

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — More police heads could roll in a widening United Nations probe into heavy-handed law enforcement that has already forced the re-assignment of an officer away from the politically-charged Ovambo region.

UN police are investigating more than 50 allegations of harassment, intimidation and other unlawful behaviour against police and military personnel, the deputy chief of Untag, Mr Cedric Thornberry, said yesterday.

"The allegations involve officials of one kind or another, and some of the allegations are dismaying," he said.

Meanwhile, SWA Police (Swapol) are investigating a rape accusation against five Untag members based in Okahandja, officials said.

Mr Thornberry said he had no knowledge of the incident beyond a Windhoek news report citing a complaint filed by a 49-year-old woman, but added that police would have UN co-operation in any investigation.

The weight of complaints directed mainly at security forces in the north has prompted UN planners to ask for more international policemen to help monitor Swapol behaviour.

On Monday a government spokesman, Mr Gerhard Roux, confirmed the suspension of an unnamed senior officer pending an internal police depart-

ment inquiry. UN officials said they were told the officer had been transferred.

Other sources yesterday identified the policeman as a Swapol inspector — equivalent to the military rank of major — and said he had not been suspended, but transferred from his post in Ovambo's garrison capital of Oskakati to Windhoek.

The sources said he had led a patrol of counter-insurgency police that violated UN military control of a mission hospital near Ovambo's Oshikuku settlement last month.

The officer allowed a drunken party by his patrol to take place at the mission centre, identified as a safe haven for Swapo guerillas.

UN police commissioner Mr Stephen Fanning took up civilian complaints of assault and harassment and forwarded a dossier of allegations to Untag chief Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

● An 82mm mortar bomb of Soviet origin was yesterday shown to security forces south of Oshikati, while a member of the local population handed three TM-57 landmines to the security forces. Two Swapol explosives experts defused two landmines at a rubbish dump near the town earlier in the day.

● The Foreign Correspondents' Association yesterday called for a thorough investigation into the recent gunshot attacks on journalists in Namibia.

day
cover.

Call Tinty 10/4/89 ~~772~~ *221*
'Bomber' re-arrested ~~772~~

MBABANE. — Namibian Paulos Marcus (25) who was acquitted last week by Manzini Magistrate's Court on charges of bringing bomb components into Swaziland from South Africa last month, has been re-arrested by Swazi Police.

Nujoma's support remains unshaken

By PATRICK LAURENCE

11/4/89

Many Namibians believe Sam Nujoma is the victim, not the villain, of recent events in Namibia.

Swapo leader Sam Nujoma never enjoyed a particularly high reputation in the West, let alone in Pretoria.

He was seen as an inarticulate man of mediocre intelligence. His patriarchal white beard and warm smile were not enough to compensate for these perceived inadequacies.

According to Western values, Mr Nujoma was seen, at best, as a poor man's Mandela.

His foes portrayed him as a third-rate Mandela who liked smart suits and expensive living and who had a distaste for the bush where thousands of his men died fighting.

Events since April 1, when the UN peace plan for Namibia officially came into operation, and hundreds of heavily armed Swapo insurgents crossed into northern Namibia sparking fierce fighting with SA-backed security forces, identified Mr Nujoma, to Western observers, as a devious politician, characterised by sly cunning.

The incursions were in clear contradiction of the Geneva Protocols, signed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba in August last year.

Under it, Swapo fighters were to be confined to bases north of the 16th parallel in Angola, pending their transfer under United Nations supervision into Namibia next month after laying down their arms.

Swapo was not a party to the agreement. But it later accepted it in writing.

Mr Nujoma, who turns 60 next month, looked distinctly uncomfortable on television last week when, addressing diplomats in Harare, he tried to counter accusations that Swapo guerillas had transgressed the agreement.

He denied that his fighters had crossed into Namibia and later asserted they had been there all along. But, in Western and SA Government eyes, his arguments seemed shallow, if not downright mendacious.

After interviewing captured guerillas, UN observers concluded that Swapo guerillas had indeed crossed the border on the orders of commanders of the People's Army for the Liberation of Namibia.

Measured by Western criteria, Mr Nujoma's credibility plummeted even further at the weekend when he announced that he had ordered Swapo

fighters to withdraw to Angola — thus contradicting earlier refusals to do so on the grounds that they were entitled to be in Namibia.

But, observers cautioned yesterday, it would be a mistake to deduce that Mr Nujoma — and, through him, Swapo — had suffered a devastating blow from which he could recover.

Professor Gerhard Totemeyer of the University of Namibia told The Star that support for Swapo had risen rather than fallen after fighting between SA-backed Namibian forces and Swapo guerillas had left more than 300 Swapo men dead.

Professor Totemeyer, whose PhD was an analysis of political developments in Owambo, had just returned from a two-day trip to northern Namibia to assess attitudes there on the ground.

Men and women, he concluded, were not influenced by rational arguments over legal agreements; they were swayed by emotional arguments.

The emotional arguments are that Swapo was not a party to the initial agreement; and more importantly, that Swapo guerillas had returned to Namibia to surrender to Untag forces, only to be killed by South African security forces.

The UN, it should be recalled, added a corollary to its finding that Swapo fighters had crossed the border agreement: the fighters did not return with hostile intentions.

The Swapo men who died in the fighting were seen by most Namibians in Owambo as "heroes and martyrs" to the cause, Professor Totemeyer said.

He quoted a letter written to UN Secretary-General by Mr Matti Amadhila, the assistant to Bishop Kleophas Dumeni of the Lutheran Evangelical Church. The letter declared that Swapo did not initiate the fighting and complained bitterly about the "wholesale slaughter" which had taken place.

One last thought. Mr Nujoma has been around a long time; he has served as Swapo's president for nearly 30 years from its foundation in 1960 to the present day. Whatever his deficiencies in Western terms, he has proved he is tough and durable and not to be written off too quickly.

Untag troops



take up posts

221

ARL 11/4/89

OSHAKATI. — Untag troops began moving into position at the nine designated assembly points in northern Namibia today to receive Swapo guerrillas for evacuation to Angola.

At midday, United Nations flags were to be hoisted at the points near the Owamboland and Kaokoland borders to identify them for insurgents in the various areas.

However, there is some scepticism among South African and Namibian officials here about whether many guerrillas will in fact report to the assembly points during the allotted 10 days.

Swapo fighters are reported to be suspicious of Untag and its role in the peace process and may start returning to Angola of their own accord.

Tracks found by security forces during the past two days indicate this has already begun.

Meanwhile, Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma has cast new doubts on the Namibian peace settlement. He told the BBC today that his organisation's guerrillas were "scattered all over Namibia" without radio communications.

They would accept orders to return to Angola only from commanders of Plan, the Swapo army.



Double feature on Namibia

THE ARGUS will publish a double special feature on Namibia on FRIDAY.

● An Argus/BP fact file — in English and Afrikaans — giving details of the new nation and its history.

"We have made great concessions by accepting that our guerrilla forces will leave their own country to come and be confined in Angola," Mr Nujoma said.

Asked whether the Swapo forces would now co-operate fully in returning to Angola, Mr Nujoma said: "Swapo is now waiting for Untag to inform Swapo what procedure to take. So far, after our declaration of our willingness for our freedom fighters to leave for Angola, there has been no direct information from Untag to tell us where and how to inform our guerrilla fighters because they are scattered all over Namibia. They are not just at one place.

"How does one inform the fighters? They don't have radios, and it has to be physical contact with them by Plan commanders and by nobody else."

● Church groups in northern Namibia are preparing for their crucial role in implementing the Mount Etjo plan to secure peace in the area.

Under the plan, Swapo guerrillas may seek sanctuary at churches from where they may hand themselves over to UN officials for transfer back to Angola.

● The November 1 deadline for Namibian elections was still the target now that the independence process had been put back on track.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha confirmed this last night following the signing of the Mount Etjo Protocol at the weekend, creating a new ceasefire to end the fighting that started on April 1.

To date 262 Swapo fighters and 27 security force members had died in the fighting between Swapo and SWA Police and military units since April 1. Thirteen captured Swapo fighters were being held at present. — The Argus Political Staff, Sapa and Argus Africa News Service.

Untag officer dies

HARARE. — The leader of the Bangladesh army contingent with the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Untag), Lieutenant Colonel Faizul Karim, has died in Windhoek from injuries received in a road accident.

● A 16-page special section containing interviews with leading personalities in trade, tourism, industry and politics.

In the Argus on FRIDAY.

Colonel Karim was admitted to hospital in a critical condition.

Two other officers involved had minor injuries. — Sapa

Namibian election date stands, says Pik Botha

S/20
11/4/89
By Peter Fabricius and Ken Vernon (221)

November 1 is still the deadline for Namibian elections now the independence process has been put back on track.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha confirmed this in Cape Town last night following the signing of the Mount Etjo accord at the weekend, creating a new ceasefire to end the fighting that started on April 1.

United Nations personnel in Namibia were working all out yesterday to ensure that the first assembly points for Swapo guerillas would be distinctly visible from noon today.

The commander of the military component of Untag, General Prem Chand, visited Oshakati yesterday to discuss possible problems in the implementation of the Mount Etjo declaration.

The Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, warned yesterday that South Africa was "not going to concede a ceasefire" if it was not convinced it would be respected.

Plans for getting Swapo fighters

safe passage to assembly points were underway, and they would not be aggressively pursued.

But if insurgents "aggressively encountered" security forces, the security forces would have no option but to fulfil their duty, Mr Pienaar said.

News of the assembly points was being broadcast by radio.

SWA Police spokesman Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said yesterday small groups of Swapo insurgents were heading back into Angola.

A number of small contacts had taken place throughout Owambo since Saturday, Inspector du Rand reported, but there were no reports of new casualties.

● Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma was criticised by Frontline states leaders at a meeting in Luanda last Thursday, the Mozambique news agency, Aim, reports.

Mr Nujoma had come "under strong criticism for the infiltration of Swapo fighters from Angola into Namibia", said Aim.

● See Pages 2, 7, Page 3 M.

If I may come to the hon member for Johannesburg-North, it was very clear to me that in his original question or interpellation the hon member had in mind the speech that I made on 9 February, and not the speech that I made at the opening of Parliament, because in that speech, he must admit that there was no implication or statement in this particular regard.

What are the facts? The fact is that this hon member's party also opposed the Free Settlement Areas Bill. [Interjections.] By doing so they also opposed the fundamental approach that there should be a group choice with regard to where people want to live and whom they want to associate with. They opposed that.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: We believe in individual choice!

*The MINISTER: Secondly, my hon Deputy Minister and I made it very clear that we accepted the report of the President's Council which said that with regard to the basic settlement pattern of people in our country, they wanted this to take place in a community context. Furthermore, I said that the community could make such a choice and that once it had made the choice, the State had to act protectively with regard to that choice.

On the other hand, we also said that where people made a different choice, namely to associate with other people outside of the group context, the State should also respect that choice and protect it in terms of the laws of the country. [Time expired.]

*Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, at the beginning of the year the hon the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning very clearly suggested that the Government's ideas were moving in the direction of a new form of group definition. In turn, the hon the Minister of National Education gave the country the assurance that the Government was not obsessed with group protection, apartheid and so on.

*The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION: We also said that it was a reality!

*Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Yes, also that it was a reality.

cannot talk about reform and have all the high-sounding phrases that both the hon the Minister and his leader have given us in the past couple of weeks, and still play the game of the CP. They have got to come down on one side of the fence or the other, and they have to do it before September when we go to the people to ask them for their votes.

*The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING: Mr Speaker, the hon member surprises me. The hon member is a member of a party which came into being yesterday, but which decided on its policy the day before yesterday and will have a different policy tomorrow.

The hon member now talks about the standpoint of my party. [Interjections.] The argument of the hon member for Green Point had nothing to do with the question put by the hon member for Johannesburg North. Of course, I said—I am repeating this today—that we in this country should adopt an approach of non-rigid classification. However, where communities or individuals decided to identify themselves within a particular community context, we had to have the right and accept the obligation to protect that choice. That includes the choice of people who choose a different way of life. The Government has accepted that as well. The standpoint of the hon member for Green Point and the party to which he now belongs—I assume he belongs to the new one—is that we should not force choices on people and that we do not want to allow people to make their own choices. This Government is not prepared to reject the basic standpoint that we should protect the choices of people who wish to live in a group where they feel safe. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

Resolution 435: conditions

2. Mr T LANGLEY to ask the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- (1) Whether the conditions for the implementation of Resolution 435 had been complied with on 1 April 1989;
- (2) whether these conditions have been adhered to since then?

B628E.INT

*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, on 1 April not all the conditions for the implementation of Resolution 435 were complied with—I think this is common knowledge—but since then steps have been taken by the governments of South Africa, Cuba and Angola to ensure, as far as is practicable, that the conditions will in fact be complied with.

In regard to a question of this nature we must just remember that Resolution 435 does not stand on its own. It is one of the agreements entered into more than 10 years ago. Since that time further agreements have been entered into and all of them are interwoven into Resolution 435. For example, there is a schedule for Cuban withdrawal, and I can inform this House today that the Cubans are ahead of schedule. In other words, we have information that they have already withdrawn more troops than they were obliged to do.

In addition one cannot in a case of this nature say whether a government is going to honour its obligations until it fails to do so. I know of no way on earth that one can do so but one can create the machinery to deal with such a failure to comply. One can create the structures to ensure that, if an obligation is not honoured, one can deal with the situation. I am grateful to be able to inform this House today that, when it happened that Swapo failed to honour its obligations, the structure which South Africa, Cuba and Angola had wisely created, namely the joint commission, was immediately convened and dealt with the matter.

This brought South Africa great praise, great honour and positive publicity from all over the world, namely that South Africa has a government which does not act precipitately and which remains calm. We are the leading regional power of Southern Africa, that acts in a level-headed way, that created structures in time and, when the kind of thing that Swapo did happens, has the ability to put that structure into operation to ensure that the obligations which parties have committed themselves to are actually carried out.

In fact, the joint commission was so effective that we were able to pre-empt the Security Council of the UN. Since the Security Council was unable to

discharge its duty, we did, and in that way activated the Security Council into accepting that the work which the three governments had done . . . [Time expired.]

*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker . . . [Interjections.]

*Mr M D MAREE: First say thank you to Pik!

*Mr T LANGLEY: I think he can thank me for having created the opportunity for him to say what he said here. [Interjections.] I shall leave it at that.

I cannot agree with the hon the Minister about the effectiveness of his structures. It is very clear that the UN, Swapo and Angola not only failed to comply with the conditions but also that the forces of South Africa and South West Africa were caught off their guard in this situation. [Interjections.] The *Weekend Argus* of 8 April said, on page 15 . . . [Interjections.]

*Mr F J LE ROUX: You people are nervous, aren't you!

*Mr T LANGLEY: They are very nervous.

The *Weekend Argus* said: "The warnings came from both sides of the fence". If one reads the explanation there, the approach of Swapo reminds one of Pearl Harbour and the warnings that were issued in that incident. [Interjections.] Those warnings were ignored.

Those warnings were not only put in writing in that newspaper but the situation of the patrol that happened to come across Swapo members that Saturday morning does not indicate that it had received any warning. The machine guns on the armoured vehicles of that patrol had been disassembled. They had to offload armoured vehicles from the trains. A police officer said on television the other night: "We shall not be caught off our guard again". I want to emphasise the word "again". To my mind this is not indicative of effective structures.

The hon the Minister knew that Swapo was advancing. He told Mr Alhisanzi so but what did he do with that information? How did he react to it? Did he pass it on? Did he do his work properly? Those are the questions he must answer, because the price that was paid was a

very high one. On our side between 20 and 30 were killed and between 70 and 80 seriously disabled. In that case one does not walk around like a baboon with his tail cocked and say: "My structures worked and things went very well." [Interjections.] That is the price of incredible naivety and gullibility on the part of South Africa and the UN and negligence on both their parts as well as indifference to the proper transfer of responsibilities.

South Africa and South West Africa began to transfer responsibility and demobilise. They were eager to do only one thing, and that was to comply with the conditions, but Untag was not there yet in practical terms. [Interjections.] As we ought to have known, and as the hon the State President foresaw, Swapo streamed in because we trusted the communists in a gullible way. [Time expired.]

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Speaker, while we in these benches will be raising some questions, we approach this matter from a completely different point of view from that of the hon members on my right. We back the Government in its implementation of Resolution 435. We are pleased that Resolution 435 is back on track.

Comdt C J DERBY-LEWIS: That's the kiss of death!

Mr C W EGLIN: Well, whether it is or not, I am not here to play party politics with the lives of young people or the future of South Africa.

I believe that the hon the Minister's efforts together with those of his colleagues and advisers to bring this back on track over the past few days will go down as one of the major achievements of the hon the Minister in his long political career. Getting it back on track is in the interests of both South West Africa and South Africa and, strangely enough, because it will put some backbone into the UN, it will be good for them as well. That is our view.

The question, however, is whether everything was done to prevent it from happening and prevent those 300 people from being killed. I want to put it to the hon the Minister that at the time when he became aware that, because of the squabbling in the UN, the cutting-back and the saving of money, they were not going to be

deployed in the correct position on 1 April, should South Africa at that stage not have taken a tougher line towards the implementation of the other conditions of Resolution 435? In retrospect, was the line as tough as it should have been when we were aware that Untag would not be deployed and that this was a risk?

Secondly, in this whole peace negotiating process in retrospect, should Swapo at that stage not have been locked directly into the peace negotiation process? It was done but it was done second, third or fourth hand. Would it not have been better to get them there, get them to sign in front of our people and to get a very firm commitment across the table that there be no violation of this kind? [Time expired.]

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, I wish to express my appreciation to the hon member for Sea Point for his complimentary remarks. My impression is that that is the reaction of all responsible South Africans throughout our country.

Yes, with hindsight one can ask the question whether Untag should not have been in place. We did what we could. It was because of the quibbling in the Security Council with the non-aligned States who wanted more troops and the five permanent members who wanted fewer troops that they lost two to three weeks. From the South African point of view, however, it was essential that 1 April should be a fixed date since the time schedule for Cuban withdrawal was inextricably tied to 1 April 1989. We did not want to do anything that would have interfered with that important time schedule. One of our major achievements was to achieve a time schedule for Cuban withdrawal and we did not want to give any reason that would have interrupted that very important element of the whole network.

Let us face it, Untag was never designed to deal with such a massive, large-scale violation of an obligation. The problem of binding Swapo into it is that there are some 20 parties in Namibia. The moment one starts negotiating with one one has to negotiate with 20. I can assure the hon member that we would still be negotiating today and even next year if we were obliged to achieve the agreement of all parties. Swapo was not a Government. [Interjections.] In a letter to the

Secretary General, Swapo undertook to fulfil its obligation and I do not think one can put it more strongly than that. If broke its written undertaking to the Secretary General. If one breaks one's undertaking to the Secretary General one breaks one's undertaking towards South Africa or any other party. [Time expired.]

*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, the hon former member of the PFP made a point which we also made. We do not want to engage in cheap party politics in respect of those who died. [Interjections.] One cannot ignore the situation, their death and their open graves and then want to shout down a person who wants to discuss it. [Interjections.] That is what is involved here. That blood flowed and those graves are there as a result of the naivety and the gullibility of the hon the Minister and the fact that he closed his eyes to the "Pearl Harbour" on the northern border of South West Africa.

The hon the Minister quite simply wanted to begin on 1 April. That is the problem. We must now look ahead. Almost 2 000 armed Swapo soldiers crossed the border. Three hundred of them were killed. How are we going to be certain that the 1 700 are back by 15 April? If they are not back, what then? Is the hon the Minister once again going to believe blindly?

How are they going to know whether those who report and ask to be sent back are the same ones who came across? These are the kinds of problems we have to deal with as a result of the fact that they infiltrated. [Interjections.] How is one going to find their weapons? Today's newspaper reported that South West Africa was going to be scoured for weapons but that, like the example someone mentioned, is the same as looking for a fish in the sea. [Interjections.]

It is very clear that the hon the Minister, with his structures and all, was not informed, because in the one letter he wrote to the Secretary General of the UN . . . [Time expired.]

*Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, the question which arises, if the conditions for the implementation of Resolution 435 were not complied with on 1 April, is why South Africa went ahead and why South Africa did not delay it until Untag was in position? Only nine of the 500 Untag policemen were in position.

Handwritten: *Huwanda* with circled number *221*

In the Geneva Protocol there is no question of Swapo having to be in bases north of the sixteenth parallel where they can be monitored. I have the agreement in my possession. I shall show the hon the Minister that there is no obligation for them to be in their bases.

This omission and this real deficiency in the Geneva Protocol, for which the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs has to bear the responsibility, is only now being rectified, after the time, with the so-called Mount Etjo Declaration—only now, after we have had many killed and many wounded on our side. [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, I shall make the documents available to the hon member; then he will see that in a letter to the Secretary General Mr Nujoma did in fact accept the Geneva Protocol, exactly as I also had to do, and therefore committed himself to being north of the sixteenth parallel. [Interjections.]

The whole world accepts this. It is accepted in all legal studies. No less a person than Mrs Thatcher accepted it. There is not a single newspaper that did not accept it. Only the CP and Swapo do not want to accept it. [Interjections.] I cannot go along with a party that refuses . . . [Interjections.] . . . and wants to derive a bit of propaganda from this for political objectives. That is why I am not prepared to discuss this matter with them any further. That is why I just want to emphasise that if we had wanted to act the way they do—in the Boksburg style—I would no doubt have suspended the entire peace negotiating process when Mr Papenfus was not handed over on time. [Interjections.] Then he would never have been handed over. Strictly speaking Mr Papenfus should have been handed over far earlier. If we had been such sticklers for perfection, that man would not have been back home. [Interjections.] Because Cuba and Angola pointed out certain problems to us, we proceeded in an atmosphere of level-headedness and the man was handed over on 31 March. [Interjections.]

*Mr SPEAKER: Order!

*The MINISTER: Now they are angry and ashamed. Once again they are out of step and have chosen the wrong course. It is a thorn in their flesh that our structures worked, and they know that they worked. Today there is one thing

Handwritten: *Huwanda*

Comdt C J DERBY-LEWIS: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, may I ask him, in view of the fact that this type of corruption is common knowledge throughout Natal, whether the hon the State President is going to take the bull by the horns himself and appoint a commission to investigate this corruption?

*The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, fact is that if a commission has to be appointed in KwaZulu the KwaZulu Government in terms of the Act is supposed to do it.

Ministers:

Mr S Bopape: investigation into disappearance and Order:†

*1. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:†
Whether, since his reply to Question No 3 on 7 March 1989, any progress has been made in the investigation into the disappearance of Mr Stanza Bopape from police custody on 12 June 1988; if so, what progress?

B448E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

The investigation into the matter is still continuing unabatedly. It is receiving the highest priority and any progress will be made known, when it is convenient.

†Mr J VAN ECK: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, may I ask him whether it is not a fact that the person has been missing for 10 months since his so-called escape on 10 June last year and whether there is any reason that he can think of why the family must not reach the conclusion that in fact he died while in detention?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the hon member has now introduced an additional element to the question that he posed. The reply to the question was clear, namely that the investigation continues. If the hon member wishes to conduct a debate on it, ample opportunity for this will be provided later. [Interjections.]

†Mr J VAN ECK: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister,

may I ask him whether he will be prepared to furnish the attorneys who are acting on behalf of the disappeared person, with the names of the three policemen who were in the vehicle at the time of the escape, so that they can be questioned?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the hon member must have his question included in the Question Paper.

Ibaya Town Council: alleged irregularities

*2. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether the Attorney-General referred the matter of alleged irregularities in the Ibaya Town Council to him; if so,

(2) whether this matter is being investigated by the South African Police; if so, (a) what progress has been made in this regard and (b) when is it anticipated that the matter will be finalized? B450E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) No, the Advocate-General brought the matter to the attention of the South African Police.

(2) Yes.
(a) and (b) Although the investigation has already progressed far, it is at present not possible to give an indication when it will be completed.

Lebohang Township: municipal police

*3. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether he or the South African Police have received any representations regarding the number or use of municipal police in Lebohang Township; if so, (a) from whom, (b) when and (c) what was the (i) purport of and (ii) response to each such representation;

(2) whether any complaints regarding the actions or conduct of municipal police in this township have been brought to his notice; if so, what action has been taken as a result of these complaints? B451E

Phone calls 'saved' 435'

Cap Times 11/4/89

Political Staff

221

SWAPO came close to pulling off a massive confidence trick in Ovambo — but for a series of international telephone calls which culminated in the recall of South African security forces.

Diplomatic sources disclosed yesterday that these dramatic exchanges were the key to saving Resolution 435.

Apparently the turning point came in a hurried and highly emotional conversation between the UN Special Representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha while he was waiting to meet British Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher at Windhoek airport.

Mr Botha is understood to have already warned the UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, that there was no alternative to releasing the security forces from the bases to which they had been confined if the peace deal was to be saved.

But Dr Perez De Cuellar wanted first to consult other

officials at UN headquarters in New York. Mr Botha is understood to have said there was not enough time and to have warned of large scale bloodshed.

Sources close to the peace talks said yesterday Dr Perez De Cuellar ended the conversation by saying: "Oh, very well then."

However, a short time later, while waiting on the airport apron to greet the "Iron Lady", Mr Botha was summoned to take a call from an apparently highly emotional Mr Ahtisaari who said Dr Perez De Cuellar had telephoned him in the fear that Mr Botha had "misunderstood" the outcome of their earlier conversation.

Mr Botha is understood to have said he had not misinterpreted Dr Perez De Cuellar's conversation and that if he had changed his mind, Mr Botha would go to the press. He is said to have concluded the conversation with Mr Ahtisaari by saying: "If that is the end, then it is the end."

Mr Ahtisaari later gave the crucial go-ahead.

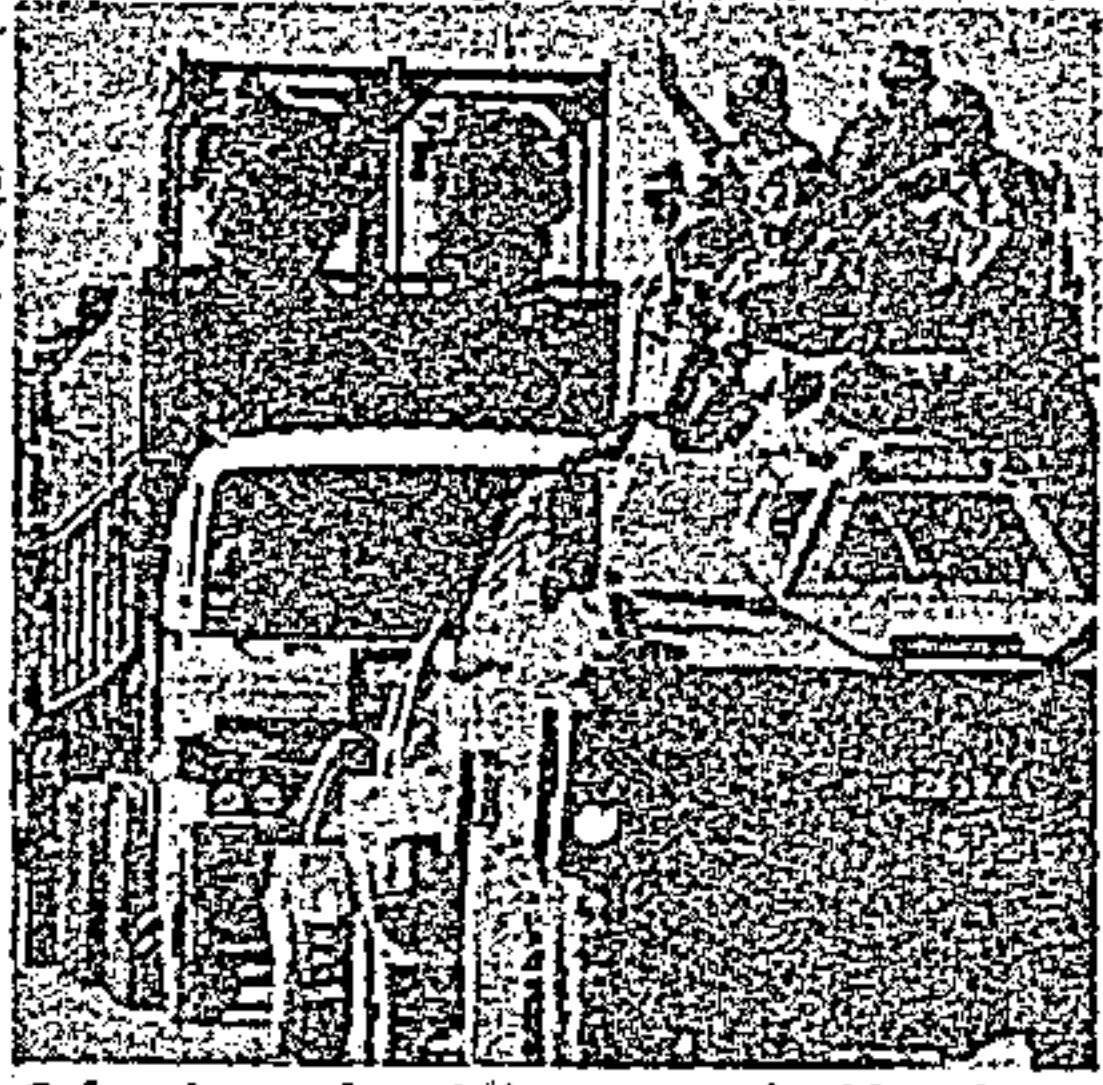
Star 11/4/89

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Under threat of attack



Safety in numbers ... cars travel with military convoys on the dangerous drive from Oshivelo to Oshakati in the northern Namibian war zone.

Siege mentality grips the whites in the north

By Jon Qwelane,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — A siege mentality has gripped the civilian population of northern Namibia.

It is perhaps most evident in the districts of Tsumeb and Owambo, where mothers wear revolvers while watching over their children at play.

In Oshakati, white children travel to school in armoured vehicles, which are themselves under escort.

The military and police vehicles travelling along the 140 km road between Oshivelo and Ondangwa move in convoy by design — security forces claim threatened rocket attacks by Swapo, with the forces' vehicles being the "prime targets", have made vigilance on the road an imperative.

On Friday Chief Inspector Derek Brune of the South West African Police warned that civilians had to begin taking extra care while travelling on the stretch of road. They did so entirely at their own risk, he said, even if they travelled behind the convoys.

At least 300 men, Swapo guerillas and security force members, have already died in fierce fighting which has raged all week. No one knows how many civilians have died, though it has been stated that a number may have been killed "in cross-fire".

The devastation to some hamlets would suggest that if any residents were home when the strikes took place then very few could have survived.

White civilians in the north are more vigilant than the black peasant folk living in small rural villages because they are better informed.

SITTING DUCKS

They have radios and telephones, and read avidly in the newspapers about the developments in the frontier bush war.

The latest on the heated clashes is discussed in the pubs every evening by civilians and men in uniform. Most of the white males in northern Namibia are, in any case, directly or indirectly attached to one or other of the forces, either as active policemen and soldiers or as reservists.

It is not the same in the hamlets, which are mostly near or surrounded by thicket from which, if the security forces' warnings have grounds, the guerillas would most likely launch their rocket attacks.

The hamlets and their inhabitants would be sitting ducks in any kind of attack, and would probably not escape being caught in the crossfire.

Many hawkers were on the roadside between Oshivelo and Ondangwa even as the military convoys went on the move on Friday. They were there selling woven reed baskets and other hand-made items.

Either the villagers heard the warnings about the imminent dangers on the road and ignored them, which sounds unlikely, or they were unaware of expected Swapo rocket attacks.

Many I spoke to while driving southwards along the "danger zone" said they had heard no warnings — they had no radios and did not read newspapers.

But at least one farmer near Oshivelo had certainly heard about the threatened attacks. He had a shotgun in his bakkie and a revolver at his side.

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All was peace under the Namibian stars

By ALAN DUNN
Political Staff

THE Mount Etjo Declaration, settling a devastating start to the Namibian peace process, was forged amid the very best bushveld fireside hospitality.

NAMIBIA

The agreement on how to deal with Swapo's heavily-armed incursion into the war-torn Owambo region on April 1 was signed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba on a lion skin near the fire.

"They thought it was grand," one seasoned South African diplomat and braaivleis veteran said of the Angolan and Cuban negotiators. "It was the right atmosphere."

For the Soviet, Cuban and American visitors, it must have been *Out of Africa* and the fireside African tale come true.

As bloody fighting raged on between Swapo insurgents and police only 200km to the North, they met in a large tent alongside a dam on the luxury game farm of Namibia's own Crocodile Dundee, Mr Jan Oelofse, who is known to catch cheetah with his bare hands.

In the tent, sources said, 30cm thorn twigs were laid on the table to mark each seating. Foreign Minister Pik Botha did not miss the opportunity: "We are dealing with thorny issues," he opened.

American diplomat and chief broker of the entire settlement deal, Chester Crocker, and his Soviet counterpart, Anatoly Adamishin, soon withdrew to let South Africa, Angola and Cuba settle the outbreak of violence amongst themselves.

Mr Botha asked bluntly if the Swapo infiltrators had Cuban troops with them, and was told that Cuban and Angolan soldiers had split from Swapo' fighters a few weeks ago.

The officials worked at it for two days, labouring painstakingly over the wording of the declaration telling Swapo's cadres to fall back some distance into Angola, faltering over interpretations and translations as each sentence was repeated in three languages.



Picture: TOM MARKRAM

SIGNING: Peace was signed on a lion skin at Mount Etjo at the weekend. Here the main participants, including Cubans, Angolans and South Africans gather round for the historic event.

The nights, however, saw adventure for the guests in Africa. Mr Adamishin, a genuine nature lover, was entranced, a source said.

He sat with the rest of them, waiting silently in a hide at 11pm for leopard to tackle a slab of raw meat Mr Oelofse had hung in a Camelthorn tree. At midnight they retired, save for the Russian and Mr Oelofse.

The pair sat on quietly for another hour, eventually seeing a male approaching the female at the Camelthorn and what happened between them in an instinctive interlude under the Namibian stars.

The three countries returned to the unromantic the next day. Sources said the Cubans had enjoyed the firelight until 5am, and became available only at 11am for the Sunday session.

Mr Crocker and the enchanted Mr Adamishin had hovered about as observers, offering tips at one stage as to certain subtleties in the wording of the emergency accord.

Approaching dusk on Sunday, the four-page Mount Etjo Declaration and Annexure was laid on the lion skin — head, teeth and all — for signing.

Mr Botha had apparently mislaid his pen, borrowing one from an Angolan delegate to sign the fresh attempt at peace. It is reliably understood that Mr Botha forgot to return the silver Pierre Cardin pen and carries it with

him in Cape Town ... only, that is, until the Angolans visit Cape Town for the next scheduled meeting of the Joint Commission later this month.

All had eaten their fill of Gemsbok, mutton, boerewors, "pap", and vegetables straight off the braai grill, and washed it down with best South African wines.

General Franca Ndalu, Angola's chief negotiator, had slept the night in a room adjoining a cage containing two tame cheetah. It is not known if he opened the louvre window in his bedroom to see or hear them better.

He and the 114 other officials there did, however, hear the farm's sleek lions roaring at night "as though they were right in the room," as one diplomat put it.

Mr Botha, who has been known to rip into people on the other side of talk's tables, apparently did not. Cuba's chief negotiator Carlos Aldana told Mr Botha, sources said: "We have not got words in either language, mine or yours, to describe the disgust with Swapo."

General Ndalu, when told South Africa was disappointed at the peace violation, apparently replied: "We also feel let down".

The Mount Etjo weekend was a success for all as they left bearing the key to beating the new crisis. Said one of those present: "The atmosphere was good from the start."

Untag sets stage for Swapo withdrawal

storm has been weathered," Crocker said.

SA, Angola and Cuba struck a deal at the weekend to allow Swapo infiltrators free movement over six days to designated assembly points inside Namibia and on the border, where they could hand themselves and their weapons over to Untag forces for escorted passage to Angola.

"If aggressively encountered by members of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan), they (security forces) will have no option but to fulfil their duty.

"We are not going to concede a ceasefire when we are not confident that it will be respected by all parties," said Pienaar.

From noon Untag soldiers would begin manning seven assembly points along the border and two south of the border at

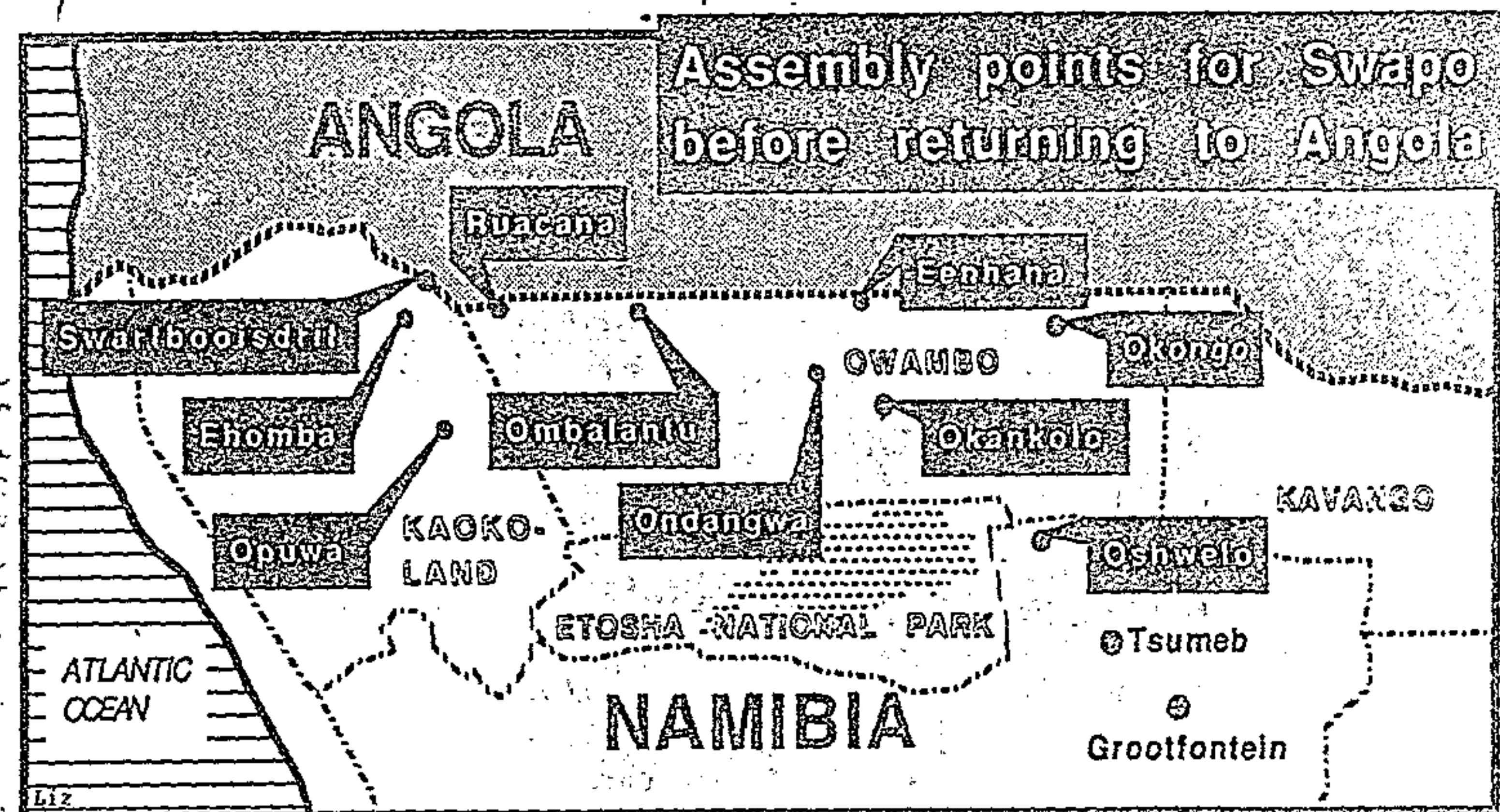
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● From Page 1 (221)

Okankolo and Nkongo, Ahtisaari said. Each point would be manned by 10 Untag soldiers, five Untag monitors, and SA and Angolan soldiers.

Within 10 days Finnish, Kenyan and Malaysian troops would arrive in the territory to assist border-monitoring duties.

Pienaar said an April 15 date for withdrawal by Swapo was a flexible deadline, although "we sincerely hope that by then Plan members now in Owambo will have withdrawn to the assembly points".

He said intelligence reports indicated some Swapo groups in the Owambo bush were responding to Nujoma's withdraw call.



Angola, Cuba 'annoyed' with Swapo ⁽²²⁾ 'Nujoma was ordered to withdraw fighters' ^{still 4/89}

By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma was pressured by Cuba and Angola into issuing the withdrawal order to his insurgents in northern Namibia, who had been involved in bloody fighting with South African security forces.

The United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, told reporters in Windhoek yesterday that Mr Nujoma's announcement had been "pre-arranged". The order to the Swapo fighters to withdraw from Namibia within 72 hours, was made public late on

Saturday night, in the Angolan capital, Luanda.

A senior US government official confirmed last night that Mr Nujoma had made the announcement under direct pressure from Angola and Cuba. The official said US diplomats had witnessed the "considerable anger and frustration" in Luanda and Havana over the infiltrations of Swapo insurgents into Namibia.

Angola and Cuba had been "extremely annoyed" by Swapo's behaviour, the official said.

Angola and Cuba had laid down the law to Swapo and demanded the announcement of the withdrawal so they would be able to go to the weekend Joint Commission emergency summit at Mount Etjo

"with a free hand", said the official.

Mr Crocker said earlier that the Angolans had "acted fast" when it became apparent what was happening. He remarked that there was not a lot of acrimonious debate during the Mount Etjo talks about the fact of a violation of the southern African peace accords on the part of Swapo. Most of the discussion was devoted to finding practical ways to end the fighting, he added.

The Assistant Secretary said he believed that the Mount Etjo summit and its declaration paving the way for the evacuation of Swapo fighters from Namibia meant that "the worst part of the storm has been weathered".

Dr Crocker also defended the United Nations peacekeeping and monitoring group, Untag, from charges that it had not done enough to prevent the fighting. He remarked that if Untag had been on the ground in force on April 1, there might have been "an even worse scenario".

HÄGAR the Horrible

By Dik Browne



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URG

AGING ONLINE

Untag sets stage for Swapo withdrawal

KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — UN soldiers yesterday were running up blue flags over hastily-built assembly points along the northern border and broadcasting messages into the Owambo bush calling on Swapo guerrillas to begin a protected withdrawal to Angola.

UN administrator Martti Ahtisaari, stressing that the armed face-off in the bush could touch off new clashes, said he and UN officials "will do our damndest" to make the proposed white-flag withdrawal work.

Australian and British soldiers assigned

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to Untag were among the first blue berets deployed at remote border stations designated from noon today as assembly points

THE Soviet Union would establish a special interest liaison office in Windhoek. Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoly Adamishin said yesterday, adding it was hoped to establish diplomatic ties after independence. — Sapa.

under a truce agreed at the weekend.

Police and army patrols remained on alert, despite no reports of new skirmishes yesterday and guerrilla leader Sam Nujoma's call — under Angolan arm-twisting — for his bush fighters to withdraw from northern Namibia.

Administrator-General Louis Pienaar said SA and Namibian forces would be confined to base only when he was satisfied all the estimated 1 500 guerrillas were behind the 16th parallel in Angola.

US negotiator Chester Crocker said in Windhoek yesterday the Swapo incursions triggered "a grave crisis with implications for the whole sub-region".

"It is fair to say that the worst of the

● To Page 2

Untag sets stage for Swapo withdrawal

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ELECTION STILL ON

Swapo
to get
safe
passage
north

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THE November 1 deadline for Namibian elections was still the target now that the independence process had been put back on track.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha confirmed this last night following the signing of the Mount Etjo protocol at the weekend, creating a new ceasefire to end the fighting that started on April 1.

Meanwhile diplomatic sources said there were signs that most Swapo troops were obeying orders from their high command to withdraw under the ceasefire. However, two large groups — in the east and west of Kavango had showed no signs of heeding the retreat order.

South Africa was assuming so far that they had not received the order.

Another two groups were just across the border inside Angola, apparently poised to cross.

But the sources expressed optimism that the Mount Etjo protocol would succeed.

It provides for Swapo troops to be given until April 21 to hand themselves over to the UN to be given safe conduct back across the 16 Parallel inside Angola.

They believe the pressure from South Africa and Angola on Swapo will ensure success of the latest plan.

South African sources have said that both Angola and Cuba — the joint signatories of the Mount Etjo protocol — condemned the Swapo incursion of April 1, which nearly derailed UN Resolution 435.

According to them the Swapo invasion had embarrassed the Cubans at home because questions had been asked about why they were pulling out of Angola while the fighting was continuing.

FOR MOST of the eight years since it was first officially mooted by Chester Crocker in mid-1981, "linkage" has been a dirty word. Even after its embodiment in the accords on Cuban troop withdrawal and Namibian independence signed last December in New York, the United Nations still treats it as it treats most other facts and refuses to acknowledge it. As UN spokesman Francois Guillani pointed out last week: "We have never agreed to the linkage between the UN plan and those accords."

Too bad, because had the fates of Namibia and Angola not been so tied together, Resolution 435 would now be dead and the mass graves in Ovamboland considerably more crowded than they already are.

As a matter of fact, the UN plan could have been implemented in the absence of "linkage" (a fantastic notion in itself, and try to imagine how the plan could possibly have survived Swapo's invasion of northern Namibia in the early hours of April 1. Apart from anything else, the SADF would in all probability now be deep inside Angola.

We have a pretty good idea of how the UN would have responded from the way it did, in fact, respond. Cravenly. There is really no other way to describe the compromise suggested by an extremely harried Secretary General Javier Perez De Cuellar to his men in the field, Martti Ahtisaari in Windhoek and Marraack Goulding in Luanda.

De Cuellar's suggestion was that the Swapo intruders be rewarded for violating the ceasefire by being disarmed and permitted to stay. In other words, he was willing to grant them their principal objective of their adventure. This despite his predecessor's firm stipulation in a letter to the South African Prime Minister on March 9 1979, that "no party to a conflict may expect to gain after a ceasefire a military advantage which it was unable to obtain prior to it".

As currently constituted, the UN exists to give the small and inept the

Disunited Nations must give thanks for Angola 'linkage'

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11/14/89

SIMON BARBER in Washington

Illusion that they are big and competent. In some respects, this is not a bad idea. A little bit of play-acting is often therapeutic, but only so long as the actors are not let loose in the real world where real things — like lives — are at stake.

The Monday after the incursion began, the UN Security Council met to hear the Secretary General's account of what had happened. By then, most of the members had the facts pretty straight, right down to the part about Sam Nujoma visiting his military commanders in Ongiva the previous Wednesday and telling them to put every man and weapon they could lay their hands on over the border while South African forces were confined to barracks as required by the UN plan.

However, in order to get out of the room in one piece, De Cuellar was obliged by the Council's non-aligned majority to amend the truth a bit. The current President, Soviet representative Aleksandr Belonogov, admitted that the members were not even shown Ahtisaari's original report, a damning document compiled on the spot by Untag's Kenyan, Malaysian and Nigerian senior military representatives and Ahtisaari's

chief deputy, Cedric Thornberry.

Now there is something rather unnering about an institution that cannot even tell itself the truth in private session. One is also surely entitled to wonder about the basic morality of the members who dictate this kind of behaviour so that they may run about unchallenged in the corridors outside the session spreading the most arrant lies.

The reality (that Swapo was entirely to blame) did not fit the wish (that it was all the fault of the "racists"), so to hell with the reality.

That apparently being the accepted norm of conduct at UN headquarters, it is scarcely surprising that the organisation should blithely flout its own commitments.

For example, the Secretary General and the Security Council have decreed that the so-called "impartial package" agreed by the Western contact group, Swapo, the Frontline states, Nigeria and SA, should be binding upon the body as a whole as of April 1.

Naturally, the package as it appears to the UN system is largely being ignored. The UN Council for Namibia soldiers on — under the leadership of Zambian representative Peter Zuze — claiming that it serves at the General Assembly's pleasure, not the Security Council's. A nice but irrelevant distinction.

On April 3, Swapo's Theo-Ben Gurirab was still sitting in and out the delegates-only lounge adjoining the Security Council chamber as if he owned the place, the lapse of Swapo's special observer status notwithstanding.

Asked about this, Gurirab replied innocently: "We don't know why we should be the ones most faithful to the agreement."

Fortunately, none of this matters. The territory may still legally belong to the UN, but thanks to linkage the deal through which it is to become independent belongs to other, more serious parties — SA, Angola, Cuba, the Soviet Union and the US. And while Untag may strictly speaking derive its legitimacy from the Security Council, in fact it is the servant of these five, the facilitator of what they wish to achieve.

The UN, very deliberately, has been short-circuited and with it need for a formal Security Council debate last week. The agreements on constitutional principles, the electoral system and the monitoring of SA and Swapo bases, the impartiality package — even Resolution 435 itself — have been subsumed by the New York principles, the Geneva and

Brazzaville protocols and the tripartite and bilateral accords of December 22.

The issue is no longer simply Namibian independence but, to cite the standard phraseology in each of the latter agreements, peace in south-western Africa, a peace that is to be overseen not by the UN but by the joint commission established under the Brazzaville protocol. The UN could have killed 435 last week by succumbing to its institutional mendacity, but the members and observers of the joint commission did not wish it so.

While the UN backed and filled in New York in what seemed an almost conscious effort to force SA into some kind of rash, unilateral action upon which blame for the crisis could then be pinned, members of the commission worked each in their own way to keep things together.

The US issued a series of strong public statements, including a detailed and unequivocal legal analysis designed to sink any attempt to let Swapo's intruders remain in Namibia.

Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos preempted any effort by the OAU and his fellow Frontline states to establish a case for Swapo or meddle with the UN plan by publicly rebuking the movement for failing to "exercise total control" over its men.

The Soviets applied pressure to the necessary soft parts, Pretoria, secured in its position by such support, reacted with commendable restraint.

The commission then met at Mount Elyo and announced that it had agreed on arrangements for the intruders to be taken to Angola, allowing just enough time for Swapo to save face by making its own announcement first.

While the members have had their differences — certainly Angola and Cuba were remiss in ignoring Pretoria's complaints that they had failed to pull Swapo north of the 16th parallel as agreed in the Geneva protocol — the commission shares a common interest in making the settlement work.

Thanks to linkage, that interest is far bigger and more compelling than Swapo's idocy and its apologetics in the UN.

Pienaar calls on world to apply pressure on Swapo

By Jon Qwelane,
The Star's Africa
News Service

OSHAKATI — The Administrator-General of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, last night urged the international community to put pressure on



Pienaar ... sternest resistance.

Swapo to help South Africa get United Nations Resolution 435 "back on its tracks".

But, at the same time, Mr Pienaar said South Africa would never allow Swapo to operate bases inside Namibia and any attempt by the organisation to do so would be met with "the sternest resistance".

Mr Pienaar and Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the United Nations special representative in Namibia, flew into the war-torn northern zone yesterday at the height of intense clashes between security forces and Swapo.

Mr Ahtisaari and Mr Pienaar were accompanied by General Prem Chand, commander of the UN peacekeeping forces in Namibia. They held a lengthy meeting with police and army chiefs in the afternoon.

Mr Pienaar described the fighting along the border with Angola as "most disappointing", but said the main objective was still free and fair elections in November, although the incursions to the north had sidetracked the Namibian peace plan to some extent.

'SAD DAY'

There were certain ways of dealing with the problem.

"One would be to back away and say Resolution 435 is sunk. That would be a sad day if we adopted that attitude.

"That is not my attitude, it is not the South African Government's attitude and, I believe, it is not Mr Ahti-

saari's attitude. We've got to get Resolution 435 back on the tracks again," Mr Pienaar said.

To get the peace plan back in motion was not only the responsibility of the Administrator-General, the South West African police or South Africa, but that of the international community which had now become involved in Namibia.

"The international community must now put pressure on Swapo," Mr Pienaar said.

Asked if the intensified fighting, and therefore the threat to the smooth implementation of Resolution 435 were not reason enough to ask the UN to increase its peacekeeping force in Namibia to ensure an end to hostilities, the Administrator-General said the Secretary-General of the United Nations expected all the parties in the Namibian peace plan to honour their side of the agreement.

"The Secretary-General has accepted Swapo's and South Africa's commitment. But he has been misled, South Africa has been misled, and the international community has been misled.

"If it is necessary, yes, we might have to look at the possibility of more men but that would be the easy way out," Mr Pienaar said, adding that Swapo would have to honour its side of the bargain.

There is much speculation here, bolstered by what captured guerillas who spoke to the press on Monday said, that Swapo had taken Resolution 435 to mean its armed members could now return to Namibia where they would have bases.

Another line has been that those returning bearing weapons to Namibia are Swapo dissidents objecting to the organisation's acceptance of the settlement proposals.

But the police and the army have discounted any suggestion of dissidents, saying some of those killed in the clashes were people in Swapo's command structure.



On patrol . . . troops from Namibia's 101 Battalion hunt Swapo insurgents near Oshakati.

Nujoma says full-scale war is raging in Namibia

By Robin Drew,
The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Swapo leader Mr. Sam Nujoma said yesterday a full-scale war was raging in Namibia and he renewed his appeal to the Security Council to send the full military complement of Untag to the territory immediately to contain the situation.

Mr Nujoma told reporters here he had yesterday met the diplomatic representatives of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

Mr Nujoma said South Africa had sent six more battalions to the area of

the fighting and was using jet fighters to attack Swapo supporters.

He again denied that Swapo forces had crossed into Namibia from Angola since the ceasefire on April 1 and said the Security Council was being given a one-sided story from the UN Special Representative in Namibia who was getting it from South Africans.

He said the Swapo forces who were being attacked had been in Namibia before the ceasefire.

"Have we had no troops there for the past 23 years?" he asked.

They were re-grouping with the intention of reporting to Untag when attacked. Untag were supposed to be there but were not, he said.

Mr Nujoma was expected to meet Mr Robert Mugabe later today. A Swapo spokesman said Mr Nujoma would also meet other leaders of the Frontline states.

There has been no confirmation of a Windhoek report that Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari would visit Harare to see Mr Nujoma. There was no official information here about the visit.

© From Page 1

into Namibia

Blame for the disastrous start of the independence plan was put firmly on the shoulders of the five permanent members of the Security Council by Dr Perez de Cuellar, according to senior UN officials.

The five permanent members (Britain, France, the United States, the Soviet Union and China, delayed the deployment of the UN peacekeeping force for Namibia by insisting over African objections that it be cut down in size.

Dr Perez de Cuellar's contra-versal decision to allow South Africa to make unrestricted use of its counter-insurgency forces would not have been necessary had the five not insisted on re-

Cubans massing as battles rage on

As 5/11's 221

...ing the size of the UN peace-keeping force, the sources said.

United Nations investigators confirmed a big incursion into Namibia by Swapo, but said it was without hostile intent, diplomats revealed.

One diplomat who heard Dr Perez de Cuellar's provisional report said: "The ones that fought were the South Africans. Everybody agrees with that."

The investigators' report said the incursion may have been aimed merely at establishing Swapo camps in Namibia and then asking the UN force to monitor them.

Mr Botha also warned Dr de Cuellar last night that unless ac-

...tive and effective action was taken "within hours" the peace plan was in danger of collapse.

Mr Botha threatened to suspend South Africa's co-operation in Namibia unless "Swapo came to its senses".

The South African government could not be expected to implement its undertakings under the relevant agreements while Swapo continued to act in flagrant violation of these agreements with the acquiescence of the UN Security Council, he said.

The letter, copies of which were also issued to the five permanent members of the UN Security Council last night, went

on to say: "In such circumstances South Africa has the undoubted right to suspend its compliance with its obligations."

"If, on the other hand, it is alleged that South Africa is in breach of its own obligations under the agreement, I shall be glad to learn which they are and how they have been breached."

"Swapo must now face up to the realities. Effective and immediate steps must be taken to ensure its compliance with all its obligations."

Mr Botha said in his letter that 1 000 Swapo guerrillas had now infiltrated into Namibia.

Between March 21 and March 30, Swapo forces of the First Mechanised Brigade redeployed from Lubango to locations at Xangongo and Techipa (from 300 km north of the border to about 70 km and 50 km from the border).

Swapo tank elements were moved from Luanda to the border area during the same period to be deployed for offensive action into Namibia.

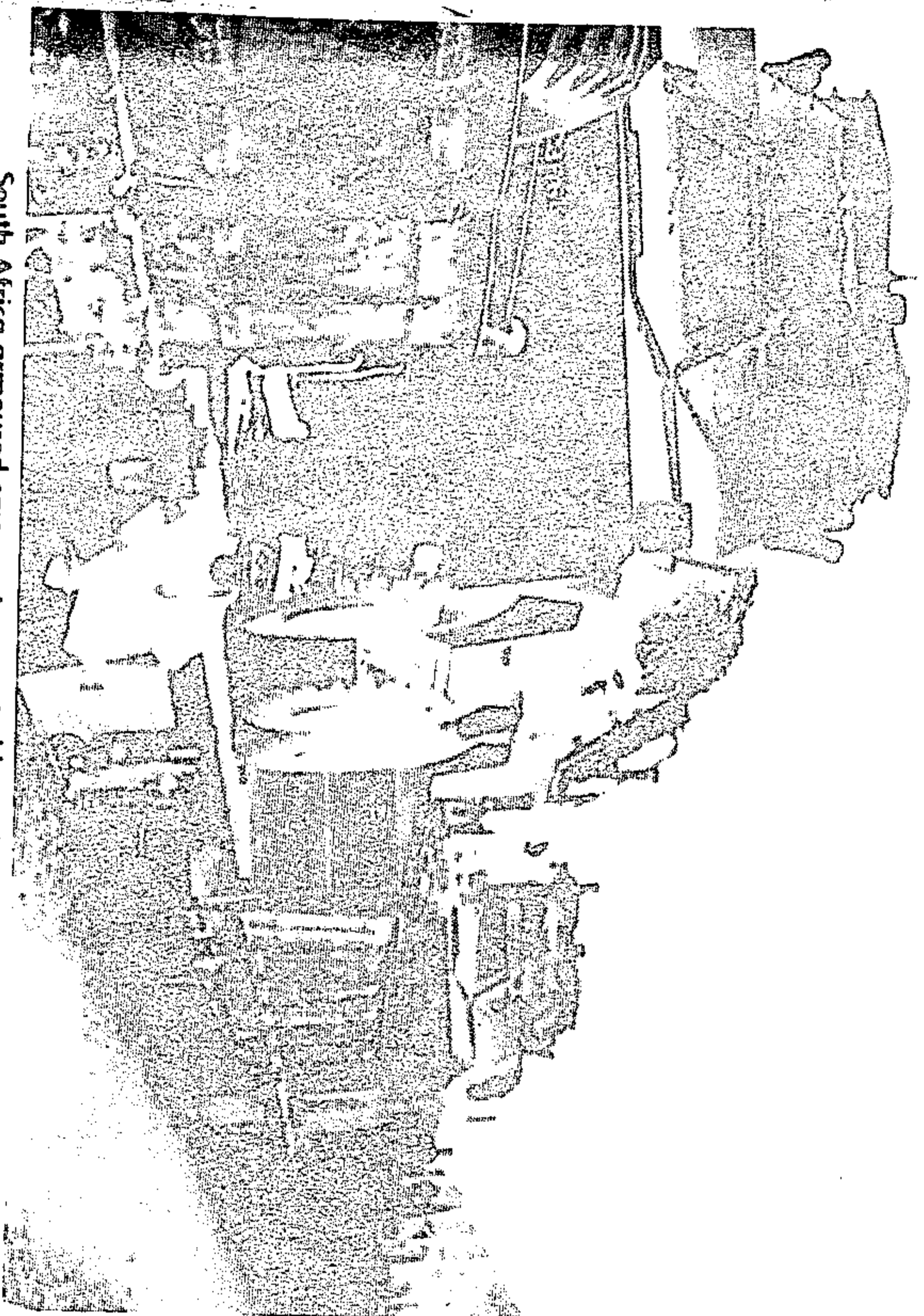
About 4 450 Swapo cadres were now deployed south of the 16th parallel.

Two mixed Swapo/Cuban "semi-conventional" battalions of about 450 men each were positioned 600 m north of Beacon 12 on the border and at Ongiva airfield respectively.

Swapo elements in Namibia were in continuous radio contact with their command posts in Angola.

Mr Botha asked that Dr de Cuellar confirm that the Security Council was willing to do everything in its power to secure Swapo's compliance with the agreements.

The Administrator-General, Mr Louis Plenaar, said the international community now carried the responsibility of getting Swapo to withdraw.



South Africa armoured cars are transported by train to northern Namibia.



WAR DEAD: The bodies of 21 guerrillas lie scattered in the bush near the village of Ondeshitlwa.



GUNS OF WAR: SADF troops in Retief armored fighting vehicles, equipped with 90mm guns, take a break.

Three Killings in Retief

NEWS 5/4/89 221

From KEN VERNON and BRENDAN SEERY Argus Africa News Service
ELENHANA (Namibia) — As the death toll in northern Namibia nears 200 in five days of heavy fighting between Namibian and South African security forces and Swapo guerrillas, new incursions are threatened that could greatly escalate the conflict.

Between 300 and 450 Swapo guerrillas are reported to be massed at Okalongo on the border, poised for another incursion that could send the death toll soaring.

We won't pull back, says Nujoma

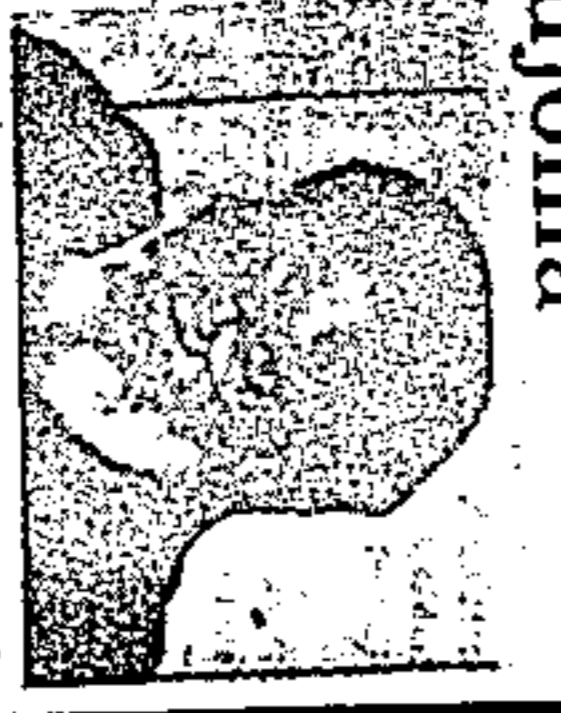
From **ROBIN DREW** Argus Africa News Service
HARARE — Swapo forces will not be withdrawn from Namibia, Mr Sam Nujoma said today.

Interviewed in Harare after attending a memorial service for those killed since April 1, the Swapo leader said his forces were ready to be confined to bases by Unluang inside Namibia.

Mr Nujoma's stance directly conflicts with the attitude expressed by the Namibian Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, who said at Oshakati yesterday that South Africa would never allow Swapo to operate bases in Namibia.

Mr Sam Nujoma said he should regroup and wait to be contacted by Unluang military components inside Namibia in accordance with Resolution 435.

"If you read the resolution carefully it does not say guerrilla forces who were found in Namibia on April 1 should be driven out by tank or by anybody else to be confined in Angola."



Mr Sam Nujoma

Security forces are still reporting, almost hourly, contacts in an area stretching from Huacuan in the west to Nkongo in the east and today police spokesman Chief Inspector Derek Bruce, said in Gsum-kati that fighting had spread west to the Opawa area in Kaokoland.

"As of yesterday we picked up tracks coming into Kaoko land," he said.

South West African Police Inspector du Rand said today that big groups of Swapo guerrillas had "bombed" or split into smaller groups and were being tracked by security forces precisely fight across the north of Uwaboland.

Death toll 193

Chief Inspector du Rand said the latest death toll figure was 193 — 172 insurgents and 21 members of the security forces, most of them police-



forces were already River...
ders by me on March 29 that
those who were inside Namh-
"That is incorrect. Read
the resolution properly."

Pik promises safe conduct if Swapo surrender

By IOS WENTZEL

Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa today made a safe-conduct offer to Swapo insurgents involved in the bloody fighting on Namibia's northern border.

And pressure for an international peace initiative was stepped up as security forces continued to hunt the bush fighters.

In a broadcast beamed to the north of the territory by Radio Namibia, Foreign Minister Mr. P. Botha offered safe conduct back to Angola to Swapo fighters if they surrendered.

He offered his condolences to all who had lost relations, including Swapo supporters.

He said the Swapo elements would — apparently with the help of the UN supervising force Unitag — be conducted to north of the 16th parallel in Angola.

From there they would be allowed to return peacefully to Namibia through entry points.

Foreign Affairs Department sources said South Africa had asked intermediary foreign countries to put the offer to Swapo.

There had been no reaction from the UN Secretary-General, Dr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, to a letter from Mr. Botha which said that unless active and effective action was taken "within hours" the whole peace plan for Namibia would collapse.

Because of the time difference between South Africa and the US Mr. Botha was not expecting a reply right away.

But there had been positive reaction from Britain and the US and the fact that Mr. Martti Ahtisari and some of his staff were in northern Namibia indicated positive reaction.

The Administrator-General, Mr. Louis Pienaar, had been instructed to ask Mr. Ahtisari to have all available Unitag units deployed in the north.

He said some of the battles were taking place as far as 70km south of the Angolan border. He also said security forces believed local people were in danger, as it was common practice during Swapo infiltrations for the insurgents to murder people for intimidation.

Figures of the numbers wounded on both sides have been unobtainable, but are believed to be high.

Most of the security force casualties have come from the South West African Police (Swapo), "crime-prevention units" (formerly Keovees) who continue to bear the brunt of the fighting.

The Swapo incursion has consisted of four main thrusts. In the west a column entered just east of Ruanca, with another thrust aimed at nearby Ombehani.

A double-pronged incursion has come along the road from Oshikango aimed at the major centres of Oshikati and Ondangwa, with elements of this incursion having already crossed the main tarred road heading north from Windhoek to Ruanca.

Finally another double-pronged attack has been launched from slightly west of Nkomo, one arm pointed towards the white farming area around Namatoni and the other arm heading into the Karanage.

At Ruanca yesterday the police were hot on the trail of the lone survivor of a 10-man

turn to page 3, col 7)

Dirt and death hang over the Eenhana post

From KEN VERNON
Argus Africa News Service

EENHANA. — Outside the tiny Eenhana police station headquarters building, the 50 carefully cultivated mesquite plants are dying.

Watered every day over the past six months of peace, since the weekend the small mesquite field has become a storage space for ammunition boxes.

Eenhana is the scene of some of the most bitter fighting in the Namibian conflict. Bitter-eyed members of the South West African police constantly return to base to re-arm before being headed into the bush.

The white bandages many wear contrast sharply with their black or brown skin.

GUNS EVERYWHERE

The "police" station at Eenhana is located within the military base, but the "police" manning it are far from being soldiers in any ordered military sense.

"Uniform" consist usually of black shorts and jackets, without socks.

Sometimes a torn tee-shirt is added.

Guns are everywhere, worn casually on the hip, Western gunslinger-style, or carried nonchalantly over the shoulder.

(Turn to page 3, col 2)

ON PATROL: Soldiers of 101 Battalion on patrol near Oshikati, northern Namibia, where security forces are fighting a bitter-bush war against Swapo.

Supersonic Concorde competition: 3rd clue today

THE supersonic British Airways airliner, Concorde, arrives in Cape Town this month.

Five lucky Argus readers, each entitled to bring a guest, will be able to tour the famed aircraft, see it off from Cape Town at a champagne breakfast on Sunday April 23 and win "Vingside seats" at D F Malan Airport to see its spectacular takeoff.

All you have to do is enter our Build-a-Concorde competition. Cue no 3 appears on page 2 today.

The Argus tomorrow

THE Argus will be on sale from noon tomorrow (founder's Day). The front counter and Classified Department will be open from 8.30am to 11.30am.

Decision day tomorrow for election and PW's future

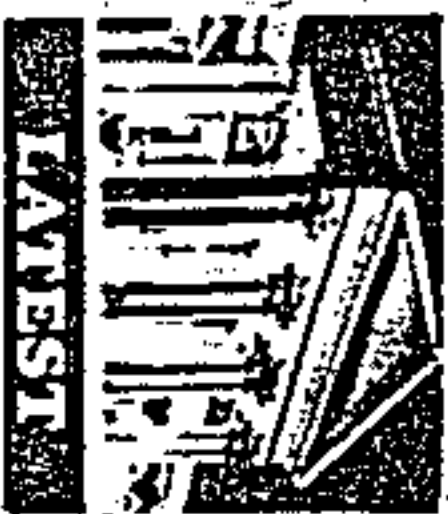
By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

PRESIDENT Botha's expected announcement tomorrow of a general election and his retirement from public life could fire the starting-gun for another slug-fest in the National Party caucus.

There is growing speculation among National Party MPs that Mr. Botha may even call an election as soon as June.

His speech, coming simultaneously with the deepening crisis over Namibia, will attract international attention.

He is expected to spell out how he sees his future and also the position of the battle-torn territory.



NEWS

Meanwhile the issue of who will be the next president is still not settled with supporters of the new NP leader, Mr. F. W. de Klerk, attempting to take pre-emptive action to cut off any further possible bid by Finance Minister Mr. Barend du Plessis for the presidency.

The contest between the two has been simmering quietly since Mr. du Plessis lost to Mr. de Klerk by a mere eight votes in the caucus election for the leadership of the party.

The Du Plessis camp has been angered by the attempt.

Some Nationalist leaders feel that the government should not give in to the current caucus, of its democratic right to elect a president.

The strategy would also enable Mr. de Klerk to avoid fighting his Verenging seat, which is vulnerable to the Conservative Party.

The strategy is being described as a "trick".

The sources said it appeared the intention was for the De Klerk camp to move as quickly as possible after Mr. Botha spelt out his plans on Thursday to have Mr. de Klerk named as the future president by the caucus.

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Enjoy the largest selling Ultra Mild

Filters best for good taste in smoking

GUERRILLA PREY

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

JOINT Swapo-Cuban forces have been deployed less than a kilometre north of the Namibian border in readiness for possible attack, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, claimed last night.

He told the Cape Times that the Namibian peace plan was in imminent danger of collapse following the "massive ruse" by Swapo in collaboration with Cuban forces in Angola.

Brandishing what he described as fresh intelligence confirmed by the United Nations' representatives in Namibia, Mr Botha charged that a joint Swapo-Cuban battalion was a mere 600m from the border, while another was also located near the border at Ongiva air field.

In a letter to UN secretary-general Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar last night, he warned that "unless active and effective measures are taken within the next few hours" South Africa had the "undoubted right to suspend its compliance with its obligations" in terms of UN Resolution 435.

The warning came on the fourth day of the increasingly bloody fighting along hundreds of kilometres of the Ovambo border with Angola.

- Were Swapo hoodwinked?
- Thatcher tells how battle started
- No, quick, fix for peace

According to reports from the battle zone, Namibian police and army units, backed by about 1,500 South African troops, engaged about 1,200 Swapo guerrillas in fighting that has left at least 190 dead. As the sporadic battles continued yesterday, some within a few kilometres of major military bases such as Oshakati and Ondangwa — the UN presence in the war zone remained virtually non-existent.

UN special representative in Namibia Mr Martti Ahtisaari arrived in Oshakati yesterday afternoon with the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, and other officials, for first-hand assessment of the clashes.

In other developments late yesterday: A senior UN official, Mr Cedric Thornberry, added weight to Mr Botha's warnings by saying that Namibia was "in some danger of bleeding to death" and that the situation was regarded as having become "extremely serious".

UN under-secretary-general for political affairs, Mr Marrack Goulding, who is in charge of all ECN peacekeeping missions, rushed to Luanda to meet three UN officials from Windhoek for talks with Angolan authorities in a bid to stop the worst fighting of Swapo's 23-year-long guerrilla war for independence.

In Washington, State Department spokeswoman Mrs Margaret Tutwiler endorsed growing evidence that Swapo was acting on orders from its senior leaders to move south from Angola to set up bases in these territories in "clear violation" of the peace settlement.



ABOVE: The bodies of 21 Swapo guerrillas lie scattered in the bush near the village of Ondeshifwa on the Namibian border. These casualties were only a few of the heavy Swapo losses after their mass incursion into Namibia at the weekend.

Press: Reuters

RIGHT: One of the four Swapo guerrillas captured by Namibian police, Johannes Mathias, faces the press on Monday. He was captured on Sunday during heavy fighting between Swapo guerrillas and Namibian police in northern Namibia.

Press: Guy M. Henders

In London Mrs Margaret Thatcher yesterday condemned Swapo for causing fighting, loss of life and threatening the Namibian settlement.

Mr Botha speaking to the Cape Times in an exclusive interview, said last night: "This is it. Swapo cannot be allowed to get away with this any longer. South Africa was justifying an urgent UN Security Council action to remedy Swapo's violation of its commitments, he said.

He was also pushing for an emergency meeting of the Joint Commission of SA, Angola and Cuba next 96 hours to address the crisis.

Mr Botha said he was confident that Mrs Thatcher, after her repudiation of Swapo's actions in the House of Commons yesterday, would exert pressure on Mr Mikhail Gorbachev during their meeting this week to "bring Swapo to its senses".

In last night's letter to Mr De Cuellar, which was also sent to the five permanent members of the Security Council, Mr Botha said that he had to

collected further "disconcerting evidence" that

Over 1,000 Swapo members had infiltrated into Namibia.

Over the period March 21 to 30, Swapan forces of the First Mechanised Brigade re-deployed from Lu

Two armed FICAN/Cuban semi-conventional battalions of the strength of 450 each were post

Swapo elements in Namibia are in continuous

ANT TRAVIS
5/14/89
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Cairo's bugs, bellydancers and... Leila-

THE South Africans spent their first hours in Cairo settling in at the modern Hyatt el Salaam, the hotel where the American mediators had arranged for the negotiations to proceed.

This was to become the pattern for the talks — all delegations, barring the Cubans — staying at the same hotel, where personal relationships could grow.

Later that day, the Egyptian government, intrigued by "the Boers" who had for so long been personae *non grata*, laid on a bus tour of the city under the command of a vivacious and amusing guide named Leila.

"Let's face it, we were madly excited about being in Cairo. It's just one of those places that exudes intrigue, excitement and mystery," one of the South Africans said.

From wartime accounts of their countrymen, they had



PROTOCOLS OF PEACE
Part 3

by
HUGH ROBERTSON
Argus
Special
Writer

International efforts to silence the guns of Angola and Namibia

● **TOMORROW:** The international rollercoaster — Sal, Geneva I, Brazzaville II, Brazzaville III, New York II, and the outline of an historic peace.

ing in Brazzaville having been an "interim" discussion, not formally part of the tripartite negotiations.

The Angolans brought their Foreign Minister, Alfonso van Durnem, and once again the bearded Jorge Risquet was there for the Cubans. The Cairo conference thus had been elevated in stature

subtract from it was not going to work. We had not found it acceptable in London and they did not find it acceptable in Cairo. So it was back to the drawing board. We had to find some way of breaking this impasse," says Auret.

On the evening of the first unhappy day of negotiating, the Hyatt el Salaam hosted a



CAMEL LARK: Foreign Minister Ptk Botha, along with "traditional" headgear, larking about on a camel "like a schoolboy".



BEATING THE BUG: The delegations met under umbrellas, which were put up to confound remote bugging devices. Quietly in another corner of the gardens, the Angolan-Cuban delegation was doing much the same.

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Guard officer's club — a modest, two-storied clapboard building of World War 2 vintage — was to be the humble venue for the talks.

The high summer heat and humidity of New York were oppressive, but the South Africans and Angolans stayed in the air-conditioned luxury of the UN Plaza Hotel, a steel and green-tinted glass skyscraper opposite the United Nations, from where they were driven through the traffic chaos of Manhattan in mini-buses to the Governor's Island ferry each day.

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The UN Plaza's best known meeting place is its mirrored bar, a room where it is possible to see, and be seen, by everyone else present through strategically placed mirrors on the walls, the pillars, and behind the counters "a very smart place, but the very opposite of discreet," according to an Angolan diplomat — and a very confusing place in which to have one too many!

The New York meeting started off with opening statements, the usual procedure throughout the negotiations. Van Heerden put the South African proposal for marrying the two sets of principles accepted in Cairo, followed by a presentation by

Carlos Aldana for the Cubans (he had taken over leadership of the Cuban delegation from the colourful Jorge Risquet) and Antonia dos Santos Franca, Angola's Chief of Staff.

Present, too, were the familiar American faces — the sometimes acerbic but persuasive Crocker himself at the head of the delegation, Hank Cohen one of his chief assistants who has now taken over Crocker's post, Jim Woods from the Pentagon, and another Crocker assistant, Robert Cabelly, and the imposingly tall US ambassador to South Africa, Ed Perkins.

After the opening statements, Carlos Aldana, made a speech which was to push the entire peace process onto secure ground. A shortish man, with black hair and a flourishing walrus moustache, he was found to be likeable, sharp-witted and capable. Like Jorge Risquet, he was one of the Cuban guerilla comrades who fought in Cuba's Sierra Madres with Fidel Castro during his country's revolutionary war. His close links to the Cuban leader might have given him the confidence to make so daring a speech.

It came as a surprise, and it was so striking in its candour as to convince the South

Africans that it was "diplomatic bedrock". The key point was his frank recognition of the "fact of linkage" — the South African and American argument that the independence of Namibia be linked to a Cuban withdrawal from Angola, something which until then the Cubans and Angolans had publicly repudiated and which they told the conference they continued to have "political problems" with even though they now accepted its "reality" in private.

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"AT last we knew we were on the way," recalls Derek Auret. "If there was one point at which we became convinced that the peace process could work, it was then. Of course we were not to know that it would take months longer, but we knew that there was a good chance that it would happen."

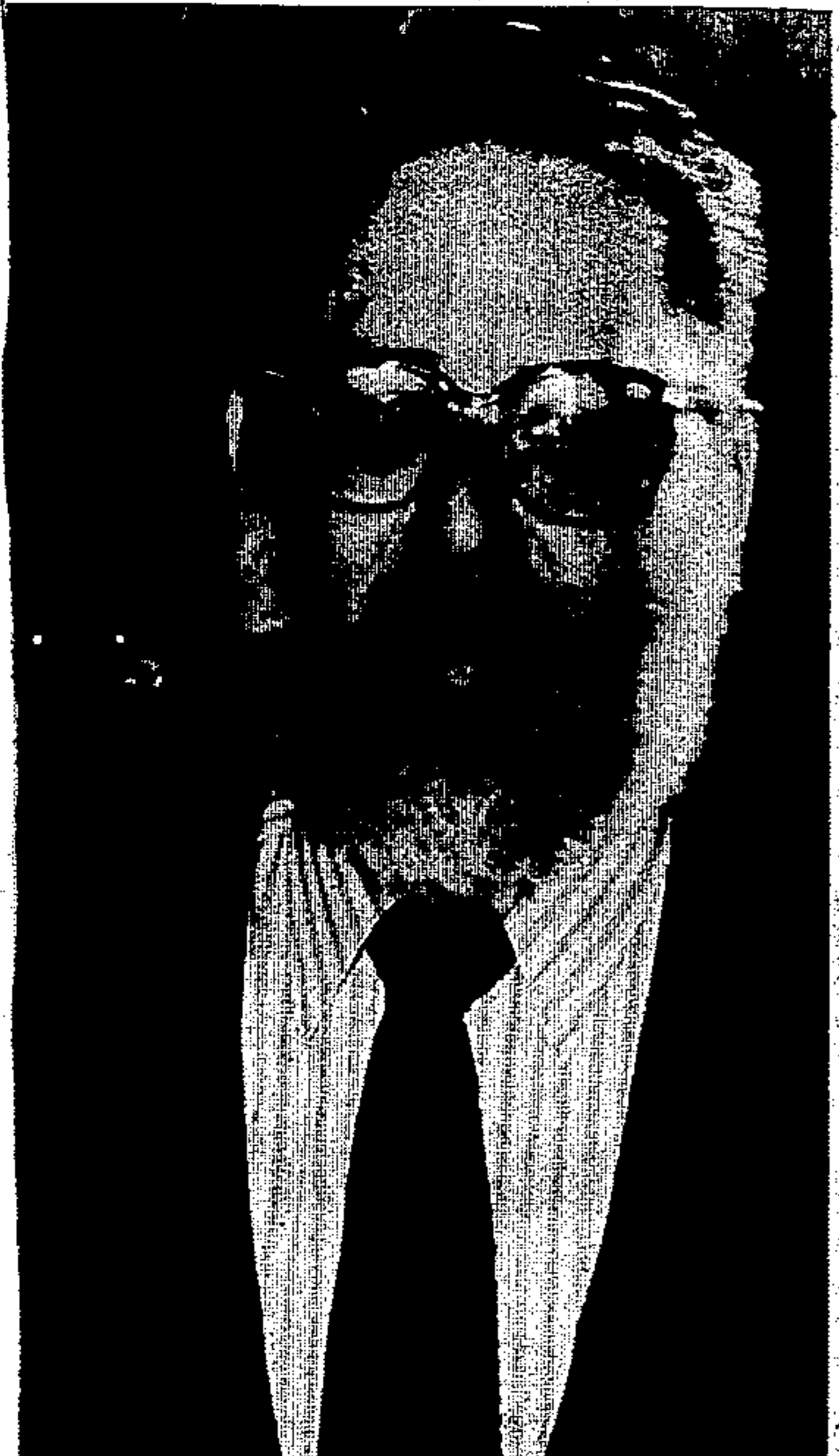
The Americans provided each delegation with its own meeting room on Governor's Island and with a central "and ultra-efficient" typing and secretarial service. Slowly but surely the two sides — nudged, cajoled and encouraged by Crocker and his team — bashed out what was to become known as the New York

Principles.

It was not an easy process. For almost three hours the antagonists wrangled over the use of a single word — "and". The argument arose in drawing up a statement in which the South Africans implied direct linkage by referring to the "implementation of resolution 435 and Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola." This, the Angolans and Cubans felt, would publicly commit them to "linkage", which they were politically not prepared to do at that stage.

Finally the semantic impasse was broken by wording which declared that "the parties accept the following principles, each of which is indispensable to a comprehensive settlement".

In a sense the New York Principles were an American solution to the deadlock, the product of one of Crocker's by then famous "synthesis papers". The document did not entirely satisfy either the South Africans or the Angolans and Cubans, but it was the most exciting and promising foundation to the talks so far. The two parties returned home with more optimism than they had felt before.



Cuban Foreign Minister Jorge Risquet Val des, with cigar, arrives at the conference hall.

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expected a confused, un-ifested sprawl. They encountered a dynamic cosmopolitan city stretching almost to the pyramids, with a modern underground railway system, and a skyline filled with cranes and buildings under construction, many of them of innovative design.

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The party undertook the customary tourist whirl through the ancient city — the Egyptian Museum with the fabulous Tutunkhamen collection inside its monolithic sandstone edifice, a traditional Egyptian meal "with food such as few of us had previously tasted — delicious, exotic, marvellous", a shopping spree in a souk, and inevitably camel riding near the great pyramids.

There members of the delegation photographed one another next to the massive sandstone blocks, and later Pik Botha and Magnus Malan larked about on camels "like schoolboys on an outing".

The "bridge club", an informal foursome of bridge players that had evolved inside the South African delegation (General Geldenhuys is something of a bridge whiz) was photographed playing a rubber on top of one of the huge pyramid blocks.

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"It is vastly troubling that so much creative energy should have gone into creating a grave," was Pik Botha's comment as he gazed at the great pyramid of Cheops.

By now the core of the non-ministerial South African delegation had solidified and would remain constant for the rest of the peace process.

It was headed by Neil van Heerden, Director General of Foreign Affairs, and included General Jannie Geldenhuys Chief of the SADF; Dr Neil Barnard, Director of the National Intelligence Service; Derek Auret and Andre Jaquet, of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Colonel Neels van Tonder of Military Intelligence, and Joe Boshoff of NIS.

For the first time, the trilateral talks would include politicians on the South African side — the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, who led the delegation this time round, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan — the meet-

above the diplomatic level of the London meeting.

On the first morning of the talks the US mediators presented to the Angolan-Cuban delegation Pretoria's proposals for a comprehensive settlement, while the South Africans travelled to the Commonwealth War Cemetery at Heliopolis.

PIK Botha had made known to the Egyptian government South Africa's wish to conduct a wreath-laying ceremony to commemorate the many South Africans killed in North Africa during World War 2. Such an event had not been planned and so impromptu arrangements were made.

A bowl of proteas in the SAA Boeing was commandeered, and given to a local florist who incorporated them

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into a wreath. The Egyptians laid on a bus to convey the South Africans to Heliopolis where a brief, but moving, ceremony took place before they returned to the tight security and high walls of the Hyatt el Salaam.

At the first formal session, the Angolan-Cuban delegation did to the South Africans what the South Africans had done to them in London: They rejected "about half" of the the key proposals which Pretoria had come up with, mocking the document and delivering a provocative ideological broadside which, one source remarked, "sometimes strayed rather far from the purpose of the meeting".

The abuse drew extravagant and sonorous response from Pik Botha, before the US mediator, Dr Chester Crocker, diplomatically proposed an adjournment.

Derek Auret remarks: "I very much had the feeling that the first session was to them just a case of tit-for-tat, that because we had rejected most of their proposals in London they felt they should do the same to ours, which meant that we didn't get anywhere."

The South Africans left the session visibly angry and depressed.

The Americans conceded that it was a "time of tension". There was even a fear that the Angolans and Cubans might "fold their tents and walk out" — or that the South Africans might beat them to it.

"We realised that the technique of putting a substantive proposal on the table and have the other side add or

similar solution to the impasse. "That was our first hint that they actually wanted the talks to proceed. Their rebuff of our proposals the previous day had led us to assume that they were really not all that interested in peace."

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At that stage Cairo had not produced much interaction between the delegations outside the conference room and the South Africans went forth in the hope of an opportunity for informal contact at dinner.

But the Angolans kept their distance and the South Africans dined and wined — and cheered on a good-natured and "amazingly talented" belly-dancer — on their own.

But the jollity concealed an air of tense uncertainty about the future of the talks.

After dinner, they went back to work, doing much of it in the balmy evening warmth of the garden since there was a belief among all delegations that their rooms, and even the adjoining corridors, were bugged (by whom none of them seemed willing to say).

Umbrellas were put up to confound remote bugging devices and, quietly in another corner of the gardens, the Angolan-Cuban delegation was doing much the same.

"It was a case of thinking through the whole process to find a way to keep the talks going on the one day that remained scheduled for the Cairo talks.

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"We thought we should start at the beginning and identify some principles that would be acceptable to both sides and which could be used as a basis for further discussion. In essence this whole process turned out to be a process of layering bit by bit and that is why it took so long.

"We worked late into the night to develop a set of principles which we believed were not objectionable. In a process like this you know where you want to go, and you have some idea of how you would like to get there, but you have no idea of the detours you might have to take, or ultimately what you might end up with," one of the delegates said.

Next day the South Africans put 18 principles on the table. To their surprise, and satisfaction, the Angolan-Cuban delegation had done much the same sort of homework and come up with a

similar solution to the impasse.

"That was our first hint that they actually wanted the talks to proceed. Their rebuff of our proposals the previous day had led us to assume that they were really not all that interested in peace."

Many believe the Soviet "presence" at the talks, Vladilen Vasev, head of the directorate in the Soviet Foreign Ministry with with responsibility for Africa, was in large part responsible for the change. Although he had been "in town" during the London talks, he had remained out of sight. And while he maintained an aloofness in Cairo, he was "seen around".

He was reported to have met the Angolan-Cuban delegation in the gardens of the Hyatt el Salaam late at night and to have told them of Moscow's interest in the peace effort on track. Vasev, it seemed, had transformed the mood from pessimism to that phrase so beloved of diplomats, "guarded optimism".

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But a solution was not remotely in sight. The conference had two sheets of paper, each with a set of proposals. While there were some proposals clearly acceptable to both sides, there were also yawning differences.

The American mediator, Dr Chester Crocker, suggested that both sets of proposals be accepted as conference documents, and it was agreed that an attempt would be made to marry the two documents during a meeting at an official (as opposed to a Ministerial) level.

Tedious hours of discussion followed in Pretoria and in Havana and Luanda, and Dr Crocker kept up the pressure on both sides from his State Department office in Washington, finally getting agreement for the official level meeting — "the attempted marriage" — to take place in New York from July 11 to July 13.

IN an attempt to keep the New York talks away from the intrusive eyes of the media, the Americans made Governor's Island available for the talks.

The low-lying island is a five-minute ferry ride from the tip of Manhattan's skyscrapered financial district and is dominated by a forbidding red brick fortress where confederate prisoners were kept during the American Civil War.

The entire island is a Coast Guard station and the Coast

'The whole peace process is in danger of collapse'

THE full text of the letter sent to the United Nations Secretary General, Dr Perez de Cuellar, by the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pile Botha.

WITH reference to my letter to you of 2 April 1989, I regret to inform you that I have now received further disconcerting evidence to the effect that

— Over 1 000 SWAPO (PLAN) forces have now infiltrated into Namibia;

— Over the period 21 to 30 March 1989, SWAPO forces of the First Mechanised Brigade redeployed from Lubango to locations at Xangongo and Techipa (ie from 300 kilometres north of the Namibia/Angola border to approximately 70 and 50 kilometres from the border, respectively);

— SWAPO tank elements were moved from Luanda to the border area during the same period to be deployed for offensive action into Namibia;

— Approximately 4 450 SWAPO forces are now deployed south of the 16th parallel;

— Two mixed PLAN/Cuban semi-conventional battalions of

strength of 450 each are positioned 600 metres north of Beacon 12 on the border and at Ongiva airfield respectively;

— SWAPO elements inside Namibia are in continuous radio contact with their command posts in Angola.

It is my duty to bring to your attention that unless active and effective measures are taken to stem the rapid deterioration of the situation, the whole peace process in Namibia is in danger of collapse.

□ □ □ □

The President of the Security Council, Ambassador A Belanogov, yesterday stated inter alia — "In my view, the interests of independence of Namibia require full co-operation of the parties with the Secretary-General and his Special Representative and scrupulous respect for the agreements relating to the settlement plan."

There can be no doubt as to what the agreements referred to by Ambassador Belanogov, and endorsed by the Security Council, require of each of the parties. What are the obligations under-

taken by SWAPO under these agreements?

— On 2 August 1988, the President of SWAPO informed you by letter that SWAPO had agreed to comply with the commencement of the cessation of all hostile acts, in accordance with the Geneva agreement. He also stated that SWAPO would be ready to abide by that agreement until the formal ceasefire under resolution 435 (1978). (Paragraph 10 of your report S/20412 of 23 January 1989 to the Security Council).

— Paragraph 5 of the Geneva agreement referred to provides that Angola and Cuba "shall use their good offices so that once the total withdrawal of South African troops from Angola is completed, and within the context also of the cessation of hostilities in Namibia, SWAPO's forces will be deployed to the north of the 16th parallel."

— Various of the relevant agreements affirm the principle of abstention from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity of states.

— On 18 March 1989, in a letter to you, the President of SWAPO confirmed SWAPO's agreement to abide by the ceasefire from 1

April 1989 and reconfirmed SWAPO's acceptance of the de facto cessation of hostilities "in and around Namibia between South Africa and SWAPO, in accordance with the Geneva Protocol of 5 August 1988".

Since the above obligations were endorsed by the Security Council, the South African Government would be grateful if you would as soon as possible confirm that the Council is willing to do everything in its power to secure SWAPO's compliance with them. If not, must the South African Government assume that the Council is now of the opinion that SWAPO is no longer bound by its obligations?

□ □ □ □ □

The facts of the developments over the past three days speak for themselves. Heavily armed SWAPO personnel crossed the Namibian/Angola border in large numbers on 1 April 1989. They carried with them not only semi-automatic rifles but also mortars, anti-tank weapons and ground-to-air missiles. On their own evidence they were instructed to enter Namibia and establish bases inside the Territory. These facts

are borne out by the report of the Special Representative.

You will realise, Sir, that the South African Government cannot be expected to implement its undertakings under the relevant agreements while SWAPO continues to act in flagrant violation of the provisions of those agreements with he acquiescence, tacit or otherwise, of the Security Council. In such circumstances South Africa has the undoubted right to suspend its compliance with its obligations. If, on the other hand, it is alleged that South Africa is in breach of its own obligations under the agreements, I shall be glad to learn which they are and how they have been breached.

In conclusion, SWAPO must now face up to the realities. Effective and immediate steps must be taken to ensure its compliance with all its obligations. Otherwise, in the exercise of its rights, the South African Government will have no option but to consider its reciprocal obligations suspended until such time as UNTAG is in a position to ensure SWAPO's scrupulous observance of the provisions of the relevant agreements.

THE world has been so busy abusing an unrepentant Mr Sam Nujoma that it would appear we have forgotten that he could not have done it all on his own.

What I mean by this is that this whole insane escapade was only made possible by the Angolans' and Cubans' flat refusal to take any notice of complaint after complaint from Pretoria that Swapo insurgents were laughing off the Geneva Protocol and massing in the shallow area just north of the border.

In terms of the protocol they were supposed to use their good offices to keep Swapo north of the Quiteve Line. In practice they did nothing but make excuses, though it was obvious a dangerous situation was being created.

So one might well ask if this was not a case of bad faith on the part of President Eduardo dos Santos and Pretoria's new good friend, Dr Fidel Castro.

In fact, one begins to wonder whether they or Mr Nujoma were really interested in resolution 435, free elections and a constituent assembly.

One recalls that as long ago as 1978 Mr Nujoma forthrightly declared Swapo was not interested "even in black majority rule. We are fighting to seize power in Namibia" — comments he has never repudiated.

Mr Nujoma might even have been inspired by the example set in 1975 by Angola's ruling MPLA regime, which neatly side-stepped a general election it could not have won by attacking both its rivals. If so, he obviously did not grasp that the general context was entirely different.

The most important question regards the effect the present fighting is going to have on the implementation of resolution 435. It is early days yet, but at least some delay would seem to be on the cards.

I say this because implementation of Namibia and that would then come to several times that

Angolans ignored complaints from SA



Mr Sam Nujoma

tation obviously cannot go ahead till Ovamboland has returned to its pre-April 1 condition, when for practical purposes it was at peace and Swapo's military effort had faded out. Neglect to do so will leave the population open to a large-scale intimidation campaign.

Even if there is an immediate cease-fire and return to Angola, Ovamboland would have to be thoroughly swept to make sure that it has been properly "decontaminated", since Swapo has

LONDON. — The French paper *Le Monde* yesterday reported a growing chorus of foreign

proved that its word cannot be trusted.

The "decontamination" would have to be carried out by the local forces, since the insurgents are reportedly breaking up into smaller groups, the winking out of which is a tedious and difficult task Untag cannot handle.

People tend to invest the Untag force with capabilities it does not have. The plain truth is that it is a heavily symbolic force which can monitor an uneasy ceasefire but lacks the structure, equipment, local knowledge and operational experience to conduct a counter-insurgency campaign.

This implies that resolution 435's rules of disengagement will have to be changed so that the local forces do the dirty work, with Untag observers attached to each unit, sub-unit or sub-sub-unit. That way the inevitable delay before the pre-April 1 condition returns will be as short as possible.

The only alternative is for the UN to pump in an equivalent force (say 20 000 men) and give it a year or so to pick up the necessary skills.

What worries me the most is the inevitable roiling up of all the old half-buried suspicions resulting from 23 years of warfare; to my mind "internal" Swapo might be best advised to do a UDI from the Nujoma clique and plunge into local politics, fighting on strictly political issues.

I have it on good authority that senior Swapo members have long advocated the abandonment of the "armed struggle", though at least 100 of them are known to have been thrown in jail on the pretext that they are spies.

PS: Why was Unavem not monitoring events in Swapo's shallow-area bases?

[Willem Steenkamp is a reservist in the Citizen Force].

School teacher tells how battle

APR 7/15 5/14/89 221

From TONY WEAVER

OKAHENGA. — In the first eyewitness accounts of the battle which is said to have started the fighting in Namibia, villagers yesterday told the Cape Times the opening shots of the war were fired by the security forces.

Thirty-three guerrillas died in the battle at this remote village 35km north of Oshakati and 22 more died later in the day, 10km to the west.

Schoolteacher Mr Wedeinge Josiah, 23, witnessed the battle.

"The fighters were relaxing under this tree when we heard the roar of vehicles in the distance," he said.

"The fighters walked out to greet the vehicles, I think because they thought this was the United Nations coming to meet them.

"Then I saw the smoke from the bush, I heard the roar of the guns, the Casspirs began to fire at them and many of the fighters died just there.

"The others ran into the bush and they were hunted down."

Mr Josiah said that earlier in the morning he walked out of his kraal and found written in the dust "Swapo of Namibia", a slogan still there when I visited the village yesterday morning.

He walked a bit further into the bush and encountered a guerilla who said he was named Shimoni.

"I asked him what he was doing here and he said to me: 'I came here with no problems about the war. We heard on the radio that the war is over. We have not come to fight, we have come home to live in peace.'"

"He told me: Our purpose is not to fight, we have

come here to meet Untag."

Mr Josiah's account of events on Saturday was supported by other villagers.

The ruined village was littered with the debris of the battle; strewn across a wide area were hundreds of spent South African cartridge casings and mortar bomb fins, and a smaller quantity of Soviet cartridges, indicating that the guerrillas did have time to fight back.

The bush had been flattened by armoured vehicles criss-crossing as the guerrillas were hunted down.

A mixed bag of supplies still lay around: tinned pork from Denmark, medical supplies from Amsterdam and a grim leftover of the grisly task the South Africans had later, pairs of surgical gloves used during the removal of the bodies.

A puzzling part of the debris were a large number

of blank cartridges stamped with Soviet lettering. Fourteen huts in the village were destroyed during the firefight, but there were no civilian casualties.

● Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, Swapo secretary for information in Luanda, said "our men had orders to enter the country and regroup at Okahenga and to wait there for the UN forces."

Mr Hamutenya said this in a BBC interview confirming earlier reports that his men had orders to establish bases inside the country.

But, he maintained, many of the guerrillas had already been inside the country for several months before the cease fire.

Observers here say that while some of the guerrillas may have been in the country before the cease-fire date, evidence points to a huge infiltration from March 30 to April 1.

Broke out

HARARE — UN special representative in Namibia Martti Ahtisaari is expected to fly here from Windhoek in a desperate bid to regain the confidence of Swapo during the faltering independence process.

Swapo leader Sam Nujoma yesterday refused to confirm reports that his organisation was gathering Afro-Asian backing for an approach to the UN demanding Ahtisaari's removal, in view of what Nujoma described as "a full-scale war situation".

He said he would be flying to Windhoek "very soon".

Western diplomatic sources here said arrangements for bringing the two men face to face to reduce tension appeared confused, and their telephone calls to Windhoek had failed to clarify matters.

Nujoma furiously contradicted statements by Ahtisaari and UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar that Swapo combatants had crossed the

Face-to-face talks for Ahtisaari and Nujoma

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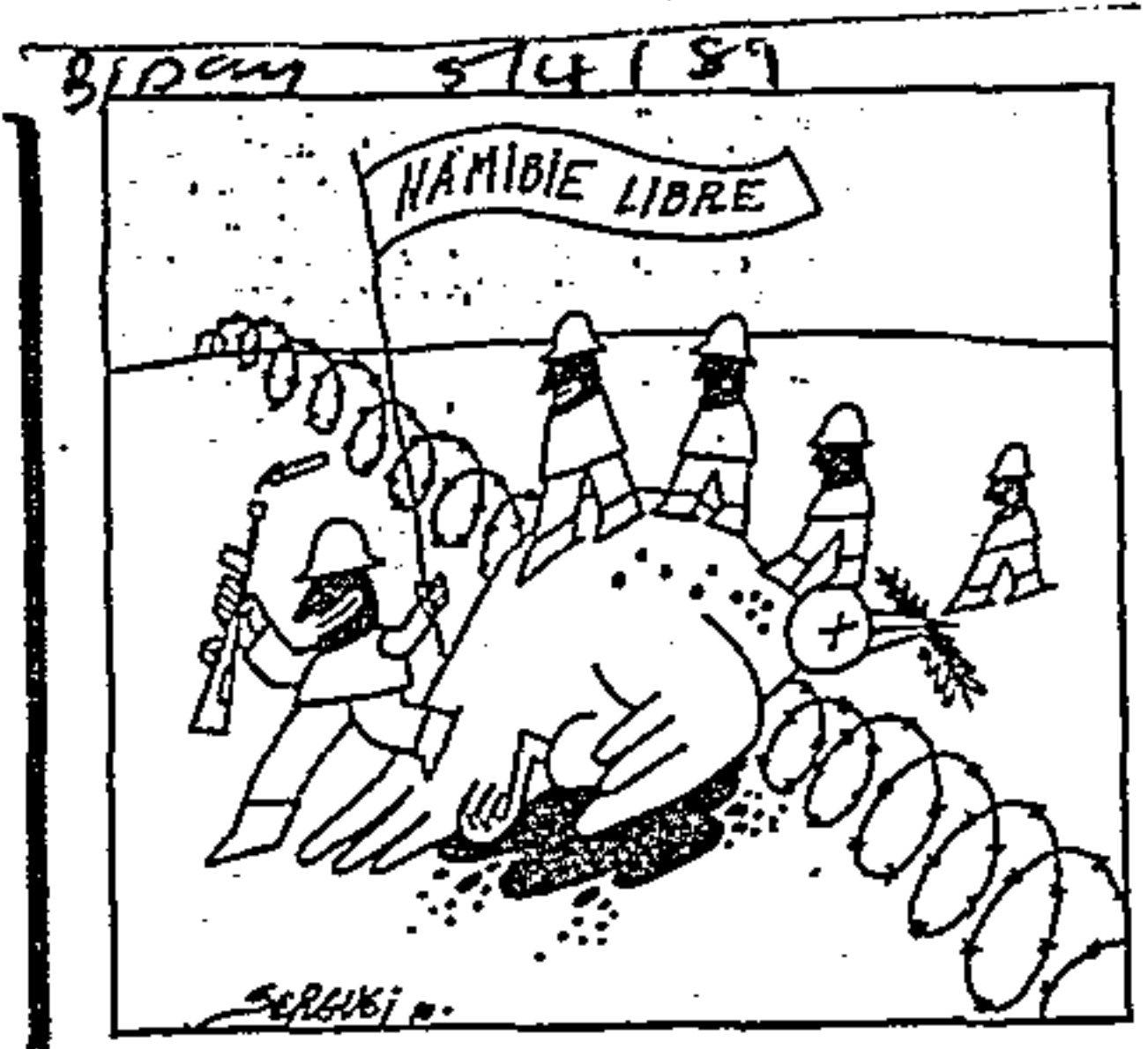
MICHAEL HARTNACK

Angola-Namibia border in apparent breach of the April 1 ceasefire.

Nujoma yesterday held an urgent meeting, convened at his request, with the senior local diplomats of the five permanent member nations of the UN Security Council — Britain, China, France, the Soviet Union and the US.

He said afterwards: "I have requested the ambassadors to ensure that their governments seriously consider the war situation in Namibia today and immediately deploy the full 7 500 military component of Untag according to resolution 435."

Nujoma reportedly also held talks with Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe, who indicated Frontline and Non-Aligned support for Swapo's stand.



The French daily newspaper Le Monde yesterday joined the growing chorus of foreign media criticism directed against Swapo over the bloody fighting in Namibia. Its front page lead stated Swapo had "tried to infiltrate northern Namibia from Angola in violation of the New York accord signed in November". The accompanying cartoon left no doubt as to where Le Monde thought the blame lay. Five men are shown using the bullet-riddled body of the UN peace dove to cross a makeshift, barbed wire border. Their leader carries a gun in one hand and a banner — reading *Namibia libre* (free Namibia) — in the other. (22)

Guaranteed safety demand by Dutch

8/21
8/21/89
THE HAGUE — The Dutch government warned yesterday it would not allow deployment of its contingent of UN peacekeeping forces in Namibia unless it was given a guarantee for the troops' safety.

Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek said he had sought UN assurances that the Dutch troops would not get caught in the fighting between local troops and Swapo guerrillas.

He said he had asked UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar for his opinion on the safety of the 33 Dutch military police assigned to Namibia but on standby for departure since April 1.

He added: "Our concern should be to be certain in any case that they will not get caught in hostilities there, which is not the purpose of their presence.

"This is first of all a peacekeeping force and not a force that should be involved in the fighting itself." — Sapa-AP.

Storm as Maggie condemns Swapo

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IAN HOBBS

LONDON — Margaret Thatcher yesterday condemned Swapo for causing fighting, loss of life and threatening the Namibia settlement.

The British Prime Minister told a stormy session of Parliament that UN evidence concluded that Swapo forces had made a large-scale incursion in breach of the agreement.

She told MPs the SA forces that had confronted Swapo were acting with the authority of the UN.

Answering a question from one of her own MPs she said: "The UN Secretary-General's report to the UN Security Council specifically confirms that there has been a large-scale incursion from Angola to Namibia by Swapo personnel.

"This is a serious challenge to the authority of the UN and the internationally agreed arrangements for Namibian independence. I certainly condemn it.

"There is no provision in the UN plan for Swapo to have bases in Namibia. Indeed, Swapo committed themselves to the Geneva accord under which they are required to stay north of the 16th parallel in Angola. It is this breach by Swapo which has led to the most regrettable fighting and loss of life.

"I would emphasise that the SA units involved are acting with the authority of the UN. It is now important that the au-

thority of the UN be upheld and the agreement implemented in full."

Thatcher's account of what happened in Namibia was questioned by SLDP foreign affairs spokesman Sir Russel Johnstone. He said her description of events had been disputed in several Press accounts.

Thatcher replied that he could read for himself the report by the Secretary-General which "specifically confirms there has been a large-scale incursion by Swapo into Namibia".

Labour leader Neil Kinnock, who was not involved in the debate, has asked Thatcher to support Swapo's call for a larger UN force in Namibia.

He said in a letter to Thatcher it was clear the Untag forces were in urgent need of reinforcement.

"I am therefore asking you to signify your support for the deployment of — and release of the necessary resources to maintain — a larger UN force should the UN Secretary-General be advised by his officials on the ground in Namibia that this is necessary. As a permanent member of the Security Council it is obvious that Britain is well placed to ensure that the UN is effective in ensuring a peaceful transition to independence for Namibia."

Namibian death toll climbs to 187

Push Untag into battle zone — Pik

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4 Day 5/4/89

WINDHOEK — UN officials yesterday sought desperately to patch together a ceasefire between Swapo guerrillas and SA-backed security forces as the death toll in four days of savage fighting rose to at least 187, and anger at the incompetence of the UN operation mounted internationally and inside Namibia.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha has requested that all available units of Untag be deployed immediately on the Ovambo-Angolan border.

In a statement a spokesman said the purpose would be the patrol of the area by these units to determine at first hand the situation on the ground and the extent of Swapo's illegal infiltration.

Gun battles flared for the fourth consecutive day in the northern battle zone of Ovamboland, and security forces announced at least 161 Swapo guerrillas, and 19 police, had died so far. A further seven people died yesterday afternoon. Casualties on both sides are expected to rise sharply as the police and army continue to mop up what remains of the 1,200-strong Swapo guerrilla force inside Namibia.

Four days after the formal implementation of the UN plan for Namibian independence, the fighting showed no sign of abating, and Untag appeared no closer

Own Correspondent

to stopping the violence.

Senior UN official Frederick Thornberry warned: "This country is in danger of bleeding to death." At the same time, he tacitly acknowledged there was nothing the ill-prepared Untag force could do to bandage Namibia's wounds.

Swapo foreign secretary Theo-Ben Gurirab claimed yesterday: "Our people are being butchered under the UN flag."

PRETORIA — Lt Christiaan Phillipus Els, 20, of Welkom, died late on Monday of wounds sustained in an afternoon contact with Swapo guerrillas in the Namibian operational area, an SADF spokesman said yesterday.

Els was part of the SA force supporting SWA Police. — Sapa.

● See Page 5

Swapo leader Sam Nujoma repeated his denial that his guerrillas had launched a deliberate incursion from Angola.

UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari flew to the northern battle zone yesterday with Untag commander Gen Dewan Prem Chand and Administrator-General Louis Pienaar.

Almost at the same time, Marrack

● To Page 2 →

Pik: push Untag forces into battle zone

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6 Day 5/4/89

● From Page 1

Goulding, head of all UN peacekeeping forces around the world, arrived in Luanda for talks with the Swapo leadership and their Angolan backers.

Goulding was sent to Luanda by UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar — the butt of growing international outrage — to repair one glaring omission in the UN plan: the absence of Untag military monitors in Swapo camps in southern Angola.

It is understood that not one UN observer has been granted access to Swapo camps in Angola. A UN official in Windhoek admitted lamely yesterday there was "a limited UN presence in Luanda".

Namibian churchmen yesterday joined the international condemnation of the Untag operation.

The Council of Churches of Namibia, which acts as virtual mouthpiece for Swapo, yesterday released a statement based on their inspections of the war front.

It said civilian witnesses to a bloody

exchange at Okahenge which claimed at least 33 lives, confirmed that police fired first at a group of Swapo guerrillas massed peacefully in the village.

The churchmen further charged that when villagers rushed to the military base at Oshakati to report to two Untag officers, "they did not respond and continued reading their novels".

They also reported claims of witnesses, partly endorsed by two captured Swapo guerrillas, that many who crossed into Namibia believed they were entitled to do so. There seems to be genuine confusion within the Swapo rank and file on this issue. Resolution 435 makes no specific reference to the withdrawal of all Swapo guerrillas north of the 16th parallel.

However, this provision was included — at the insistence of Pretoria — in the Geneva protocol of August last year.

SWAPO'S PUZZLING MOVE ²²¹

THE clashes between Swapo units and security forces in northern Namibia have raised puzzling questions.

Most puzzling of all is why Swapo should have launched a large-scale military offensive into northern Namibia from Angola, as claimed by authorities in Windhoek, at the risk of severely damaging its image.

Swapo has denied doing this and has accused South Africa of provoking the clashes.

However, the reports of relatively heavy casualties among the SWA police forces indicate that, whatever their motive, the Swapo units involved in the clashes were heavily armed.

And they were well south of the 16th parallel, contrary to the provision in the Angola-Namibia peace accords that they should stay north of it.

Swapo have given a written undertaking to the United Nations secretary general, Mr Perez de Cuellar, that it would abide by the peace accord, which implicitly bound it to cease hostilities and keep its forces north of the 16th parallel.

Unless Swapo can come up with a convincing explanation of the sudden appearance of large, well-armed units of its armed forces in northern Namibia, it stands to suffer serious damage to its credibility and to the international support that has been its mainstay throughout its long struggle to oust South Africa from Namibia.

A United Nations



SAM NUJOMA ... denial.

official in Windhoek has suggested that Swapo might have been under the impression it was entitled to bring armed men to assembly points inside Namibia.

This would provide a theoretical explanation for the clashes and for the fact that they took place immediately after the official start of the

SOWETAN AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

independence process on April 1.

But there is no provision in the independence plan for Swapo assembly points in Namibia. According to the South African interpretation of the plan, Swapo is supposed to keep its forces north of the 16th parallel until suitable arrangements for their return to Namibia have been agreed on between the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, and the South African Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar.

On this basis a shootout would be almost inevitable if

Swapo units heading for supposed assembly points in Namibia were to run into patrols of the SWA police, who are responsible for maintaining law and order with the army confined to base under the independence procedure.

But it would reflect little credit on Swapo's understanding of the situation, on its leadership's communication with its forces in the field or on its control over them.

There are several other possible explanations for the clashes. The most extreme is that Swapo deliberately sent strong forces into Namibia in the belief that they would meet no opposition with the army safely out of the

way.

If successful, such a tactic would have boosted Swapo's chances of sweeping the independence election, but only at the cost of a badly tarnished international image.

Another possibility is that the deployment reflects a split within Swapo between relative moderates supporting the UN plan and hardliners favouring continuation of the armed struggle.

Alternatively, the Swapo forces could have been sent across the border by dissident regional commanders.

Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, has denied that his organisation has violated the ceasefire

Peace saved by discipline in ranks

TWO minutes and 20 metres. That's how close the Namibian peace settlement came to being broken a few hours after it took effect.

And the place where the fragility of the UN Security Council resolution 435 was tested was not the borders of Africa's last colony, but a major street in the Namibian capital.

It was just after eight o'clock on Saturday morning and emotions were high in Windhoek's Okahandja Street.

Thousands of Swapo supporters and trade union members, stretching several hundred metres across the dual carriageway, were determined to march to the city centre to protest against official attempts to privatise public services.

They were faced by about 60 armed policemen, equally determined to stop the march.

The police, dressed in grey uniforms, were armed with batons, teargas canisters and rubber bullets.

The marchers, many dressed in Swapo colours (red, blue and green), were armed only with placards and banners slating privatisation, supporting Swapo, and calling on South African troops to leave the territory.

Police violence against the protesters would have been seen as a violation of the ceasefire agreement between Swapo and South Africa which had come into effect at 6 o'clock that morning, Swapo sources said.

It would have had effects on the independence procedure laid down by the UN.

The march started shortly after 7am at the Katutura community centre, which houses several trade unions and community organisations.

After walking down Kaiser Street, the crowd (which eventually swelled to between 10 000 and 15 000) turned into Okahandja Street to be met by police.

The front section of the crowd stopped about 20 metres from the police, while the tailend was several hundred metres behind.

Head of the police operation, Colonel Jumbo Smuts ordered his men to "listen carefully" to his

instructions.

"When I give the order, you must move forward," he said.

Turning to the crowd, he said: "You must go back to Katutura. Otherwise, my men will act in two minutes."

A few minutes earlier, a voice on the police two-way radio had said: "We cannot allow these people into the city, they will disrupt law and order. It seems a confrontation is unavoidable."

A policeman remarked to one of his colleagues: "We should have had Koevoet here today."

Foreign and local journalists clambered on to hills next to the road as the protesters discussed whether to continue and the police prepared to move in.

After about a minute, lawyer Andrew Corbett and Bob Kandetu, acting secretary-general of the

Council of Churches in Namibia, approached Smuts and told him the people would turn back if he restrained his men.

Surrounded by journalists, Smuts agreed and the crowd made their way back to the township. It was 8.30am.

One old man, apparently upset at the decision to turn back, had to be pulled back as he took off his jacket and ran towards the police.

About 200 policemen were deployed along the way to Katutura, where major celebrations were planned for later that day.

No members of the UN Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) were seen in the area.

By 9.30, most of the people were back in the township, preparing to march to a sportsfield where a Swapo rally was to be held.



Threat to peace. SWA policemen prepare



"Your day Namibia." British MP Paul Boatang at the Swapo rally.

At last

LAST Saturday was a quiet day in central Windhoek. Few shops were open and there was no end-of-month shopping rush.

Things could not have been more different in Katutura township, where residents ushered in the implementation of United Nations

Resolution 435 with festivities, a workers' meeting and at least three political rallies over 20 000 people.

April 1 was a day on which people of Namibia showed their colours — literally.

All over the township people wore T-shirts or dresses in the colours of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) or the Namibian Patriotic Front (NPF).

Swapo supporters, in the majority, also sported blue and red caps, umbrellas, shirts, flags and badges.

The activities started last night as hundreds of supporters from different groupings: Katutura by train, bus, car. Some DTA and NPF members arrived earlier, to be at J G Strijdom Airport to welcome UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari.

By the time of a Swapo march at 7am on Saturday morning, people had spent the night held for visitors from other townships.

Later, there was a parade through the town of the different groups. Swapo went first, and people came out to show support for the organisation.

Several youths displayed their support for Swapo president Sam Nujoma. Hundreds of marchers, some carrying flags and banners, sang freedom songs. Others did the toyi-toyi.

Explosives

Passing cars and trucks and several taxis displayed SWAPO flags. Residents lining the streets clenched fists and shouted "Swapo", "Swapo will win", "Down DTA".



SPECIAL REPORT

Nadia

NADIA, an Athlone teacher, was luckier. She had an abortion ten years ago in the United Kingdom.

Her mother borrowed the money to pay for the flight.

"We stayed with my aunt who had emigrated to England. I had a brief examination by a doctor and had to fill in a form stating that I wished to go ahead with the abortion. Then I was given an anaesthetic and when I woke up it was all over.

"Most of the women in the ward were foreign. They ranged in age from a fourteen year old to a woman in her fifties.

"The irony is that by the time I returned to South Africa I was haemorrhaging and had to go to a local gynaecologist

"No, I have no regrets. My parents made the decision but I feel that I have achieved a lot with my life since then. What would have been the point in bringing yet another unwanted child into the world?"

Buiswa

BUISWA, a pretty second-year University of Cape Town law student, will never have children.

She had a hysterectomy four years ago after arriving at Groote Schuur bleeding profusely from a botched backstreet abortion.

"I had the abortion because I was desperate. I was in standard nine at the time and the father was a boy at the same school," she said.

"He told me not to worry about contraception, he would take responsibility for that. Neither of us wanted the baby.

"We were afraid to tell our parents. My mother is a domestic worker who worked long hours to keep me at school. I could not face her with the news that I was pregnant."

Initially, Buiswa tried to ignore the fact that she was pregnant. She thought that if she did, the baby would "go away".

"But after two months, I had to face reality. I tried all the old

wives' tales — jumping off tables, taking pills — but nothing helped.

"It is common knowledge in the townships where to go to get rid of unwanted babies. My boyfriend loaned me R100.

"I was frightened because there were many stories about people who had been taken to hospital after going to this woman. But I had no doubt that I wanted the abortion.

"I went to the abortionist's house after school one Friday. She used a sharp metal object. Then she gave me some pills and told me to go home and stay in bed for a few days.

"At first I tried to hide the fact that I was bleeding but then I collapsed in a pool of blood.

"I try not to think about that time now. It is as though it never happened. I know my mother thinks I did wrong and that never being able to have children is my punishment, but I don't agree.

Thandi

THANDI, a mother of three children, also ended up at Groote Schuur after an illegal abortion several years ago.

At the time she had two children and was unemployed. Her boyfriend denied he was the father of the unborn child.

"I went to the abortionist because I had no choice. My two children did not have enough to eat. How could I support another child?"

"The abortionist inserted a catheter and sent me home to wait for the foetus to dislodge.

"I was three months pregnant but it did not feel like I was getting rid of a baby.

Thandi was taken to False Bay Hospital after she began to haemorrhage. From there she went to Groote Schuur.

"Everyone knew that it was not a natural miscarriage. They made me feel ashamed and to this day I still feel shame when I think about what happened.

Many seek quick answers

MEDICAL experts and counsellors believe that thousands of women throughout South Africa risk their lives at backstreet abortionists.

Women who have an unwanted pregnancy have three options: To go ahead with the pregnancy and keep the baby, to give the baby up for adoption or to get rid of the foetus.

For many, keeping the baby is not feasible. These are not just the young and unmarried. They include middle-aged women who have so many children that the thought of another mouth to feed in a house already overcrowded is a nightmare.

Often, contraceptive methods were used but failed, or the man refused to allow contraception.

Poverty, unemployment and the breakdown of traditional family structures means that unwanted children face a bleak future and those who resort to abortion often do not want to sentence their unborn babies to a life where the dice is loaded against them before they are even born.

While there is considerable demand for white babies this is not the case with black children.

Adoption

This means that for most of these women, adoption is not an option.

The dilemma of unwanted pregnancy leads them to search for ways of getting rid of the foetus.

It is extremely difficult to get a legal abortion in South Africa.

The regulations governing legal abortions are stringent and, according to Arag, less than 500 were performed throughout the country last year.

A woman can get an abortion if she was raped and reported the rape, if a doctor states that she contracted German measles while pregnant, or if she is mentally impaired and was raped.

A woman can also get a legal abortion if two doctors, not from the same practice, agree that she will suffer permanent mental damage if she goes through with the pregnancy or her life.

A third doctor has to perform the abortion in such a case, which is subject to the approval of the director at a provincial hospital. The case then has to be forwarded to the Attorney General.

According to Abortion Reform Action Group (Arag) spokesperson Dolly Maister, the law leaves women with little option but to resort to an illegal abortion.

If they are lucky, they go to medical practitioners.

Otherwise, they go to a neighbourhood abortionist who often has little more than the rudiments of medical knowledge.

Many of these women end up at local hospitals with incomplete miscarriages.

No one knows exactly how many illegal abortions occur in South Africa.

Because it is illegal, women are loathe to admit that a miscarriage is not natural.

Several years ago, Maister calculated that the illegal abortion rate in South Africa was around 200 000 a year.

In 1978, Arag obtained figures from Baragwanath Hospital in Johannesburg, where 2 881 women ranging between the ages of 16 and 48 were treated for illegal abortions. Nine of these women died.

Arag campaigns for all women to

Abortion shock!

It can be done for anything from 10 mandrax tablets to R1 000

THE price of an illegal abortion in Cape Town ranges from 10 mandrax tablets in Woodstock to more than R1 000 in Lansdowne.

A Lansdowne doctor, it is said, performs at least one abortion every week for R1 000.

A city gynaecologist performs the abortions under the guise of a dilation and curettage operation, according to a woman who opted to go over overseas for her abortion. Several others are also said to be willing to perform abortions.

In the townships there are also several women with nursing experience who will perform the operation in their homes for between R100 and R500, I discovered after visiting a shebeen and pretending to be in need of an abortion.

Jean, a former midwife, is one such abortionist.

She charges R100 for the operation, which she performs at her Athlone home.

Like several of the other abortionists with medical experience, profit is not her motive.

"The women who come to me are desperate. There are a lot of people who are making big profits out of illegal abortions. They charge exorbitant fees because they are trading on the women's despair," she said.

"Better that I do it than let them go to people who have no medical knowledge where they run the risk of serious damage or death."

Jean has a personal interest in ensuring that the abortions she performs are safe. Her cousin bled to death fifteen years ago after a friend attempted to perform an abortion using knitting needles.

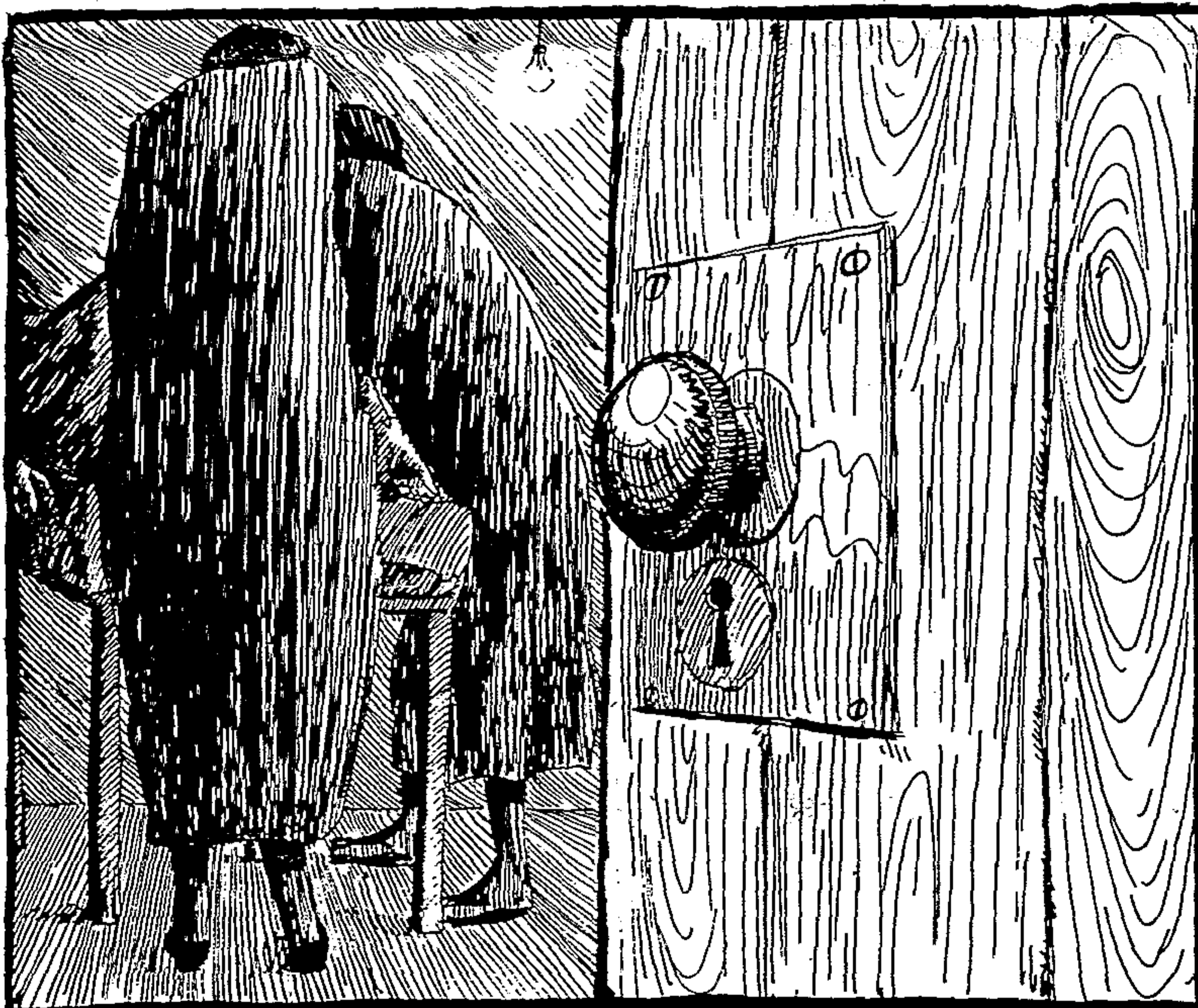
Jean said that none of her clients have ever had any complications.

Not so lucky are some of the women who have turned to Lindiwe, a blind abortionist in Guguletu who learnt her business from an aunt.

This is the bargain basement of the abortion industry where R50 buys a miscarriage.

Lindiwe said she used a catheter

The illegal abortion rate in South Africa is estimated at about 200 000 a year. Some women are fortunate enough to consult abortionists with medical experience, but thousands of others have to resort to backstreet abortions. CHIARA CARTER investigated the abortion industry and discovered the dilemma of unwanted pregnancy is fraught with potential suffering. The names of victims and abortionists have been changed.



to induce miscarriage and relied on Dettol to keep the operation sterile.

"Every week I have women here," she told me. "They include schoolgirls, married women, women in their forties.

"They are all determined to get rid of the unwanted baby. I make enough from the business to support my children but it is not just the money. If I don't do it, someone else will."

Lindiwe admits that several of the women who have come to her have ended up in hospital. But she says that after they leave her house she has no responsibility for what happens to them.

"I give them headache tablets and muti to stop the cramps. They know they must not mention my name. If they end up in hospital it is no longer my problem."

The most disreputable abortionist

I approached was a Woodstock woman, who said she had no medical training but could get rid of a baby in return for Mandrax or Obex.

She showed me a small front room with a bloodstained bed where she said she performed the abortions.

But she refused to discuss anything until I produced either money or drugs.

Free contraception needed — call

Gynaecology at the University of Cape Town.

Of the 1 500 miscarriage cases

Complications which were treated at Groote Schuur included bleeding and infections caused by

problem was that the strict laws which surround legal abortions in South Africa made no provision for cases where contraception

THE number of illegal abortions which take place in South Africa in any one year is anyone's guess.

Not even hospitals are able to provide figures as few women are

admitted to their

REPORT



Marching workers

WHY SWAPO CHOSE TO STAY AWAY

THE placards and banners which greeted United Nations special representative Martti Ahtisaari outside Windhoek's J G Strijdom Airport last Friday condemned exploitation and apartheid, and could have been produced by the South West African People's Organisation.

But Swapo, which led the fight for the country's independence struggle for over 30 years, was not there to celebrate what was meant to be an historic day for them.

The organisation's caretaker politburo had decided the Wednesday night that their members should stay away from the airport to avoid possible clashes with rival political or-

ganisations.

"We have learnt that agent provocateurs in Swapo T-shirts will be at the airport. We decided to stay away to avoid any incidents that could mar the commencement of Resolution 435," said Swapo's acting chairman Dan Tjongarero.

The message got round by word of mouth on Thursday, and on Friday no Swapo members were seen at the airport.

But the people who were there, mainly members of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and the Namibian Patriotic Front (NPF), cashed in on Swapo's absence.

The road to the airport was painted in white with pro-DTA slogans and a DTA tent was set up near the airport entrance. Several buses were parked outside the tent.

SWA police and traffic department vehicles were seen at several spots along the road.

About 4 000 DTA and NPF supporters, waving banners and placards, stood opposite each other for several hours before Ahtisaari's arrival at about 8am.

Some DTA supporters were on horseback while a group of about 20 youths in khaki uniforms marched up and down the airport road.

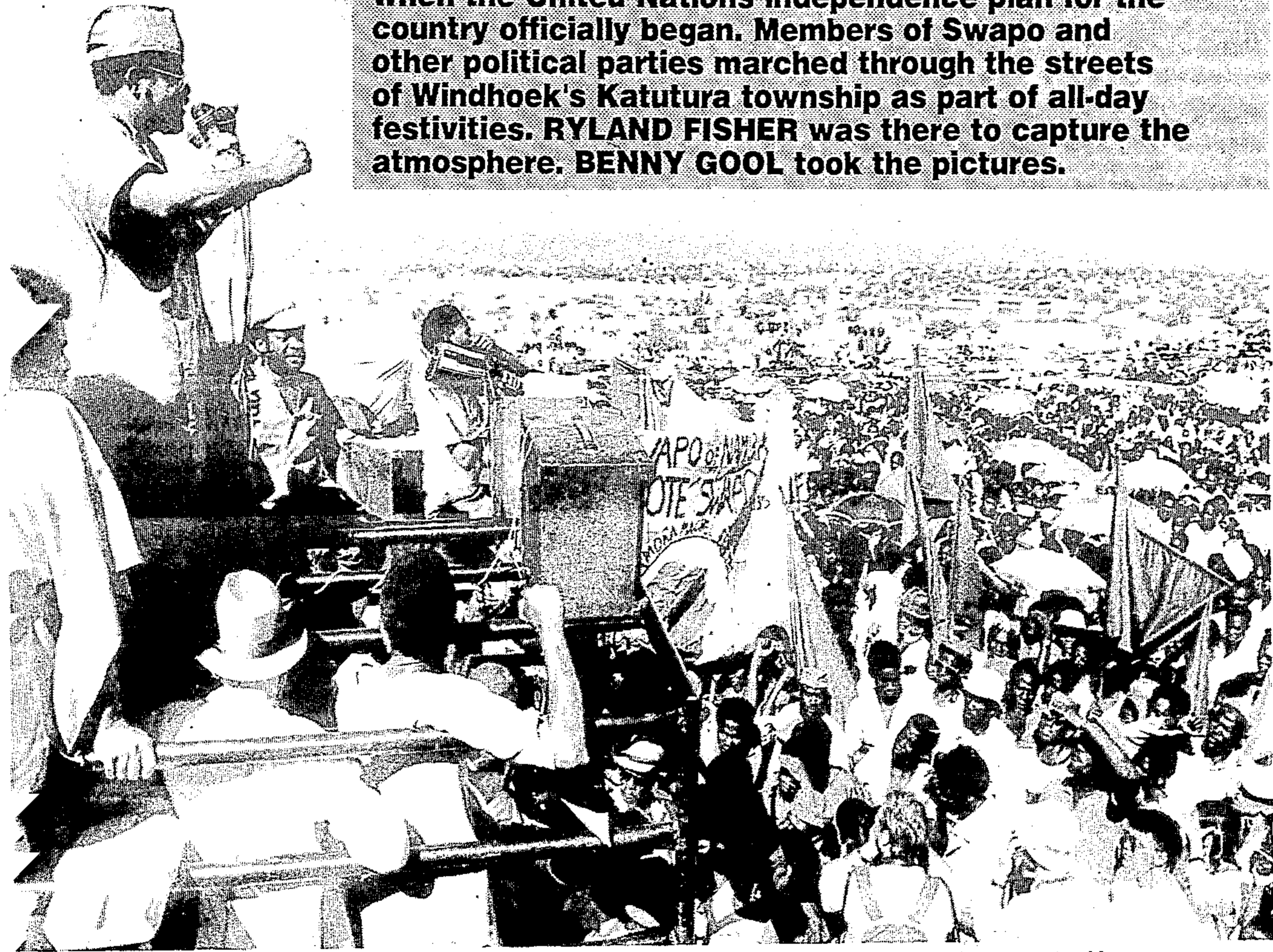
The NPF supporters appeared to be mainly Ovahimba people from Okakoland in Northern Namibia.

One woman in traditional dress said she had travelled over 12 hours by bus and train to be at the airport.

Police, traffic officials and members of the UN Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) were out in force but did not intervene.

The police took down their cordon near the airport by 10.30am, after Ahtisaari and his entourage had passed and most of the foreign journalists had left.

NAMIBIANS showed their true colours last Saturday, when the United Nations independence plan for the country officially began. Members of Swapo and other political parties marched through the streets of Windhoek's Katutura township as part of all-day festivities. RYLAND FISHER was there to capture the atmosphere. BENNY GOOL took the pictures.



Packed out. Swapo acting chairman Dan Tjongarero at the movement's rally in Katutura township

Margaret Thatcher no midwife of Namibia Boatang

THE Swapo rally in Katutura last Saturday was conducted in five languages. But British parliamentarian Paul Boatang needed no interpreter.

Boatang, representing the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action Against Apartheid (Awepaaa), had the crowd cheering after every sentence.

"This is your day, you won it through your own struggle. The United Nations Security Council did not give it to you, nor did P W Botha or Margaret Thatcher," he said.

He slammed the British prime minister who was in Namibia on the same day to visit her troops at a nearby military base and to have talks with South African foreign minister Pik Botha and administrator Louis Pienaar.

"I wish Thatcher was not surrounded by her troops. If she was here, she would have seen the true authentic voice of the people of Namibia," Boatang said.

Midwife

"Thatcher can't come to Namibia and pretend to be the midwife of Namibian independence as long as she is a witness of apartheid.

"She must learn that you don't destroy apartheid with soft words. The only thing which can destroy apartheid is struggle.

"And when P W Botha goes into obscurity, he must know that the end of apartheid is near."

Boatang, one of the few black MPs in Britain, was in Namibia to gather information before attending an Awepaaa meeting in Harare this week.

Other speakers at the Swapo rally included Swapo vice-president Pastor Hendrick Witbooi, acting chairman Daniel Tjongarero, acting foreign secretary Niko Bessinger and politburo member Rev Zephania Kameeta.

After inspecting the area, Swapo leaders declared it was safe for the meeting to go ahead.

The DTA procession in Katutura's main street at about 10.30 was led by a group of men in khaki uniforms, followed by a group in white T-shirts with blue and red logos, and women in red and black dresses.

About 100 women in tribal outfits ululated but there was no singing. Some of the people chanted "DTA DTA" and "Down Swapo".

A group of men on horseback formed part of the procession which was restricted to the roadside.

Swapo members, showing clenched fists salutes from passing vehicles, were greeted with shouts of "Where is Nujoma, where is your leader?"

The group of about 4 000 marched to an open field on the outskirts of Katutura, opposite the community centre which houses several Swapo-

At the DTA rally, three marquees had been erected to accommodate rural supporters. At least one meat truck and one food truck were seen off-loading as a disco played music and a pop band prepared to perform.

Meatballs

On the self-erected stage, a man asked "Who will win?" to shouts of "DTA" and "Who will lose?" as the crowd answered "Swapo".

Inside one of the tents, a group of women performed an energetic tribal dance.

The smaller NPF procession followed shortly after noon.

The 2 000 people, some dressed in yellow, red and green T-shirts, marched to the Katutura sportsfield to hold their rally.

The crowd ignored a speaker's request for them to sing a song as hundreds of people queued to each

police with a video camera and other equipment, began at about the same time.

There was no visible police presence at the other two rallies.

Festivities

Journalists at the Swapo rally estimated the crowd at between 15 000 and 20 000.

The speakers, including a British parliamentarian, stood on the back of a truck. People stood on buses, cars and trucks to be able to see the proceedings. There were no chairs.

In front of the speakers' "platform" youths held banners with Swapo slogans and in support of Swapo's military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan).

Up to 3pm, buses and taxis arrived with people wanting to attend the rally which was conducted in five



The big lie!

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South
5-12/4/89



By RYLAND FISHER, who returned from Namibia this week

WHAT is the real story behind the war in Northern Namibia that is threatening the country's move towards independence?

South Africa blames the clashes, the worst in the 23 year bush war, on Swapo guerillas who infiltrated the country from Angola.

Swapo seems to agree that their fighters infiltrated the country. The difference is over when this happened.

South Africa says the guerillas infiltrated after the ceasefire which became effective last Saturday morning. Swapo says the guerillas had been in the country for some time.

Independent reports from the north seem to verify the Swapo statements.

Lawyer Andrew Corbett, of the Legal Assistance Centre (LAC) in Windhoek, said they had received several reports indicating the guerillas had moved in prior to the ceasefire.

The LAC offices in Ongwadewa and Rundu have been monitoring repression

Police block a Swapo march from Katutura township to Windhoek

PIC: BENNY GOOL

and army activity in Northern Namibia since last year.

"We are getting reports from all over the place, from different individuals and organisations," said Corbett.

"These reports indicate that some of the guerillas apparently thought that once the ceasefire took effect they would be able to give themselves up to the United Nations forces.

"They started to move in bigger groups and even made contact with local villagers. One person in the north told us they had been approached by guerillas who asked for water.

"The guerillas apparently told these people they were not there to fight but to give themselves up to the UN."

Corbett said it was "not yet clear why the attack occurred, or whether the guerillas were acting on orders".

"The reports we received

indicate they were not."

A major problem seems to be the inability of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) to monitor or control the situation in Namibia properly.

Barely 1 000 of Untag's expected 4 650 personnel had arrived in the country by last Saturday April 1, the day the Untag operation was supposed to have been in full swing.

See pages 8 & 17

Corbett said Untag admitted on Monday that they had only 100 monitoring personnel in Ovamboland, and had not been on the scene of the fighting.

"They also admitted that the investigation of what had happened on Saturday, was conducted by one Untag police officer."

This could have led to the UN's

swift agreement to remobilise South West African Territorial Force (SWATF) troops, which were being confined to bases.

Corbett said the LAC had also received reports of the remobilisation of 202 Battalion in Kavango, near Rundu, where they had allegedly assaulted people in Nkhemu, Ndama, Mkarambanwe and Sauyema.

"We approached Untag to report this but they told us they were not operational yet in that area, they also don't have transport to investigate the complaints," said Corbett.

"It is ridiculous. They should have had hundreds of troops operating on the border. The local population say they have seen no Untag personnel. As far as they are concerned, Untag is not around.

"The Untag officials told us they

• TURN TO PAGE 3

had problems in finding funding for the implementation of Resolution 435.

"They said police units which will be operational are only arriving in two to three weeks."

While the world has been quick to follow South Africa's condemnation of Swapo for breaking the peace accord, it is not clear whether the accord had in fact been broken by Swapo, and if it was, whether the Swapo leadership had known or agreed.

Several Swapo leaders spoken to inside the country last week appeared sincerely committed to UN Resolution 435, to the extent that they were prepared to make major compromises.

Clashes

"We want to give peace a chance," said Swapo acting chairman Dan Tjongarero.

Whether individual guerillas decided to break the peace accord in defiance of their leaders' orders, also appear unlikely if one considers the airport incident.

Not a single Swapo member was seen at the airport after the politburo instruction filtered through.

Swapo president Sam Nujoma has denied that guerillas had entered Namibia to set up bases.

"We have been fighting inside

Namibia for 23 years, he said. Swapo information secretary Hidipo Hamutenya has accused South Africa of "terrorising the population and hunting down Swapo guerillas, trying to force them to leave the country".

"Their response was to fight and it started to expand. The question is how to stop it."

But even if the fighting is stopped, the latest fighting — which has claimed nearly 200 lives — has raised serious questions about the fragility of Resolution 435 and the ability of the UN forces to keep the parties involved loyal to the settlement plan.

UN asked: 'How many more must die?'

from **BRENDAN SEERY**
Argus Africa News Service
in Windhoek

UN bureaucrat Cedric Thornberry looked distinctly uncomfortable as he fielded tough questions from hard-hitting international journalists in Windhoek.



But he didn't like the blunt one from an American behind the TV crews: "How many more Swapo people must die before the UN gets its act together?"

From the many nods among the assembled news people, it was clear media veterans were not at all impressed with the UN's unfortunate showing in its latest — and biggest — peacekeeping operation.

But this was far from being a bar brawl, or embarrassing social *faux pas* among the locals — northern Namibia in flames mocked the very UN flag and motto and threatened to bring one of the world body's most elaborately-crafted and long-delayed peace plans tumbling down.

Mr Thornberry acknowledged the situation was "deplorable" and begged understanding from those among the press corps who theorised that the UN poured petrol on the flames by allowing certain SADF and SWA Territory Force units out of their bases to join the hunt for Swapo insurgents.

When UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari and the force commander, General Dewan Prem Chand, were made aware of extent of the clashes in northern Namibia over the weekend, they were faced with a "savagely dilem-

ma", according to Mr Thornberry. Having been told by the authorities that they were "incapable" of dealing with the situation with the existing police forces, Mr Ahtisaari and General Chand had to decide on what action to take, bearing in mind the "very, very limited" extent of their force's deployment at that stage.

There are currently just over 1 000 troops of the military component of the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag) in the country, most of them logistics units or advance parties.

Mr Ahtisaari and General went for the "South African option", not aware it would leave them wide open later on to accusations of "escalation".

That Mr Ahtisaari and others in the Untag may now be having second thoughts could have been con-

strued by Mr Thornberry's remark to journalists that "hindsight is always 20/20 vision".

Mr Thornberry faced a hail of questions about exactly what the UN was doing to monitor the SADF and SWATF units now that they were being deployed.

He explained that military monitors were stationed at the main SADF bases, recording the comings and going of troops, but that no UN personnel were actually travelling out with fighting units.

This week, though, the UN has not only been under fire from the news world. The Council of Churches in Namibia was just as scathing about the organisation which, only weeks before, it had publicly prayed would bring salvation to this war-torn and embittered territory.

The Council claimed the UN had not even bothered to visit the scenes of the clashes in the north and speak to people who witnessed the carnage.

When people in the area had reported to UN monitors, the soldiers appeared more interested in reading their novels.

In another incident, a UN soldier was "intoxicated" when approached by anxious locals to ask for protection on their journey back to the north.

Mr Thornberry told journalists in an anguished and emotional voice that even though it was impossible, he wished he could have the full UN force here immediately.

"This country is in some danger of bleeding to death."

High-tailing . . . and a

TWO powerful armies stood poised across the Angola-Namibia border, and both sides recognised the risk of an irreversible clash breaking out on the ground.

This risk was recognised in spite of the formal renunciation of violence which the negotiators had achieved on paper in New York. A *de facto* end to hostilities had become a matter of grave urgency.

An attempt was made to do this during a secret meeting of military delegations on Sal, in the Cape Verde islands, on July 22 and 23. So secret was it that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, made no reference to it during a Press conference at the Union Buildings on the day before the Sal meeting began.

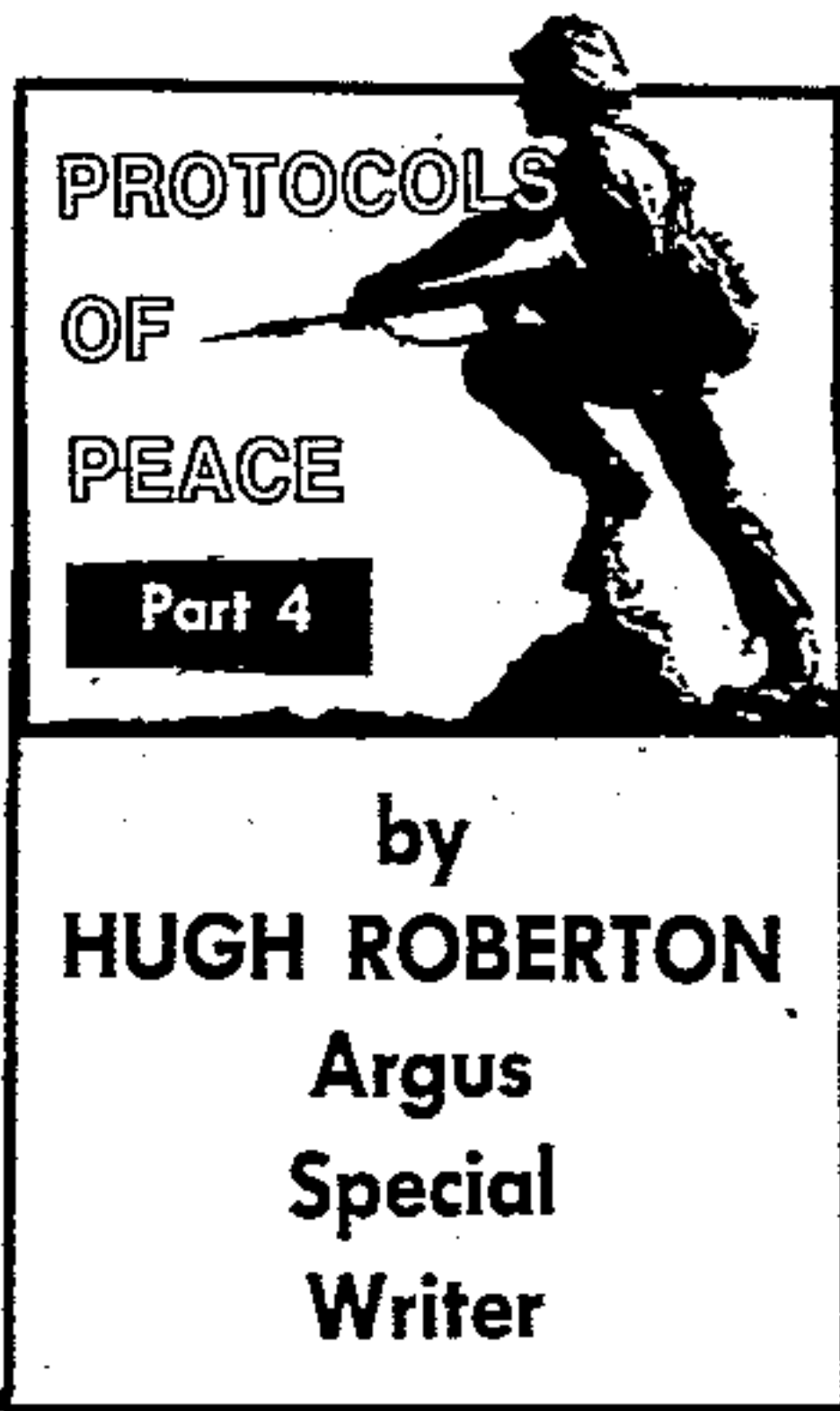
The Cape Verde government, conscious of its lucrative association with SAA — Sal airport was the key stop-over point for SAA flights to New York before the US Congress banned all direct flights — had long sought to play a role in resolving the Southern Africa war.

The South Africans stayed at the island's only hotel, where SAA crew used to stay over. It overlooks an idyllic bay, about 30 km from the airport, and next to a new private Club Med facility.

Talks took place in the president's palace, a bungalow-styled building dating from the late 1960s. The South Africans put forward a plan that would provide a physical distance between the two armies. It was a complicated and technical proposal involving gun ranges, time lags and early warning systems.

Nothing firm was agreed to, and the precarious risk of armed clashes hung over the full delegations as they met again in Geneva from August 2 to 5. This was to prove one of the most difficult meetings of the entire process, but the long hours of argument, and even a dash of brinkmanship, finally produced a set of actual actions which each government was required to take in order to flesh out the principles agreed to in New York.

Their achievement was to become known as the Protocol of Geneva and many of those present believe that this was the most crucial meeting of all; the breakthrough in which Cuba and Angola agreed to set down in formal terms their acceptance of "linkage" — the withdrawal of Cuban troops linked to the implementation of Resolution 435 in Namibia, a concept which they had accepted, but



only verbally, in New York.

The South Africans started out by springing a surprise, which was to ruffle feathers around the globe. Without consulting the other parties, they proposed November 1 as the target date for the implementation of Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia, undertaking to complete a unilateral withdrawal of the residual SADF force in Angola by that date.

Birthdays celebration

THE Angolans and Cubans felt it would be more appropriate for the Secretary General of the UN to announce the implementation date. They suspected that Pretoria was attempting to pre-empt the talks and draw them into a convoluted trap. There were also suggestions that Pretoria was trying to force the pace.

And, indeed, on the South Africans side the intention was to speed up the negotiations, for there was some flack about the delegation "high-tailing it out of town every week or so at awesome expense and not coming back with anything" and there was a sense of impatience with the progress that was being made.

But there was no convoluted trap. The South Africans felt that a marker needed to be put down in the form of a firm date for implementation of Resolution 435 to see if the parties could work towards achieving it and they felt that November 1 was a realistic deadline.

As the controversy swelled, the South Africans took a break to celebrate the 63rd birthday of Dr Piet Koornhof, the former Cabinet Minister and South African ambassador in Washington, who had attended most of the trilateral discussions.

He took the entire South African team, plus other com-

International efforts to make the guns of Angola and Namibia fall silent

patriots — "about 25 of us in all and it must have cost him an arm and a leg" — to an Italian restaurant near the Hotel Inter-Continental where the talks were held.

The negotiations continued in spite of Angolan and Cuban misgivings about the proposed South African deadline. The Cubans had already indicated that what would be required of them and Angola would be a bilateral agreement releasing Havana of its obligation to provide troops in Angola as specified in their Treaty of Friendship.

And they made it known that they wanted the movements which Cuban troops would have to make — a redeployment northwards followed by a phased withdrawal — monitored by the Security Council of the UN.

The South Africans argued that in view of their desire that the November 1 deadline for implementation be kept, the calendar for a Cuban troop redeployment and withdrawal should be settled before September 1.

"So the next obvious thing to do was to get our troops out of Angola by September 1."

The parties agreed that there would be a trilateral agreement combining all the preceding steps in internationally binding treaty language — in effect, the beginning of what was to become the final accord.

And it was agreed that a line be established in southwestern Angola, stretching from Cuamata in the west, to Ngiva in the east, south of which the Cubans undertook not to take any military action. In formal terms, they agreed not to move South of latitude 15 degrees 30, or east of 17 degrees longitude.

In effect they cut out a block in which they undertook not to operate unless they were attacked or harassed and it only came after a lot of argument and discussion.

The Angolans and Cubans also agreed that activity involved in the provision of water and electricity from Rua-

cana and Calueque for Owambo, could continue and that they would use their good offices to pressure Swapo into moving its bases north of the 16th parallel — all this was predicated on the understanding that all South African troops inside Angola would be moved out.

With that advance in the negotiations, the Geneva talks ended and the South Africans flew back to Pretoria to brief President Botha, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Administrator General of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar.

"With the projected implementation date we had put ourselves, and the others, in a 'time corridor'. But nothing could proceed until a firm and satisfactory agreement could be reached on the precise calendar of a Cuban troop redeployment and withdrawal," says Derek Auret.

"So the next obvious thing to do was to get our troops out of Angola by September 1, and then we had to sit down and decide what would be an acceptable calendar for the Cubans and what would be an acceptable mechanism for monitoring troop withdrawals."

In late August the three delegations — South African, Angolan-Cuban, and American — met for the first time in Brazzaville, the previous meeting there having been an interim one-on-one between only South Africa and Angola.

Having been preceded by the usual advance party, which checked security and accommodation and set up special satellite communications equipment — the South Africans arrived in Anglo Vaal's Hawker Siddeley 125 and Louis Luyt's newly-refurbished Jetstar, plush in beige and brown cowhide.

Soon it became clear that the South African concept of a possible Cuban withdrawal schedule, and that of the Angolans and Cubans, were far apart. The Angolan-Cuban delegation started with a proposed 48-month withdrawal period, which was rejected by the South Africans who, in turn, argued for a seven-month timetable.

dash of brinkmanship



STANDING PROPOSAL: Foreign Minister Pik Botha, flanked by Defence Minister Magnus Malan, makes a point during the talks in Brazzaville. Opposite the South Africans are Angola's Colonel José Maria, the presidential secretary for defence, and Justice Minister Fernando Von Durem.

But these were opening positions. Both sides needed to "listen and, more important, to hear" one another on the issue. That was the main pre-occupation at Brazzaville, and a pattern established under the guidance of the American mediator, Dr Chester Crocker, in Geneva, was used to get the talks underway.

It consisted largely of bilateral meetings between the parties, then between each party and the American mediators who would take elements that were common to the position of both sides and draw up a "synthesis paper".

Timetable of withdrawal

CROCKER used a well tried negotiating technique in both Geneva and Brazzaville, which proved strikingly effective. It consisted of the American mediators drawing up a document which did not reflect the negotiating position of either side and which both sides could attack. This avoided direct confrontation, and allowed both sides to work towards "areas of commonality" without the sterile exercise of each side simply rejecting the position of the other.

By now, both antagonists were eager for progress, and according to an Angolan diplomat, the system devised by Crocker and his team worked "extraordinarily well".

The Congolese gave the parties facilities at the Palace of Congresses, a cavernous building with many meeting halls. Each delegation was assigned its own rooms.

Coffee and "fantastic croissants" were on tap, and when

deadlock was reached in formal negotiations, a technique was resorted to which had also worked well in Geneva.

The two most senior Angolans, their two Cuban counterparts, the top four South Africans, and four American mediators under Crocker would meet informally without stenographers or tape recorders to speak their minds freely — and even to exchange a joke or two.

The conference turned technical, with the military contingents discussing such issues as "lift capacities" deep into the night. There was no time for sightseeing or extraneous intrigue at Brazzaville. One diplomat noted: "We were all too exhausted for that sort of thing. We were only too grateful to

The conference ended with a chairman's statement which "in a general way" pointed out "areas of commonality" and which identified areas which had to be concentrated on — among them, a timetable for Cuban redeployment and withdrawal, and more specifically the rate of that movement.

Negotiations were briefly put aside for a visit to South Africa of the UN Secretary General, Dr Perez de Cuellar, which began on September 21. Dr Perez de Cuellar arrived on the Ivory Coast's presidential jet, a white Gulfstream, which in the past had also been made available to South Africans undertaking diplomatic missions in Africa in connection with the peace process inbetween the formal negotiations.

The UN chief's visit was aimed mainly at reassuring

the South African government and public of his determination to ensure that the UN's role in a settlement would be impartial. He had the advantage of having served as an ambassador at the UN at the same time as Pik Botha, so the two men knew one another well.

"And he got on like a house on fire with President Botha," one of the South Africans noted, "which, needless to say, helped a great deal."

By then it was clear that the implementation date of November 1 could not be met.

Thus the parties returned to Brazzaville from September 26 to 28 to discuss the refinements which they had separately made to Dr Crocker's "chairman's summary" drawn up earlier in the month.

The second full-scale Brazzaville meeting focused on trying to bridge the differences over the timetable and rate of a Cuban redeployment and withdrawal and both sides had done an immense amount of technical homework.

While the gap was still large, there was a growing belief that it could be narrowed to the point where an agreement was possible.

"The elements of a solution were in the air, like the pieces of a jig-saw puzzle," Auret recalls, and it was a question of fitting them together under the astute guidance of Crocker.

Again the discussions ended with a "chairman's summary", but this time with more flesh on the bones. An incipient agreement was there, consensus had been reached

on a draft Brazzaville Protocol, but finality had yet to be reached on the exact timetable and scale of a Cuban evacuation.

A week later the talks were resumed in New York, this time in a green marble and glass conference room on the sixth floor of the UN Plaza Hotel.

The room overlooked the UN rose garden on the opposite side of First Avenue. To the fascination of all delegates, moored in the East River opposite their meeting room was the R100-million yacht *Nabila*, then newly purchased by Manhattan property tycoon Donald Trump and undergoing a lavish refit.

Slowly the concept developed that if a rapid and total Cuban withdrawal was impossible in the short-term, then at least a firm timetable for rapid redeployment of Cuban forces away from the border area was possible as a prelude to a more leisurely general withdrawal.

Sieving for diamonds

"IN New York that time around we were entirely consumed by the negotiations. They occupied every waking moment," a South African diplomat said. "It was an obsessive time; I didn't even have time to send my family a postcard or to buy my long-suffering wife a present."

The talks became an informal shuttle by the American mediators going from room to room in the hotel "sieving for diamonds, then taking them away and cutting and polishing them and bringing them back as gems."

At last a document which the parties thought could provide the basis for agreement emerged and a final draft document on a settlement was hammered out for presentation to the three governments involved.

Meanwhile on the border plans were being made for the evacuation of South African troops from Namibia, following the earlier unilateral withdrawal from Angola, and the border was relatively quiet.

The most recent deaths in the war had been early in September, when two SADF members, and two Swapo insurgents, were killed in a skirmish.

● **TOMORROW (Part 5):** Champagne flows, and a plane crash casts a shadow over the signing of a bitter-sweet peace.

RUSH FOR PEACE

APCAL 6/4/89 221 International bid to halt bloodshed

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

INTERNATIONALLY-BROKERED peace moves in war-ravaged Namibia are gathering momentum.

The tripartite Joint Monitoring Commission — comprising South Africa, Angola and Cuba — will meet on a farm near Windhoek on Saturday in an attempt to stop the bloody fighting on the northern border of Namibia.

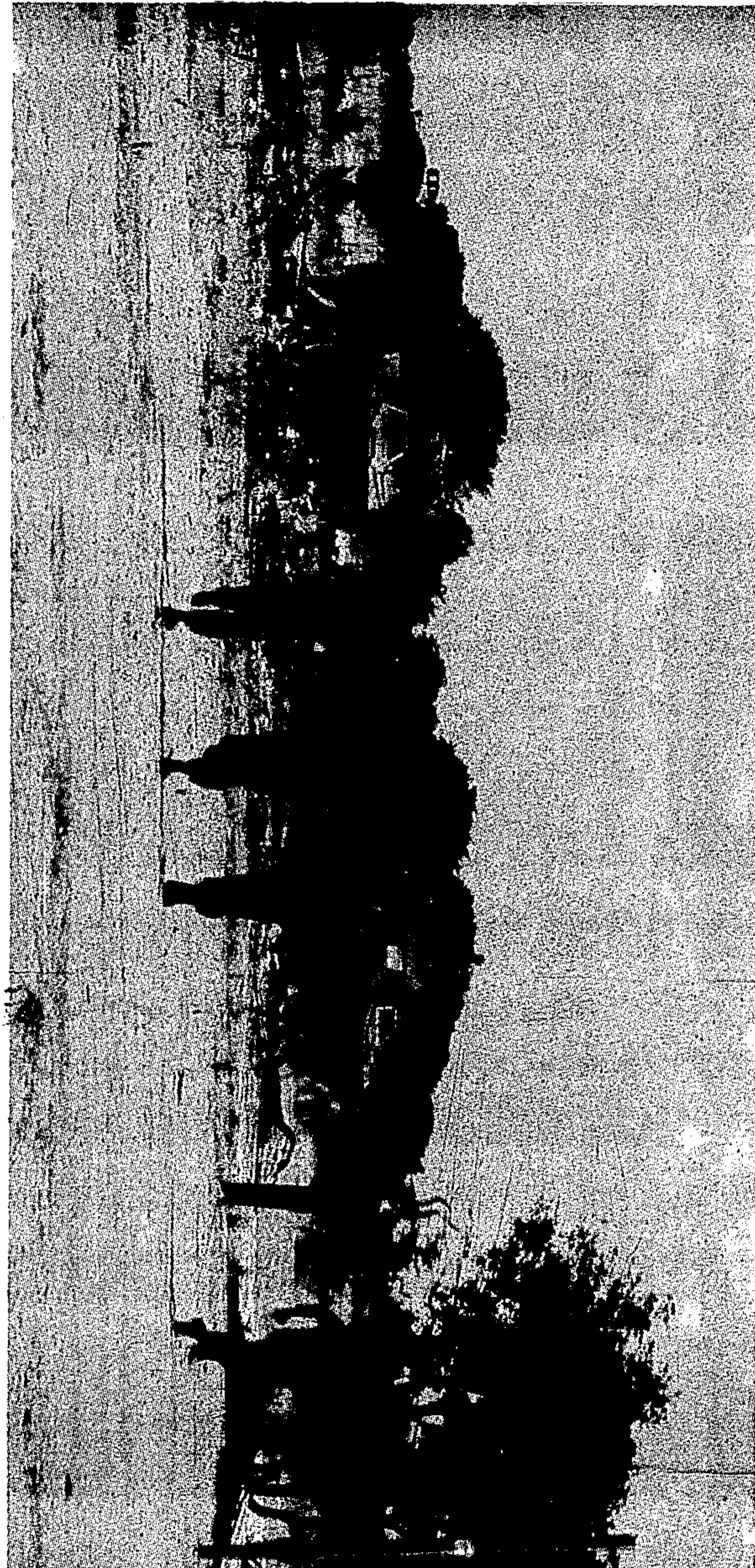
In London, developments in Namibia will be discussed in talks between Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and Russian President Mr Mikhail Gorbachev today.

Leaders of the six African frontline states are meeting in Luanda and will, according to reports from there, back calls for a ceasefire. The meeting was called by the chairman of the frontline states' President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, the day after fighting erupted in northern Namibia on April 14.

Meanwhile a surrender and safe conduct offer to Swapo insurgents is being broadcast regularly into areas they have infiltrated in northern Namibia.

Swapo yesterday rejected the South African offer of safe passage out of Namibia, saying its forces should be confined to bases inside the territory.

Swapo Defence Secretary, Mr Peter Mueshange, repeating Swapo's readiness to call a ceasefire in northern Namibia, and said fighters should be confined to bases inside the territory.



CONTACT! South African troops scramble for their vehicles in Ovambo after hearing of a skirmish with Swapo insurgents in their sector.



Picture, KEN VERNON, Argus Africa News Service.

More Untag forces on the way — UN

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — A United Nations spokesman yesterday confirmed reports that Untag forces are to be airlifted into Namibia in an attempt to restore peace in the northern area.

Mr Cedric Thornberry, director in the office of UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari, told a Press conference here the need for a ceasefire and the restoration of the situation to what it was before April 1 was extremely urgent.

Asked why only 20 percent of the allocated 4 650 Untag troops had arrived in Namibia by April 1, Mr Thornberry said it was a question of logistics. The problem was not so much bringing the troops to Namibia but getting them operational.

The Untag office in Luanda, he said, was negotiating with the Angolan government about monitoring Swapo bases in that country. However, Mr Thornberry admitted that no Untag personnel had been in the southern Angolan border area before the armed clashes began on April 1.

Mugabe complains to UN about Ahtisaari

From ROBIN DREW

Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — Zimbabwean President Mr Robert Mugabe has accused the United Nations special representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, of "monumental errors of judgment and shocking insensitivity to the feelings of Namibians."

In a letter to the UN Secretary-General, Mr Mugabe, in his capacity of chairman of the 101-nation Non-Aligned Movement and as President of Zimbabwe, said Mr Ahtisaari's decision to allow South African troops to drive away Swapo combatants cast serious doubts about his suitability for the post.

The South Africans should be ordered to return to their bases immediately as the first step towards halting the conflict.

tory and not go to Angola.

This is one of the matters expected to be discussed by the emergency meeting of the joint commission.

South Africa has asked that the weekend meeting be at ministerial level.

Soviet influence

Confirming the meeting, a Department of Foreign Affairs source said Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pk Botha and Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan would attend.

The Russian deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Anatole Adamishin, is in Luanda and Britain will try to get the Soviets to use their influence with Cuba and Angola to get Swapo to stick to the peace agreement.

South Africa has earned high marks with the British for its response but in Windhoek Mrs Thatcher warned that unilateral action to get Untag to withdraw would have dire consequences for relations between Britain and South Africa.

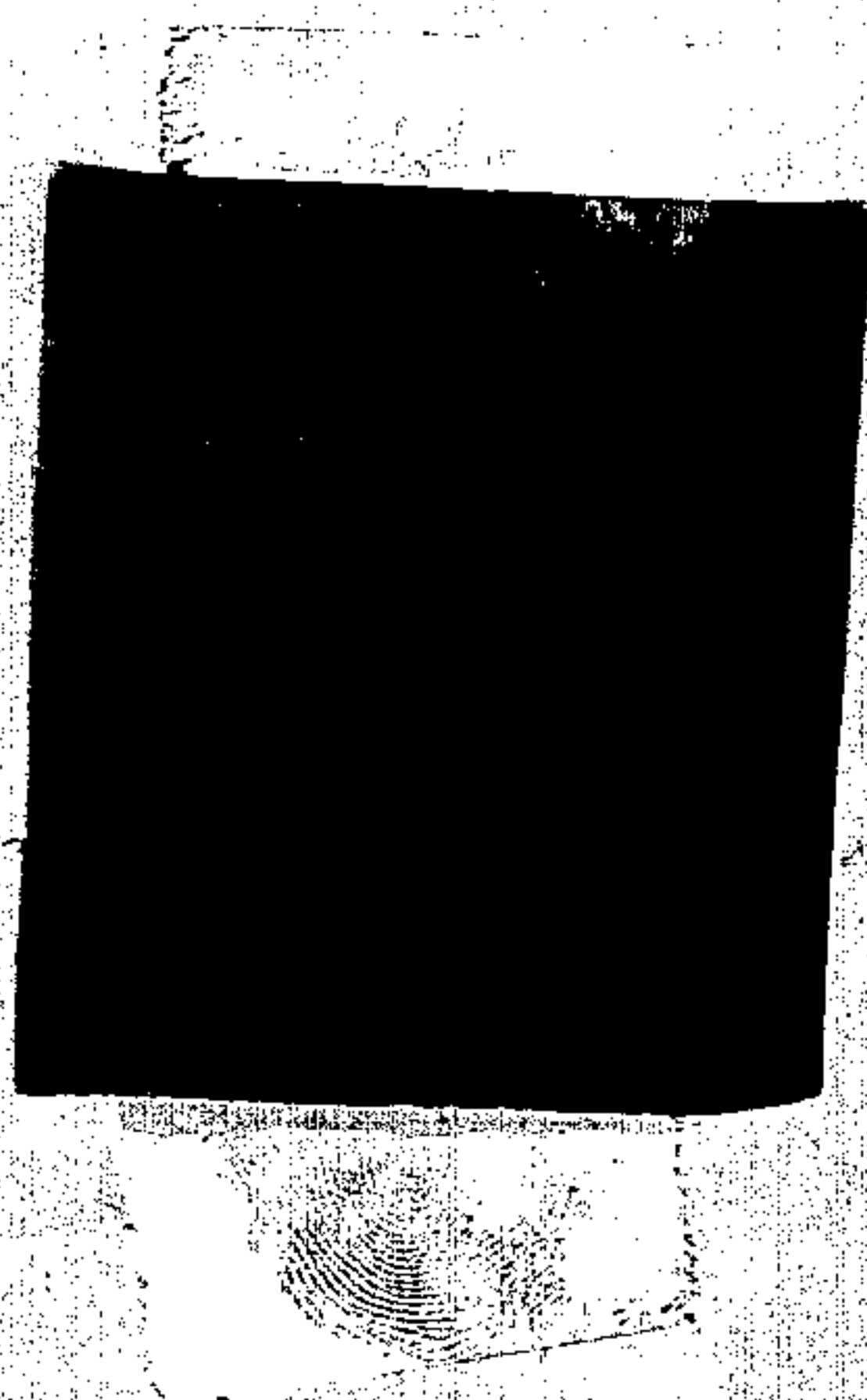
Although there has been a flurry of diplomatic activity involving most of the super powers, the weekend meeting of the joint commission is seen as the key to getting the peace plan back on track.

Encouraged

South Africa is awaiting a reply from United Nations Secretary General Dr Perez de Cuellar to a number of letters over the past few days pointing out the seriousness of the situation and claiming that Swapo infiltration was still taking place on a major scale.

In his latest letter to Dr de Cuellar, Mr Botha said the South African government felt encouraged by the "firm and

CONCERNED: Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the UN Special Representative for Namibia, met top UN officials in Oshakati yesterday. Here he emerges with the head of the UN police monitoring group, Commissioner Steven Fanning, right.





Britain stands firm as Swapo shifts the blame

From CHRIS WHITFIELD
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Britain refused to withdraw its accusation that Swapo was responsible for the fighting in Namibia as the organisation's supporters sought to shift the blame on to the shoulders of the United Nations.

Mrs Lynda Chalker, Minister of State at the British Foreign Office, said: "What has got to stop is the incursion by Swapo. They have, as they agreed to do, to lay down their arms because it was Swapo who declared the unilateral ceasefire.

"It seems to me that Swapo on the ground is not acting in accord with the decisions which Swapo has made and conveyed to the United Nations in New York," she said in a radio interview.

Mrs Chalker, who also announced yesterday that she would be postponing a visit to

Angola until the Namibian crisis was resolved, said she accepted that the intention of the Swapo troops might not have been hostile.

"But on the other hand you don't bring all that equipment and troops down over a border, particularly when Swapo had accepted the arrangements for restrictions to bases in Angola and Zambia."

Join in fighting

Swapo's British representative, Mr Peter Manning, criticised the UN forces in Namibia.

"It is necessary to point out that the UN Secretary-General's special representative is obliged to ensure the implementation of the peace plan. He is not authorised to alter the plan in any way. The plan is a series of agreements between the two parties.

"It is not for him to authorise, as he has done, South African-controlled military units to

join in the fighting against Swapo."

He said the ceasefire agreement had been broken when South African forces had attacked, without provocation, Swapo units which had assembled in anticipation of being confined to base under UN supervision.

In a television interview, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha delivered a strong plea for Swapo to accept South Africa's offer of an escort back across the 16th parallel.

Interviewed on the in-depth current affairs programme Newsnight, Mr Botha appealed to foreign governments and the UN to put pressure on Swapo to surrender.

He assured Swapo members who did so that no harm would come to them. "The UN could be present and they could be taken north of the 16th parallel."

He admitted it would be

"tragic" if the UN did not act decisively and South Africa fulfilled its threat to pull out of the peace process — but denied such a move was imminent. "I have bent over backwards despite (Swapo's) clear violation... and we will remain patient. I have worked all my life to get peace for Namibia.

"We will not walk out of the peace process immediately. All over the world governments are supporting us."

Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock called for the Swapo troops in Namibia to be assembled at UN points.

He said the prospects for peace in Namibia had deteriorated with South Africa's threat to end its part in the process.

"At the same time it is clear that the UN needs to move rapidly to stabilise the situation on the ground and get the transition to independence underway. Instead of being left to be hunted by South African forces they (Swapo's soldiers) should be grouped together at UN assembly points inside Namibia."

Free port at Walvis Bay? 221

CAPE TIMES 8/12/89
THE Administrator of the Cap. Gene Louw, has come out in full support of the establishment of a free port at Walvis Bay, the African enclave on the Namibian coast.

The Cape Provincial Government did not have any authority in regard to the establishment of a free port at Walvis Bay, he said during the extended public committee on Cape provincial affairs yesterday.

But, he added, the people of Walvis Bay could "rely on our 100% support for this proposal".

Summer Soldier

Beards back in bush war

From KEVIN JACOBS

OSHAKATI. — Pottle Potjeler lifted a hand from the twin-mounted machineguns and rubbed his chin stubble. "The beards are coming back," he said. "The more terros there are, the longer the hair. When the terros go, so does the hair."

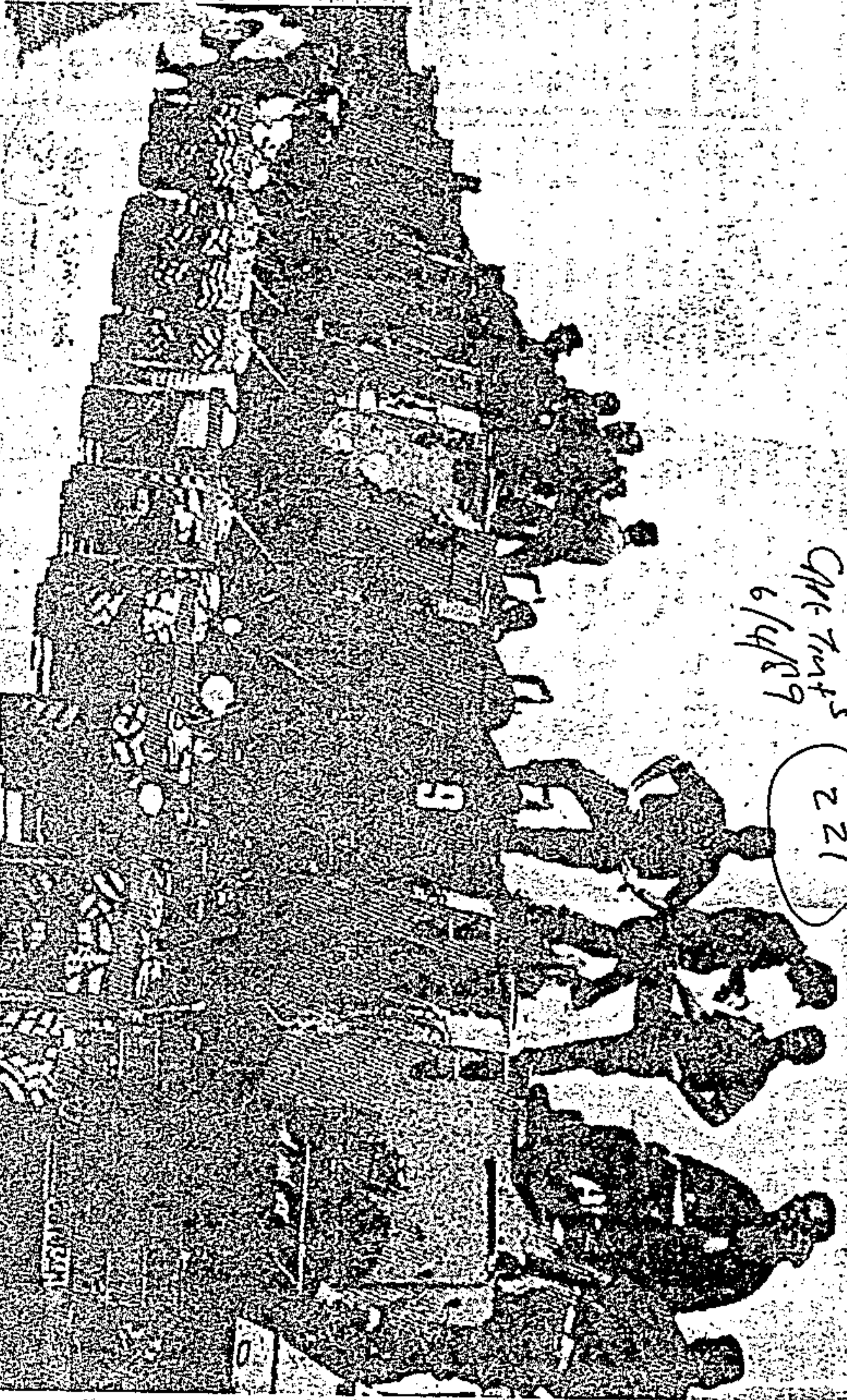
Potjeler, a 28-year-old police sergeant and five-year veteran of bush fighting with the formally disbanded Koevoet unit, is back in the bush after some months of peace, doing what Koevoet always did best.

"The guys used to have full beards, down to here," he said on board an armored Wolf Turbo car bouncing through bush near Omahundi, chasing Swapo insurgent groups reported in the area.

"Then a couple of months ago, with this new thing, discipline got tougher. We had to shave and have haircuts, uniforms had to be neat. For the slightest thing wrong you were deep in trouble."

"Suddenly this started again, now the beards are growing again."

But so is the knot in the stomach.



READY TO ROLL... Soldiers wait on their Buffel troop-carriers before joining Namibian police in an operation against Swapo insurgents.

APR 7th 5
6/4/89
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THE South African government last night set Swapo insurgents in northern Namibia a Saturday midday deadline to lay down their arms and raise the white flag.

As international ceasefire efforts intensified, administrator-general Mr Louis Pienaar began hourly radio broadcasts aimed at persuading Swapo combatants engaged in bloody fighting with Namibian police, SWA Territory Force and SADF units to surrender or return to Angola.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, made the first of the radio appeals for peace yesterday when he asked Swapo guerrillas in Afrikaners on the external service of Radio RSA to "hoist the white flag."

Hiding out

And, amid reports that another 800 guerrillas had entered Namibia yesterday — bringing to at least 1,500 the number believed to have infiltrated from Angola since Saturday, Mr Botha increased South African pressure on the UN to move decisively to end the killing with another letter to the organisation's secretary-general, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

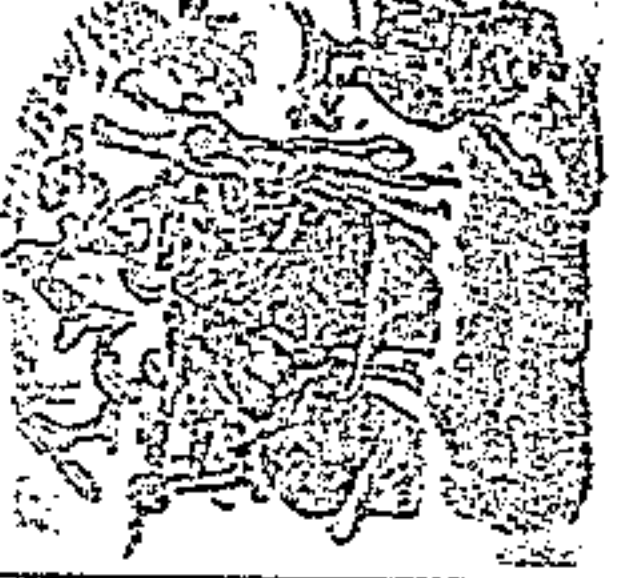
According to latest reports from the war zone, two more guerrillas died in continuing skirmishes yesterday, bringing the toll of insurgents to 170 over five days of heavy fighting.

Police commanders said large groups of guerrillas appeared to have broken up and were hiding out across a 400km stretch of northern Ovambo land.

"It's very quiet at the moment," police counter-intelligence chief General Hans Dreyer said at Oshakati. "I would say they (Swapo) have gone underground and we are trying to get them out. Having suffered such a bloody big loss they are trying to avoid us now as far as they can."

In other developments yesterday: Mr Botha last night urged Mr Perez de Cuellar to bring his "influence to bear on the Swapo leadership to

crack of dawn



Applause for Whites who visited ANC

By CHARL DE VILLIERS

NEARLY 2,000 Stellenbosch students yesterday fondly and repeatedly applauded 18 fellow Whites, including eight SANC members, who recently met Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and members of the ANC and Governmental Delegation.

SAA launches service to Zaire

APR 7th 5 269 358

The inaugural flight by way of Lusaka, departed for Jon Smuts Airport yesterday with little fanfare. SAA declined to comment on the new service when approached yesterday, but sources in the transport industry said the flight was fully booked as far as Lusaka, and there appeared to be a big demand for subsequent flights. They said one Wednesday flight a week had been scheduled for the new route.

Gold shares drop on JSE

Financial Staff

EFFICIENT MEDICINES COSTLESS AT Wynnberg's Pharmacy

crack of dawn

Applause for Whites who visited ANC

SAA launches service to Zaire

Gold shares drop on JSE

UCSIL VVAL



Senokol
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60 TABS
 Each 10 tabs contains Apple Acid 600 mg, Magnesium Hydroxide 23 mg, Dried Aluminium Hydroxide 64 mg, Sodium Bicarbonate 170 mg.

Senokol
 Fast relief of **Constipation**

but to cross the border and hope to meet Umag.

Syfers Cape Times Share Challenge

TODAY'S PRIZE: R400
TODAY'S INDEX: (+) R2,60
 There were no winners yesterday

If your share price total movement equals exactly R2,60 today, you are a winner! Call (021) 208 4702/4760 between 9am and 2pm today to make your claim. If you haven't already applied call 208 4760 for a free card. No queries please, requests for cards will be dealt with on any other telephone number.

Messages of support from student representative councils and academics throughout South Africa, as well as former independent candidate for Stellenbosch Dr Esther Lategan, were read out at the report-back meeting by the tour members.

At a press briefing afterwards it was heard that tour initiator and SRC member Mr Mark Behr's car tyres had been slashed and Mrs Pearlle Joubert returned to Stellenbosch to find her room ransacked, about 50 academic books ruined with liquid detergent and most of her clothes damaged with bleach.

Pledging his loyalty to the university, SRC chairman and tour participant Mr Pierre van der Spuy said he had "no regrets" about being associated with the tour, which also included Namibia in the itinerary.

"I despise communism and violence, yet suddenly I am seen as the Karl Marx of South Africa. But the opportunity for peaceful negotiation with the ANC is fast disappearing," he added.

Referring to press reports that suggested that he had spoken to ANC members despite an SRC motion prohibiting this, he said he and four other SRC members had watched videos while the other stu-

The price of gold futures fell as bullion gave up most of Tuesday's gains in quiet, nervous trading ahead of today's public holiday.

The All Gold Index dropped 31 points while industrial gained 15 points — a move attributed to the gains in Highveld and Sasol share prices.

The Overall Index lost four points, but platinum shares featured amongst the gains but leading diamond share De Beers lost ground to close 40c lower at 6260c.

Full report — Page 8

Rites shock death out of Ernest

LONDON. — Mourners reeled back in horror as 60-year-old Ernest Quirino suddenly leapt out of his coffin and ran down the road from the church where he was about to be buried.

His wife, Elvira, aged 50, said yesterday: "The priest was saying the burial prayer, when Ernest suddenly opened his eyes.

"He looked round in terror as he realised what was going on, leapt out of the open coffin and ran. Ernest got down the road from the church in Longano, northern Italy, before he collapsed with exhaustion. He was taken home where a doctor pronounced him alive and well.

UN officials in Windhoek, New York and Luanda pressed for peace and said they may consider emergency airlifts to speed up the arrival of three foreign infantry battalions assigned to prevent cross-border infiltration in the lead-up to elections.

The British government intensified its efforts to end the fighting by calling on Swapo fighters to lay down their arms, while Mrs Margaret Thatcher was preparing to put pressure on Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

Mr Gorbachev was due to arrive in London late last night — to use



UN and diplomats put blame on Swapo

From PASCAL FLETCHER

LUANDA. — Deliberately or unintentionally, Swapo guerrillas misread the UN's independence plan for Namibia, sparking off the war, Western diplomats and UN sources said yesterday.

Swapo says its guerrillas were inside Namibia before Saturday, ready to be confined to bases by UN forces.

But UN officials say the guerrillas should not have been there.

"There is no provision in the independence plan for Swapo guerrillas to be confined to bases in Namibia," said one UN official.

He said Swapo forces were to be confined to bases only in Angola and Zambia.

UN under-secretary for political affairs Mr Mar-rack Goulding, the head of UN peacekeeping forces worldwide, is here to hold talks with Angolan and Swapo officials about how to restore peace.

Diplomats in Luanda said questions remained

25 soldiers, policemen killed in fighting

WINDHOEK. — At least 25 members of the combined police and army units have died in the latest fighting.

Police headquarters have so far announced the names of 22 policemen, including three South Africans, who died and Defence headquarters in Pretoria yesterday announced the death of a soldier, Corporal Hermann Carstens, 20, of Warmbaths. Police headquarters in

over whether there really were substantial Swapo forces inside Namibia before April 1, or whether they crossed from Angola as South Africa says.

Western diplomats reported from New York that a UN inquiry into the events that triggered the fighting backed up the South African account, finding that there had been a large incursion of Swapo insurgents from Angola.

"They had no bases in Namibia," one diplomat in Luanda said.

He said Swapo, looking toward the elections, might have tried to create a stronger presence in the territory by trying to cross the border.

If true, the strategy backfired badly, he added.

UN officials say that under the peace accords signed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba in December, Angola and Cuba pledged to use their good offices to keep Swapo north of the 16th parallel in Angola, more than 150km from the Namibian border.

Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma agreed to this in

a letter to the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, the officials said.

Swapo information secretary Mr Hidipo Hamutema said most of Swapo's guerrilla units were indeed north of the 16th parallel on April 1.

But he could not categorically deny that some guerrillas might have been along the Angolan side of the border and crossed over after the fighting started.

"It is possible that our commanders asked for reinforcements," he said.

Angola has categorically denied that any Swapo forces came from its territory while Cuba says it is keeping its side of the bargain by pulling its 50 000 troops back from the border and out of the country, something verified by reporters who have been to southern Angola.

But diplomats said Angolan and Cuban officials admitted privately that there was little they could do if Swapo refused to co-operate. — Sapa-Reuter

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C. Times

SA plea to Swapo: 'End the carnage'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA last night moved to curb "the needless human carnage" taking place in Namibia despite the incursion of a further 300 armed Swapo personnel into the war-torn territory.

personnel to bases north of the 16th parallel in Angola.

Swapo guerrillas who chose not to surrender were given the undertaking that they would not be pursued if they "turned north towards Angola" and were out of the territory by noon on Saturday.

Mr Botha said: "In an effort to relieve the situation, the SA government has requested the Administrator-General to broadcast a message to the northern region of the territory."

"His message will explain that it is unnecessary to return to their own country to die in this way when they could return to vote and to live in their land in a peaceful

From page 1 Surrender

his influence with Swapo, Cuba and Angola to obtain a ceasefire.

Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma refused to withdraw his fighters from northern Namibia, while accusing the UN peacekeeping troops of negligence and South Africa of trying to sabotage the Namibian independence plan.

An Angolan news agency reported from Luanda that a senior Swapo official said the movement had put "concrete proposals" to Untag to stop the fighting.

Mr Marthi Ahtisari, leader of the UN peace-keeping mission, flew to Oshakati for a 12-hour inspection tour of the battle zone during which he added his voice to calls for immediate ceasefire talks.

In his letter to Mr Perez de Cuellar, Mr Botha said: "The Swapo leadership must be persuaded to immediately call a halt to the continuing illegal armed incursions of its members into Namibia which is the cause of needless human carnage taking place at

From page 1

Koevoet

only now it's worse. In the first three days of confrontations with Swapo groups apparently defying the UN independence plan and an agreed

the moment. "In an effort to relieve the situation, the SA government has requested the administrator-general to broadcast a message to the northern region of the territory."

"His message will explain that it is unnecessary (for the Swapo guerrillas) to return to their own country to die in this way when they could return to vote and to live in their land in a peaceful way as provided for in agreements to which Swapo has subscribed."

Speaking at a press conference in Windhoek, Mr Pienaar reiterated Mr Botha's pledge of safety to guerrillas who laid down their arms or who returned to Angola before noon on Saturday, but police said they would continue searching for the infiltrators who touched off the worst clashes in the territory's 23 years of bush warfare.

Failure to respond to the offer by noon on Saturday would draw action by the police, he said. — Own Correspondents with UPI and Sapa-AP-Reuter

Pretoria yesterday announced the name of a fourth SA policeman killed — Constable D J Fourie. One more Namibian policeman has still to be named.

A police spokesman said 179 Swapo insurgents had been killed.

The total number of combatants dead was at least 202, but no figures have been made available of civilian casualties in the battle zones.

Two SWA Police members, Warrant Officer Herman Grobler and Sergeant Koos Swart, have been admitted to hospital in Pretoria.

WO Grobler is in a critical condition. Sgt Swart, who had a leg amputated, is reported to be out of danger.

The Commissioner of the SWA Police, Lieutenant-General Dolf Gouws, expressed his deep condolences to the families of the dead.

The names of 15 Namibian policemen killed are: Sergeant Uparutoma Zaako, 28, of Opuwo, Const Abihal Nambaho, 21, Const Thoma Jehannua, 29, Const Uatopote Jiposa, 24, Const Ahtofel Silvanua, 25, Const Josel Andross, 26, Const Chikhehan Israel, 25, Const George David, 32, Warrant Officer Leon and Benjamin, 32, Const Thoma Kandjala, 25, Sergeant Daniel Tolontsi, 39, Const Joseph Fillipus, 28, Const Daniel Sekaria, 26, Const Mathias Luvu, 40, and Const Simon David, 20, all of Ovambo. — Sapa

As the war continued to rage in Ovambo-land yesterday, South Africa appeared to have abandoned expectations of the UN being able to end the war and all hopes to defuse the crisis were pinned on the trilateral Joint Commission expected to meet in Namibia by the weekend.

SA's Administrator-General in Namibia, Mr Louis Plenaar, issued an appeal to Swapo insurgents to "stop the bloodbath" by surrendering and being ushered by UN

Nujoma refuses to withdraw his fighters

HARARE. — Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma refused yesterday to withdraw his fighters from northern Namibia, where nearly 200 have been killed in fighting with South African forces.

Mr Nujoma accused the UN peacekeeping troops of negligence and South Africa of trying to sabotage Namibia's planned independence from Pretoria. He told reporters who asked if he would withdraw his guerillas at the request of the UN: "We have been fighting in Namibia for 23 years... it is an insult to our intelligence."

He again denied that Swapo fighters had crossed into Namibia from Angola.

Mr Nujoma said UN reports backing up the charge of cross-border infiltration "are based on information extracted from sick people in bed" — a reference to the questioning of wounded guerillas.

He acknowledged that under Geneva protocols signed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba last year, Swapo forces inside Angola were to be withdrawn north of the 16th parallel, 160km from the border. "But I wanted to stick to 435," he said. — Sapa. Reuter

letter to the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, urging that he bring his "influence to bear on the Swapo leadership to cease the senseless course on which it has embarked".

Mr Botha said: "The Swapo leadership must be persuaded to immediately call a halt to the continuing illegal armed incursions of its members into Namibia which is the cause of needless human carnage taking place at the moment."

FCI applauds govt reaction over Namibia

JOHANNESBURG. — The president of the Cape Chamber of Industries and national vice-president of the SA Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI), Mr Mike Getz, has expressed support for the government's positive peace initiatives in both Namibia and Mozambique.

In a press statement issued here yesterday, Mr Getz said the government was to be congratulated on the "controlled and negotiated reaction to Swapo's discreditable armed insurgency into Namibia since April 1". — Sapa

way as provided for in agreements to which Swapo has subscribed." Mr Botha said Swapo members who "lay down their arms in peace will be given a guarantee that no steps will be taken against them and they will be given safe conduct to assembly points under UNTAG supervision from where they can be transported to suitable points north of latitude 16 S with the co-operations of the Angolan authorities".

Ideas about ceasefire sent to Ahtisaari

From SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK. — UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar has sent his representatives in Angola and Luanda "a number of ideas to reinstate the ceasefire" that appear to fall short of the total withdrawal of Swapo military intruders behind the 16th parallel called for by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

The proposals were sent to special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari and Mr Marrack Goulding, the UN undersecretary in charge of peacekeeping.

Mr Goulding was expected to confer with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda in Luanda last night.

UN spokesman Mr Francois Giuliani would not disclose Mr Perez de Cuellar's "ideas" but declined to rule out that they might include the disarmament and monitoring of Swapo combatants in place.

On Tuesday night Mr Perez de Cuellar said the US and Canada had agreed to provide additional airlift to hasten the arrival of Untag's main military component. Mr Giuliani stressed, however, that no enlargement in the overall force was envisaged.

a suspected encampment of up to 300 Swapo guerillas. The Ratels' 90mm cannons and 82mm mortars pounded trees and bush thickets. "Your job is just to break up the ambush, leave the killing to us," a police car commander called to the Ratel troop leader.

Some in the police units believe the Swapo concentrations have broken up in tighter groups, warned by the bush telegraph that the big guns of the Ratels are back. They also concede a tragedy in Swapo's heavy losses. "I think they misunderstood 435," said Potgieter.

In a bush camp near Ongwediva on Tuesday night, I slept close to mortar tubes and a row of 10 bombs ready to respond to attacks. A shooting star flashed across the sky, catching the attention of eyes accustomed to spotting flashes and flares. "A wish for no casualties tomorrow," muttered car commander Klasie Classen. His wish was granted.

On Tuesday, after hours of wary patrolling through rain-thickened bush, Potgieter's five-car section raced through fences, ploughed fields and sand tracks to Ongha, 20km distant, in re-

BUSINESS

A hasty capital flight from Namibia to the Cape

AS Namibia gears up towards independence, those who fear the future are moving their money out.

The issue of capital flight was raised at an Assocom seminar this week, with speakers citing white farmers as one group who are moving funds out of Namibia and into South Africa.

Namibia's farmers have been selling off their livestock at Cape Town's market. They have also been raising land bank loans which they don't need in order to buy assets in South Africa. A new government which tries to take over these farms as part of a land reform programme would find them heavily in debt.

DW Goedhuys, of the South African Reserve Bank, confirmed that considerable capital flight was taking place, although this could only be observed indirectly, via Reserve Bank clearing papers.

But Rossing Uranium chairman Dr ZT Ngavirue pointed out that it tended to be the small investors who were

taking their money out, although the amounts might be significant. The large investors who are the backbone of the Namibian economy — mining companies such as Consolidated Diamond Mines (De Beers' subsidiary) and Rossing — "are not sending funds out", he said.

And speakers expressed hopes that any capital flight this year would be compensated for by an inflow of new investment after Namibia's November elections. Ngavirue said there were several foreign investors who were showing interest in an independent Namibia.

Many are already preparing to invest in Namibia if they like the economic policies the new government introduces. According to Assocom foreign trade secretary Beth Robertson, 52 new companies were registered in Namibia in February this year and 45 in the first half of March, compared to last year's figures of 16 in February and 17 in March.

The applicants for registration have

The Reserve Bank has confirmed that there has been considerable capital flight from Namibia, reports HILARY JOFFE

included South African, Namibian, European and African investors, with activities covering services, trade, import/export, transport and property development.

Goedhuys said business should urge a new Namibian government to adopt an investment code, essential to attract foreign investors, which would ensure free repatriation of dividends and of capital.

The Reserve Bank, which runs Namibia's monetary system through a branch in Windhoek, is investigating what could replace it after independence. Goedhuys outlined three options for an independent Namibia:

- The simplest would be a "currency board", an office which issues notes and coins against 100 per cent cover of government securities;

this is unlikely since, for nationalistic reasons, the new country will probably want its own central bank;

● Namibia could remain within the Rand Monetary System, like Swaziland and Lesotho — it would have its own currency but this would have a fixed exchange rate with the rand and therefore there would be no independent foreign exchange policy;

● Namibia could have its own fully fledged central bank, with its own foreign exchange policy and its own reserves, as does Botswana.

Namibia's dependence on South Africa was highlighted in a report for Assocom by Unisa professor Ben van Rensburg, which points out: "South African sources ... presently finance the central government budget of Namibia by some R700-million in transfers, compared to internally generated tax revenue of more or less R778,8-million."

The Namibian economy is a narrowly based one. Mining in 1987

contributed almost a quarter of gross domestic product and 73 percent of export earnings. Agriculture accounted for 12 percent of GDP in 1987 while manufacturing accounted for only five percent.

Van Rensburg argued that "the extremely thin base of the economy would not provide for sweeping changes to the present economic structure". This, in his view, is one factor making it likely the new government will adopt a pragmatic economic policy. Others are Namibia's need to keep capital and entrepreneurial skills, its need to attract foreign capital, and its need not to alienate South African or West Germany.

Van Rensburg's report concludes: "South Africa should regard Namibia as a long term investment and a natural market for our produce. We must do our utmost to preserve those mutually profitable economic relations and ventures and build them out towards a renewed entry into Africa by part of our business community."

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THE WEEKEND STARTED WITH JOYFUL RALLIES ... THEN THE UNEXPECTED BLOODSHED BEGAN

On a 300km front, there was just one UN officer

Everyone in Namibia is searching for a scapegoat, and right now, it is the invisible UN force, whose presence at the centre of the war zone came in the form of a single Italian officer.
By **SHAUN JOHNSON** in Oshakati

LOOKING bemused and not a little out of place, Italian Major Livio Calgario was the only senior officer of the United Nations monitoring forces to be found at the heart of the Namibian war zone this week.

He and his small logistical supply unit had landed by helicopter at Ondangwa air base only hours before, as battles involving over 4 000 armed men raged in the frontier regions.

Combined South African and South West African police and army units were hunting — and frequently engaging — large groups of Swapo guerrillas all around, but Major Calgario was not there to monitor their actions.

He was about to fly routine supplies into Grootfontein, many kilometres south and away from the fighting. The absurdity of the situation was not of his making.

South Africa had assumed effective control of the combat zone. Troops were pursuing Swapo guerrillas with their customary vigour, but three factors distinguished these engagements from what had gone before in the 23-

year-old independence war.

The battles were by far the biggest recorded in the Namibian struggle; they were taking place during the very period that the final seal was supposed to be set on peace; and the sorties were taking place with UN approval.

The apparent impotence of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group was at its starkest in the northern battle theatre. Major Calgario's contact with the South African forces was limited to receiving a briefing from a junior SADF officer — who had arrived on the runway by bicycle — on how best to avoid Sam-7 surface-to-air missiles.

Only days into the long-gestating Namibian peace process, an unthink-

able situation had arisen. Troops roared in and out of the South African bases to which they had recently been confined under the terms of UN Resolution 435; previously grounded helicopter gunships scrambled at will, and northern Namibia's main road was clogged with convoys of

Casspirs bearing beaming, fresh-from-battle South West African Police.

Swapo's decision that guerrillas of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia should break their cover had realised the dearest hope of South Africa's hard-line military hawks: it had given the notorious counter-insurgency troops their old jobs back.

In Owamboland, local inhabitants had a single, pressing question to ask: "Where is Untag?" If they searched for long enough they would find, besides Major Calgario, a lone Pakistani officer monitoring the rapid emptying of Oshakati base, and they might have spotted two bright white supply helicopters and a single out-

dated jeep at Ondangwa, all notably stationary. The vehicles looked as forlorn as the independence effort itself.

Everyone in Namibia is searching for a scapegoat — the enormity of the tragedy that has befallen the country makes this essential — and the UN finds itself very vulnerable. The unembellished facts are that of a total expected complement of over 4 500 personnel, only 1 000 were in place on "D-Day", April 1. A handful was stationed in the northern regions stretching from the Kaokoveld in the west to Kavango in the east — the area that became a 300km battle front.

Even in Windhoek, the closest Namibia comes to an urban metropolis, the UN's profile has been so low as to be easily missed. There were warning signs as early as 7am on Saturday morning, when the independence plan went into action.

A peaceful march by some 10 000 Swapo supporters from Katutura township into the city — intended to register disgust about plans for privatisation in Namibia — was blocked by an armed Swapo contingent for no apparent reason. As the angry crowd pressed forward, heads turned almost involuntarily to look for the Untag jeeps which must surely be nearby. They were not.

Cedric Thornberry, a personable Irishman who seems to address Untag's daily press briefings when the questioning is likely to be hot — he's been appearing regularly this week — has had to bear the brunt of anger about the UN's ceding of control to Pretoria.

He recounts, day after day, the budgetary problems Untag faces. Untag warned the UN General Assembly they'd need eight weeks before April 1 to requisition supplies, he says, and the appeals were not heeded. Their pitiful undermanning stemmed from this simple fact.

It is little wonder that SADF Colonel Japie Dreyer, addressing reporters at Oshakati, could scarcely contain his contempt for the questioner who asked why it hadn't been Untag, and not the security forces, that stepped in to immobilise the Swapo guerrillas when their presence was first detected. "Untag is not a force that has come to fight," he said. "They are here to monitor."

It is unfair, because the Untag personnel on the ground are trying desperately to intervene in some decisive way, but the impression of the international community's structural representation in Namibia is one of woolliness and weak knees.

In the discomfiting atmosphere of the Kalahari Sands' "Ellington's" nightclub — where Untag holds its briefings — it is easy to sympathise with the journalist who asked, after interminable explanations about logistical problems: "How many more Swapo men must die before you get your act together?"

In the briefings, some questions are persistent: "Are Untag personnel monitoring the 'contacts' between security forces and guerrillas?" "Have your people been into southern Angola recently?" "Are the security forces under instructions to try and take prisoners during the 'contacts'?"

The answers are persistent, too. "I am not aware ... at this stage ..." is the most common preface to replies by UN representatives.

Now, as the crisis unfolds at its furious, unrelenting pace, there is talk of an "airlift", with all the dramatic implications that term suggests. People on the streets of Windhoek, Katutura, Ombalantu and Ongwediva look reflexively at the sky when they talk about it: three battalions, of Kenyans, Finns and Malaysians, will soon swoop in to Namibia. Surely they will take charge?

Reluctantly, Thornberry has to dash such hopes. "The problem is not getting them here," he says, "it is making them operational." There is accommodation, communication, transport and back-up to arrange in the vast plains of Owamboland. It will take time; time during which fighters from both sides are dying.

A strategic blunder plays into SA hands

WHY did the ceasefire collapse?

Why are more than 1 000 Swapo guerrillas locked in a fight to the death with South West African Police and, more specifically, units of the dreaded Koevoet which Namibians thought had gone forever?

It now seems that Swapo made a tragic strategical error, which South Africa has exploited to the full.

Whether it was intentional or not only time will tell, but the People's Liberation Army of Namibia commanders misread the independence provisions. Their men were in Namibia, armed and looking for Untag.

Swapo fighters intended to hand over their weapons and give themselves over for confinement at "assembly points", such as those in which Robert Mugabe's guerrillas gathered in Zimbabwe. The SADF was confined to base, and the fighters did not expect to be hunted down by South West African Police. They probably expected to be stopped by white Untag Landrovers rather than battle-green Casspirs.

The claims and counter-claims over who fired the first shots continue. But it seems undeniable that the presence of the Plan fighters in northern Namibia was not provided for by the myriad agreements reached during the long negotiation process.

This placed South Africa in an unusually powerful position. Diplomatic sources say as soon as the scale of the "incurSION" was revealed on April 1, South Africa told the UN either to release the restricted troops, or kiss 435 goodbye. Untag officials in Windhoek describe it as a "cruel dilemma", and their anguish at having had to concede is palpable.

Thus the decision was reached by UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari, military commander General Prem Chand, and South African-appointed Administrator-General Louis Pienaar: "certain specific" restricted units could be remobilised.

The motives of South Africa — which immediately took full advantage of the changed conditions, and has not yet relinquished control — are easy to understand. Not so Swapo.

It is true that the secret agreement reached in New York between Angola, Cuba and South Africa was not signed by Swapo — and that was the document that stipulated Plan fighters should be above Angola's 16th parallel. But diplomats representing a wide range of countries insist Swapo indicated it would comply with the "spirit of the agreement".

This was undoubtedly a widely-shared understanding up till April 1, and to go against it involved taking an extraordinary risk.

Swapo's decision to order its forces

Swapo's decision to break cover is baffling in the light of its almost certain victory in the election later this year.

to break cover seems even more baffling in the light of the fact that the liberation movement seemed certain to sweep to power at the ballot box in eight months' time.

The presence of demobilised guerrillas within Namibia would most certainly have given Swapo's election campaign a fillip, but it is difficult to see how the potential benefits could outweigh placing the entire independence process in jeopardy.

The United Nations is now trying to wrest control of northern Namibia back from South Africa, but it is a daunting task. And, diplomatically, South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha is making all the running.

While a full explanatory statement from Swapo is still awaited, Botha is able to threaten mutiny and throw Untag out in one breath — and make ceasefire proposals the next.

Swapo President Sam Nujoma is agonising over the damage an effective surrender would do to the image of Namibia's government-in-waiting, as fighters carry on dying in the week they should be celebrating. And Ahtisaari is now derided by those who ululated in celebration of his arrival.

Namibian independence is still possible, even, perhaps, on schedule next year. But it now seems likely that the day of freedom will be marred by a dark, immovable stain.

For a few sweet moments, normality

"BOERE gaan Kakamas toe!" shouted an outside piece of graffiti in Windhoek's Katutura township. It was an assertion of coming empowerment. But it didn't come across as particularly nasty, because of the carnival atmosphere on the streets in celebration of the dawning of independence's first "D-Day", April 1.

Jolly crowds surged around, most of them heading toward a massive Swapo rally, and the shouts of "One Namibia, One Nation!" were deafening.

This was the unofficial start of the independence election campaign, a process which has now been submerged under piles of military communiqués from the north. The experience of those few hours of African normality suggested it would be a typically Namibian affair: relaxed and accommodating.

While Swapo marshals ushered their faithful — pouring in on dilapidated buses, on foot and even donkeys — towards an open field in Katutura for a day-long celebration, their lesser rivals of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance were assembling a few township blocks away.

Under smart blue and white-striped



Voting with her head ... An Ovahimba woman, bused in to meet UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari, wears the DTA party colours in her hair

Picture: PAUL WEINBERG, Atrapix

marquees, uniformed DTA officials handed out party pamphlets along with tins of hully beef and buttered rolls.

In what must be one of the most bizarre spectacles of modern electioneering, a 2 000-strong column of ochre-daubed, hare-breasted Ovahimba women arrived chanting "Dee Tee Aah, Dee Tee Aah" to the beat of a cowhide drum. In the coils of their finely-plaited hair, several sported miniature flags.

"They vote for the DTA but they don't know what's going on," remarked a Swapo-supporting hystander loudly. "The DTA brings them down here, gives them some liquor and food to eat."

It was indicative of the atmosphere in Katutura that the speaker was not taken to task; nor did she show any intention of trying to woo the Ovahimba over to Swapo. Namibians are relaxed.

Of course, that is not true a week later. Now Namibians are distraught. There have been no more election rallies since the thousands assembled in Katutura on Saturday. Instead, there have been protests against the UN ("General Prem Chand! Are you the commander of [Un-

tag, or 101 Battalion?"), and worried consultations at the offices of the Council of Churches in Namibia and the National Union of Namibian Workers.

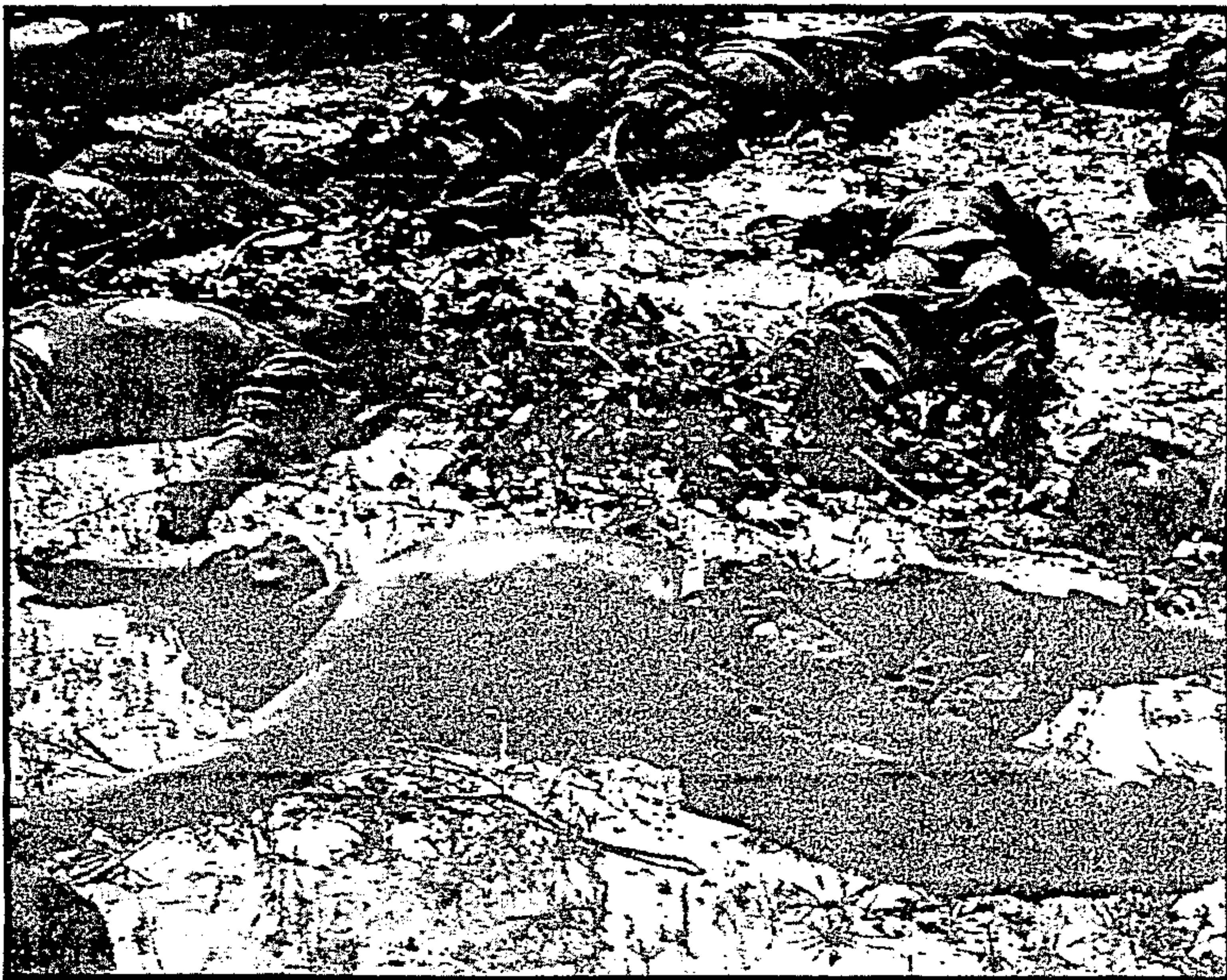
The internal Swapo leaders, who have the job of the getting the election campaign under way, wait helplessly as the fate of their country is decided in the killing fields of the north.

The election, the point of the whole exercise, has fallen by the wayside.

In an angry pamphlet, a trade union group accused UN Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari of "thrusting the bloodied dagger deep into the back of our tormented land by unleashing the South African killer machine on our freedom fighters", and warned darkly: "Let us not forget the Congo!"

Namibians have neither the time nor the inclination to organise more rallies now. Until their attention — and that of the world — can be turned from counting bodies back to the party-political process, Namibia's independence has as little meaning as it did when UN Resolution 435 was first passed in 1978.

Behind the border battle



The bodies of 21 Swapo guerrillas lie scattered in the bush near the village of Ondeshifiwa

Picture: REUTER

²²¹
A fateful ^{WARTL}
order from
'Comrade
Danger' led
to disaster

By SHAUN JOHNSON

WHEN "Comrade Danger", a Swapo commander in southern Angola, ordered his men into Namibia on the night of April 1, he told them to find members of Untag, hand over their weapons, and subject themselves to United Nations supervision in "assembly points".

He gave no order to engage "enemy" forces — even if they came across them.

This is the version of events given by 30-year-old Johannes Kutumba, one of the first two guerrillas of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) to be captured in the current fighting in Owamboland. Kutumba, a Plan reconnaissance platoon commander, was presented by security forces to a group of reporters in Oshakati.

Swapo disputes the claim that its men crossed the Angola/Namibia "culline", but confirms their intention: to set up base in their homeland. They were going home to savour the peace — and, one assumes, the admiration of black Namibian civilians.

For South African and South West African commanders in Owamboland that same night, the guerrillas "so appeared so suddenly had no such innocuous intent. It was "a deed of war", in the words of SADF Colonel Japie Dreyer.

The UN faced, according to Windhoek representative Cedric Thornberry, "a development that simply amazed everyone. I don't know of a single person who countenanced such a thing at all."

The UN therefore had to respond — almost immediately — to a crisis of epic proportions.

The notorious units of Koevoet

Crocker flies in to douse the war flames

A MULTI-PRONGED international initiative is under way to rescue the stricken Namibian independence process from total collapse.

After days of apparent dithering, a flurry of inter-governmental diplomacy has begun — including the jetting in of Dr Chester Crocker, the United States under-secretary of state for African affairs who brokered the peace deal.

He is expected to arrive in Namibia this weekend to attend an urgent meeting of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMIMC).

Around the table will be high-level representatives of Angola, Cuba and South Africa — and possibly the Soviet Union. Pretoria is likely to be

represented by Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

The international drive is focused on the need for a political compromise which the United Nations believes is the only thing that could stop the bloodletting in northern Namibia.

After a brief lull in the intensity of fighting on Wednesday, South West African Police (Swapo) representa-

tive Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said at least two fierce engagements

were taking place on the western and eastern extremes of Owamboland late yesterday.

Figures given by Swapo's Major-General Hans Dreyer suggested the Swapo death toll had risen to more than 220, with 26 members of the combined South African and South West African security forces dead.

Swapo put its death toll at 38 yesterday.

Swapo confirmed that every avail-

able armoured vehicle in the region has been pressed into service.

Some 4 500 heavily-armed men were still involved in the fighting in the war zone last night. Police, supported by six battalions of the South African army and South West African Territory Force, were hunting down an estimated 1 000 Swapo guerrillas on the vast plains and thick bush of Owamboland.

Although Botha and Swapo Information Secretary Hidipo Hamutenya have presented ceasefire proposals in quick succession, neither showed any sign of being acceptable to the other side.

It is now believed that only extreme

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Namibia crisis: Crocker jets in

●From PAGE 1

pressure on the warring parties can force a ceasefire.

In addition to the emergency JMIMC meeting in Namibia, an offer by the United States to airlift a battalion of Finnish soldiers into the country has been warmly received, and the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag) troops could arrive at Grootfontein in the Namibian midlands on Saturday in preparation for deployment to the north.

In Luanda, Swapo president Sam Nujoma is holding urgent talks with representatives of the Frontline states, and expectations are running high in Namibia that the London meeting between British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev could produce a peace proposal.

The UN, according to its spokesman in Windhoek, Cedric Thornberry, accepts that attempts to achieve a cessation of hostilities will decide the fate of the independence plan. "I have to tell you that at this time there is a possibility of the (military) situation escalating," he said yesterday at an Untag press briefing. "What is needed more than anything else is political agreement. To get UN Resolution 435 back on track we have to get co-operation from both sides — if we don't, it doesn't matter how many blue berets we have up there. They could even make the situation worse."

●To PAGE 2

P.T.O. →

A fateful order leads to a massacre

WIMBIC 7-13/4/89

●From PAGE 1

(22)

were already engaging unprecedented numbers of guerrillas in firefights across a 300km stretch of northern Namibia. Then the gates were opened to allow SADF troops out of their bases, and they joined the fight.

The UN action clearly indicates that the world body believed, at the time the battles started, that Swapo was in breach of the peace accords. The UN would not otherwise have authorised the security force action — though it may not have foreseen the ferocity with which the troops would go about their business.

The guerrillas, according to Kutumba and the second captured Plan fighter, 22-year-old Phillipus Mateus, were shocked to see Koevoet Casspirs bearing down on them.

And "Pottie" Potgieter of Swapo's counterinsurgency unit, seeing events through the window of his armoured vehicle, says he was also taken by surprise.

"We were patrolling when we spotted the tracks of between 40 and 50 men," he says, and followed them as a matter of routine. When they caught up with the guerrillas, the Koevoet men claim they came under fire, and the hell that continues now, almost a week later, broke loose.

It will never be known with certainty who fired the first shots in the engagement near Ruacana. It hardly matters, as what followed was the logical result of two heavily-armed groups coming face-to-face.

The South African response to the situation is perfectly predictable, in Pretoria's terms. With the unusual advantage of a substantial body of world opinion sympathetic to their outrage, the troops got on with the bloody job.

The clashes have brought the independence plan right to the brink of collapse. But there is no-one in Namibia — certainly not Untag — who can yet pronounce definitively on what was going through the Swapo leaders' minds when they made their move.

Certainly, there were electoral advantages to be had by placing "freedom fighters" inside Namibia, if this was a calculated strategic risk. But the dangers of placing the independence process in jeopardy — a process which would almost certainly return Swapo to power by next year — were obvious.

In this scenario, it is possible that

Plan commanders overestimated the Untag presence in Owamboland, and underestimated Swapo.

It is also possible that Swapo tacticians decided, as it seems they had never signed a formal undertaking to stay above Angola's 16th parallel, that the ambiguities of Swapo's position would result in deliberations and compromises — not carnage.

But as the international reaction has shown, it was certainly a cast-iron perception that Swapo fighters should not be armed and in Namibia. In the event of Swapo not being proved to have broken a formal agreement, it seems inescapable that at the very least the organisation will be found guilty of acting in bad faith.

Whatever the complex prognosis of the leaders, however, it is the unsuspecting fighters on the run in Owamboland who are paying the price.

In the gruesome pile of captured, bloodstained "booty" which was shown off in Oshakati, was a small, dog-eared notebook. On its opening page, in a childish scrawl, was "The Song of Namibia", a praise-poem for the efforts of the liberation forces. There was an aide-memoire, also handwritten: "Remember to teach the people to sing this."

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All must observe peace plan — Maggie

(22)
SFW 7/10/89

By Sue Leeman,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mrs Thatcher called yesterday for all parties to observe the Namibian peace plan and signalled her strong desire to see the independence process put back on stream.

Her call came after a day of discussions with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, in London for talks on a wide range of issues. The recent bloodshed in Namibia has given the subject a high priority here.

Spokesmen said the pair had agreed that "joint action" was the key to solving the Namibia problem.

In a speech at a dinner for Mr Gorbachev at 10 Downing Street last night, Mrs Thatcher said the world was seeing progress towards solving some long-standing regional problems, "for instance in southern Africa, and I pay tribute to the Soviet Union's role in securing agreement on Angola and Namibia".

APARTHEID

"It is of course very important that all parties observe that agreement strictly.

"And if only we can finally see an end to apartheid in South Africa, I believe that great country could become the motor for the economic development of Southern Africa as a whole."

Implicit in her speech was her abhorrence of violence — a question which keeps her from talking to the ANC. Mrs Thatcher is known to want Mr Gorbachev to put pressure on the organisation to suspend its armed struggle.

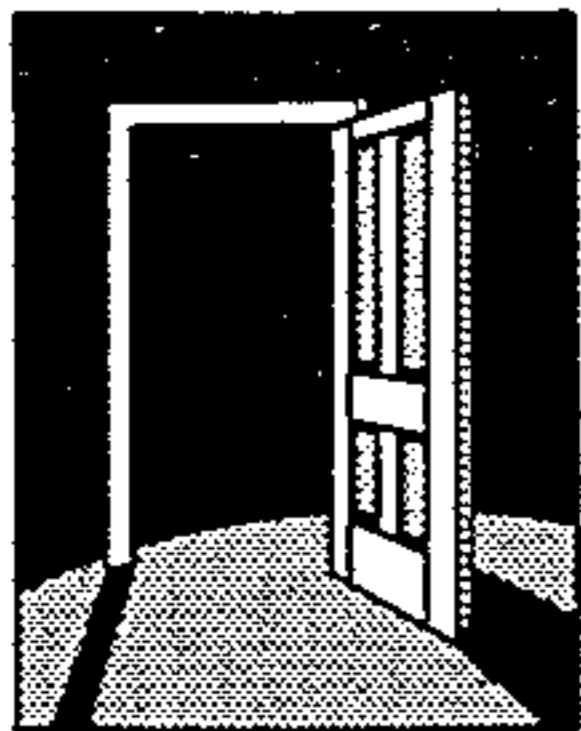
Mr Gorbachev, who will make a speech at London's Guildhall today, is believed to be equally optimistic that the momentum for change in southern Africa is now so strong that it cannot be stopped.

Mr Genady Gerasimov, chief spokesman for the Soviet Department of Foreign Affairs, said the two leaders had agreed during their talks yesterday on the way to solve the Namibia question was through "joint

NAMIBIA-SA ECONOMIC LINKS

Desert dreams

■ Relative prosperity will depend on the ideological tinge of the new rulers



Relationships that have dragged on for a while — and 75 years is quite a while in any terms — are difficult to end. Even stormy ones. On April Fools' Day, Pretoria officially relinquished control over Namibia — the "fifth province." But the web woven over the decades between the countries cannot be unwound in a short space of time. It needs more than Resolution 435.

Namibia will soon fly her own flag — but the survival of her fragile economy will still depend, for the foreseeable future, on SA connections.

Obviously, it will be up to the new government — dominated by Swapo or not — to determine the pattern of those relations. But room to manoeuvre is limited. So while some Namibians harbour intense antagonism towards SA — the heritage of years of "illegal possession" — threats to break economic as well as political ties are being tempered by realism. Even Swapo says "ties with SA cannot be cut overnight" (*Current Affairs* March 31). Acting secretary for foreign affairs and member of Swapo's central committee, Niko Bessinger, points out that infrastructurally SA and Namibia are too closely linked to allow immediate separation of the two economies.

The other political party in serious contention is the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA). Leader Dirk Mudge says the relationship between the two countries will be determined by the alliance's market-orientated policy: "We must open our borders to anyone who will bring money into the country. Our policy is to promote economic activity and encourage investment."

To all appearances, Namibia is inextricably linked to SA — railways and main roads thread the lands together; SAA provides Namibia's only air-link with overseas destinations; access to world sea-routes is provided by the enclave of Walvis Bay, the only deep-water port on the Namibian coastline. Electrical power is imported and exported across the border between the SWA Water &

Electricity Corp (Swawec) and SA's Eskom. These obvious structural connections underscore the broader economic interdependence of Namibia and SA.

Namibia is a primary producing country with an underdeveloped secondary sector. Most manufactured products have to be imported: Appletiser, Marie biscuits and Simba chips are just some evidence of where they come from. Between 60% and 70% of consumables are imported from SA.

"The close proximity of the SA market with its sophisticated secondary industries leaves little incentive for Namibia to develop its own industries when one looks at economies of scale," says former Secretary of Finance Johan Jones. "And the massive subsidies offered to manufacturers in SA's decentralised areas make it difficult for Namibians to compete."

Nonetheless, development of a local manufacturing industry has been mooted as the key to a Namibian success story. Bessinger says: "We need to promote the manufacturing sector to encourage skills and create employment." Is there a hint in this of industry subsidisation — a blueprint for economic distortion? It's possible.

Rössing Uranium's chairman Zedekia Ngavirue believes that "the economic base will have to be broadened. We have to move away from being a primary producing country." To which Jones adds: "Namibia could become a Hong Kong in Africa if secondary industries were successful. She could be used as a springboard to the African market."

But leaving aside the contentious issue of *how* — skilled labour, for a start, is in short supply — the torpid years of political indeci-



Tribeswoman in Windhoek ... a future arriving

sion have played a restrictive role. Existing skills, and the technology which accompanies them, come mostly from SA. Hartlief Continental Meats MD Wolfgang Raith comments: "No one has done anything about creating a skilled workforce; there's no collective strategy towards training." Hartlief, one of the few secondary industries in Namibia, imports most of its expertise from SA and, thanks to Raith's origins, Germany.

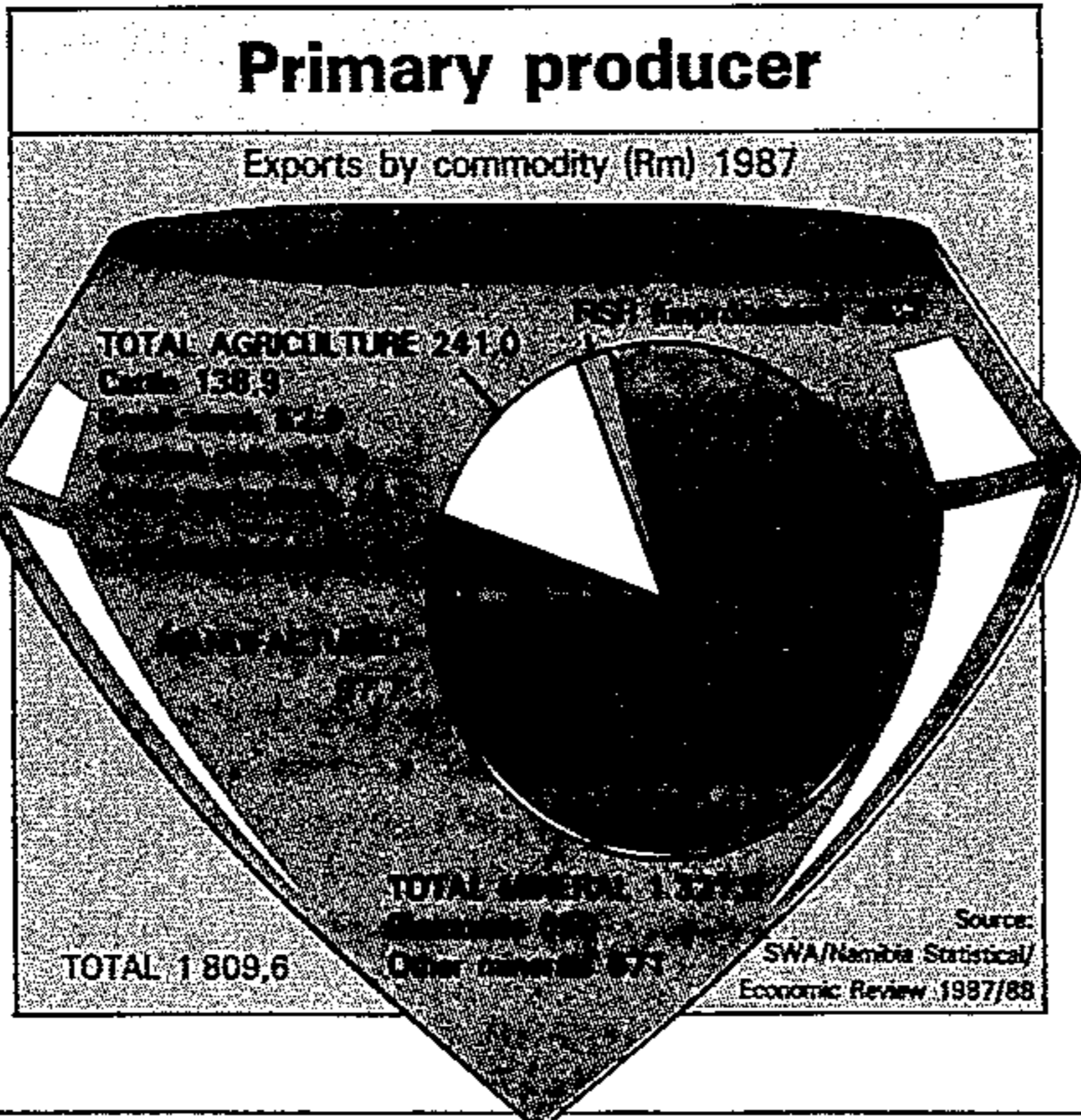
SA is also the source of technology and expertise for the financial and commercial sectors. Virtually all financial institutions are branches or subsidiaries of SA-owned or controlled enterprises, and rely on their sophisticated parent companies for know-how. "Computers have reached Namibia, even in the northern areas," says First National MD Hannes Cloete. "But our system is linked to SA. We're on line to Bloemfontein."

So the dream of economic independence would seem to be just that. But ideology is a powerful force — and Swapo is nothing if not ideological. It has indicated that multinationals and mines should be prepared to allow for State equity participation. Meanwhile, however, the corporations are taking the positive view and have not noticeably scaled back developments. There are new property developments in Windhoek, by Sanlam and Old Mutual.

SA-linked mining companies have also made positive commitments to Namibia — Consolidated Diamond Mines (CDM), for example, recently announced two new diamond projects with capex of around R225m as well as one-third participation in a mine development with total capex of R30m.

"We're continuing to look for new opportunities here," says executive director Abel Gower. "We're here as long as the diamonds last. We're trying to extend the life of the diamond industry in Namibia."

Gower does say, however, that CDM



the estimated volume of pilchards in the sea — decreased from around 5 Mt-6 Mt in the Fifties to about 50 000 t in 1979. Present biomass is estimated at about 300 000 t.

"We could reduce quotas to minimal amounts to restore the fishing ground, but the industry would be brought to a standstill," he comments. Tighter controls and the proposed introduction of the fishing zone are expected to help rebuild the resource.

The problem of the Walvis Bay harbour will require considerable diplomatic footwork to resolve. It's Namibia's connection to the rest of the world, and the commercial centre through which most trade with Europe, America and the East must be routed. But, for example, customs are SA-controlled. So the new rulers will need to decide whether Namibia should become a member of the SA Customs Union: for the moment Namibia, as a non-member, receives a share of the customs pool. "We have been receiving a certain amount from SA in lieu of customs revenue — the share for the current year is R394m," says Jones. "But determination of our share is arbitrary — it's been a cause of friction."

However, recently introduced border controls are expected to enable a realistic share

of the customs pool to be determined.

Then there is the question of monetary independence. "We'll have to examine the balance of payments to decide whether to remain within the Rand Monetary Area," Jones comments.

Its narrowly based economy leaves Namibia dependent on uncontrollable factors such as the weather and world commodity prices. A period of drought or wild fluctuations in commodity prices would have a negative effect on an independent currency — the rand would cushion such volatility.

However, continued deterioration of the SA currency, resulting in high import prices, argues in favour of a separate currency. "It depends on our BoP performance," Jones explains. "Botswana has a favourable BoP — the pula is valued higher than the rand. They're able to import at lower prices."

For its part Swapo has pledged to introduce an independent currency, saying this would have a steadier influence on the country compared to a currency under pressure from anti-SA influences.

But definitely approaching an end is SA's budgetary aid — which has previously financed government spending. The process has been under way for a while: aid has been

reduced from R308m in the present financial year to R80m in 1989-1990. "Namibia will have to rely on foreign aid to help through the transitional period and for some while post-independence," admits Administrator General Louis Pienaar, who will administer the country until the constitution has been written. Foreign aid is certain to be forthcoming, probably in substantial amounts, after independence. "We must use it wisely," Jones advises. And then? "Namibia will have to find its own sources of revenue."

If Namibia's new rulers use the aid — and commercial loans, with Germany as a major European patron — to extend infrastructure, promote training and secondary industries, and encourage international development in the country, Namibia could, in the long term, win a measure of economic independence. Squandering resources on current expenditure — particularly on the bureaucracy certain to be expanded for political reasons — would be to emulate the actions of SA. After a period of blissful affluence, the world's attention would shift elsewhere, and Namibia would be remembered as a picturesque desert bossed around by socialists.

After all the sound and fury, that would be a pity. ■

SABC FINANCES

Some missing links

■ Riaan Eksteen did better at turning the SABC around than his critics conceded

A year ago former SABC Director General (DG) Riaan Eksteen was unceremoniously axed — and now another SABC bombshell will hit parliament next week when board chairman Brand Fourie's report and the corporation's 1988 financial statements are tabled. As a State-controlled communications and entertainment organisation, which in the previous year reported a loss of R13m, the SABC this year moves into the world of big business. Fourie will present parliament with a record profit of R58,3m (see *Current Affairs*).

Add to this a further R26m which the board in its discretion has set aside for increased replacement cost of fixed assets, and the profits swell to R84,3m in real terms. It can be expected that Fourie and his designated successor, Stellenbosch professor Christo Viljoen, will argue that this R26m reserve — not generally accepted accounting practice (GAAP) — should not be factored into the profit.

However, as the SABC is exempt from tax, a private company would need a pre-tax profit of R168,6m to show comparable earnings. A look at the 1988 balance sheet and the SABC's debt:equity ratio presents a picture of enormous financial muscle. Total net equity stands at R443,6m; this compares to a total debt of only R117,6m comprising long-term liabilities of R102,2m and short-term

loans of R15,4m. This implies a debt:equity ratio of 1:3,7 which makes the SABC one of the lowest geared enterprises in SA.

Last year Pretoria University's School of Accountancy took a hard look at the corporation's financial statements. A study showed that the SABC could have made about R104m profit instead of a R13m loss if it had followed GAAP. The SABC financial reporting method was misleading, said auditing department head Dieter Gloeck and senior lecturer Gert van der Linde. The most striking deviation from GAAP was in the SABC policy which dictated that expenses — such as programme costs for radio and TV services — must be written off in the year incurred (R271m in 1987).

Current DG Wynand Harmse reacted strongly, calling the study "outrageous." "The SABC has no doubt that the indicated loss of R13m is a true reflection," he said.

This year Fourie and Harmse will tell parliament that the SABC's accounting policy has been changed. The most important change has been the coupling of current expenditures with broadcasting schedules. That results in programmes being listed as stock when bought or completed, and only noted as expenditure once broadcast.

There is another oddity. In its 1987 income statement the SABC lists R10m as provision for additional depreciation. This

year the figures will show an abnormal adjustment resulting in a reversal of depreciation provided in previous years amounting to R17,162m — an acknowledgement that it over-deducted on its depreciation the previous year.

In December 1987 the *FM* reported that Harmse, then deputy DG responsible for finances, indicated to management that there had been a vast improvement in the financial position of the SABC (*Current Affairs* December 18 1987). Things were on the up, Harmse wrote in a memo, and a small surplus (as much as R4m, the *FM* was told) in the 1987 results could not be ruled out.

The *FM* article, according to all accounts, caused a great deal of unhappiness at the next board meeting.

Looking at this year's R17m reversal of depreciation, it now seems as if Eksteen (as forecast by Harmse) may actually have succeeded in shifting the corporation into the black. But Eksteen was never given an opportunity to report these figures.

National Democratic Movement MP Wynand Malan commented on this in a speech in parliament on April 12 1988: "The board made provisions . . . with the purpose of showing a loss of R13,2m so that Mr Eksteen — the DG who is on his way out — would be placed in a position in which it would be easier to get rid of him against the

Swapo likely to win November poll - historian

Spec 7/4/89
221
- By KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Although Swapo was highly unlikely to obtain a two-thirds majority in the November 1 general elections in Namibia, it was generally assumed in that country that the organisation would win a simple majority, a Namibian historian, Dr Z T Ngavirue, said this week.

Addressing an Assocom seminar in Johannesburg on Wednesday, Dr Ngavirue, whose doctoral thesis at an English university 17 years ago was on the political history of Namibia, said while the Namibian political scene was "notorious for its diversity and multiplicity," Swapo was still the strongest party. This would enable the organisation to win a simple majority in the elections and hence free its hand to "do some horse-trading."

The balance of power would, however, be tipped by the recently formed United Democratic Front of Namibia.

Although the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) had started its electioneering campaign "quite early" and its leader, Mr Dirk Mudge, had declared his confidence in winning the elections, it was "unthinkable" that the DTA could beat Swapo, Dr Ngavirue said. What was more probable was that the DTA would become the official opposition.

"Even though most analysts admit South Africa's failure in her efforts to promote an alternative to Swapo, the domestic re-alliances that have taken place in Namibia are largely the results of Pretoria's role," Dr Ngavirue said.

The present phase of the implementation of UN Resolution 435, which will culminate in the November 1 elections, was extremely important, according to Dr Ngavirue. The way it is handled, he said, was bound to influence political behaviour during the elections "and probably the attitude of the victorious party."

Dr Ngavirue advised the South African business community to be prepared to negotiate "with whatever shade of government comes to power" in Namibia in the interest of cordial business relations.

Marxism is main danger for Namibia

SPW 7/4/89
22/A

A Namibian economy modelled on Botswana rather than Zimbabwe is recommended by South African economist Professor Ben van Rensburg, reports KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Namibian blacks will vote for the South African People's Organisation (Swapo) in the forthcoming United Nations-supervised elections not because they will be voting against their white countrymen, but against continued occupation of their country by South Africa, Professor Ben van Rensburg said this week.

The University of South Africa Economics professor, commissioned by Assocom to study the economic implications for South Africa of an independent Namibia, said it was important for South Africa and the rest of Namibia that Swapo did not obtain a two-thirds majority in the elections "because they have very strong socialist-Marxist tendencies".

A two-thirds majority, Professor van Rensburg says, would enable Swapo to write its own constitution.

He would like Namibia to follow the Botswana economic model "which is much more pragmatic — and not the Zimbabwean model which has proved to be a disaster".

Fresh start required

Professor van Rensburg warns that South Africa would have to restructure its relations with southern Africa "if the birth of a free Namibia is to lead to a new acceptance of our country".

The adviser to the governor of the South African Reserve Bank, Dr Diederik W. Goedhuys, said that for monetary purposes Namibia was "an indistinguishable part of South Africa". In addition to a branch of the Reserve Bank in Namibia there are six South African commercial banks.

"We are going to disengage from that country and hand over to a new monetary institution, but we are going to do so in an orderly and responsible fashion," he said.

A Namibian government will have three options:

- The establishment of a currency board. "This option will be unlikely given the high national fervour the new government will have," Dr Goedhuys said.
- The establishment of a limited control board such as the one in Swaziland.
- The establishment of a full central bank such as the one in Botswana.

Marxism is main danger for Namibia

221-51
SPW 7/14/89

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'Suicidal' battle

REC 5 7/4/89 221

By Political Staff and Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. The week-old fighting in northern Namibia looks like turning into a full-scale war.

Government sources said the death toll in the war zone was now about 300.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha claimed today Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma was deliberately pushing more and more troops into a suicidal battle in an attempt to wreck the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for Namibia's independence.

Mr Botha said: "No other conclusion can be reached over Mr Nujoma's the foolhardiness.

"The Swapo objective has to be more than to establish bases.

"One slip could be excusable with one or two groups coming across, but surely now no one can doubt that this whole operation was planned months ago.

"It appears Swapo concluded months ago it would not get a two-thirds majority to control the new constitution for the territory. As a result it decided to scuttle the whole peace process.

"This would be the only thing that makes sense now."

But the plan was backing on Swapo as it was losing both the military and the international diplomatic battle.

'Sort of thing that started World War 2'

Mr Botha warned South Africa would not allow a step-by-step attrition of agreements already reached.

"This is the sort of thing that started World War Two.

He declined to comment on unconfirmed reports that United Nations Secretary General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar had suggested Swapo forces surrender their arms and be allowed to remain in the territory.

But he said: "The agreements signed cannot be amended to accept a violation. There is no way we can complete the implementation of Resolution 435 if all the agreements reached are not successfully upheld.

"We cannot accept attempts to amend in practice what has been achieved by violation. This is a very decisive principle and I am not aware that either Cuba or Angola disagree."

He had already received indications from Cuba and Angola that Swapo is in fact violating the agreements."

Mr Botha was due to meet United Nations special representative Mr Maarti Ahtisaari in Windhoek today to discuss the crisis before travelling to the secret meeting place of the tri-parite Joint Commission on a farm north of Windhoek later in the day.

US and Soviet observers

South Africa, Angola and Cuba will all be represented at the emergency meeting, called to discuss the deteriorating situation. Mr Botha will represent Pretoria, while the US and the Soviet Union will both send observers.

Also expected in Windhoek is outgoing US Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester C. Crocker.

In scenes far worse than anything seen in the 23-year bush war between South Africa and Swapo, clashes are taking place across a broad front in Owamboland and adjacent Kaokoland, convoy systems have been introduced.



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, the Argus on assignment in Namibia. FANNING OUT: South West Africa Territory Force soldiers fan out in their search for Swapo insurgents in northern Namibia.

and there is a possibility that a curfew will be imposed shortly.

Police say that more than 1 500 Swapo insurgents are on the loose, and the death toll in the killing is now nearing 300. A total of 253 insurgents and 26 members of the security forces have so far been killed, as have an unknown number of civilians caught in the crossfire.

There also appears to have been no response by the insurgents to a plea by Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar that they lay down their arms or make their way back to their bases in Angola. Mr Pienaar has set a deadline of noon tomorrow for the insurgents to make up their minds, warning that after that they will be hunted down ruthlessly by the security forces.

Swapo has said, from London, that its fighters were not infiltrated into the country, and that they were merely regrouping prior to handing themselves over to the United Nations peacekeeping troops inside Namibia.

The organisation also said yesterday in Luanda that it was willing to co-operate with a re-implementation of the April 1 ceasefire. However, South Africa has made it clear it will not tolerate any attempts by Swapo combatants to set up bases or remain inside Namibia.

Police liaison officer Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said in Windhoek that the insurgents did not look like surrendering, were "acting very aggressively", and were even leaving notes challenging the security forces to come and fight.

Strike jets

There were unconfirmed reports late last night that South African Air Force Impala strike jets had been used to attack Swapo fighters holed up in a rocky gorge in Kaokoland.

In Oshakati, Chief Inspector Derek Brune, who is one of the top policemen co-ordinating the counter-insurgency efforts, said security forces were tracking two groups of 60 and 80 insurgents in Kaokoland, and that 42 members of the latter group had been "eliminated".

He did not say how or where they were killed. It was reported also that insurgents in Kaokoland had fired on two occasions at spotter aircraft, once with a SAM-7 heat-seeking anti-aircraft missile and once with an RPG-7 rocket-propelled grenade.

Chief Inspector Brune disclosed that there was heavy fighting continuing in the eastern Owamboland area close to the border with Kavango, and that more than 400 insurgents were involved. He said also that a number of groups of insurgents had crossed the main road south between Oshakati and Oshivello.

There was, he added, a danger of an ambush being mounted on that road.

● See page 3.



CONVOY: A convoy of Buffels of 32 Battalion prepares to begin follow-up operations in northern Namibia.

Farmers prepare for war

From KEN VERNON
Argus Africa News Service
in Oshakati

AFTER several years of relative peace white farmers along the "Red line" border with Owamboland are again arming themselves.

For the past three days, a group of Swapo in-

surgenTs estimated at 100 strong has been hovering in an area about 30km from the whites farming area.

Whether they will now hand themselves over to designated gathering points, in terms of the Mount Etjo agreement at the weekend, is still to be seen.

To meet the threat, if the insurgents fail to respond to appeals, the farmers have been re-issued with the automatic weapons they handed in to police just weeks ago — as required under United Nations Resolution 435.

dusk farm gates are locked, allarms activated and guns placed near to hand.

The man in charge of the commando unit at Oshevello, Mr Traugott Sachse, said that most of the 68 farmers in his unit now have automatic weapons and were on standby.

His wife Debbie also carries her own automatic assault rifle.

He said he was "disappointed" at this new development, but added that most farmers were nevertheless still determined to make Resolution 435 work.

"We won't be running" he said, "But I must admit we were looking forward to living a normal life for a change.

"I don't know what will happen now though. How can we trust Swapo?"

His thoughts were echoed by Oshevello restaurant owner Mr Ramond Talle.

Also armed with an



Locals complain about UN lack of activity

From KEN VERNON
Argus Africa News Service
in Oshakati

WHILE peaceful Windhoek has become awash with the Blue berets of Untag soldiers in the war torn-north of Namibia they are still very scarce on the ground.

And the actions — or rather lack of action — of the UN peace-keeping troops have become a constant complaint here.

At times the only UN soldier in the area actively deployed is a Pakistani stationed at the main gate of the Oshakati garrison, presumably to "monitor" military traffic.

To most by-passers however it appears that most times he just sits and thinks — and sometimes he just sits.

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But now once again, a curfew has been reimposed in the area and after

automatic rifle, he said he and his family would stay "and fight to the end if we have to".

DAWN PATROL: Farmers wife Mrs Debbie Sachse carries an AG-3 rifle when she moves outside her house with her two boys and their friend at their Oshivelo farm in Northern Namibia.

Picture: DOUG PITHEY, of The Argus on assignment in Namibia

'Blood of Swapo's dead shed for freedom'

From JON GWELANE
Argus Africa News Service
in Windhoek

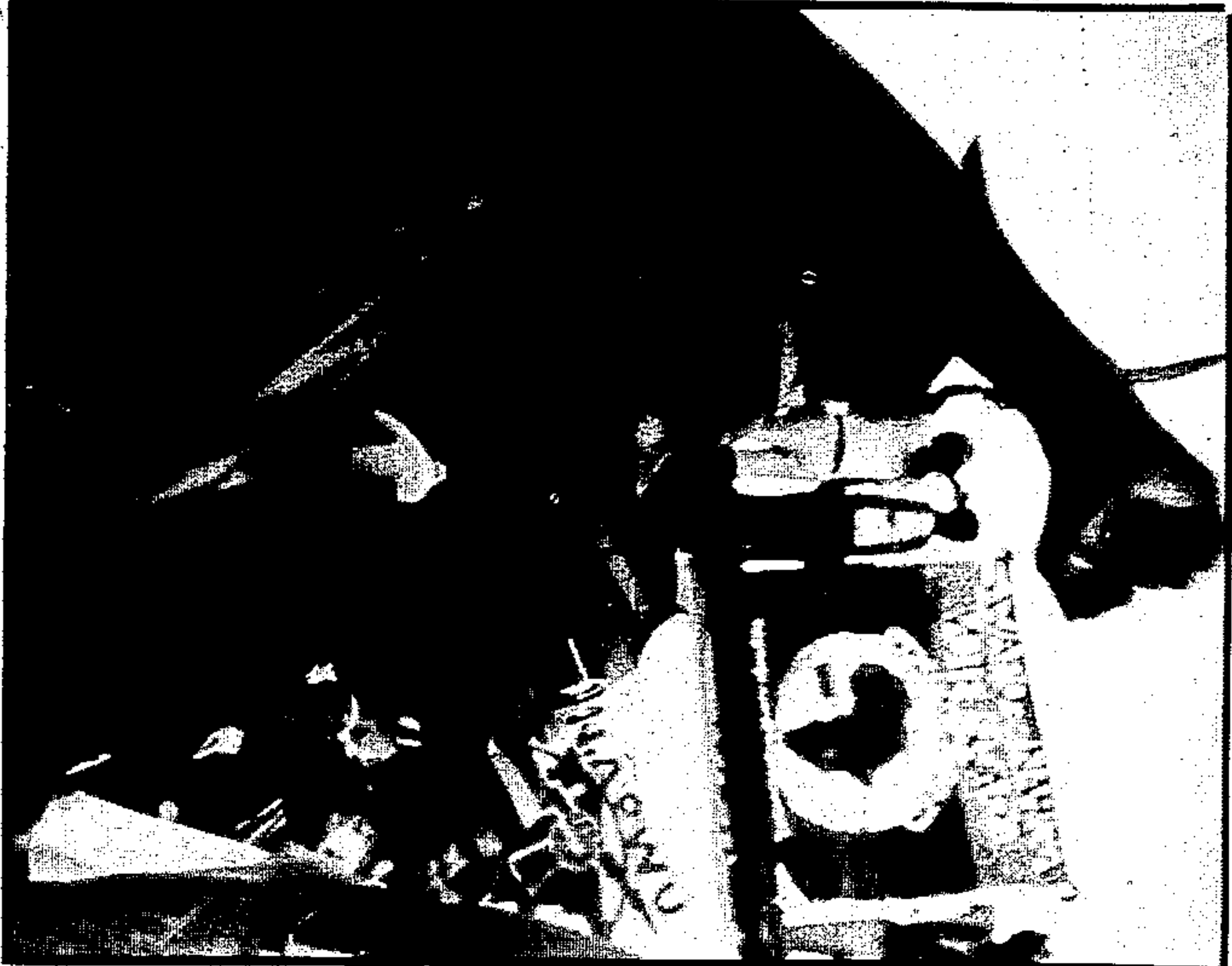
THE United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag) came in for sharp criticism by community leaders in Katutura township yesterday for not being there when South Africa's "illegal forces of colonialism and oppression" attacked Swapo members, said to be coming peacefully into Namibia to make contact with the UN personnel.

Yet Untag was in Namibia and "supposed to keep peace and help us on our path to our country's freedom and independence", speakers from the labour movement said.

They were addressing a huge and peaceful crowd attending a prayer service which was at the same time a political rally at Katutura's community centre.

Mr Danny Tjongarero, member of Swapo's central committee, said the clashes between members of Swapo's military wing Plan (Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia) and members of the security forces in the north of the country were a continuation of the Namibian people's long history of resistance against oppression and colonialism.

SWAPO RALLY: Over 3 000 people attended a special rally in Katutura township outside Windhoek to pay their respects to Swapo insurgents who have died since April 1



resettlement from Windhoek's old location to present-day Katutura. "They refused, and they were shot and killed and from those ashes we took up the struggle".

The meeting had not been called to mourn the victims of the "brutality" of South Africa's forces of colonialism, and those other Namibians who had given their lives over the years, but would never taste their country's freedom, but the purpose of the gathering was for the Namibians who remained to draw inspiration from their dead countrymen's sacrifices.

Mr Tjongarero told the defiant crowd — which chanted slogans like "Independence or death" and "Long live Cuba" and "Long live Russia" — that Swapo's politburo had requested 72 hours in which it would effect peace in the north.

The request had been made to the five-nation summit which took place in Namibia over the weekend.

The recurring theme in speeches was that the guerrillas who were killed in Owambo since April 1 had not come back to Namibia with any violent intentions but were, at the time they were shot by the South West Africa Police and the SADF, regrouping in order to hand themselves over to Untag. Most of the guerrillas, various

speakers said, had been in the country even before the first fatal clashes took place on April 1 — the day resolution 435 was formally implemented.

The guerrillas had shot back at the security forces in self-defence, the meeting was told.

Chief Hendrik Witbooi, Swapo's vice-president, sent a message to the gathering saying April 1 1989 would not be forgotten in the country's history, and not only because of the implementation of Resolution 435, but also as the day on which "the blood of heroic children of Namibia was once more shed for the sake of freedom".

Father Jackie Basson of the Council of Churches of Namibia

read a passage from the scriptures and said: "It is not because these comrades (who were killed in the clashes) were stupid. It is not because they believed in violence, since they were coming to hand themselves over to Untag.

"I am speaking as a religious leader, and I am quite convinced that Christ never said you must mourn and remain passive. He never said you are being killed you must be passive, and he never said when your brother is killed you must remain passive.

"The news that was supposed to be good news was turned into bad news within minutes by South Africa," Fr Basson said.

There are two main entrances to the Oshakati garrison, but there is no UN presence at the other entrance.

While there are reportedly Untag soldiers at stationed at military bases in other parts of the area, they remain largely out of sight and out of mind.

Privately the battle-hardened South African and Namibian security forces are scathing in their comments about the blue herets.

They say that in spite of offers to them to "monitor" fighting, it seems they prefer to stay inside the base.

Let it be said — asperitions are often cast upon their soldierly courage.

Attempts to speak to the UN troops about their lack of activity are met with polite refusal to comment.

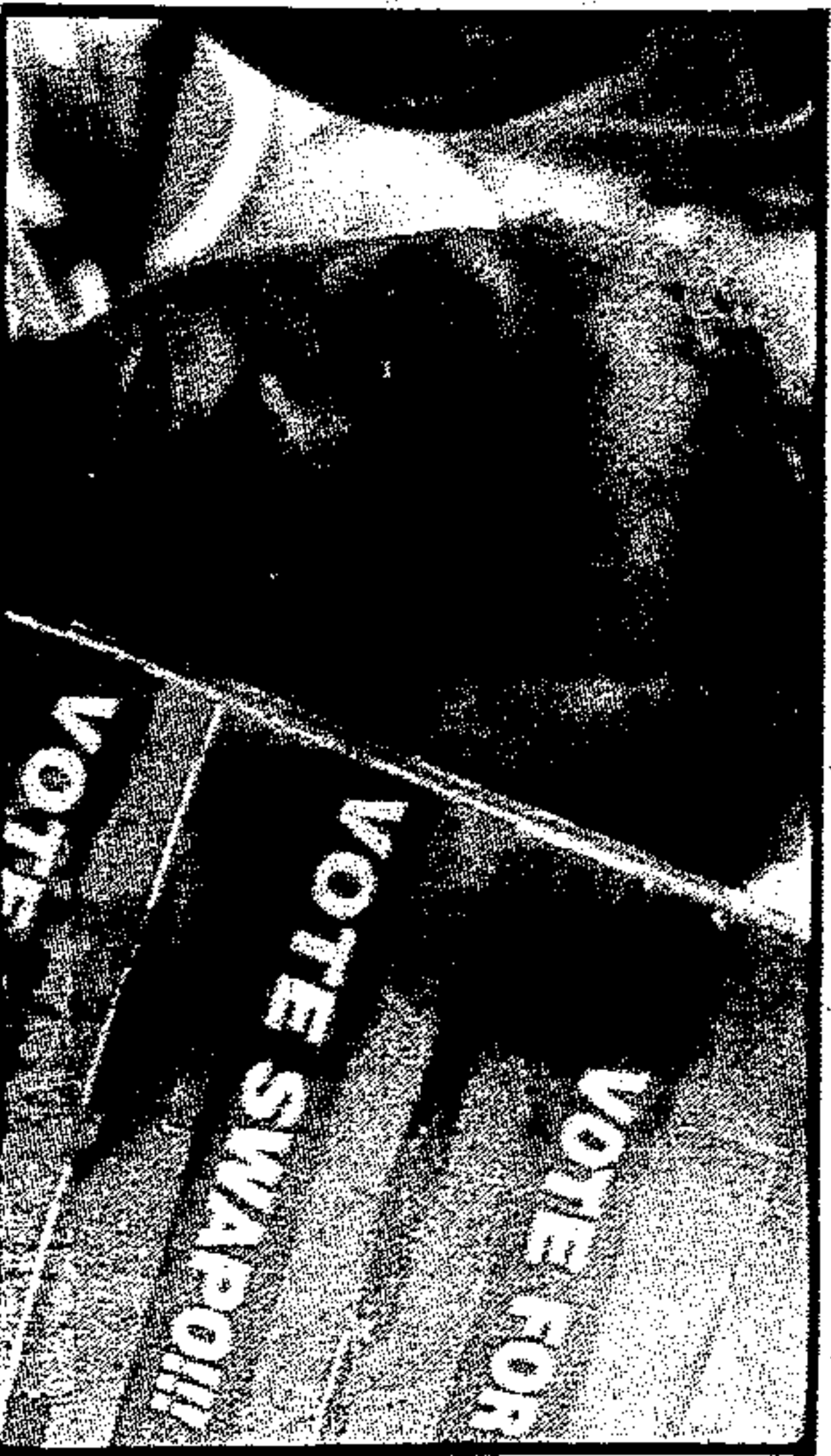
It seems they have caught the SADF mania of secrecy just at the very time the SADF are comming out of their shell.

From civilians, both black and white, the usual refrain is that "Untag must do something".

Just what the few soldiers here could realistically be expected to do is unclear.

But fair or unfair, the criticism exists with both black and whites looking to Untag for protection — and both are disillusioned.

Untag credibility, a crucial factor if Resolution 435 is to work, and the UN body will have to work hard to restore confidence in it in northern Namibia.



SWAPO YOUTH: A young supporter expresses his view at the Katutura rally attended by about 3 000 Swapo supporters.

10/4/89

UN's Congo debacle remembered as Swapo insurgents poured in

By MICHAEL LITTLEJOHNS
of Reuters at the
United Nations
in New York

THE United Nations came close to collapse over the way it handled its peacekeeping role in the Congo more than 25 years ago.

But accusations that its peacekeeping force in Namibia is at least partly to blame for the worst fighting there in 23 years is unlikely to cause such a crisis, diplomats said on Friday.

Speaking hours before UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar was to defend his decision to unleash South African forces on nationalist guerrillas in northern Namibia, diplomats on all sides said they expected that he and his

representative in Namibia, Martti Ahtisaari, would ride out the storm.

"I would not be surprised if they are both up for Nobel Peace Prizes a year from now," one senior African ambassador remarked.

Western and some Third World delegates said harsh African and Non-Aligned criticism of the UN Transition Assistance Group in Namibia (Untag) was more emotional than substantive.

A Western delegate said the Africans needed a scapegoat when the Untag operation seemed to unravel only hours after the UN peace and independence process began on April 1.

The first bloody clashes between heavily armed guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) and the South African-led Namibian police were re-

ported near the northern border with Angola on Saturday April 8 and the battle has raged ever since.

Ahtisaari was the obvious scapegoat, the Western delegate said, but an African ambassador with long UN experience who was asked if the Finn should resign said: "I would not if I were he."

A Western ambassador told Reuters that at one point angry African delegates wanted the Security Council to meet and condemn Perez de Cuellar's actions.

But an African delegate said no one wanted to start a campaign against the world body's figurehead who has made a further report on the fighting to the Security Council.

Several UN diplomats, none of whom wanted to be quoted by name, blamed the crisis on the imprecise wording of accords reached

since 1978 when UN Resolution 435, the framework for Namibian independence, was passed.

Swapo says the resolution allows it to establish bases inside Namibia under UN supervision and that is what its guerrillas were trying to do when they were attacked by the Namibian police.

But no one else accepts this reading of the accords. Both the UN and South Africa say Swapo bases were to be established well away from the Namibian border in Angola or in Zambia.

Angola, one of Swapo's main backers, criticised its leaders for failing to control the guerrillas when the accords went into effect and allowing them to cross from Angola into Namibia. — Sapa-
Reuter

Peace-keepers 'worse than useless'

Argus Foreign Service
in London

THE "bloody fiasco" in Namibia suggests that the United Nations did not know what it aimed to achieve there or what would be demanded of it when it sent in its peace-keepers.

This is the view of the Economist, which points out in an editorial that successful peace-keeping requires two things: authority and strength.

It was not the UN's fault that heavily armed Swapo guerrillas violated the the Namibian peace deal in its first hours by crossing the border into the territory, says the magazine.

"But the UN force in Namibia should have been up to handling the affair rather than turn the job over to the South Africans: it would have been able to cope if it had been as strong as originally intended and deployed in good time with a decent plan in its knapsack."

Nice judgments about a force's size are not really needed, but a weak force will usually be worse than useless if the UN's planners and hoppers get it wrong, it adds.

"When in doubt, beef it up — the more powerful the force, the less likely that it will have to fight and the more likely that it will succeed in its mission.

"The worse answer is to send a clearly inadequate force (which is what happened in Namibia) and then try to keep it safe by ordering it to avoid violence.

"If armed peacekeeping forces are needed at all, they are needed because they can fight."

The sight of blue-bereted United Nations officers and men in Namibia has reminded a British columnist of a similar UN operation in another country — the former Belgian Congo.

George Gale of the Daily Express feels that the UN men are "messing about in Namibia with precious little understanding of what is going

on or what they are supposed to be doing there."

He adds: "True, the South Africans have not behaved with the cowardice and irresponsibility of the Belgians back in 1960. The South African Army remains in place as a disciplined force, the South African administration has not decamped en bloc as the moment of independence arrives.

"But the United Nations are floundering about much as they did in the Congo, while everyone else proceeds to butcher each other.

"For me, the Congo of 1960 remains the heart of darkness. Namibia in 1989 could not possibly be as bad, could it?"

Futility of a brutal war

Swapo under attack

LONDON. — The international condemnation following its decision to send hundreds of guerrillas to their deaths in Northern Namibia may pale into insignificance compared with future troubles the movement's leaders face.

A major assault on Swapo's human rights record is planned by political opponents. The opposition will allege that thousands of dissidents have "disappeared" in Swapo camps in Angola and Zambia; that many have been executed; that women and young girls have been raped and made pregnant by Swapo leaders; and that power has been concentrated in a narrow tribal sub-group.

Perhaps the most significant attack will come from Mr. Andreas Shipanga, co-founder of Swapo and a former senior member of its executive committee before his detention without trial in 1976-78 after he criticised Swapo corruption.

Mr Botha made it clear Pretoria would not accept any suggestion that the guerrillas could claim a territorial right. Similar claims by Swapo in 1981 and 1982 derailed earlier negotiations on implementation of Resolution 435.

He said Pretoria interpreted the suggestion as a UN proposal to renegotiate from the start the terms of Resolution 435. Last night Mr Botha said Mr Perez de Cuellar "owes me an apology" for making the proposal.

While Mr Botha and Gen. Malan returned from Mt Etjo last night, Angolan and Cuban officials, with US Under-Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker and Soviet deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamishin remained at the luxury safari lodge.

"It seems to me they are going to have a relaxed evening of braais, mieliepap, bright stars and boerwors," Mr Botha told reporters.

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Let had passed two days before killing a policeman. "As soon as our vehicles have been repaired we will be back in the fighting."

The call to move, that he feared so much, duly came. He leant down to shake my hand in farewell, withdrawal and quickly in embarrassment and laughing. "This one is all messed up with shrapnel!" he laughed, thrusting his left hand down instead. With a roar and a cloud of choking dust his casspir moved off up the road.

He looked back and in a gesture of determination punched the air with his fist, in an imitation of the black power salute.

The totting corpses of about 40 of 262 insurgents killed over the last week in clashes between Swapo fighters and the security forces were unceremoniously tipped into a mass grave a few kilometres from Oshakati yesterday, and covered over with sand. — Sapa-Reuter

At that moment two helicopters clattered low overhead on the final approach to Ondangwa airbase. Through the open doors the bodies of wounded South African troops could be seen strapped into stretchers and being tended by medics. The helicopters roared across the runway and landed directly outside the field hospital established in the corner of the busy airbase.

The young constable pointed to his vehicle, pock marked with shrapnel and bullet holes. "Our vehicles are all bugged", he explained. He pointed to the bullet hole through which a bullet had entered.

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base at Ongwa I met a 21-year-old white South African police constable serving with the much feared police tracker recalled Koevoet.

Disband under the UN peace accord but still reformed and sent into the field last week, Koevoet has borne the brunt of last week's fighting with Swapo.

Red-eyed with fatigue and unshaven, the bde constable from Durban was exhausted. "I have had only two hours sleep in the last three days" he told me the whole time we have been in fighting. I reckon we have killed close to 40 Swapos. But it's been terrible. I have lost two of my men killed in the last week and my commander is in hospital badly wounded.

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WINDHOEK. — There had been no attacks by Swapo insurgents on white-owned farms in the three districts south of Ovambo, a police spokesman, Chief-Inspector Kierie du Rand, said in Windhoek yesterday.

According to earlier official statements, the Outjo, Tsumeb and Grootfontein districts were being threatened by a southward push of Swapo insurgents. The UN in Namibia were told by the Administrator General, Mr Louis Pienaar, yesterday that he had authorised the rearmament of citizens force units in the three districts.

Inspector du Rand said last night none of the farms in the area had come under Swapo fire as yet. — Sapa

From page 1 Minister General Magnus Malan at the news conference, was optimistic that the independence process would be resumed after the week-long suspension.

"Today is the first day on which we can now say that there is a real, good and realistic prospect that it will be implemented, and I hope successfully," he said.

"I now hope and pray that we will all be able to proceed with the implementation of Resolution 435.

"I hope we are back on track, and that Swapo will now be removed to the north of the 16th parallel, where they should have been a week ago," he said.

"Instructions have already been issued to the security forces) as to how to handle the situation, so that Swapo can move to the assembly points... and move to a situation where this senseless killing of human beings can end."

Mr Botha lambasted Mr Nujoma for ordering his guerrillas across the border in defiance of a diplomatic sources said frontline states proposed the Swapo con-

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No attacks on 'triangle' of death' district farms

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Children blame Koevoet for killings

ONGEDIVA. — Twenty children fleeing from fighting at Ndola in Namibia arrived at Ongediva's Lutheran Mission on Saturday, Pastor Peter Pauly said at the weekend.

"All they (the children) knew was that there was a lot of shooting" and that many people had died.

The pastor quoted the Koevoet as saying: "Its konya" (the SADF). Pastor Pauly asked that it be made clear that he was speaking on his own behalf.

As far as he knew, the 22 people killed were local.

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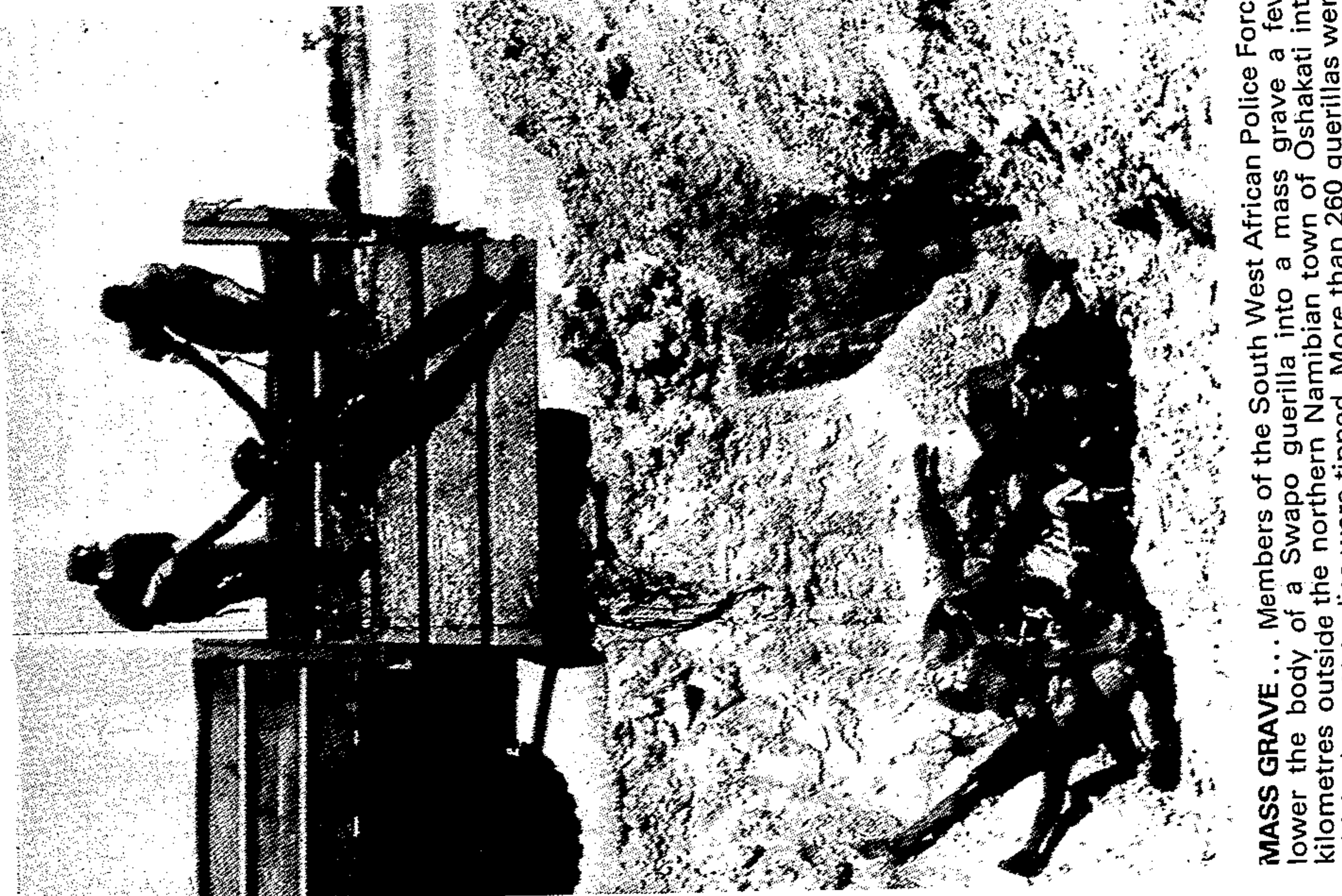
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MASS GRAVE... Members of the South West African Police Force lower the body of a Swapo guerrilla into a mass grave a few kilometres outside the northern Namibian town of Oshakati in which about 40 bodies were tipped. More than 260 guerrillas were killed during a week of fighting between Swapo and South African-backed forces. Picture: JOHN LIEBENBERG

ATI. — The stench of the was unbearable. Lying and with their genitals hid-bloated by the fierce sun, the West African People's Organisation guerrillas had, the black tracker told me, been killed by it in the bush the day before.

One of the bodies was badly wounded by the impact of heavy gun bullets of the type used South African-led security forces. Most had apparently been shot face at close range with small weapons.

The police tracker if the guerrillas had been killed after a fight. "What does it matter," he said. "They are Swapo, and they really know why Swapo is still fighting."

That Swapo launched a major incursion of Namibia from bases in Angola, in direct contravention of the UN peace accord which came into effect

There's not much the men can do as most of their equipment is not due to arrive until Tuesday by boat. But at least we can display a UN presence," said Major Pekka Hannukkala of the Defence Ministry's UN office.

The Finnish soldiers will be the first group in the UN force to take up positions on the border between Namibia and Angola, Maj Hannukkala said.

"The whole Namibia operation got off to a bad start because the United Nations took such a long time sorting out the budget and other questions."

Mr Martti Ahtisaari, head of the UN mission monitoring Namibia's transition to independence, said in an interview broadcast on Finnish Radio on Saturday that he would not resign despite demands from Third World countries that he do so.

On Thursday, a group of non-aligned countries demanded his resignation at the United Nations for allowing "murder groups to attack Swapo guerrillas".

Mr Ahtisaari said he would "see the job to its conclusion".

"But there is a real danger that if the hostilities do not cease, the whole independence plan could be in jeopardy."

Lieut-Colonel Neil Donaldson, commander of the British Untag force, said in London yesterday that an increased contingent of British soldiers would be deployed into northern Namibia to establish additional signals detachments, following a request for extra support from hard-pressed UN commanders. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

He said the idea is to turn this very sad as soon as possible because the are losing their lives.

A first unit of 73 Finnish UN peacekeeping soldiers left yesterday for Namibia, but with little hope immediately reducing tension in the area, a Defence Ministry official said.



PEACE TALKS
 ... Foreign Minister Pik Botha and delegates from Angola, Cuba, the Soviet Union and United States during a photo session at the JMWC meeting on Namibia at the Mount Eijo Safari Lodge at the weekend.

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From KEVIN JACOBS
WINDHOEK. — South Africa is allowing Swapo guerrillas safe passage out of Namibia with UN protection under an agreement hammered out with Angola and Cuba.

Swapo must inform UN special representative Mr Martin Ahtissari by April 15 that all of its insurgents are back in Angola.
 Only when Mr Ahtissari and Namibian administrator general Mr Louis Pienaar have verified full withdrawal of the guerrillas will Namibian and South African forces return to bases under a protection required by the settlement plan.

Assassin Tsafendas in serious condition
 Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — State President's patient Dimitriou Tsafendas, 71, the Mozambican-born immigrant who stabbed Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd to death in Parliament on

the week of bloody Bush battles in the territory and to put the UN-managed independence plan back on track.

Ceasefire orders have been issued to police and army units deployed in northern Namibia to allow the estimated 1 500 insurgents until Saturday, movement to Angola until Saturday, when withdrawal will be verified.

"Swapo will have the assurance... that if they do not attack the South West Africa Police and other forces, they will not be attacked." Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said last night.

More reports on Namibian war

SEE PAGE 5

If Swapo ignored the amnesty offer and refused to stop the shooting, it would be abandoned by its Angolan and Cuban backers, Mr Botha told a news conference at Windhoek Airport last night after concluding the truce agreement with the two other governments.

"As far as the three governments are concerned, if Swapo do not do this (withdraw), it will mean the end of this organisation," he said.

The deal was struck less than 24 hours after Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma — blamed by South Africa, Angola and Western nations for triggering the crisis — gave in to pressure and called on his guerrillas to withdraw from Namibia within 72 hours.

Under the truce agreement forged at weekend meetings of the three-nation Joint Monitoring Commission at the isolated Mount Etjo safari lodge 200km north of Windhoek:

① Swapo guerrillas must gather at 10 assembly points identified inside Namibia and eight others on the northern border, "enjoying the right of freedom of passage". Their weapons must be handed over to UN officials.

② Untag will supervise assembly points;

③ Swapo must notify its insurgents of the arrangements through "normal chain of command" and commercial radio networks;

④ Untag or Angola will ferry guerrillas by air to points behind the 16th parallel inside Angola, in terms of agreements linked to Resolution 435;

Playing with rocket, boy dies

OSHAKATI. — A child was killed and three of his companions were injured when a Swapo "telegram" rocket blew up in their hands yesterday afternoon.

Shiweda Mutumbulua, 8, had found the unexploded rocket under a tree near his home in Okahenje, which saw some of the first and most bloody clashes since fighting erupted in Ovambo a week ago.

He and his friends were playing with it when it exploded.

The children were taken to hospital, but Shiweda died on the way. Abraham Hendrik, 10, Hangala Tjumeutes, 8, and Pandulu Erastus, 7, were admitted to Oshakati Hospital.

— Sapa

The three governments — with the backing of US and Soviet observers at the talks — are urging the UN Security Council to hasten the arrival and deployment of the full Untag force to prevent a recurrence of the infiltrations that took the independence plan to the brink on April 1 — Day One of its calendar.

The UN, faced with the danger of South Africa scrapping the independence plan when Swapo reneged on a ceasefire, agreed to have South African forces back up police in escalating bush skirmishes.

Some 3 000 South African soldiers, armoured vehicles, helicopters and jet fighter-bombers were deployed during the week to bolster counter-insurgency police units in the fiercest battles of the 23-year Swapo insurgency.

Swapo lost nearly 270 fighters in what Mr Botha described last night as "a gross, sad, tragic and unforgivable miscalculation" by Mr Nujoma. Police said 27 security force members died.

"It's a tragedy... that a leader in that position could have continued up to the last moment to tell his followers to cross the border and be butchered,"

Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha, accompanied by Defence

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White Ovamboland farmers on war alert

Star 10/4/89

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By Ken Vernon,
The Star's Africa News Service
OSHAKATI — After several years of relative peace white farmers along the "red line" border with Ovamboland are gearing up for war.

For the past three days, a group of Swapo insurgents estimated at about 100 has been hovering in an area about 30 km from the white farming area.

To meet this threat the farmers have been reissued with the automatic weapons they handed in to police just weeks ago — as required by United Nations Resolution 435.

But now once again, a curfew has been imposed in the area and after dusk farm gates are locked, alarms activated and guns placed near to hand.

The man in charge of the commando unit at Oshevello, Mr Traugott Sachse, said that most of the 68 farmers in his unit now had automatic weapons and were on standby.

His wife Debbie also carries her own automatic assault rifle.

He said he was disappointed at this new development, but added that most farmers were nevertheless still determined to make Resolution 435 work.

"We won't be running but I must admit we were looking forward to living a normal life for a change. I don't know what will happen now though. How can we trust Swapo?"

His thoughts were echoed by Oshevello restaurant owner Mr Ramond Tallie.

Also armed with an automatic rifle, he said he and his family would stay "and fight to the end if we have to."



A farmworker in the Oshivello area of northern Namibia keeps watch, from a water tower, for Swapo insurgents.

Without support Swapo has no option but to back down

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WINDHOEK — Once the super-powers decided to meet in Namibia, there was only one possible solution: the South West Africa People's Organisation would back down. Left without an ally, Swapo was forced to order its troops to stop fighting and return to Angola. It has given way on the central issue of being confined to bases inside Namibia.

For a week the world was treated to the bizarre spectacle of South Africa hunting down Swapo guerrillas with the blessing of the United Nations. Pretoria policy was to commit itself to the existing agreements and demand they be im-

plemented. At the same time, it took whatever military measures it felt necessary to contain the Swapo incursions. Swapo's argument was that it had fighters inside the country before the ceasefire came into effect on April 1, and they were regrouping and trying to make contact with the UN troops when the South Africans attacked. According to Swapo, the South Africans fired first.

Quoting a 1979 UN document, Swapo long since superseded, Swapo claimed that Resolution 435 did provide for bases in Namibia. Swapo also pointed out that it did not sign an agreement to keep its guerrillas north of the 16th parallel in Angola. That agreement, the Geneva Protocol, was signed by Cuba, Angola and South Africa, Swapo says it agreed to the "spirit" of it, but not the letter.

None of the other countries involved has accepted Swapo's arguments. According to the Cubans and Angolans, Swapo gave them the impression that it would adhere to the agree-

ments. When Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State, constructed his complex agreement for the region, he did build it over Swapo's head. That now seems a tragic error, as does the decision to cut the number of UN monitoring troops from 7 500 to 4 560.

But even if UN troops had been there, although lives may have been saved, South Africa would not have accepted Swapo

bases in Namibia. No one had thought it necessary to pin Swapo down on this issue because it was believed Angola and Cuba would control the movement. In the end no one believed that Swapo itself would do anything to jeopardise the agreement which is expected to bring it to power next year.

JEOPARDISE

The only explanation for Swapo's actions is that its leaders believed that with the South Africans confined to barracks, the guerrillas could infiltrate and

emerge from the bush as conquering heroes.

However, none of Swapo's former allies rallied round. Zim babwe's President Mr Robert Mugabe is reported to have told Mr Nujoma to pull the fighters back and abide by the agreements. President Eduardo dos Santos, of Angola, which has given Swapo bases since its own independence, complained that Swapo's leaders were not controlling their troops. Cuba told Swapo to take an initiative to end the fighting.

If nothing else, the incident has revealed that Pretoria is determined to let Namibia become independent. If South Africa needed an excuse to back out of the whole process, it had one last week.

IMPLICATIONS

It may be too early to guess what effects this has had on Swapo's election chances, but observers here feel that, while it may lose some waverers, true Swapo supporters are voting for a cause more than a party and their loyalty will not be affected.

But the implications beyond Namibia. Has independence process smoothly, it would mark the pace of change within Africa. Swapo has Conservative Party Africa ammunition that the African National Congress, like Swapo, trusted. — The Irish News Service.

A more pressing problem is the movement is what its returning fighters want to know whether they achieved by sending the valley of death.

South Africa
The Star's Africa News Service *(22)*

OSHAKATI — While peaceful Windhoek has become awash with the blue berets of Untag soldiers, in the war torn north of Namibia they are still very scarce on the ground.

And the action — or rather lack of action — of the UN peacekeeping troops has become a constant complaint here.

At times the only UN soldier in the area actively deployed is a Pakistani stationed at the main gate of the Oshakati garrison, presumably to monitor military traffic.

To most passers-by, however, it appears that most times he just sits and thinks — and sometimes he just sits.

There are two main entrances to the Oshakati garrison, but there is no UN presence at the other entrance.

While there are reportedly Untag soldiers stationed at military bases in other parts of the area, they remain largely out of sight and out of mind.

SCATHING COMMENTS

Privately, the battle-hardened South African and Namibian security forces are scathing in their comments about the blue berets.

They say that in spite of offers to them to monitor fighting, it seems they prefer to stay inside the base.

Let it be said — aspersions are often cast upon their soldierly courage.

Attempts to speak to the UN troops about their lack of activity are met with polite refusal to comment. It seems they have caught the SADF mania of secrecy at the very time the SADF is coming out of its shell.

From civilians, both black and white, the usual refrain is that "Untag must do something".

Just what the few soldiers here could realistically be expected to do is unclear.

But fair or unfair, the criticism exists, with both black and whites looking to Untag for protection — and both are disillusioned.

Untag credibility is a crucial factor if Resolution 435 is to work and the UN body will have to work hard to restore confidence in it in northern Namibia.

Swapo leader (right) and General Magnus Malan addressing a press conference at the J G Strijdom Airport after concluding talks on the crisis in Namibia.

The Mount Etjo declaration

In terms of the Mount Etjo declaration:

- ⊙ Angola will prepare to receive the Swapo insurgents currently inside Namibia and accommodate them in bases north of the 16th parallel, as provided by the southern African peace accords.
- ⊙ From yesterday Swapo insurgents inside Namibia would present themselves to designated assembly points inside Namibia and on the border with Angola.
- ⊙ Swapo fighters will present themselves to the peacekeeping troops of the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag) and will lay down their weapons.
- ⊙ The information about the laying down of weapons and reporting to assembly points is to be conveyed to all Swapo cadres by "all means possible", including use of the organisation's normal chains of command and the commercial radio stations.
- ⊙ All Swapo insurgents who report to

Untag at assembly points either inside the territory or on the border, will be escorted to Angola and taken to camps north of the 16th parallel.

⊙ The Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMMC) will be temporarily reactivated, without the presence of Cuba, to monitor the ceasefire and withdrawal of Swapo forces.

⊙ By April 15, Swapo will inform the UN Special Representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, about the withdrawal of its forces and, once he and Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar have verified the fact of total Swapo withdrawal, the situation will be officially considered to have returned to what it was on March 31, and the implementation of the Security Council Resolution 435 independence plan for Namibia will resume.

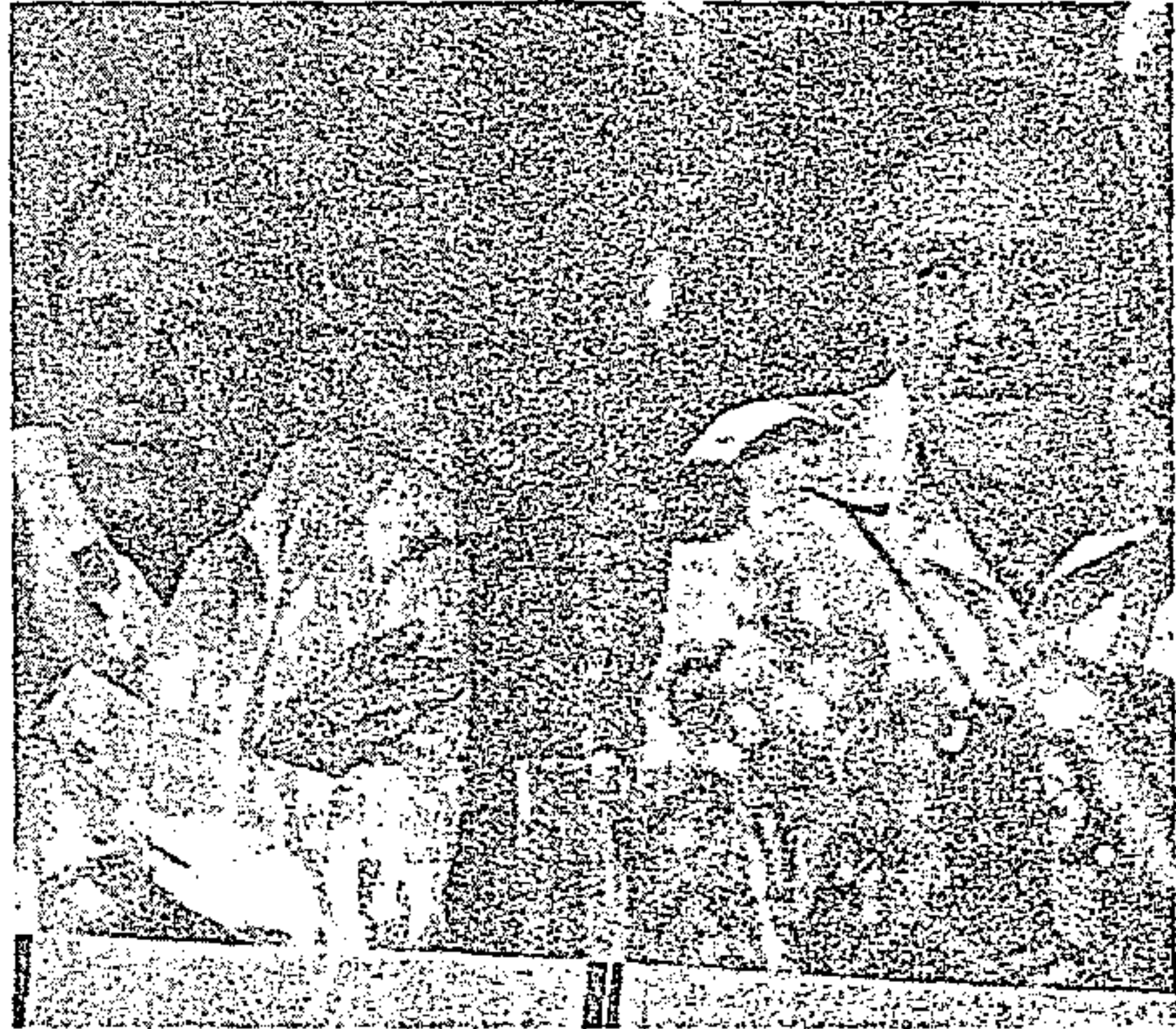
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Units may be unaware of peace agreement

Major bid to alert scattered Swapo

Star 10/4/87 221



Mr Fik Botha (right) and General Magnus Malan addressing a press conference of the J G Sijndom Airport after concluding talks on the crisis in Namibia.

By Brendan Seery and Ken Vernon
The Star's Africa News Service
Windhoek

Invading Swapo guerilla groups deployed in northern Namibia may still be unaware of the "Mount Etjo Agreement" hammered out yesterday to end bloodshed on the territory's northern border.

Urgent efforts are being made to contact the dispersed groups before they get involved in further clashes with Namibian security forces or attack outlying white farms along Namibia's "red line", further endangering the peace and the independence process.

Swapo guerillas have been told to gather at churches from today to prepare for UN-escorted passage to their Angolan bases, following the Mount Etjo Agreement.

In a joint statement issued late last night, Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar and UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari said nine assembly points would be established — two inside the Ovambo war region and seven on the

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Why Swapo had to back down — Page 2

border with Angola — to which insurgents must report for evacuation to Angola.

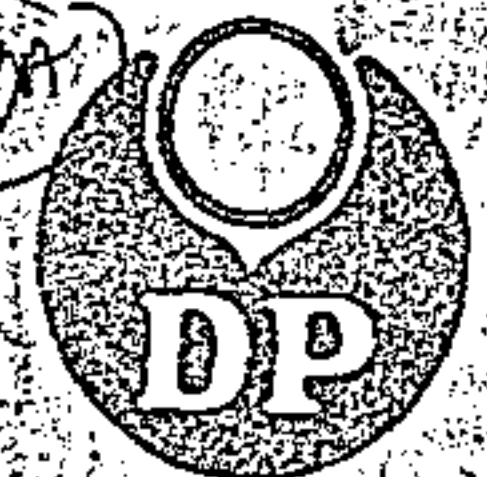
The assembly points will be manned by UN personnel, sometimes assisted by members of the security forces, and will fly the UN flag. They will become operational at midday tomorrow.

The insurgents have been assured they will be given safe passage from UN-manned assembly points back to their bases in Angola.

However, logistic problems remain in spreading the word of the ceasefire plan to all the guerilla groups, who "bomb-shelled" after crossing the border in a body on April 1.

While the threat remains that some of these groups may continue to push southwards, white farmers along the "red line" border with Ovamboland are gearing up for possible attacks.

DP targets 12 Nat Party seats



By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The Democratic Party has identified 12 House of Assembly seats which it can win from the National Party in the general election expected for September.

Speaking in his personal capacity, the DP's Mr Robin Carlisle, who is studying the chances of increasing the left-of-Government party's current 21 seats in the House, said yesterday a marginal swing was needed in 12 seats.

Targets were North Rand, Hillbrow and Edenvale in the Transvaal, Wynberg, Simonstown, Helderberg, Walmer and Albany in the Cape and Mooi River, Umhlanga, Maritzburg North and Umbilo in Natal.

The NP's 1987 election majorities in these seats ranged from under 100 to just more than 1 000.

Although the NP's majorities in East London City and East London North were huge in the 1987 election, the DP's prospects of winning them were good.

The two East London seats are traditional opposition territory, and the im-

pact of corruption was already massive in last year's general election during which not one NP candidate was elected and many lost their deposits.

Mr Carlisle said "interesting, if not winnable", seats included Benoni, Waterkloof, Johannesburg West, Amanzimtoti, Umhlatuzana and Maritzburg South. Durban Point was the only House of Assembly seat which could go either to the DP, NP or Conservative Party.

He said much would depend on the NP's election strategies.

Contrary to general opinion, he said, if the NP emphasised reform, the DP would benefit.

"If the Nats go for the warm, soothing message of reform, the DP can push issues such as corruption, economic hardships and the fact that the Nats have not produced reform in 40 years.

"A reform election will create the climate in which our message is more, and not less, potent."

Mr Carlisle said none of the liberal opposition's current 21 seats was marginal.

The NP would concentrate on Randburg in the Transvaal, Pinetown in Natal and Green Point and Port Elizabeth City in the Cape.

The NP would focus its attention on the DP rather than the CP, he said.

See Page 6.

Restrictions

The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations.

Father after is bail

By A East I

A Germiston arrested after baby boy with Paardekraal care unit was bone in his back.

Germiston said today worst cases had seen.

An ambulance said the baby fell out the Willemstad in Germiston by his mother baby fell out.

The spokesman had a fractured bleeding eye. All but broken and his arms and

"It appears fatal bleed

Medical student Cruywagen the baby referred to the pital in Kru confirmed the arrested and pear in court

Swapo retreat

Assurances of safe passage back to Angola bases



Namibian fact file on Friday

THE independence plan in Namibia has gone through dark days, but the peace plan is now back on track with the agreement to allow Swapo guerrillas safe passage to Angola.

On Friday the first Argus/BP fact file of 1989 gives detailed information about Namibia — its people and its problems. In addition a 16-page special section, "Namibia, New Nation," containing interviews with leading personalities in trade, industry and politics, will be published with the fact file.

Dos Santos persuaded Nujoma

The Argus Foreign Service LUANDA. — Western diplomats here said Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos persuaded Swapo leader Sam Nujoma to back down from his refusal to withdraw troops from northern Namibia.

They said Mr dos Santos made it clear that he did not want the Namibians fighting to jeopardise the peace accords, which contain guarantees for Angola's future security from South African attack.

Australian soldier wounded by mine

The Argus Foreign Service MELBOURNE. — The first Australian injured on duty in Namibia is recovering in hospital after a mine exploded in his hands.

Sapper Wayne Clissold, 20, broke a thumb and was wounded in the chest when a section of a mine exploded in a training exercise.

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From BRENDAN SEERY, Argus Africa News Service WINDHOEK. — Swapo insurgents in Namibia have been assured by South Africa's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, and UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari that they will be given safe passage to their bases in Angola.

In a joint statement issued late last night, Mr Pienaar and Mr Ahtisaari outlined nine assembly points, two inside the Owambo war region and seven on the border with Angola, to which the Swapo fighters must report for evacuation to Angola.

Meanwhile Swapo insurgents have begun returning north as security forces report that several groups have been found to have had radio contact with bases in Angola during the past week's mass incursions.

The assembly points will be manned by UN personnel, sometimes assisted by members of the security forces, and will fly the UN flag. They become operational at midday tomorrow.

Five deaths

Some of the assembly points on the border will be staffed jointly by soldiers of the Angolan army, Fapla, and security forces, but the Angolans will be in position only by midday on Wednesday, said the joint statement.

All the assembly points will be open for 10 days, until April 21. A Swapo insurgent captured on Saturday told police his group had been ordered to turn north, in spite of the fact that it was one of the groups without radio contact.

An uneasy calm has descended on northern Namibia over the past 48 hours. In the past two days there have been just five deaths of Swapo insurgents reported, as against 258 deaths in the previous six days.

There have been no more security force deaths reported and large numbers of police have returned to bases to rest, re-fit and repair vehicles.

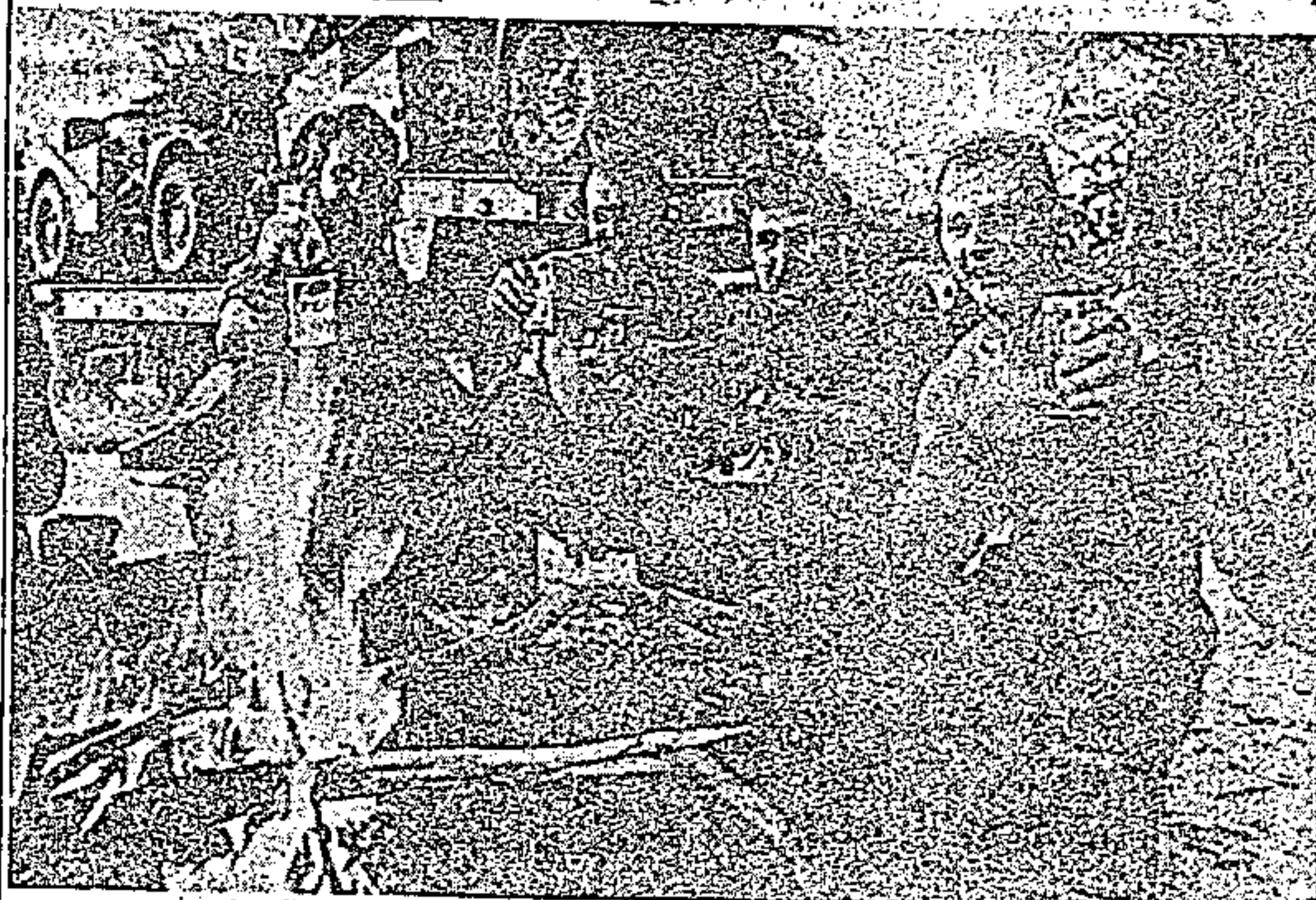
Police spokesman Chief Inspector Derek Brune said yesterday that during the past two days security forces had captured seven radio-communication sets from different Swapo groups.

"This tends to prove that they have been in constant contact with their bases in Angola since the incursions began and have been kept informed of developments," he said.

Russian origin

A senior police officer said the captured radios were of Russian origin, and although heavy and bulky, were powerful enough to reach bases "deep inside Angola".

He said that in the past 24 hours police had found the tracks of several large groups of insurgents returning northwards.



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus, on assignment in Namibia.

TIME OUT: Security forces relax around a braai at sunset before camping for the night on the side of the road near Grootfontein, northern Namibia.

Two sailaway schoolboys 'longed for home'

By SHARON SOROUR and DALE KNEEN Staff Reporters

THE two teenagers who set out for South America last week in an allegedly stolen R100 000 yacht, turned back after sailing only 120 sea miles as "they were longing for home", their parents said today.

Johannes Engelbrecht, 18, and a 17-year-old youth appeared briefly in the Strand Magistrate's Court today, but

night they were out at sea — but we prayed."

Mr Engelbrecht added that the boys' rescue was "an act of God".

A concerned Mrs Engelbrecht emphasised that they did not look on the boys as heroes.

She said: "We don't condone what they have done — it has been a very heart sore business for me, and it is not over yet."

Gold \$382,75

GOLD traded at \$382,75 an ounce in London today against \$383,50 at the close in New York on Friday. The rand traded at R2,5548 (39,14 US cents) the dollar against Friday's R2,5597 (39,06) close. — Business Staff.

© See page 9.

The weather Fine and mild

(Details — page 2)

Press curbs

In terms of the emergency regulations reports, comments and pictures may be restricted.

Meanwhile police north of Oshakati were spurred into action on Saturday night when a large group of Swapo insurgents threw down the gauntlet and challenged them to battle.

According to Chief Inspector Brune, a police patrol near Ondoke, south-west of Enhana, was stopped by an old man who said he had been sent by a group of more than 100 insurgents standing nearby.

"We are 100-strong and have three heavy weapons and we are waiting for you," the group were reported to have challenged. It was like waving a red flag in front of a bull.

By early yesterday morning over 60 armoured vehicles had converged on the area, sup-

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

P. 10

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Some of the assembly points on the border will be staffed jointly by soldiers of the Angolan army, Fapla, and security forces, but the Angolans will be in position only by midday on Wednesday, said the joint statement.

All the assembly points will be open for 10 days, until April 21. A Swapo insurgent captured on Saturday told police his group had been ordered to turn north, a spokesman said of the fact that it was one of the groups without radio contact.

An uneasy calm has descended on northern Namibia over the past 48 hours. In the past two days there have been just five deaths of Swapo insurgents reported, as against 258 deaths in the previous six days.

There have been no more security force deaths reported and large numbers of police have returned to bases to rest, refit and repair vehicles.

Police spokesman Chief Inspector Derek Brune said yesterday that during the past two days security forces had captured seven radio-communication sets from different Swapo groups.

"This tends to prove that they have been in constant contact with their bases in Angola since the incursions began and have been kept informed of developments," he said.

Russian origin

A senior police officer said the captured radios were of Russian origin, and although heavy and bulky, were powerful enough to reach bases "deep inside Angola".

He said that in the past 24 hours police had found the tracks of several large groups of insurgents returning northwards.

Meanwhile police north of Oshakati were spurred into action on Saturday night when a large group of Swapo insurgents threw down the gauntlet and challenged them to battle.

According to Chief Inspector Brune, a police patrol near Ondoke, south-west of Enhana, was stopped by an old man who said he had been sent by a group of more than 100 insurgents standing nearby.

"We are 100-strong and have three heavy weapons and we are waiting for you," the group were reported to have challenged. It was like waving a red flag in front of a bull.

By early yesterday morning over 60 armoured vehicles had converged on the area, supposed.

(Turn to page 3, col 4)



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus, on assignment in Namibia.

TIME OUT: Security forces relax around a braai at sunset before camping for the night on the side of the road near Grootfontein, northern Namibia.

Two sailaway schoolboys 'longed for home'

By SHARON SOROUR and DALE KNEEN Staff Reporters

THE two teenagers who set out for South America last week in an allegedly stolen R100 000 yacht, turned back after sailing only 120 sea miles as "they were longing for home", their parents said today.

Johannes Engelbrecht, 18, and a 17-year-old youth appeared briefly in the Strand Magistrate's Court today, but

night they were out at sea — but we prayed."

Mr Engelbrecht added that the boys' rescue was "an act of God".

A concerned Mrs Engelbrecht emphasised that they did not look on the boys as heroes.

She said: "We don't condone what they have done — it has been a very heart sore business for me, and it is not over yet."

The father of the 17-year-old

Gold \$382,75

GOLD traded at \$382,75 an ounce in London today against \$383,50 at the close in New York on Friday. The rand traded at R2,5548 (39,14 US cents) to the dollar against Friday's R2,5597 (39,06) close. — Business Staff.

• See page 9.

The weather
Fine and mild
(Details — page 2)

Press curbs

In terms of the emergency regulations reports, comment and pictures may be restricted.

UN seeks ceasefire agreement *B/Day*

SA hard line forces Swapo pullout order

10/4/89

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KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — SA forced Swapo guerrillas to retreat from Namibia at the weekend and to abandon claims for bases in the territory.

Swapo leader Sam Nujoma's order at midnight on Saturday to his insurgents to leave the territory within 72 hours may defuse a crisis which has almost wrecked the UN independence plan for Namibia.

It followed Foreign Minister Pik Botha's rejection of African Frontline states' proposals, put through UN officials, that the guerrillas, who swept into the territory as the UN-supervised programme kicked off on April 1, be confined in the territory under Untag guard.

Botha said in a letter to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar: "The effect would be that Swapo had completely succeeded in its objective of projecting itself as an intimidatory military force in violation of its obligations" under UN resolution 435 and attendant treaties.

Diplomatic sources said Frontline states had proposed such confinement to UN peace-keeping operations chief Murrack Goulding in Luanda.

But Botha made it clear Pretoria would not accept any suggestion that the guerrillas, who violated the ceasefire and triggered a week of bloody bush warfare, could claim a territorial right.



● BOTHA



● NUJOMA

Similar claims by Swapo in 1981 and 1982 derailed earlier negotiations on implementation of resolution 435.

Botha rejected the proposal in a letter sent to Perez de Cuellar before Saturday's start of the Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC) meeting between SA, Cuba and Angola at Mt Etjo safari lodge about 200km north of Windhoek.

The negotiations, watched over by the former US Under-Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker, and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin, were upstaged early yesterday morning by Nujoma's decision from Luanda to order the 1 200 guerrillas to regroup and to pull out of Namibia within 72 hours.

● To Page 2 →

SA forces Swapo fighters out of Namibia

The decision left JMC negotiators to iron out a truce agreement in place of the formal ceasefire violated by Swapo's infiltration from Angola even before it was in effect from 4am on April 1.

Nujoma said: "We have taken a decision to order all troops inside Namibia to stop fighting, regroup and report to Angola within 72 hours."

"Swapo and the Namibian people have nothing to gain by further loss of lives and the collapse of the independence plan for our country."

The movement lost about 270 fighters in the fiercest week of bush battles with counter-insurgency police and military units since armed insurgency began in 1966. Security forces said they lost 27 men.

Botha told Perez de Cuellar the proposal

to confine Swapo inside Namibia "came as a personal shock". He said Pretoria interpreted the suggestion as a UN proposal to renegotiate from the start the terms of resolution 435.

He said: "My government is in principle prepared to consider such a proposal. There are, in fact, elements in resolution 435 and in subsequent agreements, which at the time were unpalatable for SA."

□ Sapa-Reuter reports from Luanda that UN officials said the order for the Swapo guerrillas to withdraw would come into effect once a formal ceasefire had been agreed upon.

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South Africa 12/4/89

Swapo pull-out

● From Page 1

pressure from its African allies, particularly Angola, to back down.

Mr Nujoma said Swapo was agreeing to a pullback to stop further bloodshed and save Namibian independence.

"Swapo and the Namibian people have nothing to gain by further loss of lives and collapse of the UN independence plan," he said.

Disrupted

"We believe South Africa needs every pretext to stop the independence process," he added.

UN diplomats in Luanda said that even if the fighting was stopped, the UN plan, painstakingly pieced together through difficult negotiations over the last decade, had been badly disrupted.

South Africa's chief representative in Namibia has already postponed discussions with UN officials on the practical implementation of the independence plan.

Administrator - General Mr Louis Pienaar said elections due to take place on November 1 were impossible to contemplate while the fighting continued.

Finished

The UN special representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, who is in charge of overseeing the independence process, has been attacked by Swapo and African governments for siding with the South Africans and some believe his future is in doubt.

"He's finished politically," said one Western diplomat.

At Swapo's headquarters in Luanda, the mood of grim defiance that had prevailed over the last week turned to sullen despondency.

One Swapo official pointed to a table covered with colourful mock-ups of Swapo election posters drawn in ink and felt-tip pens.

"Vote Swapo," "Honour the Heroes and Martyrs of the Namibian Revolution," they say. "We might as well throw these into the dustbin," the official said. — Sapa-Reuter.

B/Dary 10/9/89

(221)

(C.B.W.)

Namibian crisis will not sink UN

NEW YORK — The UN came close to collapse over the way it handled its peace-keeping role in the Congo.

But, more than 25 years on, accusations that its peacekeeping force in Namibia is partly to blame for the worst fighting there in 23 years is unlikely to cause such a crisis, diplomats said on Friday.

Speaking hours before UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar was to defend his decision to unleash SA forces on nationalist guerrillas in northern Namibia, diplomats on all sides said they expected he and his representative in Namibia, Martti Ahtisaari, would ride out the storm.

Western and some Third World dele-

gates said harsh African and non-aligned criticism of the Untag group in Namibia was more emotional than substantive.

Several UN diplomats blamed the crisis on the imprecise wording of accords reached since 1978 when UN resolution 435, the framework for Namibian independence, was passed.

Swapo says 435 allows it to establish bases inside Namibia under UN supervision and that is what its guerrillas were trying to do when they were attacked.

No-one else accepts this reading of the accords. Both the UN and SA say Swapo bases were to be well away from Namibia, in Angola or in Zambia. — Reuter.

SA forces Swapo fighters out of Namibia



Talks with Swapo would have delayed peace — Pik

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Parliamentary Staff

DIRECT negotiations with Swapo in the run-up to the implementation of Resolution 435 would have delayed the peace process and involved similar talks with up to 20 other political parties in the region, said Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

Replying to issues raised in debate yesterday, Mr Botha said it was vital from South Africa's point of view that implementation went ahead on April 1 — even though not all provisions of the agreement had been met — because it was linked to the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

Mr Botha said South Africa had ensured that structures were in place to deal with any problems that arose in the implementation of the agreement, though Untag had never been designed to cope with a large-scale violation.

Pearl Harbour

Mr Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) said South Africa and the South West African forces had been caught on the wrong foot by the incursion of Swapo and he could not agree that there were effective structures to counteract threats to the peace process.

He said the situation reminded him of Pearl Harbour because it appeared South Africa was not prepared. This "negligence" had proved costly.

Accusing the CP of "playing party politics with the lives of young people and the future of South Africa", Mr Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point) said Mr Botha's efforts in Namibia would "go down as one of his major achievements".

Mr Eglin did, however, wonder whether it would not have been better in retrospect to delay implementation of 435 when it became clear that Untag forces were not fully deployed, and whether it would have been preferable for Swapo to have been drawn into the direct negotiations.

Mr Botha said South Africa did not wish to "interrupt" implementation because it was linked to the schedule of Cuban troop withdrawal. "We did not want to do anything to interfere with that."

On negotiations he pointed out that Swapo was one of 20 political parties in Namibia. "The moment you negotiate with one, you have to negotiate with 20".

Swapo — unlike the other parties — was not a sovereign government, but it had nevertheless given a written undertaking to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to abide by the agreement.

Swapo ^{ARGAS} lies low ^{12/24/89} as Untag, ²²¹ SA forces squabble

Argus Africa News Service
OKONKOLO. — The first day of the implementation of the Mount Etjo plan to restore peace to northern Namibia ended amid confusion and controversy.

No Swapo insurgents had arrived at any of the nine Untag-monitored assembly points by late last night.

Untag forces arrived at assembly points late and on one occasion without UN flags. And in another incident they walked into a controversy with the South African Defence Force.

At Okonkolo, SADF Commandant Gerhardt Louw, whose single platoon was there simply to "maintain a presence", said food, water and medical aid would be supplied if Untag requested it.

He personally believed that many of the guerrillas would simply bury their weapons and mix with the local population.

CROSS BORDER

Others would cross the Angolan border with their weapons without being monitored by Untag.

Chief Inspector Derek Brune of the SWA Police said in Oshakati that Swapo insurgents told civilians in central Owamboland yesterday that 3 000 more Swapo fighters were poised to infiltrate Namibia from Angola.

A dispute arose as to who was in control of the Okonkolo post, with Australian Captain Mark Hender saying: "This is an Untag camp. I'm in charge here."

However, the South African commander of the region, Commandant Eben Swanepoel, said that under the Mount Etjo declaration the assembly points were under joint SADF/SWA police and Untag control.

But it seems that South Africa is to be reduced to virtual observer status at the assembly points.

The commanding officer of the Australian contingent, Colonel Richard Warren, said agreement had been reached on the dispute by the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, and the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar.

"Captain Hender was correct as far as Untag are concerned," said Colonel Warren last night, "and this has been confirmed by the Administrator-General."



FLAG OF PEACE: Australian troops hoist the UN flag over a military camp in Oshikango on the Namibian border, from which they will supervise the return of Swapo guerrillas to Angola.

Untag team leader dies ²²¹ after smash

977 - Times 12/14/87
HARARE. — The leader of Untag's Bangladesh army contingent, Lieutenant-Colonel Faizul Karim, died in Windoek state hospital last week from injuries received in a road accident.

Ziana, Zimbabwe's national news agency, reports that a press statement from the Bangladesh High Commission in Harare said Colonel Karim and two other officers, Major Khurshid Alam and Major Mohammad Anisur Rahman, were involved in a road accident in Windoek while on duty.

Colonel Karim was admitted to hospital in a critical condition.

Major Alam and Major Rahman received only minor injuries. — Sapa

Swapo fighters to be interrogated

CAC Tracks 12/4/89 221

WINDHOEK. — Untag and the SWA Police have agreed that Swapo fighters who hand themselves in at assembly points for safe passage back to Angola will be interrogated.

Colonel Neil Donaldson, commander of Untag's British signallers, said that with South African-backed forces at each of the surrender points and an announcement in Windhoek that the Swapo fighters would be "interrogated" at the assembly area, it was "damn unlikely" the insurgents would come out, he said.

UN flags and makeshift banners rose above wild fig trees at noon at two stations in the northern bush and seven others along the border, signalling the start of a programme intended to return the fighters to Angola and restart Namibia's UN-run independence plan.

British Untag signallers set up radio links between the nine operational stations on yesterday — but no Swapo fighters had been lured to the posts by early today.

The flags were raised after an agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba at Mount Etjo at the weekend that Swapo insurgents would gather safely at the

stations before their return above the Angolan 16th parallel went into operation. South Africa has threatened to scrap the UN independence programme unless the guerillas return to Angola.

Police spokesman Colonel Derek Brune said in Oshakati as far as he knew no Swapo insurgents have arrived yet.

He said a black flag had been erected in the bush about five kilometres south of Oshigambo, about 50km from the border. Security forces had found the area deserted.

In a similar incident, a white flag was reported hanging from a tree 45km from Oshigambo, but there was also nobody there. Other groups of insurgents were also reported across Ovambo-land.

A press statement from the office of the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, said the "interrogations" would be to verify the suspected numbers of infiltrators, to identify the wounded and their whereabouts and also to identify positions of arms caches.

These assembly points were being manned by 15 Untag personnel, 10 SWA Police members and between 25 and 30 SWA Terri-

tory Force personnel, the statement said.

As part of the verification of numbers, a joint SWA Police and Untag patrol would monitor the border daily to identify tracks of people crossing the border without reporting at border posts. So far 23 tracks returning to Angola had been verified.

● A Swapo official yesterday described the UN's top man in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, as "dripping with blood" and said Swapo could not work with him.

At least 290 people were killed in the fighting — all but 27 of them members of Swapo.

● Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda sent a personal message to President P W Botha last week, thanking South Africa for its role in ending the bloodbath in Namibia, SABC radio news reports.

And last night Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was congratulated on his treatment of the Namibian crisis by Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall.

● About 500 Namibian students marched through the streets of Katutura near Windhoek yesterday in an expression of solidarity with Swapo guerillas killed in northern Namibia. — Sapa-Reuter and UPI

Hard ride for peace process?

CAT 7/14/85 12/14/89 221

RESOLUTION 435 might be back on track, but the peace process is not out of the woods yet and might be in for a bumpy ride between now and November.

The magnitude of the problem and its solution must not be underrated. An estimated 2 000 insurgents are roaming around Ovamboland, mostly in small, isolated groups. They have to be contacted, then cajoled, coerced or even chased to one of the Untag points, a massive and time-consuming task.

Given the above, plus the factors of natural suspicion and great distances, I feel a week is far too short a period of grace. It would be better to make it a month, even if that does delay implementation of 435 a bit.

The make-or-break part of the process will involve basing the insurgents north of the Quitve Line and keeping them there during the implementation's most vulnerable time — the period from July 30 (when the SADF presence will be down to 1 500 men at Grootfontein and Oshivelo) till after the election.

I believe that there is a fair-to-reasonable chance that at least some insurgents will start seeping down to the shallow area again in the next few months in preparation for a rather more muted replay of April 1; firstly because Mr Sam Nujoma seems capable of almost any rash act but secondly because according to one of my good sources we may be blaming him unfairly for April 1.

According to this source, there are indications that the senior field commanders in the shallow area decided to launch the incursion without asking for Lusaka's approval because the long-standing internal revolt against Mr Nujoma's oppressive rule at last seemed to be coming to a head.

It is no secret that for years Swapo military and civilian field operators have been unhappy about the ruling Nujoma clique of ageing, increasingly out-of-date exiles which hands down ukases from five-star hotels around the world.

To date Mr Nujoma has simply locked up grumblers such as Andreas Shipanga, who spent two years in Zambian and Tanzanian prisons between 1976 and 1978; not to mention about 100 alleged South African spies who were actually simply middle- and senior-echelon members who suggested a couple of years ago that perhaps Swapo should abandon the armed struggle in favour of internal politics.

This scenario might explain why a number of senior commanders were among those killed in the post-April 1 fighting — people who would normally have stayed back at shallow-area command posts to orchestrate the field operations.

If Mr Nujoma no longer fully controls his bellicose troops, chances of an ad hoc infiltration southwards are good — and prevention will hinge not on the toothless and locally ignorant Untag force, but on the Angolans' and Cubans' willingness to observe the spirit as well as the letter of the Geneva Protocol.

Such expert infiltrators

Will they play the game? Frankly, I have my doubts when I consider how they would benefit from a Swapo victory. This is not to say they would blatantly flout the Geneva Protocol, as they did prior to April 1; but there might well be a little benign neglect about keeping southern Angola clean.

If so, I do not believe a bunch of new-chum Finns and Kenyans would be able to stop such expert infiltrators from sneaking past them. Likewise, do not think that America's much-vaunted satellites would detect new concentrations, as the insurgents are past masters at camouflage and concealment.

And if there were to be a replay of April 1, do not expect the UN to do anything about it. By and large, it is as biased in favour of Swapo as it ever was. All that happened in this case was that Swapo was like a man caught streaking in Adderley Street during the rush-hour: There was absolutely no way in which its behaviour could be condoned, explained away or covered up.

In addition, it is quite obvious that Mr Perez de Cuellar, like Dr Kurt Waldheim, will do nothing to jeopardise his chances of a second term as secretary-general, which is why he was quite willing to rape resolution 435 and allow the invaders to stay on in Ovamboland, agreement or no agreement.

● Willem Steenkamp is a reservist in the Citizen Force.

CP hits at SWA 'Pearl Harbour'

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Political Staff

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday shot down Conservative Party accusations that South Africa had been "caught with its pants down" in a "Pearl Harbour" situation in Namibia.

The newly-launched Democratic Party, however, leapt to Mr Botha's defence, saying his handling of the recent crisis in Namibia would go down in history as one of his his greatest achievements.

Mr Tom Langley, the CP's foreign spokesman, said in Parliament yesterday that the government "knew" that Swapo would not honour the peace plan surrounding Resolution 435 but had ignored the warnings and had gone ahead with it anyway. He said the government, by ignoring warnings of Swapo movements, was guilty of an act of omission that be likened to what had happened at Pearl Harbour.

But, said Mr Botha, South

... but DP rushes to Pik's defence

Africa had emerged from the crisis with honour and dignity because it had honoured its commitment to the peace plan and had set up appropriate machinery to deal with violations of the agreement.

Mr Langley said it was the government's fault that there had been open graves and blood flowing in Namibia.

DP frontbench spokesman Mr Colin Eglin said the new party backed the government in its implementation of Resolution 435. He accused the CP of playing politics with the lives of young people. Mr Botha's success in getting the peace process back on

track would go down in history as one of his major achievements.

He asked, however, if it would not have been wiser to delay the implementation of Resolution 435 when it became clear that Untag was not going to be ready in time.

Mr Botha said that from the South African point of view it was essential that the UN resolution be implemented on April 1 as it was attached to the timetable for Cuban troop withdrawal.

Achieving an agreement for Cuban troop withdrawal had been one of South Africa's major successes in the peace negotiations and the Republic "did not want to interfere with that".

Nobody could know with certainty beforehand if a party to an agreement was going to violate it. South Africa had, however, anticipated the possibility and created the machinery to deal with such a situation — and the success of the weekend's Joint Commission talks at Mount Etjo showed it had done so successfully.

Untag-SADF tension at assembly points while Swapo keeps away

By Ken Vernon,
The Star's Africa News Service

OKANKOLO — By late last night, not a single Swapo insurgent had arrived at any of the nine assembly points identified under the Mount Etjo declaration.

The first day of the plan to restore peace to northern Namibia was marked by confusion.

Untag forces turned up at various assembly points late, on one occasion without UN flags, and in another incident were involved in a controversy with SADF forces.

At the southernmost assembly point of Okankolo, an Australian Untag group arrived more than 30 minutes after the noon deadline at which the post should have been made operational.

Soon after his arrival the Untag officer in charge, Captain Mark Hender, informed the SADF that his men could not be accommodated adjacent to the SADF position.

Local Owambos who visited the Okankolo

assembly point said there was "no way" Swapo insurgents would even approach the area.

A local spokesman said the large number of SADF armoured vehicles combined with the proximity of the assembly point to an SADF military base — just 200 m away — would "intimidate" insurgents.

South Africa is to be reduced to virtual observer status at Swapo assembly points.

This seems to be the outcome after disputes arose yesterday between the UN body and South Africa and South West African security forces.

The disagreements involved the question of which of the parties to the Mount Etjo declaration would have ultimate authority of the assembly points.

Commanding officer of the UN Australian contingent, Colonel Richard Warren, said the agreement had been reached by the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari and the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar.

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SPW 12/4/89

A stroll across the Namibian border

From JON QWELANE,
Argus Africa News
Service,
in Oshikango 221

YESTERDAY I went into Angola — without a passport or permission from the authorities — and crossed illegally back again into Namibia.

I crossed the border on foot and walked to Santa Clara; also known as St Catherine's, the way many members of Swapo — who are now said to be active combatants in the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) — have arrived in country.

I came back into Namibia on foot — the way many Plan fighters have returned.

The crossing to Santa Clara, only a minutes' walk from the Namibian border, supported information that citizens of Angola cross regularly into Namibia to buy necessities from the shops in Oshikango.

It was in the dense bush facing Santa Clara or, rather, the ruins of Santa Clara, where one of seven assembly points for Swapo's Plan fighters were set up along the border.

At noon a white Landrover hoisting the flag of the United Nations drove along the Namibian border with Angola, silently beckoning Swapo guerrillas anywhere in the bush to come into the open.

But if there was any guerrillas in the bush at that time, they either did not see the flag or, as fighting men everywhere say, did not give a damn.

General Dewan Prem Chand, overall commander of the UN peace-keeping force, put on a brave face even if the eagerly-anticipated Swapo repatriation appeared to be a non-starter. He smiled, chatted with reporters and soldiers and cheerfully ate his canned curry lunch standing on the roadside.

Some distance away his soldiers were wreaking havoc on the environment, courtesy of the United Nations. A heavy-duty truck, hoisting the flag of the world body, brought down tree after tree. Untag soldiers assisted with power saws, apparently preparing cover for General Chand's men as they got ready to spend their first night in Namibia doing what many say ought to have been their primary and perhaps only role in the first place, namely, ensuring no more outbreaks of hostility between Swapo and forces loyal to the South African Government.

The UN men, Australian and British troops, methodically set up camps in the bush where reminders of pitched and deadly battles of many years ago still litter the soft, white sand.

According to a Punjabi commander of an Untag unit in Oshikango, there may be unexploded mortars and rockets which could yet go off.

Their first afternoon at the assembly points was a busy one for the Untag men. They offloaded generators from their trucks and set them up, dug trenches and prepared meals. For some, sentry duty began early in the afternoon.

They were all hopeful, all Namibia is hopeful, that the first guerrillas would soon begin trickling into the camps. So far, it seems only a hope.

NAMIBIA

ON DUTY ... Australian UN troops arrive at Oshakati to monitor the withdrawal of Swapo guerillas from Namibia.

No move to give in by Swapo

CAL
Times
12/4/89
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WINDHOEK. — Assembly points for Swapo guerillas in Namibia became operational at noon yesterday — but by early today not a single fighter among the estimated 2 000 guerillas in the territory had surrendered.

UN peacekeeping troops acknowledged that Swapo fighters might be intimidated by the presence of South African-backed forces.

SWA Police spokesman Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said reports had been received of insurgents storing arms and uniforms and hiding with the local population. Swapo "foresaw a problem" with this, he said.

Hammered out at a weekend meeting at Mount Etjo of Angolan, Cuban and South African officials, the plan envisioned the disarming of the Swapo fighters at the surrender points and sending them north of the 16th parallel in Angola, 160km north of the Namibian border. — Sapa-Reuter and UPI

● Full report — Page 3

crack of dawn

Still no Swapo men at Untag positions

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Sowetan 12/4/89

OKANKOLO — The first day of the implementation of the Mount Etjo Declaration plan to restore peace to northern Namibia started amid confusion and controversy.

By late last night, not a single Swapo insurgent had arrived to hand themselves into Untag custody at any of the nine assembly points identified under the Mount Etjo Declaration.

Untag forces turned up at various assembly points late, and on one occasion without UN flags, and in another incident walked into a controversy with SADF forces.

At the southern-most assembly point of Okankolo an Australian Untag group arrived more than 30 minutes after the noon deadline at which the post should have been made operational.

Soon after his arrival the Untag officer in charge, Captain Mark Hender, informed the SADF that his men could not be accommodated adjacent to the SADF position that had been prepared for them.

The SADF contingent had been ready and waiting at the assembly point since well before the noon deadline.

A similar move away from SADF positions occurred at several of the other designated assembly points.

A dispute arose at the Okankolo assembly point shortly after the Untag arrival as to who was in control of the post, with the Australian contingent commander assuring curious locals that "this is an Untag camp, I'm

in charge here and Swapo fighters who arrive here will be under my control — not South Africa's."

However, the SA commander of the region, Commandant Eben Swanepoel, later said that under the Mount Etjo Declaration the assembly points were under joint SADF/SWA

SOWETAN Africa News Service

Police and Untag control.

A dispute also arose after Untag refused to allow Swapo into their base area, and refused to allow the SADF to photograph any Swapo insurgents who might enter the assembly point.

By later yesterday evening, it is believed

that senior SADF and Swapol officers were huddled with Untag commanders in an effort to resolve these major differences that could shatter the delicate peace plan.

At the same time local Owambos who visited the Okankolo assembly point later said there was

"no way" Swapo insurgents would even approach the area.

A local spokesman, Mr Ehuapidi Kapopo, said the large number of

SADF armoured vehicles combined with the proximity of the assembly point to an SADF military base just 200 m away would "intimidate" insurgents.

‘We can’t work with Ahtisaari’

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Swapo fail to turn up at UN bases

B/Dam 12/4/89

OSHIKANGO — Swapo guerrillas yesterday ignored appeals by their leaders to give themselves up to Untag troops amid widespread concern that a new ceasefire agreement may be ignored.

In Lusaka, a top Swapo official said the UN's representative in Namibia, Martti Ahtisaari, was "dripping with blood" and said it could not work with him.

Swapo legal affairs secretary Ehrenst Tjiriange said: "UN representative Martti Ahtisaari is dripping with blood of innocent Namibians killed using SA forces. We cannot work with such a person."



● AHTISAARI

At least 290 guerrillas and government troops have died since April 1 in border clashes between SA-backed Namibian forces and Swapo fighters who are accused of having crossed from Angola.

Camouflaged Australian troops, who raised the UN flag at Oshikango to monitor the return of guerrillas to camps in nearby Angola, reported that nobody turned up.

Elsewhere along the border, only a few Swapo fighters arrived at the nine hastily constructed monitoring posts.

UN and SA troops said the location of the posts was probably discouraging Swapo units from abiding by the ceasefire agreement.

British UN officer John Dakin said: "There is obviously some confusion in Swapo ranks. This is not the best location for an assembly point because it is so close to an SA army base." He pointed to a heavily armed SA unit dug in a few hundred metres away.

SA unit commander Jan Hougaard agreed. "I don't think Swapo will come, why should they come? If I were a Swapo member I would rather just cross the border on my own and not hand in my arms at an assembly point."

"So far they are just in the area here and they are just waiting and looking for developments. They would be prepared to talk to Untag, but whether they would be prepared to give themselves over to Untag, I don't know."

A Western diplomat said: "Swapo is not going to like the way this is being handled."

Administrator-General Louis Pienaar fuelled suspicions of the monitoring posts by saying UN troops would be outnumbered at least two-to-one by soldiers under SA command.

He said in Windhoek: "About 50 people an assembly point will be supplied. Fifteen will be supplied by Untag, 10 will be supplied by the Namibian police and 25 to 30 will be supplied by the SWATF."

Missionaries in the Owambo region of northern Namibia said they were unaware of how precisely guerrillas would make contact with UN forces.

Under the ceasefire agreement ham-

● To Page 2

Swapo fail to turn up at Untag bases

221

B/Dam 12/4/89

● From Page 1

mered out on Sunday between SA, Cuba and Angola, and later accepted by Swapo, about 1 700 Swapo fighters should pull back under UN supervision to bases at least 150 km inside Angola.

Radio messages in several languages are being beamed into the bush urging guerrillas to lay down their arms and end a 10-day incursion, the bloodiest engagement in Swapo's 23-year-long bush war against SA occupation.

A Zambian government spokesman said former US Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Chester Crocker arrived in Zambia yesterday to brief President Kenneth Kaunda about latest developments in Namibia.

Kaunda was quoted as urging Swapo to ensure the guerrillas left for Angola.

Crocker attended the emergency talks in Windhoek last weekend involving SA, An-

gola and Cuba, aimed at ending the fighting in northern Namibia.

PETER DELMAR reports that Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday received congratulations on his treatment of the recent Namibian crisis from an unexpected quarter. DP co-leader Denis Worrall commended Botha on his "sensible" handling of the situation at a public meeting in Cape Town last night — the DP's first since its weekend launch.

He said while the loss of life in actions against Swapo insurgents was regretted, the security forces also deserved to be congratulated for their action.

He predicted SA would enjoy a respite from international pressure while the UN-supervised settlement plan was being put into operation. — Reuter.

Soviets warn SA of Namibia civil war risk

From NEIL LURSEN
Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — If South Africa takes a hardline approach to newly independent Namibia it could lead to civil war in the fledgling country, said Soviet Deputy-Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamishin.

But common sense was beginning to show in South Africa, partly through international pressure and the awareness by South Africans that they could not "ride a torpedo very far under these circumstances".

Mr Adamishin, Moscow's counterpart to the outgoing US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, told Soviet television viewers during a panel discussion that Namibia's sovereignty and independence would depend on the line adopted by South Africa.

REALISTIC

"There are realistic people in South Africa and there are, of course, also people who do not want to let go of this morsel at any price.

"If a hard line prevails — and given the change of leadership that is currently under way there this is a viable possibility, generally speaking — there could be a lengthy period of instability, confusion, and possibly even civil war there."

The programme was made before Mr Adamishin's visit to South Africa this week when he discussed Soviet-SA relations with senior SA government officials.

OBSERVER ROLE

As the Soviet observer at the Angola/Namibia negotiations, Mr Adamishin played an important role in events leading to the signing of the tripartite accords.

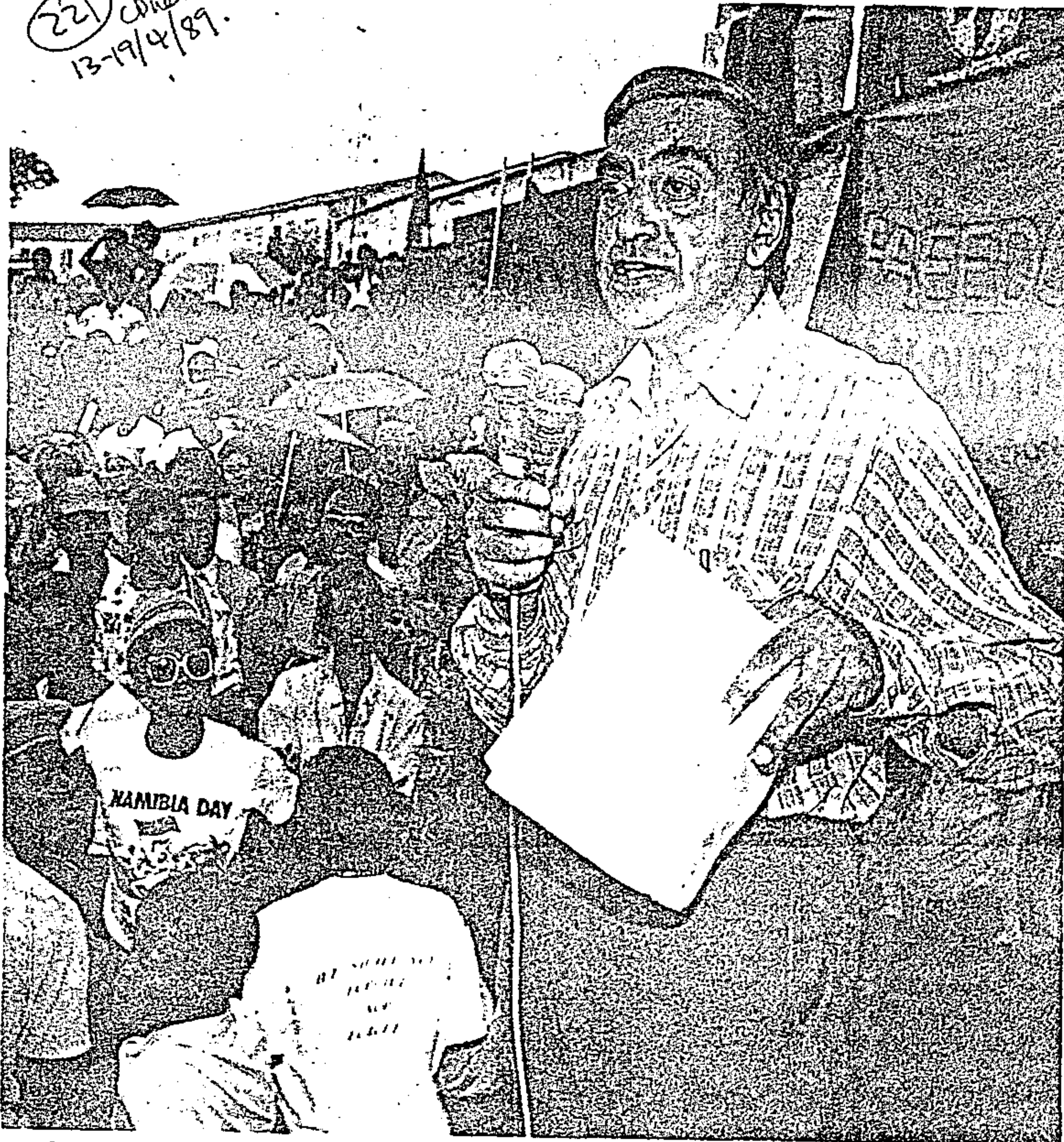
And he is likely to be one of Moscow's key decision-makers in the evolving relationship between the Soviet Union and South Africa.

Commenting on events leading to the accords in December, Mr Adamishin said international pressure on South Africa had to be taken into account as well as "the general atmosphere of international ostracism in which the country obviously feels uncomfortable — and it is a rather big country with developed industry".

"The awareness that you cannot ride a torpedo very far under these circumstances: all of this taken together, including the internationalist efforts, have brought about a situation in which common sense has started to show in the South Africa."

© See page 20.

221 copies
13-19/4/89.



Cape Town advocate Abdullah Omar pledges the support of progressive organisations in South Africa to Swapo, at a rally in Windhoek's Katutura township at the weekend

PIC: BENNY GOOL

Namibia: The road to freedom

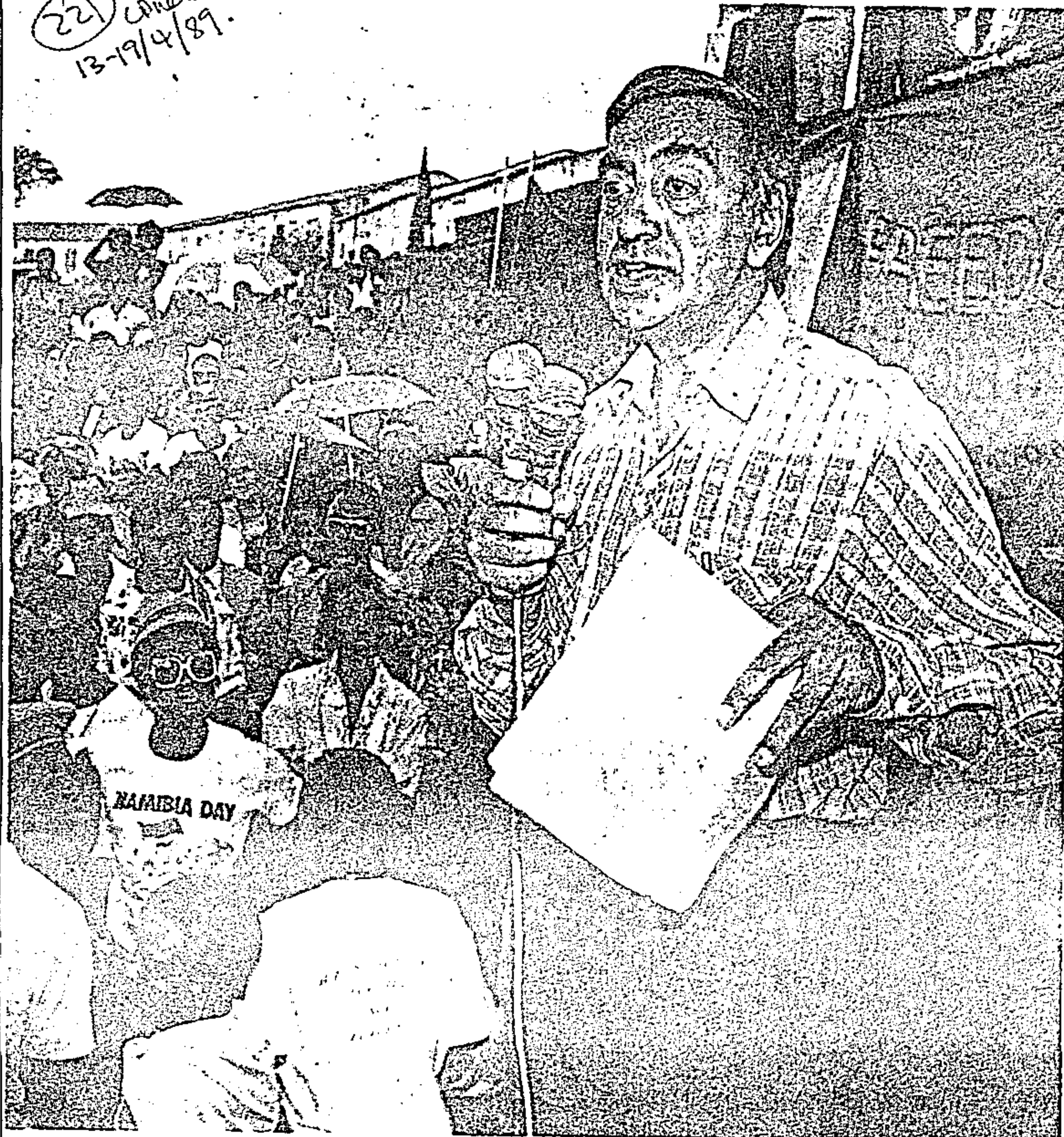
NAMIBIA's independence process and the recent fighting on the country's borders have focused world attention on Southern Africa.

Local progressive organisations have come out in support of Namibia's liberation movement, Swapo, and called on South Africa to pull out of the area.

Campaigns have been launched in several areas and last week prominent Western Cape activist advocate Abdullah Omar spoke at a Swapo rally in Windhoek.

SOUTH this week publishes a full colour poster as part of a special eight-page supplement to mark an historic occasion in the history of the region.

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CML-723 13/48 221

Swapo accuses SA of connivance

UNITED NATIONS. — Swapo's Foreign Secretary, Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab, accused South Africa and the United States yesterday of concealing advance knowledge of his rebel movement's infiltration of Namibia so the guerillas could be bushwhacked.

"This was a premeditated and orchestrated ambush, for South Africa to find the pretext to jump out of the

commitment to co-operate with a UN plan to end Pretoria's 74-year rule over Namibia," said Mr Gurirab.

"South Africans had known all along that Swapo forces were infiltrating, were approaching the border. They did not inform the United Nations about this. They laid an ambush, they set them up and at the chosen hour they attacked them." — Sapa-AP

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Nothing like a bedsheet to raise the flagging spirits

By Ken Vernon,
The Star's Africa News Service

The Star's Africa News Service

BEACON 25 (Namibian-Angolan border) — The Pakistani members of Untag's monitoring group at Beacon 25 stood to attention in the middle of the deserted "outline" along the Angolan border — and solemnly hoisted aloft a bedsheet.

This was the bizarre scene here yesterday at this beacon, the most isolated of the nine assembly points established to receive Swapo guerrillas under the Mount Etjo declaration.

Untag monitoring troops have been rushed to the frontline between Swapo and South African and Namibian se-

curity forces without even the most basic equipment or materials.

So the bedsheet was the only "flag" the Pakistani troops had to identify their position at Beacon 25.

For virtually everything else, from flag poles to eating utensils, they are relying on SADF charity.

The head of the Pakistani unit, who preferred not to be named, said they had been waiting for Australian and British Untag troops to arrive with sup-

plies.

"Then we will hoist a proper flag, but meantime a bedsheet will have to do," he said.

So far the Untag group has not contacted any local people, he said, "but there are only five or six people around here, anyway".

It seemed to be an optimistic estimate looking out at the desolate outline from the unit's Bedouin-like tent.

He added that relations with the

SADF troops were "cordial".

One hundred kilometres further east at Nkomo — "where legends are made" according to a sign at the airstrip — a Polish contingent was experiencing similar difficulties.

With a monkey perched on his shoulder the Polish commander, Major Gerard Czernohorski, said his five-man group had come with only a tent which the SADF had been kind enough to erect for him.

Apart from that his group also had five beds, five blankets and food.

He had sent two of his men into the local village, not only to contact the locals — but to buy a cup.

"We are waiting for Australian and British Untag personnel to bring in other equipment including communications equipment — and a flag."

So far his group had resisted the temptation to hoist aloft a bedsheet like the Pakistanis, but he had asked

that the SADF not fly the South African flag until his had arrived.

However, the SADF commander of the area, Commandant Eben Swane-poel, insisted that the flag be flown.

"If they don't have a flag that's their problem," he growled.

It was reported yesterday that local Owambo people had staged a demonstration against the presence of Untag at the Okankolo assembly point camp.

The people accused Australian Untag troops of being biased in favour of the SADF against Swapo.

The reaction of the local Australian Untag commander was not reported.

S.A.A. Jimbha

Two wounded guerrillas among first reporting to Untag

Swapo fighters trickle in

Star 13/4/89 (221)

At least five Swapo guerrillas turned themselves in at designated assembly points in northern Namibia yesterday.

They were the first to take advantage of the Untag offer of safe conduct through Namibia back to Angola.

Early yesterday evening four men, apparently Swapo guerrillas, arrived at the Oshikango assembly base on the border with Angola after handing themselves over to the Untag forces.

At least two of the Swapo men were wounded. Earlier in the day the British commander at Oshikango said another wounded guerrilla had reportedly handed himself over to Untag forces.

There were conflicting reports yesterday about whether guerrillas who handed themselves over to Untag would be interrogated.

The South West Africa Police spokesman, Chief Inspector Derek Brune, said Swapo guerrillas would have their fingerprints and photographs taken.

Mission

But a spokesman for the office of the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, gave the assurance that insurgents would not face interrogation.

Pakistan Untag officers indicated the guerrillas who handed themselves over to the UN yesterday would not be questioned by South African interrogators.

One Swapo guerrilla, wounded by shrapnel, arrived at a Lutheran mission station in the morning and told UN personnel he had three comrades who wanted to come in. A UN member notified the UN monitors at

the Ondangwa airbase and then headed into the bush in a four-wheel-drive vehicle.

An hour later he came back with two healthy Swapo fighters and one with a bullet wound who could barely stand up. All were wearing civilian clothes and had ditched their weapons.

Local residents gathered around to shake the fighters' hands. One of the Swapo men said he was 38 years old and had lived in exile for 14 years.

He said he had crossed the border on March 31 and fought the next day. He said he saw one South African soldier or policeman go down in the battle, but when his rifle jammed, he threw it away and left before he saw what happened to his comrades.

After the first aid treatment, the Pakistani UN observers loaded the guerrillas into a UN vehicle. As they travelled the road with South African armed personnel, drivers drove fast and by now-uniformed soldiers posted at sandbags across the highway, a Pakistani officer said the guerrillas were "scared, oh yes, very scared".

By the time they reached Oshikango, the South African soldiers at the base knew who was in the vehicle, but did nothing as it drove into the UN base 200 metres away.



In safe hands... a wounded Swapo guerrilla is escorted by a Pakistani member of the United Nations peacekeeping force to the assembly point at Oshikango on the border between Namibia and Angola.

Every hour, 25 kids die in a Southern African war

By ANDREW MELDRUM

AN estimated 25 children die every hour in Southern Africa from the effects of war, according to a new report issued here this week by the United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef).

The report, sub-titled "The impact of apartheid, warfare and destabilisation on children in Southern and South Africa", was first issued in 1987 and this launch was for the updated edition.

For the first time the new report documents the "abysmal" state of children in Namibia, Unicef executive director James Grant said at the launching ceremony here.

"Namibia's children have had to endure the worst of two evils: the apartheid system imposed by South Africa and a brutal war," said Grant. "I was surprised by how negative the situation is for black children in Namibia."

"White children in Namibia have a standard of living expected of any developed Western country. Black children in Namibia have infant mortality rates and under five mortality rates that are roughly comparable to the worst in the world such as Afghanistan, Mozambique and Angola"

As Namibia approaches independence from South African control, the Unicef report appealed for a large-scale international aid effort of \$100-million a year for five years to improve the health and life expectancy rates for children there.

More than funds though, Grant stressed that "the children of Southern Africa need peace. We are appealing to the pressure of world public opinion to bring an end to the region's wars".

Those wars are in Angola, where the Luanda government is fighting the South African and American backed Unita rebels, and in Mozambique, where the government blames South Africa for supporting Renamo rebels.

The Unicef figures show that the nine majority-ruled countries of the Southern Africa Development and Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) have a population of 70-million people. That population has about 3.5-million annual births and of that, some 750 000 children die before the age of five.

More than 220 000 of those children died as the result of the region's wars which caused a breakdown of health services and vaccinations and the production of food.

The calculation of 25 child deaths an hour was reached by comparing infant mortality rates in peaceful Tanzania and Zambia to the mortality rates in war-torn Mozambique and Angola.

Wm
13/4/89

SWAPO FIRMS CO

CMT TWS

221

OSHAKATI. — Four Swapo guerrillas emerged from the bush late yesterday and presented themselves at Oshikango in compliance with the deal laid down in the Joint Monitoring Commission's Mount Etjo agreement.

Two men were reported to be injured. They were the only ones of the hundreds of guerrillas thought to be still inside the territory to heed the three-day-old "surrender" call. The rest seemed to have melted into Namibia's towns and villages.

The four soldiers were picked up by a Lutheran missionary from Finland, Ole Ericsson, given medical treatment by an Australian medic and then carried 60km north to Oshikango.

By early today United Nations efforts to summon the 2 000 guerrillas to fixed assembly points were fast turning into a fiasco, with Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma labelling the plan a

"trap" and arguing about the presence of South African security forces. Mr Nujoma appealed to his forces in a radio broadcast to return instead directly to Angola, and to avoid the UN posts.

Police and army officials believe that many of Swapo's fighters, whose infiltration nearly collapsed the independence plan on its April 1 kick-off date, are storing weapons and uniforms and disappearing into northern Ovambo communities.

They may also be avoiding police "verification" plans that include photographing, fingerprinting and interrogating any guerrillas turning themselves in.

Police tracking the estimated 1 800 guerrillas say that none has turned northwards towards the Angolan border. Visible trucks indicate that the insurgents are still trekking south.

Clashes with the guerrilla bands have tailed off since the weekend, with no change to the official death toll in last week's battles of 263 Swapo fighters and 26 policemen and soldiers.

Some military officers serving in Unlag blame the guerrillas' apparent unwillingness to turn themselves over to the international force on the proximity of South African military encampments to assembly points flying the blue-and-white UN flag.

"The problem is that the SADF wants to fingerprint them and photograph them," Australian Major Dave Crago said at an Unlag communications base here.

An SADF officer speaking unofficially said Swapo's insurgents were unlikely to give up their weapons and accept passage to Angola after achieving a military and political objective



2 die, 43 hurt in smash

By SYBRAND MOSTERT and GLENN SHERRATT

TWO Cape Corps servicemen were killed and 43 injured last night when an army truck taking them to a rugby match overturned near Maccassar.

Metro had to use a hydraulic jack to raise the overturned truck to free servicemen trapped underneath and 12 ambulances were sent from Cape Town to fer-

ry the injured to hospital. The servicemen were all from 1 SACC Training Unit, Faurieville, and Rifleman A de Kok, of Elsie's River, were killed.

One serviceman was in a serious condition last night, while 42 were satisfactory.

According to an army spokesman, the truck was ferrying three rugby teams to the Maccassar sports ground where the teams

would have played against Som-eborn, a local factory.

About 5.30pm the truck went out of control around a bend and it slid down a slope and rolled onto its roof.

The two servicemen were crushed and a number were trapped beneath the truck. The injured were taken to 2 Military Hospital, Wynberg.

DEATH TRUCK
Rescue workers attach a tow chain to the bottom of the truck in which two members of 1 SACC Training Unit died when the vehicle left the road and rolled down an embankment in Maccassar yesterday. Picture: GLENN SHERRATT

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Clash with Swa

13/4/89
221

2 die

News clampdown on Namibian border

From KEN VERNON, Argus Africa News Service

OSHAKATI. — Amid unconfirmed reports that two Swapo insurgents had been killed near Eenhana, an official clamp was imposed today on information from northern Namibia.

The reported death of the two Swapo members came after the first four Swapo combatants had reported yesterday to one of the United Nations assembly points set up to receive insurgents and return them to Angola.

The Swapo deaths were reported by well-placed sources. If confirmed, they will be the first reported since the end of the fighting last week that claimed nearly 300 lives and threatened to wreck the Namibia independence procedure.

Police and army officers in Owamboland were today ordered to stop speaking to the Press.

The order came directly from Administrator-General Mr Louis Pheenan, and all inquiries were referred to his office in Windhoek.

A spokesman for his office said today that a decision had been taken to hold all future press briefings in Windhoek, rather than having one in Windhoek and one in Oshakati because there was a

"slight lack of co-ordination" between government officials involved in the different press conferences.

No details or official confirmation of the two Swapo deaths could be obtained because of the informant's black-out, but well-informed sources said they were killed in a clash with an army patrol late on Tuesday.

Previously, both the police and army were said to be under strict orders to fire only if fired upon.

The clash could jeopardise the chance of further Swapo insurgents handing themselves over at the assembly points.

Handing over

Today all the senior Untag officers in this area had rushed to Oshikango to supervise the delicate matter of the handing over of the four insurgents to the Angolan authorities for transference above the 16th parallel.

However, if South African and Namibian authorities continue to insist upon the right to photograph the insurgents a dangerous situation could develop at the crucial hand-over operation.

Jon Qwelane of the Argus Africa News Service reports that there were conflicting reports about whether or not guerillas who handed themselves over to Untag would be interrogated or not.

South West Africa Police spokesman, Chief Inspector Derek Brune, said yesterday Swapo guerrillas leaving Namibia for bases in Angola and elsewhere would have their fingerprints and photographs taken.

But Brendan Seery, of The Argus Africa News Service re-

(Turn to page 3, col 1)



Clash with 221 Swapo: 2 die

Accus 13/1/80
(Contd from page 1)

ports from Windhoek that a spokesman for the office of the Administrator-General had given the assurance that insurgents would not face interrogation.

● From Okankolo it is reported that a group of civilians arrived at the UN post yesterday.

They identified themselves as "teachers from around here" and were clearly a "reconnaissance group" who wanted to know what guarantees Untag could offer to any Swapo guerrillas who might show up.

DIFFICULTY

One of them, Tyambo Tisla, asked: "What's that South African flag doing next to the UN flag?"

The Australian captain in charge tried with some difficulty to reply to the questions.

The guerrillas would have to hand over their weapons, he said, and if any of them were wounded, they would have to be treated by the SADF, since Untag had no medical personnel at Okankolo.

The young Australian, obviously ill at ease, had to tell journalists that, if necessary, he would seek clarification "from those above me in the hierarchy" in case of problems with the SADF.

"After making contact with Untag, I feel much more intimidated," one of the Namibians, Ehaupindi Kappo, was quoted as saying when referring to the presence of South African soldiers in the area.

In order to create a climate of greater trust the South Africans around the Untag post removed the ammunition clips from their guns but no Swapo guerrillas handed themselves over.

Dashing Tim

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The dashing naval officer at the centre of Princess Anne's marriage crisis was back at the Queen's side last night.

In Spain, meanwhile, Captain Mark Phillips was attending a fiesta — but far from being in a carnival mood.

Two days after he was banished from a charity premiere Buckingham Palace equerry Commander Timothy Laurence had an important role at Wind-

UN ^{13/4/89}
bedsheet
flies over
bush ²²¹

From KEN VERNON
Argus Africa News Service

BEACON 25. — Pakistani soldiers of Untag's monitoring group at Beacon 25 on the Namibia/Angola border stood to attention in the middle of the deserted "cutline" and solemnly raised a bedsheet.

This was the bizarre scene yesterday at the most isolated of the nine assembly points established to receive Swapo guerrillas under the Mount Etjo declaration.

Untag monitoring troops have been rushed to the front line without even the most basic equipment or materials.

So the bedsheet was the only "flag" the Pakistani troops had to identify their position.

For virtually everything else, from flagpoles to knives and forks, they are relying on SADF charity.

The head of the Pakistani unit, who preferred not be named, said they had been waiting for more than a day for Australian and British Untag troops to arrive with supplies.

"Then we will raise a proper flag. But meantime a bedsheet will have to do," he said.

So far they had not contacted local people, "but there are only five or six people around here, anyway," he said.

That seemed to be an optimistic estimate, looking out at the desolate cutline from the unit's Bedouin-like tent.

Meanwhile, he added, relations with the SADF troops on the ground were cordial, though he admitted there had been a disagreement over identification procedures in the unlikely event that Swapo guerrillas arrived.

"LEGENDS"

A hundred kilometres east at Nkongo — "where legends are made" according to a sign at the airstrip — a Polish Untag contingent had similar difficulties.

With a monkey perched on his shoulder, Polish commander Major Gerard Czernohorski said his five-man group had arrived with a tent, which the SADF pitched.

His group also had five beds, five blankets and some food.

He had sent two of his men to a village to buy a cup.

"We are waiting for Australian and British Untag personnel to bring in other equipment, including communications equipment and a flag."

So far his group had resisted the temptation to raise a bedsheet like the Pakistanis, but he had asked that the SADF not fly the South African flag until his had arrived.

INSIDE: Weather 2, Parlia

Jan 13/4/89

(221)

Unionists seek support for Swapo

By Mike Siluma,
Labour Reporter

More than 600 delegates to the National Union of Mineworkers congress were yesterday urged by leading unionists to mobilise support for the South West Africa People's Organisation in the run-up to Namibia's elections.

Congress of SA Trade Unions general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said the Government, "with open backing of its allies such as (British Premier) Mrs Margaret Thatcher and the United States, have tried to undermine the legitimacy of Swapo as the authentic representative of all Namibian people".

Mr Naidoo said the central task of the South African union movement was to build solidarity with Swapo and the National Union of Namibian Workers.

NUM president Mr James Motlatsi said that while the impending independence of Namibia was an important development, Western governments "seem intent on destabilising Swapo people".

He claimed that recent attacks by South African security forces on Swapo were "an attempt to galvanise Western support".

Erongo allocates shares to Metall

56 13/4/87
WINDHOEK — Erongo Mining has allocated a 20 percent shareholding in Namibia's Navachab gold mine to Metall Mining Corporation of Canada and 10 percent to Rand Mines Windhoek.

Metall is the mining subsidiary of the West German Metallgesellschaft AG.

Consolidated Diamond Mines (CDM), a De Beers subsidiary, and other Anglo American companies control the remaining 80 percent in Erongo. 2218

CDM said in a statement issued in Windhoek that the new partners would participate in further exploration of the mine, which is being developed at a cost of R89,2 million and will go into production in October this year. — Sapa

Cape Times 13/4/89
**70 die on SA
killer fence**

Political Staff

THE electrified fences on the northern and eastern borders of South Africa had killed 70 people, 26 of whom died last year, General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, said yesterday in reply to a question from Mr Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North).

Last year, 25 people died as a result of contact with the electrified fence on the eastern borders and one on the northern border.

Since the construction of the fences, 64 had died on the eastern borders and six on the northern border, Gen Malan said in reply to a question from Mr Soal.

Mr Soal commented: "It is a terrible and tragic state of affairs that we have to construct Berlin Wall-type barriers on our borders.

"These unnecessary deaths are an indication of the desperate circumstances in our neighbouring countries."

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13/4/89

Cape Times

2 Cape Times, Thursday, April 13, 1989 ★

From page 1

that the movement had failed to ensure through two decades of bush warfare.

"They have never had bases here," he said. "This was a plan formulated well in advance.

Major-General Hans Dreyer, chief of the police tracking force formerly known as Koevoet, said police would resume patrols today.

● President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has called on all Swapo armed forces in Namibia to withdraw north of the 16th parallel in Angola.

● British Deputy Foreign Secretary Mrs Lynda Chalker yesterday gave assurances to MPs in the House of Commons that if Swapo guerillas returning to Angola were interrogated, this would be done by UN forces, not by South African troops.

● The Soviet Union was "very surprised" by Swapo's incursion into Namibia and believed it was "crucial to prevent disruption" of the UN independence plan, a senior soviet foreign ministry official said in Washington yesterday.

The diplomat, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said he "would not conceal our sympathies" for Swapo, but fully accepted that it had violated the agreements which led to implementation of the UN plan. — From Own Correspondent Kevin Jacobs, Sapa-Reuter and UPI

**Bill tabled
on SA
citizens in
Namibia**

221

THE regulation of South African citizenship for people living in an independent Namibia was contained in a bill tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, said the bill made the following provisions:

● An SA citizen born in Namibia, who had ordinary residence in Namibia on April 1, 1989 or who took up ordinary residence there between April 1, 1989 and independence, retains his SA citizenship, provided at least one of his parents or grandparents was born in South Africa.

● An SA citizen born in Namibia, whose ordinary place of residence is outside Namibia, retains his SA citizenship, even if he is temporarily seconded to Namibia for any period between April 1, 1989, and independence, irrespective of where his parents or grandparents were born.

● Any naturalised South African citizen who was not born in either Namibia or SA, who was ordinarily resident in Namibia on April 1, 1989, or between April 1, 1989 and independence, forfeits his South African citizenship on the attainment of independence by Namibia.

● A South African citizen born in SA retains his SA citizenship even if he is ordinarily resident in Namibia, unless he adopts another citizenship.

Uneasy truce as Swapo men still lie low

OSHIKANGO — Swapo guerrillas are melting into Namibia's towns and villages, defying UN efforts to call them to assembly points and frustrating a delicate truce designed to keep the territory's independence plan in place.

Police and army officials say many Swapo fighters, whose infiltration nearly scuttled the independence plan on its April 1 kick-off date, are probably storing weapons and uniforms before disappearing into northern Owambo communities.

They might also be avoiding police "verification" plans which include photographing, finger-printing and "interrogating"

KEVIN JACOBS 221

guerrillas turning themselves over.

Reuter reports from Windhoek, however, that a spokesman for Namibia's Administrator Louis Pienaar said interrogation would not take place and the term had been misunderstood. Security forces had only intended to ask the guerrillas about troop numbers and arms they might have left behind.

Neither SA nor UN military officers deployed at nine designated assembly points along 500km of the northern border expected Swapo's bush fighters to accept UN-

guaranteed safe passage to Angola.

By last night no guerrillas had reported to any of the scattered border centres manned by British, Australian and Pakistani soldiers serving in Untag.

UN military sources said a wounded guerrilla turned himself in at an unnamed mission station, but the report could not be independently verified.

Some military officers serving in Untag blame the guerrillas' apparent unwillingness to turn themselves in on the proximity of South African military encampments.

● To Page 2 →

Uneasy truce as Swapo men still lie low

Referring to SA's "verification" plans, Australian Major Dave Crago said in Oshakati: "The problem is that the SADF wants to fingerprint and photograph them."

"It seems they want to bring them back as prisoners. The message from Swapo seems to be that they are not going to do anything until the (SADF) presence pulls back. They want to hand themselves over to the churches and not to Untag."

But an SADF officer in Oshikango, speaking unofficially, said Swapo's insurgents were unlikely to give up "after achieving a military and political objective the movement failed to ensure"

through two decades of bush warfare.

"They've got their people in now, so why should they give up?" he asked.

Meanwhile, police tracking an estimated 1 800 guerrillas say none has turned northwards towards the Angolan border, and visible tracks indicate the insurgents are still moving southwards.

Clashes with the guerrilla bands had tailed off since the weekend, with no change in the official death toll from last week's battles.

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Pessimism over Swapo

OSHAKATI — Official sources have indicated they are not very optimistic that large numbers of Swapo fighters will in fact present themselves at any of the nine neutral, UN-monitored assembly points in northern Namibia.

The assembly points started operating on Tuesday at noon under the blue United Nations flag, but nearly 24 hours later it was reported that not a single Swapo guerilla had presented himself at any of the points.

It has been pointed out that some of the points are fairly near the security forces' bases and this is a factor that tends to keep Swapo fighters

away. Experienced observers of the 23-year bush war point out that insurgents who have come up against strong resistance

from the security forces often vary their weapons and uniforms, change into civilian clothing and lie low among the local population.

Forex 'system at fault'

THE "startling" disclosure that police were investigating R910 million foreign exchange losses pointed to the urgent need for the system of exchange control to be reviewed.

Mr Harry Schwarz, Democratic Party finance spokesman said yesterday that when

there was so much fraud, the system itself was obviously at fault.

The ordinary man in the street who applied for small amounts of foreign exchange for holidays and couldn't get it was getting angry at the huge foreign exchange frauds that businessmen were getting away with.

Mr Schwarz said the least one would expect was that where large amounts of foreign exchange were applied for — for example to buy aircraft — that there would be a high level of checking — "at least to see they brought the aircraft home."

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Sowetan 13/4/89

A TENUOUS PEACE COMES TO THE NORTH, BUT SUSPICIONS STILL RUN DEEP

THE first sight of a "safe assembly point" in north-east Owamboland would not reassure a bush-weary Swapo guerrilla planning to emerge from the inhospitable savannah.

The 100 fighters of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) said to be in this area would be greeted by a huge South African flag, dwarfing the bright blue-and-white UN emblem hoisted unsteadily above an Untag supply jeep.

The Okankolo position, like that at Nkongo and several of the nine other refuge points up and running this week, is right next to a large-scale South African Defence Force base.

At Okankolo on Tuesday, when the ceasefire proposals agreed by South Africa, Cuba and Angola were so inconclusively implemented, six Ratel armoured personnel carriers stood only a few metres away from the rudimentary UN encampment.

South African Air Force planes droned above, and "troopies" wandered unconcerned in and around their base.

No Swapo surrenders? A single glance tells us why

As the Australian engineers, Polish monitors and British signallers tried to make the best of the very little that is to be their home for the next fortnight or so — Okankolo Assembly Point is 40km north-east of Ondangwa, on a rough dirt road with an indeterminate endpoint — the precariousness of the ceasefire process was on full display.

The terms of the tripartite "Mount Etjo Declaration", agreed upon last weekend at an emergency meeting at a luxury safari lodge 250km north-west of Windhoek, require the estimated 2 000 Plan guerrillas still in Namibia to break cover and give themselves over to Untag. They are

It's not very surprising that Swapo guerrillas show such reluctance to hand themselves over. One look at the neighbourhood of the Okankolo Assembly Point reveals all.

By **SHAUN JOHNSON** in Owamboland

obliged to surrender their weapons and wait in the remote bases before being airlifted out to points above Angola's 16th parallel.

Only a handful had done so by Wednesday night. With 263 of their comrades having fallen to security force bullets in the 300km-wide, searingly-hot battle theatres of Owamboland and the Kaokoveld, the guerrillas are being asked to make a leap of faith.

Swapo is deeply distrustful of South African intentions and openly contemptuous of Untag's ability to contain them.

At Okankolo it is easy to see why, and this gave rise to a quite extraordinary encounter on Tuesday afternoon. Some two hours after the mid-day-establishment of the UN camp, carloads of local Owambo civilians

drove the dusty tracks around the assembly point, closely observing how it functioned.

After some time, as many as 150 of them returned and asked to talk to Untag. It was immediately clear that the civilians had come as emissaries for a Plan contingent close by, numbering a hundred or more, according to one of the several representatives.

The civilians had a list of pointed questions, and they were prepared to take answers from anyone, even journalists. But the task of responding fell primarily to the ranking Australian sapper, Captain Mark Hender.

They formed an earnest knot around him, asking questions in English and furiously debating the answers in Oshivambo among themselves.

Also mingled into the group was an SADF officer, at the post as an observer in terms of the ceasefire proposal. After initial consternation about his presence he, too, was pressed for answers.

The revealing, rapid-fire question-and-answer session reflected the seriousness of Swapo's misgivings. The flow of the international intercourse was several times interrupted because of mutual difficulty in comprehending broad Brisbane and colloquial Oshivambo, but its direction was clear.

Hender explained the UN's role in setting up the assembly points: "We are here so Swapo people can come in, put their weapons with us, and then be moved back to their bases in Angola."

He was instantly interrupted: "You mean they are going to be disarmed?" Yes, said Hender, that was the arrangement.

"Then what about that South African army?" said one of the questioners, gesturing energetically toward the SADF base.

"The South African army is part of the agreement," said Hender. "And if you come in, you are under the protection of Untag. You don't have any worries. Nothing could happen without us getting hurt as well, and without the rest of the world coming down on South Africa."

Hender was slightly taken aback when asked whether he could provide food for 100 men, but quickly said he could.

"And what about medical treatment?" said the civilians. "Yes, we have medical facilities from the South Africans..." he began, when he was interrupted by the incredulous listeners: "From the South Africans?"

Exasperated, Hender said he could have two Swiss doctors flown in to treat wounded guerrillas.

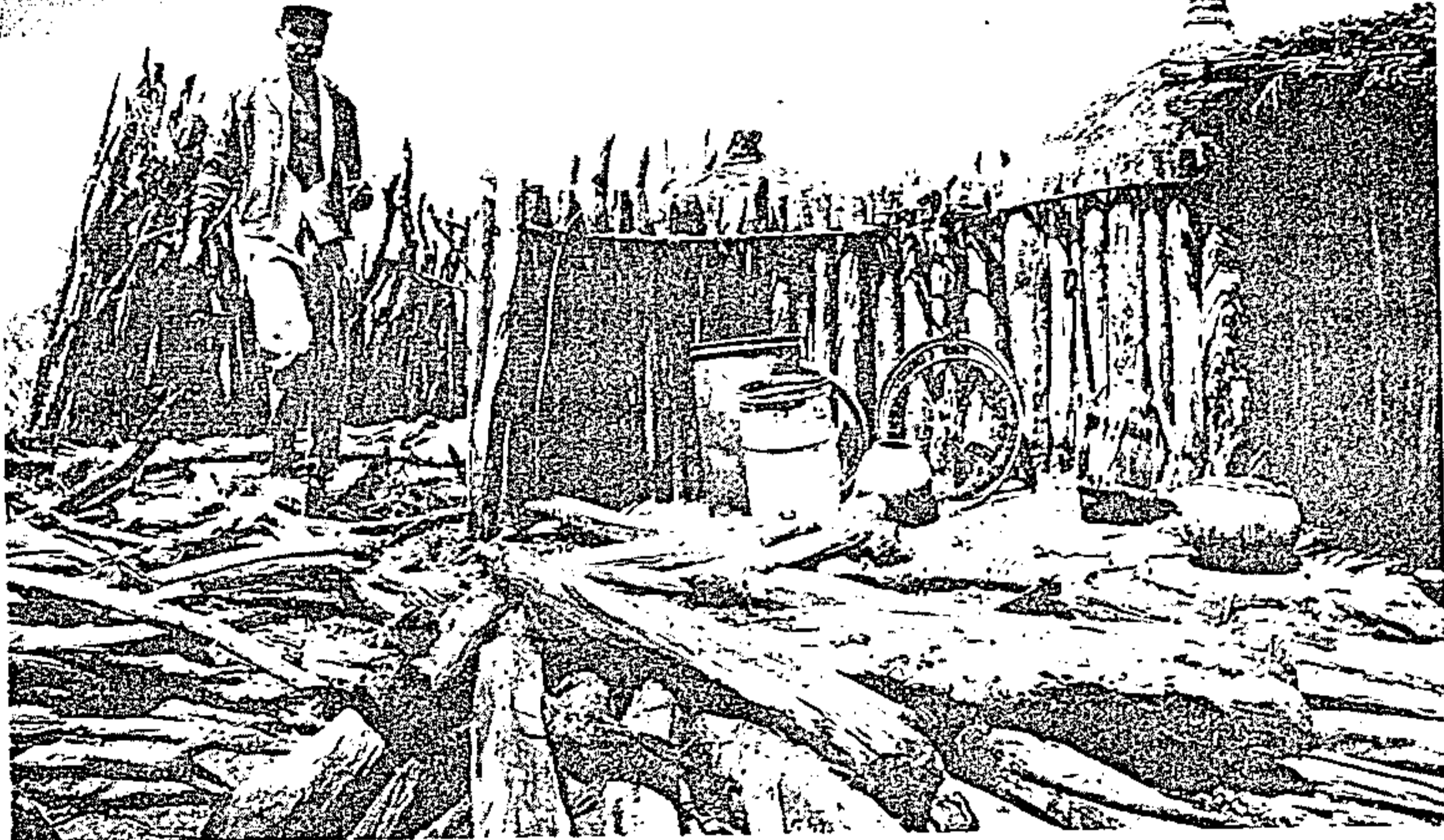
Then he turned to pleading: "This agreement has been made in good faith. Everyone has agreed to the procedure. I think it comes down to a matter of trust. You have to trust us to look after you, and we have to trust you to come in."

This didn't satisfy the emissaries, who wanted assurances that the South African forces wouldn't "block the camp" when the Plan fighters tried to come in. At this point the South African officer interjected: "No, no," he said, "I can promise you they will not be harassed. The patrols are not just going to start shooting. They've been ordered only to shoot if somebody shoots them first."

Asked what guerrillas should do if they were spotted while moving at night in contravention of the dusk-to-dawn curfew, the SADF officer offered this advice: "If they walk past (SADF patrols) and are halted, they should just stop, say 'hallo', and our guys will come and take a look and let them go on."

Hender reminded the crowd that guerrillas were also free to gather at churches in the region, from which they would be escorted to the nearest assembly point in preparation for removal to Angola. "Your people can just come into a town and go to a church, rifles over their shoulders, and they will be fetched," he said.

The emissaries left amid much muttering and sideways glances at the Ratels.



Ananias Iplnge arrives home to find his settlement devastated by a police Casspir during fighting in Northern Namibia.

Picture: GUY TILLIM, Afrapix

THERE are two basic political gestures in Namibia: the raised, slightly crooked right-arm salute of Swapo, and the "V for victory" sign of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

The predominance of one or the other of these signals in Owamboland has become a matter of great political importance, since the world rebuked Swapo for its tactics of the last fortnight.

Most of the Namibian population lives on these vast northern plains, and Swapo's election prospects hinge on maintaining its traditional stronghold. Statisticians say the party requires 80 percent of the Owamboland vote to ensure victory in the independence elections; more for a two-thirds majority.

Has Swapo managed to secure this after the extraordinary events of the past fortnight? There are no Gallup pollsters in northern Namibia, but there are other means of assessing the mood of the people.

There are always crowds milling around on either side of the road that runs from Oshivelo to Ruacana, bisecting Owamboland. The same applies to the northern artery running from Ondangwa to Oshikango on the Angolan border.

At the *cucua* shops and on the roadsides, the civilians reflect the political temperature of the inaccessible villages of the hinterland.

On Wednesday this week, with so many People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) fighters freshly buried and the United Nations still waiting for the survivors who are stubbornly entrenched in the bush, an unscientific survey was conducted.

From a moving car, the Swapo and DTA salutes were alternatively given, and the response recorded. While

Swapo's ahead, reveals our unscientific survey

What's in a hand-salute? An unscientific survey of the crowds milling around the main road to Ruacana tells us that there's plenty to be learnt from the shape of a salute
By **SHAUN JOHNSON**

Swapo salutes were enthusiastically returned — the DTA gesture drew at best disinterest, at worst derision. Owamboland is emphatically still Swapo country.

Among the hundreds who revelled in responding to white men giving the Swapo salute, there were two notable exceptions — a man selling home-made bows and arrows to travellers raised the DTA's two fingers, as did a nattily-dressed youngster on a state-of-the-art bicycle. If the DTA does command any support in Owamboland, it seems it is among the entrepreneurial classes.

To the local people, the recent events differ from what went before only in its intensity — the South Africans have been shooting the freedom fighters in the same way. There are just more of them, and there has been more blood.

As always, the villagers give the Plan guerrillas help, although they won't talk about it to strangers.

However, one group made its allegiances quite clear on Wednesday. A large group from a secondary school in north-east Owamboland marched

behind an elder astride a horse to Untag's Okankolo assembly point.

Singing praises to Sam Nujoma and dancing the Namibian version of the *toyi-toyi*, they held placards with slogans like "Untag, we have been waiting for you"; "Guarantee Swapo's safety"; and "Hasten more Untag to come to Namibia".

Despite the visible presence of an SADF platoon, these people made their loyalty to the organisation that had sent the fighters quite clear, ending their bizarre demonstration with shouts of "One Namibia!", "One leader!" and "Viva Swapo!"

Earlier, in response to questions about Swapo's whereabouts, Swapo Youth League member Ananias Itana had said: "You are talking to Swapo right here. Everywhere you go you are talking to Swapo... from Cunene to Ruacana, to the Orange River."

The clear hint was that he could himself be a Plan guerrilla now integrated into a village, having buried his weapons and uniform.

It is often repeated by whites here that Swapo, unlike Robert Mugabe's Zanla, failed to liberate any part of Namibia. This is true, but it does not detract from the level of silent support for the Plan fighters in the villages. These people will vote for Swapo, regardless of what Western governments are saying about "Uncle Sam".

The last, tragic spasm of the war will have done Swapo some damage — Plan commanders will sooner or later have to explain to the families of

some 250 guerrillas why their children had to die when independence was within reach.

And there are also some Owambos who are beginning to blame Swapo's tactical incursion for "bringing back" the dreaded Koevoet and remobilising 101 Battalion after a brief respite.

Whether these elements will defect to the DTA is difficult to tell. Except among the black security forces themselves — who can be seen unashamedly giving the DTA salute from the backs of their Buffels and Casspirs — there is not a strong DTA presence here. But the party is making strenuous efforts to capitalise on Swapo's troubles.

Along the road to Oshikango, tens of thousands of pamphlets written in Afrikaans and Oshivambo have been dropped for collection by villagers.

Headlined "Swapo Loses", the pamphlets ask: "Why did Nujoma allow hundreds of our sons to be shot dead? ... Now they lie buried in the land they longed for. Their voices are stifled. Their families will never hear them again."

"Nujoma does not want peace. He wants to be a boss with a gun."

"Swapo is a jackal that the world has put in a cage until it comes to its senses. But the DTA is not in a cage."

"Swapo and some church leaders say many civilians have been shot dead (since April 1). But why were none shot before then? Therefore Swapo is responsible for the death of every person who has been killed in the past week."

It is perhaps indicative of the strength of Owamboland's political loyalties that very few of the pamphlets had been picked up, a full two hours after they were dropped.

SA to honour promises on Namibia, says P W

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday promised that South Africa would stick to its undertakings in Namibia.

Addressing Parliament during the debate on the State President's Vote, Mr Botha also said he foresaw that Swapo would now attempt to regain some of the diplomatic ground it had lost by its actions.

"To those who will attempt to gloss over the Swapo violations of its commitments and drum up support for it, I wish to say: 'The South African Government will continue to act in accordance with its undertakings'."

Mr Botha reviewed the history of the negotiations which had led to the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435

on April 1 and his involvement in them.

He made several basic points about the present situation.

- Swapo had tried to mislead the international community when Mr Sam Nujoma denied they had crossed the border.

- This was a "well-planned operation which was kept secret, even, one suspects, from the government of Angola".

- Swapo had tried to bring the war back to Namibia.

- The South African Government had acted throughout "in full compliance with the agreements it had entered into".

- The historic agreement at Mount Etjo and the course of events in Namibia made it clear South Africa was prepared for any eventuality.

● See Page 6.

The guerrillas keep their heads down — but 435 looks back on track

By SHAUN JOHNSON, In Namibia

THE arrival of four exhausted Swapo guerrillas at the Oshikango assembly point on the "cutline" separating Namibia and Angola this week does not mean that the "Mount Etjo" ceasefire plan will work.

But there are strong signals that the complex independence package is getting back into working order after more than a week of postponements.

A UN representative in Windhoek Cedric Thornberry announced yesterday that procedural issues relating to the independence elections were once again being dealt with by the offices of the South African-appointed administrator-general and the UN special representative.

Coupled with a quick back-down by Administrator-General Louis Pienaar on his earlier proposal that assembling guerrillas be "interrogated" before being allowed to leave Namibia, the developments suggested that the Resolution 435 juggernaut, if not entirely mobile, was at least preparing to move.

Long-delayed elements of the Untag force are now arriving regularly, with the first members of a large group of the UN police contingent expected to arrive from Ireland, Denmark and Sweden today.

In remote bush camps all across northern Namibia, United Nations soldiers hourly ask each other the same question. They want to know — as does the whole of Namibia — when large numbers of Swapo guerrillas will emerge for transportation to bases above Angola's 16th Parallel.

Unless the guerrillas begin to come in, South Africa is certain to express grave dissatisfaction over Swapo's response to the tripartite proposals agreed to by Havana, Luanda and Pretoria at the weekend. Western diplomats in Windhoek say the possibility of further South African military action cannot be ruled out.

Tremendous confusion persists in Owamboland and the Kaokoveld, where the guerrillas are keeping out of sight in the face of a massive South African security force presence. Thornberry said the UN "understands very well the reluctance of (Swapo) people to approach a visible, indeed a menacing South African Defence Force presence, and we are looking into it".

Most of the nine functioning assembly points are located next to major SADF emplacements, and Swapo Information Secretary Hidipo Hamutenya has said from Luanda that his organisation regards the points as "traps".

Australian contingent leader Colonel Richard Warren was unceremoniously ordered off the SADF base adjoining Okankolo assembly point on Wednesday, after he had approached to discuss logistical questions.

And late yesterday, an Untag officer was called in to investigate an alleged contravention of the agreement



Villagers with cloths swathed over their noses bury Plan fighters killed by police in clashes in the Ondishifiwa area, Northern Namibia. The bodies had been lying in the bush for three days. Picture: GUY TILLIM, Afrapix

by South African troops.

It was reported that an SADF platoon had dug themselves in around a church and mission school at Empebe. Guerrillas are supposed to have free access to churches in order to hand themselves over.

Local church leaders sent a delegation to Untag and a captain arrived to investigate and report to his superiors.

Then there is the vexed problem of the handover of weapons, which Swapo opposes on the grounds that SADF troops are to remain fully armed. The question did not arise in the case of the Oshikango four, as they had already got rid of their rifles and changed from Plan uniforms into civilian clothes.

Two of the guerrillas are now in the care of Pakistani monitors at Oshikango — awaiting transportation to Angola — and the injured have been moved by helicopter to unnamed "UN medical facilities".

However, this only happened after an altercation between Untag and the South African forces. EPIC MILLER reports that the South Africans tried to get access to the four, but all except a doctor were blocked by Untag.

A heated discussion ensued, during which the South Africans threatened to leave. It ended with the two injured guerrillas being flown out in an Untag helicopter, but in the company of an SADF officer.

None of the four has yet been named, but some details have emerged of the circumstances leading up to their appearance. The four were involved in one of the first firefights on April 1.

One lost the use of his AK-47 during the "contact" when it was struck by police fire.

It is believed that the four heard

about the ceasefire proposals from the local population, and did not hear the UN ceasefire message or the call to return to Angola from Swapo President Sam Nujoma. It seems likely that their decision does not herald a flood of guerrillas at the assembly points.

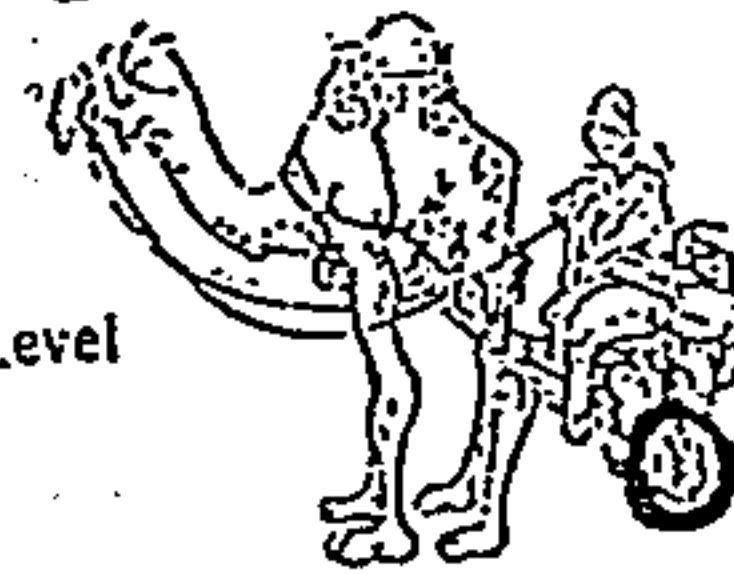
Thornberry insists that the independence plan does not stand or fall on the success of the ceasefire agreement.

Asked what would happen if all the

Swapo forces did not return to Angola, Thornberry said it was "too early to tell", but added there was "a lot of talking" going on, which was "a whole lot better than a lot of killing".

These statements can be taken to mean that short of a major disaster — for example, if unconfirmed reports of a fatal firefight on the border since the establishment of the assembly points turn out to have substance — Resolution 435 has been substantially repaired.

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Longer truce offer

From KEVIN JACOBS

Swapo 'unshaken' in support for Nujoma

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Highly placed African sources last night firmly rejected international media speculation that Swapo's respected elder statesman Mr Herman Toivo ja Toivo might replace Mr Sam Nujoma as president.

Senior Swapo and ANC figures said they had received "messages" from Lusaka indicating that the liberation movement was unshaken in its support for Mr Nujoma's leadership. The only threat to that leadership had been contrived by the Western media, they said.

It was also stated that Mr Toivo ja Toivo himself had publicly supported Mr Nujoma.

posts with SA military encampments nearby, and said Untag chief Mr Martti Ahtisaari and SA Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar had agreed to recognise churches in the border area as safe havens.

ern Namibia said armoured military trucks were patrolling round churches regularly while no Untag personnel had been seen in the same areas.

Untag deputy chief Mr Cedric Thornberry said yesterday that Mr Ahti-

saari was trying to persuade SA authorities to end or reduce their surveillance of churches, adding: "We understand very well the reluctance of Swapo to come in where there is a visible, even a menacing — in the eyes of those in the bush — SADF presence."

Police said yesterday that there was no evidence of large-scale withdrawal to Angola.

Under last weekend's deal agreed at Mt Etjo safari lodge, Swapo has until tomorrow to tell Mr Ahtisaari that it has pulled all its fighters out of the territory.

But Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday offered to extend the truce deadline.

"The SA government will not object to an extension of this period in

2 Cape Times, Frid

From page 1

order to allow Swapo to continue to have the freedom of passage to present themselves to the assembly points," he said.

"I again urge Swapo to end its illegal infiltration of SWA/Namibia as soon as possible."

Mr Botha rejected claims that Swapo fighters would be interrogated, photographed and fingerprinted.

"In order to establish the identity of the persons involved, it is to be assumed that such details will be recorded by Untag," he said. "There is no question of Swapo being interrogated."

Government spokesman Mr Gerhard Roux said a Swapo fighter gave himself up to police at Ruacana late on Wednesday, about the same time as four guerillas were taken in at the UN point at Oshikango.

Mr Thornberry said the first 94-man contingent of international civilian policemen, assigned under Untag to monitor activities of the SWA police, would arrive in Windhoek tomorrow — "a source of enormous relief to all of us".

Frightened

● Meanwhile, reporters were able to speak briefly to the four guerillas at Oshikango, but questions about their military activities were not allowed.

One seemed especially ill — vacant-eyed, ashen-faced and almost comatose. An Untag spokesman said a bullet had entered his left arm and pierced his left breast.

The two uninjured men looked cheerful but the news conference ended when one of the injured men was helped outside to vomit.

To page 2

TRAIPS delay

handover

of guerillas

By Jon Qwelane,

The Star's Africa News Service

OSHIKANGO — Complex and protracted negotiations involving South Africa, Angola and the United Nations Transition Assistance Group over the transfer of four Swapo guerillas from Namibia to Angola were still continuing late yesterday.

Two UN officials, Ms M Kelley and Mr J Rumbubuye, from the office of UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari, held discussions with the SADF at Oshikango assembly point.

Two of the four guerillas are in hospital in Oshikati. They are members of a four-man group that handed itself to Untag on Wednesday evening.

The two UN officials refused to say why they were there.

BORDER

They crossed the border on foot and met representatives of Fapla, the Angolan army, on a strip of tarred road.

Untag spokesman Mr Fred Eckhardt said one of the main difficulties which bogged down discussions on the handing over of the guerillas to Angola concerned terminology in the proposed agreement.

He said none of the Swapo men would leave Namibia until the plan for their repatriation was acceptable to all.

Before the two guerillas — injured in shoot-outs with SWA Police last week — were airlifted to hospital, the apparently weaker of the two began crying. Then he started vomiting before stretchers were hastily brought out of the UN helicopter and the two men were placed on them.

Swapo must withdraw — Crocker

By David Braun, The Star Bureau ²²¹

WASHINGTON — It was just not on to expect South Africa's forces to be confined to base and eventually withdrawn from Namibia until all parties were satisfied Swapo's 1 200 to 1 800 fighters were north of the 16th parallel in Angola, the United States said last night.

This view was expressed by the US Assistant Secretary of State in charge of African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker. *Star 14/4/89*

Swapo's leadership had to answer for its terrible decision which wasted 300 of its best young people and which had stopped the clock of the Namibian peace plan, he said at a press conference in Washington to mark the end of his term of

office as the chief executive of America's foreign policy towards Africa.

Dr Crocker said it would not be possible to restart the peace process until all parties had agreed the situation in the territory had been restored to what it was on March 31.

In short, this meant South Africa and the other parties had to be satisfied Swapo had left the Namibian bush and returned to north of the 16th parallel in Angola.

However, he expressed optimism that because all the parties to the peace agreements — South Africa, Cuba and Angola — were still intent on the plan and their commitments under it, the Namibian peace process would soon be back on track.

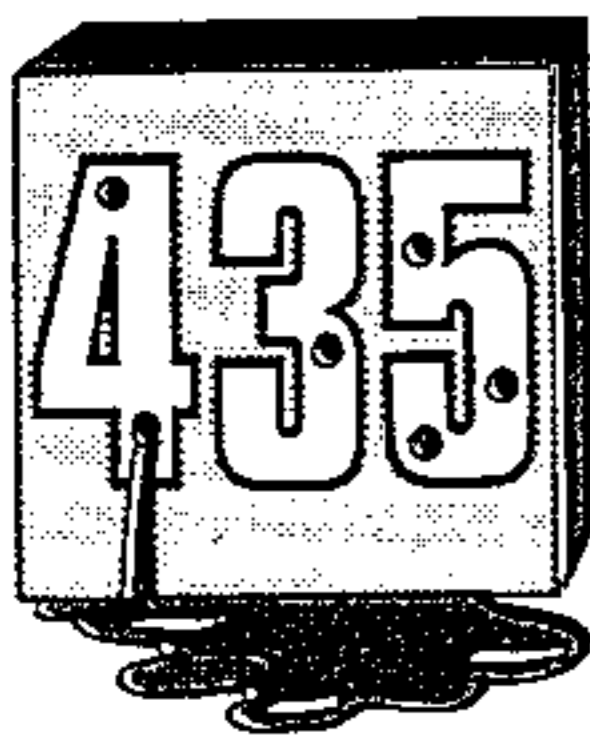


Dr Crocker . . .
critical of Swapo
leadership.

SWAPO AND NAMIBIA

Honouring the commandments

■ Nujoma has lost the shooting war — his supporters must decide on his future



A slight case of wish fulfilment? In an interview with Sam Nujoma last month, *Die Suid-Afrikaan* described him as "smaller than expected; his handshake is soft, almost feminine, and he appears harmless, even hesitant (*huiwerig*) — anything but the 'dangerous revolutionary' of SA propaganda."

Nujoma was secure enough to say: "The date for the return of the first Swapo contingent will probably, in accordance with Resolution 435, be around the second week in May."

After Swapo's bloody incursions into northern Namibia last week, however, Nujoma's deliberate flouting, and near derailment, of the Namibian peace accord confirmed for many their worst fears of the Swapo leader as mad, bad and dangerous; a reckless man who, like the proverbial used-car salesman, is not to be trusted.

On television he appeared shifty and thoroughly unconvincing as he denied through his teeth that his People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) guerrillas had, in contravention of the peace plan, left their bases in southern Angola and crossed into northern Namibia on April 1 — D-Day for the official countdown to independence elections in November in terms of UN Resolution 435. The upshot seemed to be that you cannot negotiate with "terrorists," including by extension, the ANC of SA. All this provided grist to the mill of the Right.

Fortunately, however, after eight days of bloody battles the Namibian peace plan ap-

pears to have been rescued after concerted international efforts to convince Nujoma to call back his men.

Even the ANC, which chose not to issue a statement on the affair, felt that "all parties should take care to ensure the exercise is a success leading to Namibian independence."

In terms of last weekend's Mt Etjo declaration signed by SA, Angola and Cuba (the US and Soviet Union attended as observers), Plan guerrillas will assemble at about 10 points on or south of the Namibia-Angola frontier and hand in their weapons to Untag, which will escort them back into Angola and north of the 16th line of latitude. The guerrillas have until April 15 to get to the assembly points on church property, although SA's Administrator General of the territory, Louis Pienaar, has said this date is flexible.

The entire episode, which left at least 263 Swapo dead and 23 casualties in the SA-led security forces, may fade in the coming weeks. Yet what is to be made of it all? Can Nujoma's leadership survive what seems to have been a sorry miscalculation?

Most people were simply dismayed and baffled by the incursions. Why, after a stalemated 23-year bush-war, undermine the process that in all likelihood would see Nujoma emerge as the first president of an independent Namibia — even if Swapo does not manage to achieve that 67% of the votes which would enable it unilaterally to promulgate Namibia's first independence constitu-

tion?

Could it indeed be the case that Swapo doubted its ability to achieve at the polls the landslide victory generally expected of the organisation, and therefore decided to opt for tactics of intimidation? Did Swapo fear the effectiveness of the DTA's campaign to paint the organisation as a failed liberation movement that lost the war? Dirk Mudge pointed out at a DTA rally in Ondangwa earlier this year that Swapo's flag did not flutter over Owamboland.

Consider, however, the explanation of an acknowledged expert on the territory, André du Pisani, of the SA Institute of International Affairs. According to Du Pisani, Nujoma "can and will survive" his bloody gamble. Certainly the key figures in Swapo, such as information secretary Hidipo Hamutenya, chief adviser Simon Kapelwa, and Plan chief Daniel Amambo, would see it as Nujoma would, he says — that is, "a triumph for African nationalism."

According to Du Pisani: "The action coinciding with April 1, whether Swapo miscalculated or not, wasn't a blunder of major importance. It merely demonstrated what Swapo is all about, which is African nationalism. Swapo is primarily an African nationalist organisation claiming credit for driving out SA colonialism. From this perspective, it was a calculated gamble."

The whole point of the exercise was to demonstrate its capability of operating inside the country as well as from Angola, according to Du Pisani. "It won't harm Swapo as much as some people expect. If anything, it's going to strengthen Swapo at the polls."

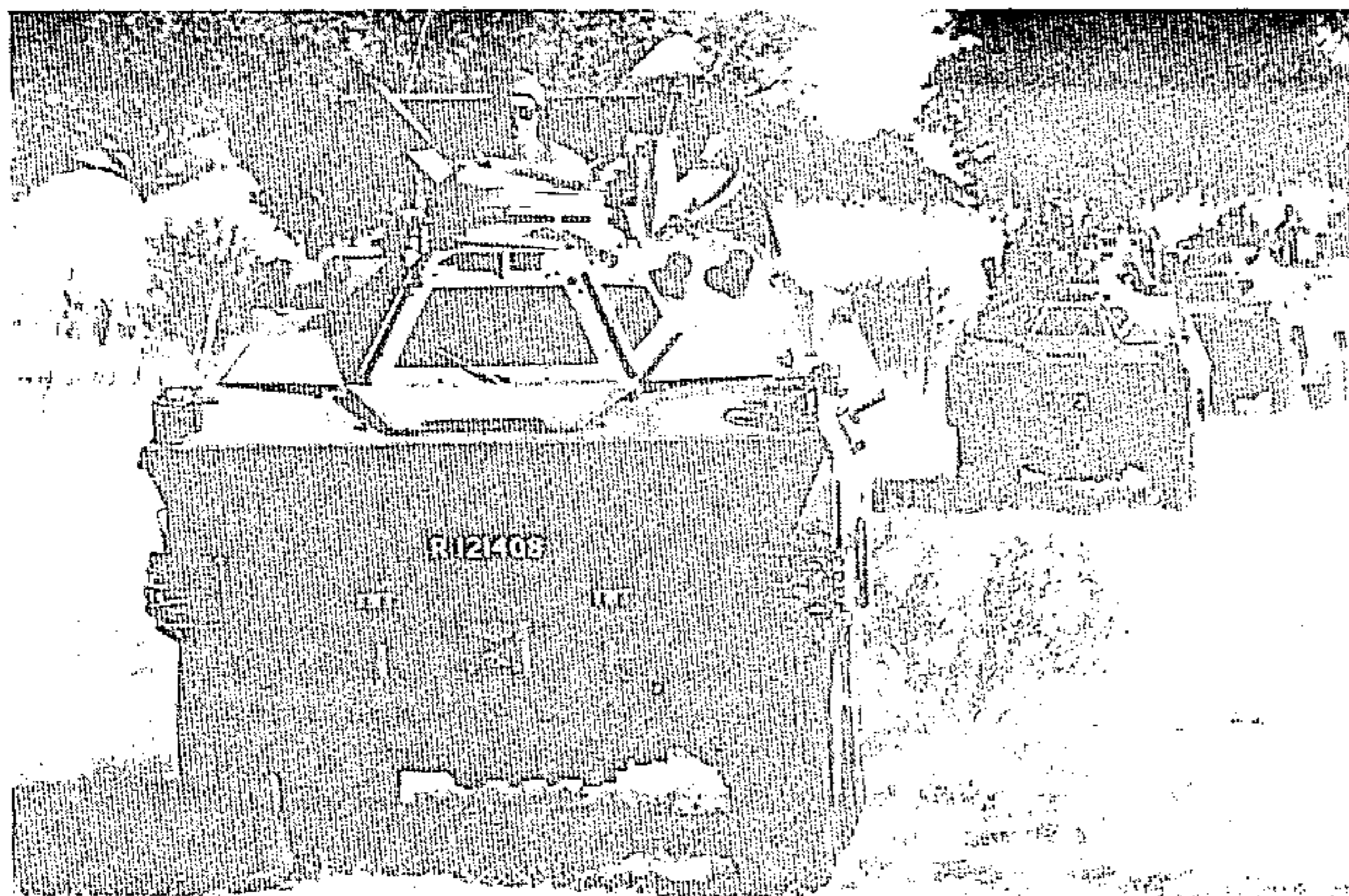
The whole idea behind the move was to "vindicate the man with the gun in the bush. They've succeeded in re-establishing this perception in northern Namibia, which is the crucial area."

Another perception which will have been underlined, says Du Pisani, is that there can be no peace in Namibia if Swapo does not win the election. "Swapo has succeeded in demonstrating that unless it wins the elections handsomely, there can be no peace. This is the ultimate lesson of the incursion."

It seems to amount, nevertheless, to intimidation. And that may affect Swapo's showing at the polls — though no one should kid themselves, as they did before independence in Zimbabwe, about the emotional appeal of the strongest nationalists. That,



Malan, Pik Botha



SADF armour in northern Namibia ... with UN blessing

partly, is what Du Pisani means.

Du Pisani doesn't go along with reports quoting captured Plan insurgents' (and Nujoma's) explanations of why they crossed the border. These state they were under the impression that they would march in and submit to Untag on D-Day; that they had no hostile intent.

This view is shared by the editor of a newspaper in Windhoek who says: "It has been established they came down only with peaceful intentions; they certainly did not initiate the conflict and thought they'd report to Untag." The aggression of the SA forces is beyond doubt, the editor asserts, quoting, for example, Ovambo villagers who claimed that the insurgents asked them to tell Untag they were there if they saw the Blue Berets; some who said they saw a group of Swapo guerrillas sitting under a tree eating with a white flag hoisted but who were nevertheless attacked; and so forth.

In the same vein, Niko Bessinger, a leader of Swapo's internal wing in Windhoek, puts the incursions down to "miscommunication and misinterpretation," for which it "won't help to apportion blame." The editor also

days across a 300 km front, which rather stretches the "peaceful intent" explanation. The US representative at Mt Etjo, Chester Crocker, pointed out that had Untag in fact been fully in position up north, they'd have been caught in the crossfire and the situation could have turned out even more ghastly. Untag's role, Crocker pointed out, is to monitor and observe only.

Du Pisani, who agrees that SA has scrupulously abided by the terms of the peace plan, nevertheless believes that SA was inviting trouble by starting the process of military disengagement knowing that Swapo had sizeable forces south of the 16th parallel, and aware that Untag was not in place.

Clearly, Swapo must have been aware that Untag had not yet assembled in Owambo and decided to take the gap left by the withdrawal, on schedule, of SA security, hoping no doubt to capitalise on being perceived as a victorious liberation army returning in the classic revolutionary style. Some would say that Nujoma succeeded in making his symbolic point — even if it was at the expense of the lives of some 300 of his people, including civilians.

Certainly, the internal wing of Swapo

does not seem to have any overt misgivings about Nujoma's decision and is maintaining solidarity with its president. Bessinger maintains: "There is no problem whatsoever with Nujoma's leadership — there is only one Swapo."

So Sam's position does not appear to be in jeopardy. Or not now — what may happen after is another question. We understand that German sponsors of Swapo are entirely

disenchanted by Nujoma.

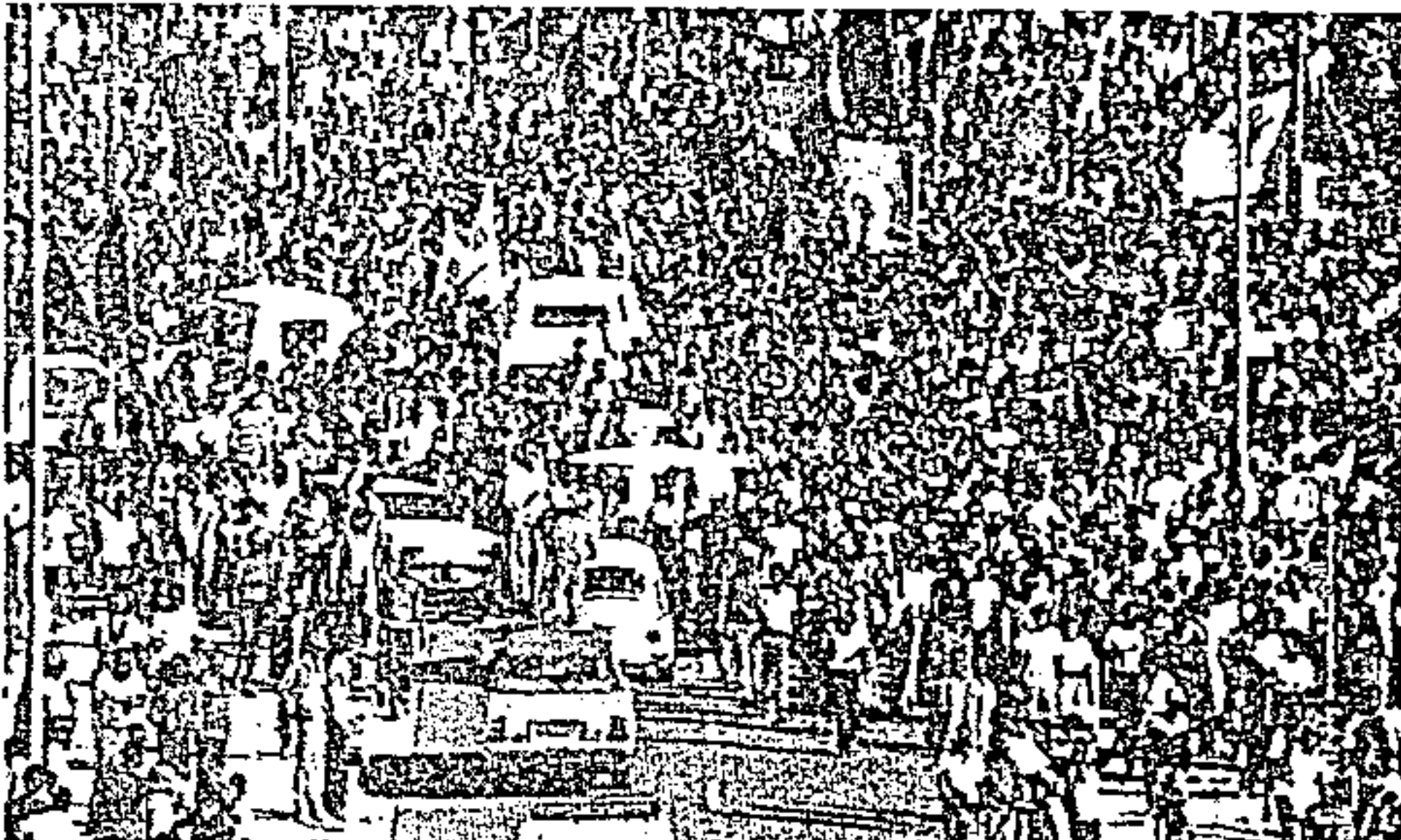
Meanwhile, the blame for last week's mass deaths is being shifted on to the UN and its Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari. Swapo supporters are naturally saying he should not have agreed to the deployment of SA forces to check the return of Plan. Yet what else could he have done?

Nujoma denies Plan forces crossed into Namibia from Angola, asserting they were in the territory all along — or at least on April 1 — and that according to his reading of R 435, Swapos inside the territory would then fall under UN supervision. Yet in March he wrote to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar agreeing to abide by the settlement plan.

The FM noted last week that Namibia faced the prospect of rule by a man who is either a dolt — or something worse. Now that the outlines of what had been intended are apparent, the callousness of the manoeuvre is alarmingly plain. Swapo has always had a legitimate claim to being a serious representative of the Namibian people — a legitimate liberation movement. That credibility has not been lost; only that of its leader.

Sounder minds within the movement will, surely, ponder this fact in the run-up to the election.

It is not only the Right which will be hoping that the duplicitous Sam Nujoma is on his way out. Or that, at the very least, he will be persuaded to honour democratic principles in future with greater vigour than he has so far displayed.



Pro-Swapo demo in Windhoek, April 1 ... then the news

claims that, in spite of what the peace plan may say, as far as local Ovambos are concerned, the feeling is that if the SA Defence forces can be confined to bases inside Namibia, then why not Plan forces as well? SA is seen as having pounced on a mere "technical violation" of the ceasefire.

Undeniably, though, Swapo broke the accord. The insurgents were armed with rockets and missiles and they battled for eight

SOUTHERN LIFE

No dangerous liaison



■ The assurer contends it will shrug off the exodus of top personnel

Why has Southern Life, which has been recording very solid growth, been losing so many top executives — and will this hit the bottom line?

This is the question many investors are asking, and with reason. Since the beginning

of July, Southern has lost its chairman Zach de Beer; its deputy CE Morris Bernstein; its executive director in charge of employee benefits Bill Haslam; equity investment GM John Scott; investment marketing assistant GM Boetie Toerien; and employee benefits

GM Charles Davies.

Chairman and CE Neal Chapman says that each left for unrelated reasons: De Beer has gone into politics full time; Bernstein wished to emigrate; Haslam took over Time Life Assurance, which he will run and of

SAM NUJOMA

A step in the wrong direction

Swapo president Sam Nujoma could have possibly become the first African leader to assume power in a peaceful, democratic and orderly fashion.

Instead, his debut as a statesman has been a disaster and his international credibility — and that of Swapo — has been brought into question by his ill-conceived raid into northern Namibia.

In attempting to establish Swapo bases within the territory, Nujoma has blatantly violated Resolution 435 and The Geneva Protocol, both in letter and in spirit (see leaders). The latter violation is possibly the more serious. Namibians are bound to question Swapo's promises and pledges, while closer to home, South Africans are already dismissing the value of a negotiated settlement.

Nujoma's gamble also displays a disregard for past lessons. The collapse of Resolution 435 in the late Seventies was largely due to Swapo's insistence that it should have bases in Namibia during the transition to independence. Did Nujoma imagine that 10 years of warfare would soften SA's stance on this sensitive issue?

In true revolutionary style, it seems Nujoma wanted to claim a final military/political victory, even knowing — as he must have — that the cost could be extensive loss of life. Once again his gambit reflects a naivety. The South Africans have never suffered defeat graciously.

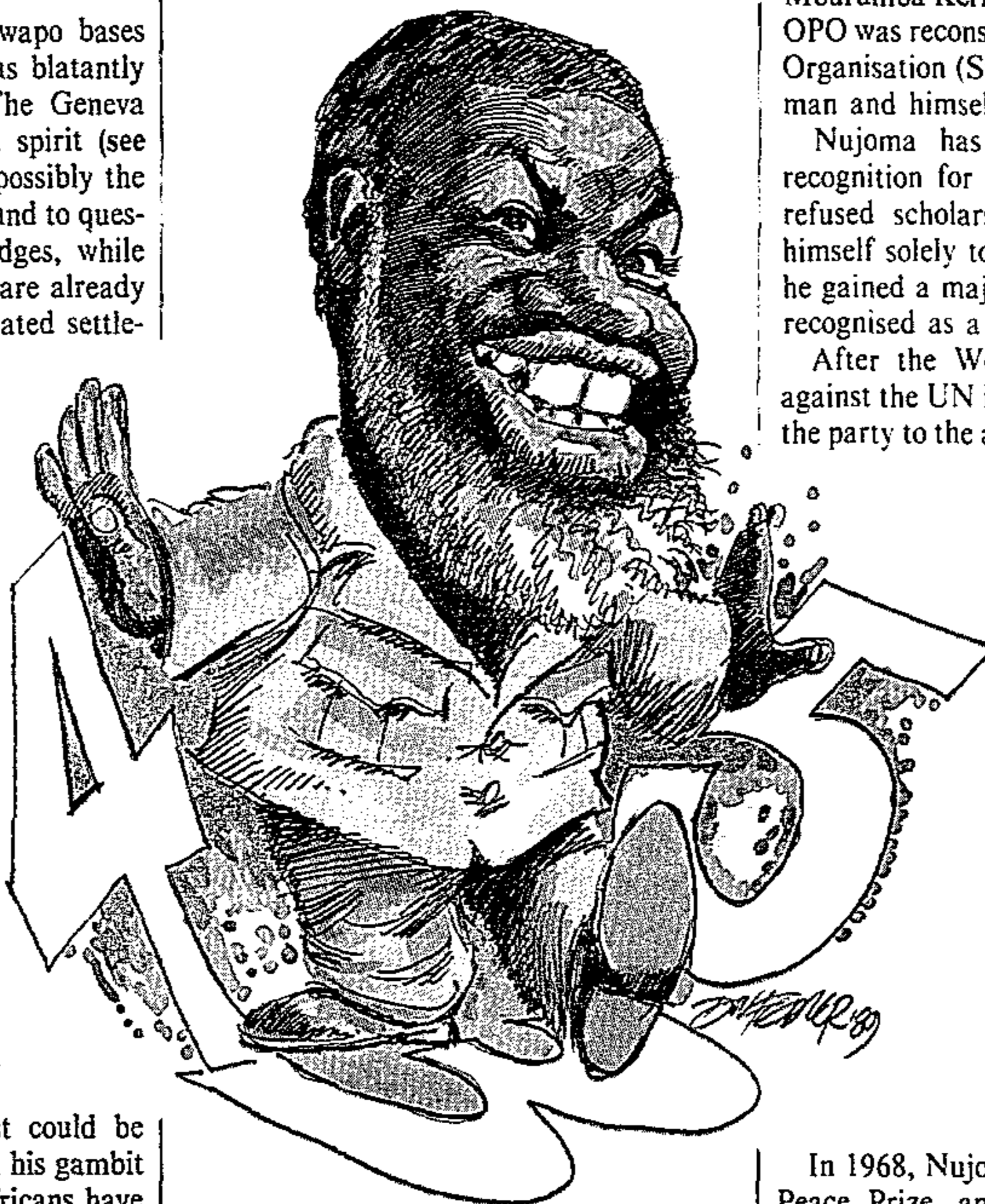
Although no intellectual, Nujoma has a reputation as a shrewd politician who has survived at least two serious attempts to usurp his leadership. But as international condemnation of Swapo's move mounts, many are questioning his ability to survive.

Described as somewhat erratic, no one is certain any longer what he has in mind for a post-independent Namibia should he be elected. He has been known to favour a mixed economy, yet he continues to espouse hardline Marxist dogma. International analysts attest to serious internal tensions within Swapo and believe Nujoma faces opposition from members who are superior to him intellectually.

Observers also predict a clash between Nujoma and the internal Swapo leadership — many of whom have learnt that co-opera-

tion with white Namibians and SA is advisable if not essential. Nujoma, on the other hand, still speaks of African solidarity and continues to pledge support for the ANC.

Known within Swapo as "the old man," Nujoma was born in May 1929 at Ongandjera in Ovamboland and educated at a Finn-



ish mission school and St Barnabas School in Windhoek. While working on the railway as a steward (1955-1957), he met Andimba Toivo ja Toivo and joined the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO). He led the first Windhoek branch of the OPO, becoming president in 1959. Nujoma joined the SWA National Union (SWANU) and was soon elevated to the executive when SWANU merged with the OPO.

Fired from his job on the railway in 1957 because of his trade union activities, Nujoma became a leading opponent of the Windhoek Administration. He is said to have organised the ousting of his own uncle from an SA appointed advisory board, and was instrumental in organising a municipal boycott protesting the relocation of blacks to present day Katutura. This resistance eventually led to police shooting 13 demonstrators on De-

cember 10, 1959.

After being imprisoned for a week, Nujoma left the country before having to stand trial, going into exile to Ghana in February 1960 via Botswana and Tanzania. With the help of Kwame Nkrumah, he made it to the US and appeared before the UN Committee on SWA in June 1960. In New York he met Mburumba Kerina and on April 19, 1960 the OPO was reconstituted as the SWA People's Organisation (Swapo) with Kerina as chairman and himself as president.

Nujoma has travelled widely to gain recognition for Swapo and is said to have refused scholarships* in order to dedicate himself solely to the organisation. In 1964, he gained a major victory when Swapo was recognised as a recipient of OAU aid.

After the World Court judgment went against the UN in 1966, Nujoma committed the party to the armed struggle. He returned

to Windhoek in 1966 to test the legalities of the decision, but was turned back at the airport and officially deported. In 1979, he gained official recognition for Swapo at the UN and official member status of the Non-Aligned Movement.

He has led negotiations with the UN, the Western Five, SA and the Frontline States in international negotiations for an independent Namibia since the mid-Seventies.

In 1968, Nujoma was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize, and in 1978 the November Medal Prize. He has an honorary doctorate in Law from Kaduna University, Nigeria.

Over the years Nujoma has frequently reassured white Namibians that Swapo's policy is nonracial and allows for their continued presence in the country.

But after his latest debacle, only firm action — not mere words — will convince Namibians of his bona fides. ■

MARTIN ROSEN

Smiling through it

Finding the hard edge in Martin Rosen, Pick 'n Pay's (P'nP) new national marketing director, is a difficult task.

For only Cape Town could produce this 38-year-old lifestylist extraordinaire who

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — UN soldiers are running up blue flags today over hastily-built assembly points along the northern border and broadcasting messages into Ovambo's bush calling on Swapo guerillas to begin a protected withdrawal to Angola.

UN administrator Mr Martti Ahtisaari, stressing that the armed face-off in the bush could touch off new clashes, said he and UN officials "will do our damndest" to make the proposed white-flag withdrawal work.

But by early today, no guerillas had arrived at any of the assembly points.

Australian and British soldiers assigned to the UN Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) are among the first blue berets deployed at remote border stations designated from noon today as assembly points under a truce agreed at the weekend.

Police and army patrols, rushed back to the bush war to contain Swapo's wave of incursions, remain on alert despite diminishing clashes and guerilla

Phone call 'saved 435'

A tense 11th-hour call between Pik Botha and Martti Ahtisaari foiled Swapo's daring 'confidence trick'. Report, PAGE 5.

leader Mr Sam Nujoma's call — under Angolan arm-twisting — for his bush fighters to withdraw from northern Namibia.

Police yesterday reported no new skirmishes and said casualties for the bloody week stood at 262 Swapo guerillas killed and 13 captured, and 26 policemen and soldiers killed.

The Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, said South African and Namibian forces will be confined to bases again only when he is satisfied that all the estimated 1 500 guerillas are restricted behind the 16th parallel in Angola, well back from the sensitive border.

"If aggressively encountered by members of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan), they will have no option than to fulfil their duty," Mr Pienaar told a news conference.

"We are not dealing with a complete ceasefire situation, that was not agreed"

Untag men to move at first light

OSHAKATI. — Fifty-five Australian Untag troops, together with about the same number of British soldiers, will move out of Oshakati at first light today to man the nine designated gathering points for Swapo.

Australian commander Colonel Richard Warren said each point would be manned by five Australian and five British "line soldiers" armed with light-gauge pistols or rifles.

Five unarmed "military monitors", who have been in Oshakati for some time, will also be at each point.

Colonel Warren was confident that the gathering points — with the exception of Beacon 25, which will be prepared by noon tomorrow — would be ready for today's deadline.

He said church groups were expected to supply food, drinks and other necessities to the guerillas. — Sapa

Police spokesman Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said: "If police run into a contact, I don't think we are going to dish out roses from our side."

The US Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, whose conciliatory role has underpinned the UN independence plan for Namibia over the past five years, said here yesterday that the Swapo incursions triggered "a grave crisis with implications for the whole sub-region".

South Africa, Angola and Cuba struck a deal at the weekend to allow Swapo infiltrators free movement over six days to designated assembly points inside Namibia and on the border, where they can hand themselves and their weapons over to Untag forces for escorted passage to Angola.

"We will have megaphones in all the places," Mr Ahtisaari said at a rare news

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P.T.O.

UN. Inoisists fear Uneasy wait for Swapo's fighters

Cape Times 11/4/89

Swapo four get stuck

sample
14/4/84
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OSHIKANGO — Four Swapo guerillas who arrived at a UN assembly point in northern Namibia were unable to return to Angola yesterday because Angola failed to erect a border monitoring point.

Two of them, wounded in last week's fiercest fighting of Namibia's 23-year bush war, were later whisked by UN helicopter from this desolate post to an undisclosed destination.

So far, the four at Oshikango are the only Swapo fighters to have opted for a UN post rather than make a direct dash for the border. Swapo leader, Sam Nujoma, has urged his men to return directly to Angola, describing the assembly points as South African traps.

Angola was to establish two posts to facilitate repatriation but by midday yesterday had erected only one, at Ruacana in northwestern Namibia.

The four guerillas, brought in from a nearby mission on Wednesday under the terms of the ceasefire, were stuck awaiting the Angolans.

They stayed through the morning in a UN tent. Reporters had an opportunity to speak to them from behind a cordon inside the tent, but questions about their military activities were not allowed.

The two uninjured men looked cheerful but the news conference ended when one of the injured men was helped outside to vomit. The two wounded men were soon carried to a UN helicopter and taken away.— Sapa-Reuter.

Friday April 14 1989

OSHIKANGO
I went into Angola
this week with-

out a passport or permission
from the authorities, and
crossed illegally back again
into Namibia.

I crossed the border on foot
and walked to Santa Clara, also
known as St Catherine's, the
way many members of Swapo
who are now said to be active
combatants in the People's
Liberation Army of Namibia
(PLAN), have left the country.
I came back into Namibia on
foot — the way many PLAN
fighters have returned.

The crossing to Santa Clara,
only a minutes' walk from the
Namibian border, was only
playful, but real.

It supported information
that citizens of Angola cross
regularly into Namibia to buy
necessities from the shops in
Oshikango.

It was in the dense bush
facing Santa Clara or, rather,
the ruins of Santa Clara, where
one of seven assembly points

I CROSS INTO

ANGOLA - WITHOUT

A PASSPORT

BY JON OWELANE
Sowetan African News
Service

for Swapo's PLAN fighters
were set up along the border.

At noon a white landrover
hoisting the flag of the United
Nations drove along the
Namibian border with Angola,
silently beckoning Swapo
guerillas anywhere in the bush
to come into the open.

But if there was any guerilla
in the bush at that time, he
either did not see the flag or, as
fighting men everywhere say,
did not give a damn.

General Dewan Prem
Chand, overall commander of
the UN peace-keeping force,
put on a brave face even if the

eagerly-anticipated Swapo
repatriation appeared to be a
non-starter.

He smiled, chatted with
reporters and soldiers and
cheerfully ate his canned curry
lunch standing on the roadside.

Some distance away his
soldiers were wreaking havoc
on the environment.

Courtesy of the United
Nations. A heavy-duty truck,
hoisting the flag of the world
body, brought down tree after
tree.

Untag soldiers assisting with
power saws, apparently
preparing cover for General
Chand's men as they got ready
to spend their first night in
Namibia doing what many say
ought to have been their

primary and perhaps only role
in the first place, namely,
ensuring no more outbreaks of
hostility between Swapo and
forces loyal to the South
African government.

The UN men, Australian and
British troops, methodically set
up camps in the bush where
reminders of pitched and
deadly battles of many years
ago still litter the soft, white
sand:

According to a Punjabi
commander of an Untag unit in
Oshikango, there may be
unexploded mortars and
rockets which could yet go off.

Their first afternoon at the
assembly points was a busy one
for the Untag men... They
offloaded generators from their
trucks and set them up, dug
trenches and prepared meals.
For some, sentry duty began
early in the afternoon.

They were all hopeful, all
Namibia is hopeful, that the
first guerillas would soon begin
trickling into the camps.

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Untag 'powerless'

(22) *Sowetan 14/4/89*
ALLEGATIONS that the United Nations could have stopped last week's clashes in Northern Namibia are nonsense, say experts in international affairs and strategic studies.

Following the clashes between Swapo and SWA police many Third World countries and even Western analysts said that had the United Nations troops been stationed in Namibia they would have been able to handle the affair rather than turn the job over to the South West African police and the South Africans.

Professor Deon Fourie, of the Department of Strategic Studies at the University of South

FOCUS

Africa, said these criticisms were not valid.

In this case, as in many others, the UN forces' role there is to monitor the events and nothing else," he said.

Therefore when Swapo infiltrated the territory they would not have been stopped by the United Nations troops no matter how many men the UN had there at the time.

"If Swapo had encountered UN troops

in the border and told them they wanted to go through they would have done just that and no UN force would have intervened," he said.

The UN forces would probably have then reported that there had been a violation of the accord and left it to the political bodies and the administrator general to solve the problem.

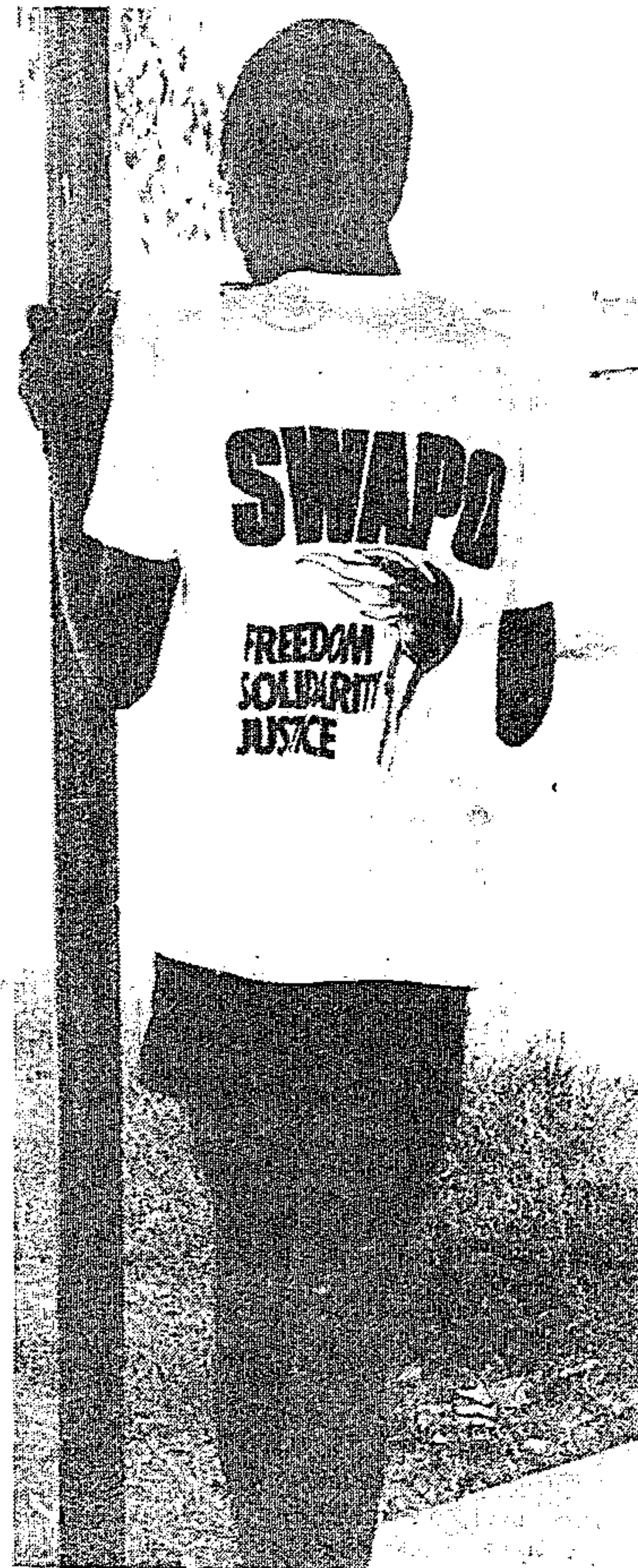
Prof Fourie pointed out that even in situations where United Nations forces had been sent to keep fighting armies apart they had not intervened when the fighting had started.

Article

In the Middle East UN forces had left their positions separating Egypt and Israel when ordered to do so by the Egyptian authorities, thus opening the way for the 1967 six-day war.

Article 42 of the UN Charter states that the Security Council "may take such action by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security".

However, in a book on its structures and activities, the UN itself



A SWAPO supporter shows his colours.

underlines that "a United Nations peace-keeping operation is not an enforcement as envisaged in Article 42 of the charter..."

It adds that all UN soldiers although armed are authorised to use their arms "only in self-defence and with the utmost restraint".

The peace-keeping operations, says the UN booklet, "seek to achieve their objective by negotiation and persuasion rather than by force".

Prof Fourie said that under the agreements signed by all parties involved in the Namibian and Angolan conflicts, the responsibility for maintaining law and order in the territory falls upon the SWA police not the United Nations.
Sowetan Africa News Service.

15780 KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — With one day left in Namibia's bush war truce, SA has offered to extend the period amid clear signs that Swapo guerrillas are shunning the offer of a UN-protected passage to Angola.

An official said planning for the resolution 435 independence programme was still frozen but insisted it was "not off the rails".

Five days after SA and Angola struck the safe-passage deal to end a week of fighting, only five guerrillas have given themselves up.

UN officials expected the guerrillas to choose churches as collection points rather than UN posts with SA military encampments nearby.

"The church centres may turn out to be the most used as sanctuary for Swapo members," Untag deputy chief Cedric Thornberry said yesterday.

SA offers to extend its bush war truce

8/0001 14/4/89
"We understand very well the reluctance of Swapo to come in where there is a visible, even a menacing — in the eyes of those in the bush — SADF presence," he said. 8/0001 14/4/89 - (221)

Police said yesterday there was no evidence of a large-scale withdrawal to Angola, despite come-home appeals from Luanda by Swapo president Sam Nujoma.

"There are about 27 tracks, in small groups of two or three. Maybe they're taking back wounded, taking a rest, or getting fresh ammunition... we don't know," police spokesman Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said.

Police and military officials estimate up

● To Page 2 →

SA offers to extend its bush war truce

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● From Page 1
to 1900 guerrillas have crossed from southern Angola since Swapo's peace-wrecking incursions first disrupted the UN independence plan on April 1.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha offered yesterday to extend the truce deadline.

"The SA government will not object to an extension of this period to allow Swapo to continue to have freedom of passage to present themselves at assembly points," he said.

He expected, though, that withdrawal would come "within a reasonable time".

Commenting on police claims that Swapo fighters reporting to UN assembly points would be interrogated, photographed and finger-printed, Botha said: "There is no question of Swapo being interrogated."

He assumed Untag would take such details as were necessary to identify those who presented themselves at assembly points.

Government spokesman Gerhard Roux

told reporters asking about possible SA action after the deadline expired: "Let's give these people a chance... let's cross that bridge when we come to it."

Roux said a Swapo fighter gave himself up to police late on Wednesday at Ruacana in the west, near the area of the first infiltrations on April 1.

About the same time, in the first reported arrival of guerrillas at UN assembly points, four men were taken in by Pakistani and Australian soldiers at Oshikango.

"Two of them were wounded, one in the shoulder and one in the arm," Roux said. He said the guerrilla held by police at Ruacana would be handed over to Untag.

Roux described the bush situation as "stable" and said no clashes or casualties had been reported.

Official figures put the death toll in last week's skirmishes at 263 Swapo fighters and 27 policemen and soldiers.

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by

BRENDAN SEERY
Weekend Argus Africa
News Service

Weekend

FOCUS

3

PROFILE 1

Key Soviet treads SA

by Frans Esterhuysen, Political Staff

MR Anatoly Leonidovich Adamishin, now a shadowy presence in South Africa, has emerged as a man who could play a decisive role in southern Africa's future.

As one of Moscow's key men, he has been present at various peace initiatives, is said to have had direct talks with senior South African government officials and was brought into the living-rooms of millions of South Africans this week when he was interviewed in an SABC-TV programme.

Yet Pretoria remains extremely coy about its dealings with the Soviet deputy Foreign Minister — to the extent of refusing to confirm or deny that talks took place.

Meanwhile it is widely accepted abroad that there have been talks and that Soviet-SA relations were discussed.

SOUTH African government sources were also tight-lipped about reports that Mr Adamishin recently had talks in Pretoria and was taken on a 90-minute flight over South Africa's industrial heartland — the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area with its big cities, teeming townships and factories.

A Foreign Affairs Department source said yesterday that the government had not confirmed or denied such a visit. Similarly, the government had not confirmed or denied that Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha had talks with Mr Adamishin in Maputo recently.

Mr Adamishin was also present in Namibia last weekend at the crucial Mount Etjo talks to resolve the Namibian crisis following Swapo's incursions which threatened the peace agreement.

At those talks, in which Mr Pik Botha played a key role in putting South Africa's case, Mr Adamishin and his American counterpart, Dr Chester Crocker, were observers.

Previously, it was reported that

Mr Pik Botha had brief discussions with Mr Adamishin in Brazzaville and New York during the Angola/Namibia peace negotiations.

THE sequence of events and Mr Adamishin's recurring presence at vital talks on peace initiatives affecting southern Africa, show he is hardly a man Pretoria can afford to ignore. No measure of secretiveness on South Africa's part can disguise the fact that Mr Adamishin's role in southern African affairs, whatever it is, has become a reality.

Who is Mr Adamishin and what is his role?

In this week's SABC-TV interview he came across as a quiet-spoken and serious-minded man.

He speaks English fluently, though somewhat hesitantly at times when he seems to hunt in his mind for the right word or phrase.

Choosing his words carefully, he gave the impression of being a man with an analytical mind and confident about his assessment of things. His tone was friendly and persuasive as he spoke about Soviet relations and policy in southern Africa.

Not much seems to be known about Mr Adamishin in South Africa.

STELLENBOSCH University's Institute for Soviet Studies has some details about his career in the Soviet Union, but little more.

The institute's director, Dr Philip Nel, said this week his impression was that Mr Adamishin could have an important role in the formulation of Soviet policy in southern Africa.

He was well qualified for such a role by virtue of his previous experience as former head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's first European department. In that position he was likely to have gained considerable knowledge and experience of Western reaction to Soviet policy in the Third World, including African states.

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Owambos ask UN to stop SA assaults

by JOHN RYAN
Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — Citizens of Owamboland, worst hit by the bloody fighting in Namibia over the past fortnight, are petitioning the United Nations to intervene and stop South African and South West African security forces assaulting and intimidating them.

The petition, already signed by 4 300 Owambos, is being circulated at a crucial time in the precarious peace agreement aimed at getting UN Resolution 435 back on track.

Yesterday it was reported that 13 more Swapo guerrillas had been killed in clashes with security forces since the signing of the Mount Etjo accord last weekend.

In a joint statement by the UN and South Africa, it was also announced that the deadline for Swapo fighters to withdraw to Angola had been extended to April 21.

Mass intimidation

Most of the complaints in the Owambo petition involve members of 101 Battalion, who are accused of seeking out and molesting known Swapo supporters or villagers wearing Swapo colours.

Signatories claim mass intimidation began last month and is continuing on a daily basis. They urge the UN to take whatever steps are necessary to have units like Battalion 101 deactivated again.

In one written complaint received by the Human Rights Centre in Ongwediva, a woman claims security force members ripped all her clothes off because she was wearing Swapo colours.

Officials at the centre tell of a case of a businessman near Ondangwa who was forced to close his shop after it was discovered he was manufacturing Swapo badges, sashes and caps. Advocate David Smuts, director of the Legal Assistance Centre here which administers the Human Rights Centre, said yesterday: "The intimidation and the assaults began last month when people started wearing Swapo colours because they thought the peace process was under way."



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NAMIBIA

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Swapo wants to meet Pienaar

WINDHOEK. — Swapo Foreign Affairs Secretary Niko Besinger has announced that his organisation wants to meet Administrator-General Louis Pienaar within the next few days.

Local newspaper The Namibian reported yesterday Besinger saying "Swapo wished to present its credentials to Mr Pienaar", who is now regarded as the official representative of Pretoria in the territory.

This would be the first official discussion between Mr Pienaar and officials of the Swapo movement, the paper says.

Mr Gerhard Roux of the Administrator-General's office, is said to have welcomed the move: "Mr Pienaar would welcome such a meeting as long as there is no pre-publicity." — Sapa.

DOUBTING SWAPO

As if Swapo's international image had not taken enough of a pounding because of the failed incursion and bloody fighting in northern Namibia, other skeletons in the closet of the exile organisation started rattling this week.

A petition, said to have been signed by 83 Swapo members at the Mboroma refugee camp in Zambia, was smuggled to the outside world and reached Windhoek. The refugees asked to be flown immediately to Windhoek, saying they were in fear of their lives from Swapo's squads detailed to deal with dissidents.

The petition, one of a number said to have been smuggled out of Angola and Zambia over the past three years, raised once again the question of what has happened to those who have clashed with the Swapo leadership.

In January 1986, Swapo's Foreign Affairs Secretary Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab, announced that 100 members of the organisation, of varying levels of seniority and from various departments, had been arrested for being "South African spies".

The detentions reportedly went as high as the organisation's Central Committee.

Mr Gurirab made it clear at the time there was little chance the 100 people would appear in court or before an impartial tribunal. He said Swapo was in the middle of a war situation and could

Dateline: WINDHOEK

not afford to open up its ranks to outside scrutiny.

He said the detainees had provided "information to the enemy which was used for killing people".

Reports at the time of the detentions said it was the alleged confessions of a former guerilla commander, Mr Trauno Hautuikulipi, which led to the purge within the Swapo ranks.

Mr Hautuikulipi, who fled Namibia in 1978 after a spell in government detention, was said to have committed suicide after his role in the spying was revealed.

HOWEVER, Mr Andreas Shipanga — Swapo dissident — claimed that Mr Hautuikulipi was executed by firing squad.

Mr Shipanga himself almost suffered the same fate in the late 1970s, after he failed to win an internal power struggle in Swapo. After spending many months in Tanzanian and Zambian jails, including time on death row, Mr Shipanga was freed in 1978, after a number of organisations, including Amnesty International, agitated for his release. He returned to Namibia in 1978, forming the Swapo-Democrats party and repeating the theme of Swapo terror towards its dissidents.

In late 1985, a group of parents of Namibian exiles who had joined Swapo, formed a committee to voice their fears about their children's fate.

The committee — which was slated by Swapo as a South African front organisation — claimed to have written to the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross, to Presidents Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Fidel Castro of Cuba in their attempts to find out about their relatives. The committee received the latest pe-

^{15/4/89}
Honour

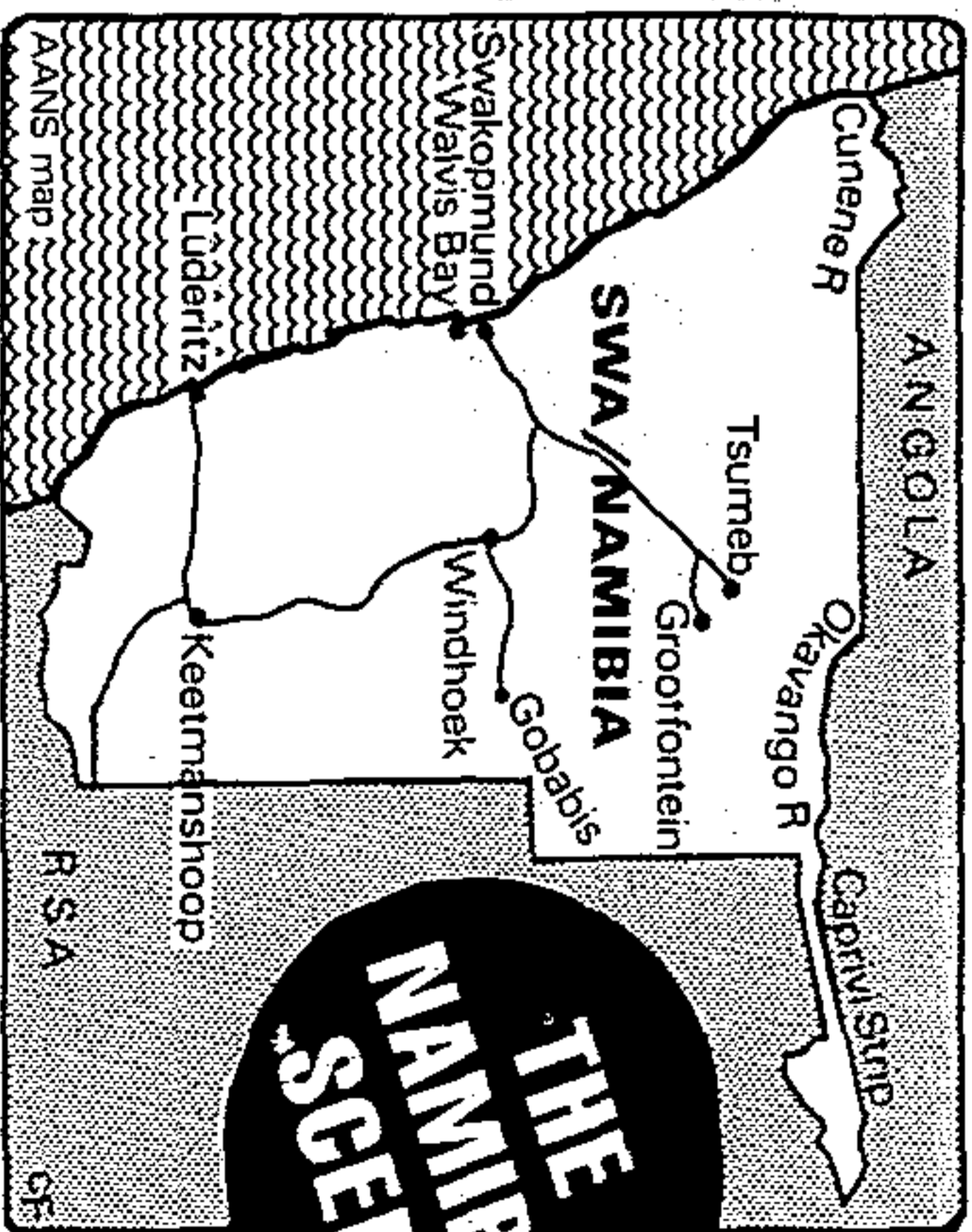
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tion from the Mboroma refugees, which asked Mr Shipanga to take up their case with the UN High Commission for Refugees, which has established an office in Windhoek and is currently preparing for the return of the estimated 58 000 Namibian exiles in Angola, Zambia and Botswana.

THE UN Security Council Resolution 435 independence plan — although somewhat delayed now because of the fighting in the north of Namibia — specifically says that "all Namibian refugees detained or otherwise outside the territory of Namibia will be permitted to return peacefully and participate fully and freely in the electoral process".

If Swapo dissidents, including the 100 alleged "spies" are permitted to return freely to Namibia, they could well be put on trial by a triumphant Swapo government in Windhoek.

Swapo officials have said that the dissidents will have to answer to the people of Namibia for their conduct and

have not ruled out possible trials after independence should Swapo sweep to victory in the November elections.

However, the organisation, along with all parties to the Namibia settlement dispute, agreed in 1982 to adhere to certain principles concerning a future Constituent Assembly and principles for a Constitution for Namibia.

ONE of the clauses in that agreement, which was formally passed on to the UN by the Western Five Contact Group included the words: "It will be forbidden to create criminal offences with retrospective effect or to provide for increased penalties with retrospective effect."

The Western world, in particular, must be wondering if Swapo's commitments to that agreement will be honoured, in the light of what they believe was a deliberate flouting of the Namibian peace agreements and southern African peace accords which started the killing on April 1.

900 Swapo men still in Namibia — Pik

*CP to Tracks
15/4/89 (221)*

Political Staff

ABOUT 900 Swapo insurgents were still in Namibia, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

He told Parliament in an update of the situation during the debate on the State President's vote, that 267 Swapo guerillas had been killed, 22 captured and tracks showed that about another 350 had crossed back into Angola.

Security forces were uncovering caches of arms and equipment which had been buried and were still keeping a watch for a convoy of 25 large Russian trucks conveying troops, cannons, anti-aircraft weapons and unidentified equipment.

He said the sooner Swapo reported that its men were all back in Angola, the sooner South Africa's security forces would be re-

turned to their bases.

Mr Botha also strongly rejected Conservative Party claims that the security forces had been caught off-guard. The Swapo insurgents had crossed into Namibia on the night of March 31 and the first tracks were picked up the following morning.

The first "contact" took place at 9.30am, he said.

He warned the CP not to attempt to apply South African politics to the territory, which had never belonged to South Africa.

Mr Botha disclosed that former prime minister Mr John Vorster had ditched the stop-start South-West African peace initiatives saying: "I have had enough."

He said Mr Vorster's reaction was a reflection of the protracted and complex negotiations over

independence for the territory.

He said he was thankful for the general unanimity — with the exception of the Conservative Party — on what had been achieved.

● Mr Botha said he had "served South Africa's interests" in every discussion he had held with Soviet officials.

He was responding to Conservative Party queries about what was going on in relations between the two countries.

South Africa was not so naive as to think that it could get around sanctions by trading with the Soviets.

However, the Americans believed in sanctions and the Soviets did not.

He asked the CP whether South Africa should boycott the Soviets if they wanted to buy South African grain or coal.

Wes E. N. C.

13 Swapo guerrillas killed

More battles in Namibia despite 'safe passage' pact

WINDHOEK — Namibian officials yesterday announced the deaths of 13 more Swapo guerrillas and said there have been at least two battles this week despite a plan for the insurgents to withdraw safely to Angola.

Mr Gerhard Roux, a spokesman for the Administrator-General, said five Swapo guerrillas were killed on Thursday in a skirmish with security forces and another two were killed on Tuesday.

Also, the bodies of six insurgents were found in northern Namibia this week, but it was not known when they died, Mr Roux said.

Prior to Mr Roux's statement, there had been no official reports of fighting between the security forces and Swapo guerrillas since last weekend.

Battles erupted on April 1, the first day of a ceasefire and a year-long, UN-supervised process to make Namibia independent. Since then 276 guerrillas and 27 members of the security forces have been killed, according to territorial officials.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said about 1 600 guerrillas have infiltrated into northern Namibia since April 1 and must be accounted for before the independence process can move ahead.

Mr Botha yesterday said about 350 guerrillas had withdrawn from Namibia, 22 have been captured, and about 900 remain in the territory.

Mr Botha's new estimate of 1 600 Swapo infiltrators was down from the previous South African estimate of 3 900. No explanation for the new figure was given.

Last weekend, South African, Cuban and Angolan officials worked out an arrangement guaranteeing safe passage for guerrillas back to Angola if they reported to UN-monitored checkpoints. As of yesterday evening, however, only five guerrillas had reported

to the checkpoints.

A UN official, Mr Cedric Thornberry, said on Thursday the insurgents probably were reluctant to surface because of the "menacing presence" of security forces near assembly points.

The ceasefire has not been reinstated since last week's fighting, although South Africa has said its forces would fire at guerrillas only if attacked.

The deadline for the withdrawal is Saturday, but Mr Botha said South Africa was prepared to extend it.

Mr Botha also agreed with the UN that South African soldiers would not be allowed to interrogate guerrillas who report to the checkpoints.

Territorial officials had said on Wednesday that such interrogation would take place, and some South African soldiers tried to get access to four guerrillas at a checkpoint on Thursday but were rebuffed by Australian and British members of the UN monitoring force.

Unarmed refugees

UN investigators have supported South Africa's contention that the guerrillas' incursion violated an accord requiring they stay at Angolan bases at least until May 15, when they could enter Namibia as unarmed refugees.

Swapo's exiled president, Mr Sam Nujoma, has called on his fighters to withdraw but has not told them to report to the checkpoints.

In December, South Africa agreed to begin a transition to independence in exchange for Cuba withdrawing an estimated 50 000 troops from Angola.

Swapo has been fighting against South African rule since 1966 and is favoured to get the most votes in the scheduled independence elections which are scheduled for November.

There is uncertainty whether it will get the two-thirds support needed to have full control over formation of a new government. Swapo-AP.



THE BIG FIVE: (left to right) Mr Justice Michael Kirby, Court of Appeal of New South Wales, Australia; Mr Keith Kunene, chairman Black Mayor's Association; Mr Justico G P C Kotze SC, former judge of Appellate Division of the Supreme Court; Mr Sydney Kentridge QC, barrister; Mr Ismael Mahomed SC, advocate and Judge of Appeal, Lesotho/Swaziland.

Now lawyers take up cry of the townships

THE CITY of the townships ... one man, one vote ... is increasingly on the eloquent lips of lawyers in the universities and their colleagues at the Bar.

Universal adult suffrage was an interlinking thread in the erudite addresses of distinguished jurists at the 10th anniversary conference of the Legal Resources Centre which ended behind closed doors yesterday.

The question was not so much whether the time had come for universal suffrage in South Africa, but whether it was necessary.

Mr James B. South, SA's first black lawyer, said that the apartheid system had

been ignored. It was only after the great drive for civil rights in the United States in the 1960s that a halt was called to the trickery that deprived blacks of the vote.

Professor Francis Wilton of the University of Cape Town asked whether it was enough to repeal apartheid laws in South Africa.

Apartheid laws were, he said, merely the scaffolding which had made erection of the apartheid structures possible, even if all of the scaffolding did fall to the short run.

To build a structure particularly relevant to the townships, he said, was to build a structure dominated by white people.

PATRICK LAURENCE

escape from poverty and humiliation.

He told delegates from four continents a tale entitled The Mississippi Parable.

After the American Civil War (1861-65) the vote was extended to black Americans in the South, in Mississippi, where blacks were in the majority, 67 percent registered.

Back to six

Then came the white backlash. In 1901, the vote was reduced to six whites for every black.

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of market forces in the foreseeable future.

Mr Steve Kahnovitz of the Cape Town Legal Resources Centre raised the question whether the demand for privatization, and the ideology that went with it, was not motivated by a desire to place vital resources beyond the reach of a State now that the prospect of a black controlled state was in the offing.

Rubicon

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NEWS

Does Nujoma have the stuff to lead independent Namibia?

THE leader of Swapo, Namibia's nationalist movement, and, some say, the country's future president, has an image problem.

He has made so many controversial statements and has made so many wrong decisions that he is seen in some diplomatic quarters as an erratic, bullying man, lacking in intellect and with no capacity to lead the future independent state of Namibia.

This impression is strengthened by his faltering pronunciation when speaking English, which makes his appearance unsophisticated, and by the fact that the movement he leads has failed to make any military inroads in the liberation struggle it launched more than two decades ago.

In fact, so irrelevant has Swapo become on the battle field that it is the only southern African liberation movement which will go back to the country it fought for without even being invited to the negotiating table.

But, despite being encumbered with such an unenviable political reputation, there are no signs that Sam Nujoma's position as president of Swapo, the movement he has led for 30 years, is in any way threatened.

What he lacks in charisma, he makes up for in ruthless determination to be at the head of the pack as far as Swapo is concerned.

When, in 1984, the South Africans released Herman Toivo ja Toivo after 16 years in jail, it was expected that he would be a serious challenge to Mr Nujoma.

However, after being appointed secretary-general, he quickly disappeared from the public scene.

In 1976 Mr Nujoma suffered the most serious challenge to his authority when hundreds of Swapo members revolted against his style of ruling, accusing the movement's leadership of corruption and tribalism.

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In 1983 in Paris, at the height of negotiations involving the Western powers for elections in Namibia, Mr Nujoma told a press conference that the internal parties would have to be "disciplined" after independence.

He had earlier said that those who had allowed themselves "to be used by the enemy" would be "done away with by the people".

His most controversial statement was made in a television interview given at the UN in 1978 at the height of peace negotiations for the territory.

Questioned on what he would do if majority rule was achieved in Namibia without Swapo, the Swapo leader gave a reply that for days afterwards had other top Swapo members scrambling to try to correct it.

"We are not fighting for majority rule. We are fighting to seize power in Namibia for the benefit of the Namibian people. We are

revolutionaries. We are not counter-revolutionaries.

"You can talk to them (the internal leaders) and to all the reactionaries about majority rule, not to Swapo," Mr Nujoma said.

Later other Swapo leaders said Mr Nujoma had been quoted out of context and added that he was trying to say that the concept of majority ruled was being "misused" by the South Africans.

Despite his apparent lack of diplomatic ability, Mr Nujoma is regarded by some analysts as a moderate within the organisation, an old-style African nationalist, who despite the rhetoric is no Marxist. His popularity as the man who has led the struggle "against the Boers" remains strong among Namibia's people.

Sam Nujoma was born on May 12 1929 at Ongandjera and was educated at a Finnish Protestant mission school and at St Barnabas school in Windhoek.

In 1957 he worked at the state railways and as a municipal clerk and later in a store from 1957 to 1959, when he became involved in politics.

He was arrested in December 1959 and went into exile in December 1960. He tried to return home in 1966 but was expelled.

Sam Nujoma, a founder of Swapo, is married and has three children.

Personality

SAM NUJOMA

Written by

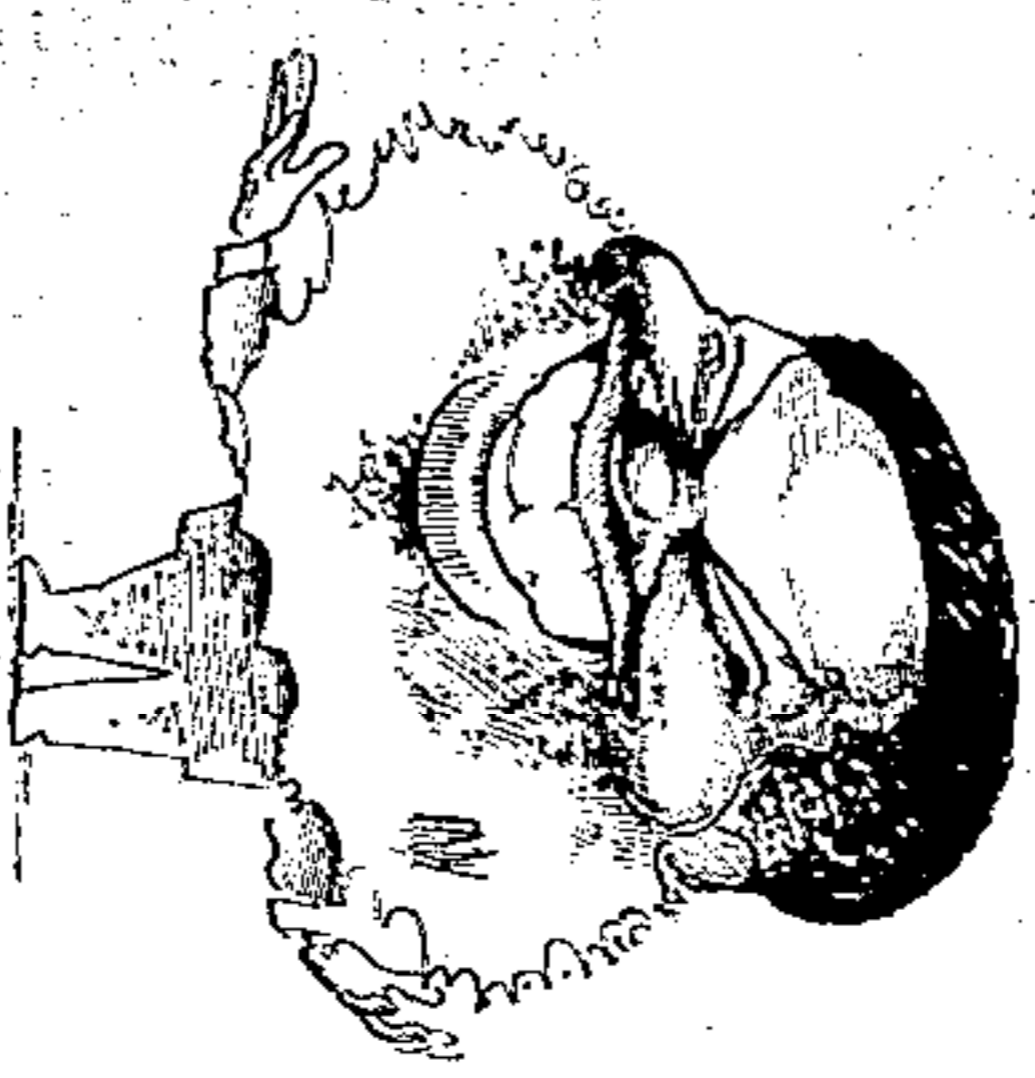
JOAO SANTA RITA

statements are many.

In 1979 during negotiations for a peacekeeping force to be sent to Namibia, he said he would refuse the presence of any Nato countries in the force. He said if Britain was invited by the United Nations to send soldiers to Namibia "Swapo will fight them".

In 1980 Mr Nujoma caused another furor when he said in Harare he would not accept a defeat in any election in Namibia.

"One way or the other we can't lose — Swapo will not entertain



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221

ing north into Angola had been reported.

A group of PLAN fighters said to number 10 was reported to be moving south in the region of Beacon 20 on the Angolan border.

To date only five Swapo fighters have given themselves up to be returned to Angola in terms of last weekend's Mount Etjo declaration.

Swapo yesterday declined to put its fighters under UN protection for passage from Namibia, and said they will instead return to Angola unescorted.

Precarious

Their failure either to report to UN-manned border assembly points or to show up in Angola in large numbers is keeping the UN's independence plan precariously balanced.

South African and UN officials have extended for another week — until April 21 — a withdrawal truce offered to the guerillas to break a stalemate that could kill the territory's independence plan.

"A prolonged stalemate is in no one's interest," Mr Louis Pienaar and UN chief Mr Martti Ahtisaari said in a joint statement last night.

Under the truce, Swapo should confirm by today to Mr Ahtisaari that its guerillas — variously estimated to number up to 1 900 — were confined behind the 16th parallel in Angola.

However in Luanda, Swapo spokesman Mr Hidipo Hamutenya said the guerillas would avoid the UN-run assembly points and return to Angola on their own.

"You can forget about the assembly points," he said, claiming that the facilities were traps set by South African security forces to round up Swapo fighters.

The Organisation of African Unity yesterday backed the guerillas in this decision.

Kenyan soldiers

The arrival of 208 Kenyan soldiers yesterday brought the number of UN peace-keeping forces in Namibia to 2 621.

On Thursday 271 Finnish soldiers arrived in the country, 35 Swiss, 200 Kenyans and 169 Canadians.

A police contingent of more than 90 members from the Netherlands, Ireland and Sweden is due to arrive today.

Meanwhile, a four-man delegation from the DTA yesterday wrapped up a week of intense lobbying in the UK during which they conferred with government officials and industry. — From Kevin Jacobs in Windhoek, Robert Gentle in London and Sapa Reuter

By PETER KENNY
Oshakati

NORTHERN NAMIBIA remained tense and confused this weekend as the United Nations waited to repatriate hundreds of retreating Swapo guerrillas to Angola.

Despite a tenuous agreement between all parties on a safe passage for Swapo fighters, nine more guerrillas died in clashes with security forces on Thursday.

SUSPICION

Poor communications have led to UN troop commanders and officials being cut off from their headquarters in Windhoek.

"We are terribly frustrated," an Australian officer said. "We don't know what is going on."

UN troops were kicking the dust in the hot, dry scrubland — waiting expectantly for guerrillas to come pouring into the assembly points.

But with deep suspicion expressed by civilians about

ANOTHER NINE SWAPO FIGHTERS KILLED IN RENEWED CLASHES AS TENSIONS RUN HIGH

the proximity of heavily armed SA bases to the monitoring points it looks to UN troops as if waiting for guerrillas could be like waiting for Godot — it might never happen.

Namibia's precarious peace plan entered its third week on a knife edge as more isolated skirmishes between SA forces and Swapo guerrillas raged.

In the latest flashes, in the remote Swartboysdrift area of northern Kaokoland, nine Swapo fighters were killed in

fighting with security forces on Thursday.

On Tuesday, another four guerrillas were killed in a clash in the Eenhana area of north-east Namibia, bringing the number of Swapo fighters reported killed in the last two weeks to 76.

SWA Police and SA Army losses remained at 27.

Despite the roar of Ratel armored cars and Casspir troop carriers throughout the Ovambo region this week, UN and SA officials and missionaries believe that UN

Security Council Resolution 435 for a ceasefire and elections leading to independence was still on course.

TENSION

At the headquarters of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia, at Onttja, where the first four guerrillas handed themselves to missionaries for repatriation via the UN, there were no signs of more arriving on Saturday.

Mr Olle Eriksson, a Namibian missionary of Finnish

descent, said guerrillas were scared to come in "because of the police and army wall around us".

"I think 435 is still going to function. But it won't function as well as intended and there will be quarrelling about every step of the process."

During the week, tension erupted between UN troops monitoring the assembly points and SA forces dug in at nearby bases.

A UN patrol was called out to the Epenbe Missions, near

Two Swapo fighters who handed themselves over to Unitag at Oshikango



the Okankolo monitoring points placed in the midst of the area of some of the worst fighting last week, and where a heavy guerrilla presence was still reported on Saturday.

British Captain Joe Cooper, 24, of the 30 Signals Regiment, led two UN vehicles into the mission grounds where a heavily armed SA platoon was dug in.

He strode up to a young SA second lieutenant and said to him: "Sir, I don't think you are acting in the spirit of the

agreement for the repatriation of guerrillas by your presence here.

"If you stay here it will prevent us from getting the Swapo people back to Angola."

The young SA officer replied: "My orders are that we are not to shoot guerrillas, but must hand them over to you."

After their stand-off, the two officers saluted each other, saying they would report to their respective commanders.

One plucky group of Australian soldiers decided to try to follow a group of guerrillas they had heard about hoping to make contact with them to persuade them to gather at the assembly points.

They were informed by local civilians not to continue as the guerrillas would not come to the point but would make their own way to Angola after receiving orders from the Swapo leadership to do so.

On Saturday, it was reported that UN official representative in Namibia Martti Ahtisaari might visit the north to try to break the log-jam in the repatriation of the handful of guerrillas who had handed themselves over.

BORDER

The officer in charge of the SA Army post at Oshikango, Commandant Jan Hougaard, one of SA's most decorated bush fighters, said: "If I was a member of Swapo I would not hand myself in here.

"I would just cross the border the same way I came in. Why would I want to hand in my weapons and have my name taken."

● See Page 14.

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STINAS 16/09/89

Can you lend us a jack, mate

Report: **DAVID JACKSON**
in Oshikango
Pictures: **HERMANN PAINCZYK**

THE embattled United Nations took to the road in force this week in a determined effort to get its act together in Namibia.

But faced with the harsh realities of the African bush, it was a week when the wheels threatened to come off the operation — literally. All week the blue-and-white UN convoys of four-wheel-drive vehicles snaked northwards along the road from Windhoek, bringing much-needed reinforcements to the UN monitoring contingent.

In the border bushveld, other UN personnel were waiting — in vain for the most part — for Swapo insurgents to come in from the bush.

For the Untag forces, Namibia's harsh and vast expanses are a world apart.

Two perspiring young Brits battle to change a punctured tyre at the roadside.

"Can you lend us a jack?" they ask the Sunday Times team.

"Our jacks are knackered." Further along the road, brand-new vehicles are stopped with their bonnets up to cool down overheated engines.

Gutted

Where are they headed? "Osho-Oshi-Oshakati ... that is?" asks a young British Untag member.

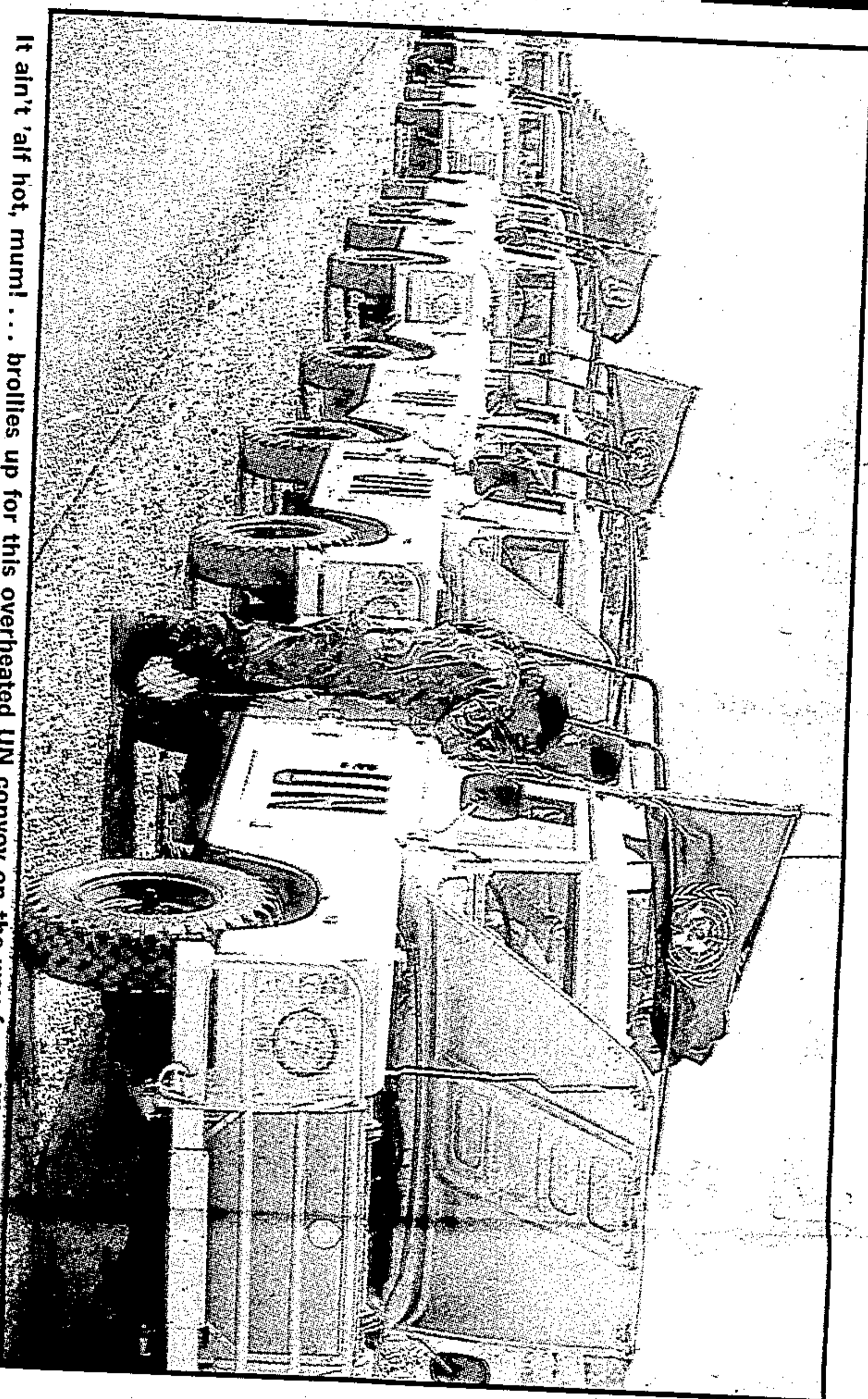
Oshakati in fact is a long, long way to the north. A fortress garrison in an Oshana-and-hell-hole, where SADF troops hardened and used to the terrain, have been fighting the bush war for more years than they care to remember.

In the opposite direction to the thin blue-and-white UN line, convoys of SA military vehicles head south.

For them the long haul could be nearing the end. North-east of Oshakati, it is high noon at the former Santa Clara border control post at Okhango, on the Namibian/Angolan border.

An Australian officer is seeking shade beneath a tree from which flutters a hastily raised blue-and-white United Nations flag.

All around are the signs of massive shootouts from battles past. Colonel Richard Warren



It ain't 'alf hot, mumi ... broilles up for this overheated UN convoy on the way from Windhoek to Oshakati



The wheel comes off ... young British Untag members struggle to change a flat tyre in the broiling Namib

UNTAG FORCES SWEAT IT OUT IN SEARING HEAT OF THE NAMIBIAN BUSH IN A VAIN WAIT FOR SAM NUJOMA'S MEN

and his Untag contingent have met their midday deadline. Their assembly point in place, they sit back to await Swapo.

The backdrop of gutted and shell-pocked buildings is like a deserted film set.

Peasants on bicycles make their way carefully to the Angolan side, seemingly oblivious of undetected anti-personnel mines which could blow them to smithereens at any moment.

The border post once saw some of the fiercest fighting in the Angolan civil war. Now, a few metres away, peace flags hang limply in the searing heat.

It is the unlikely rendezvous point for Swapo insurgents seeking to take advantage of the "safe haven" truce which will, one hopes, end with their transportation back above Angola's 16th parallel.

An Australian TV team waits expectantly in a mini-bus parked nearby. More than 24 hours later, they are rewarded as four Swapo guerrillas — two of them wounded — are brought in from a church mission station nearly 40km to the south. There are several other

such collection points scattered around the border-bushveld. Aussies, Brits, Pakistanis and Malaysians, heavily outnumbered by South African-led security force personnel, are among the Untag vanguard.

More than 800km to the south in Windhoek, weary UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari, "red-eyed and fighting back his irritation, tells a news conference: "It is a very precarious situation ... but it is the best for ... to save lives."

Daunting

There are no guarantees of success. It's a hit and miss

operation. Mr Ahtisaari hints as much. Slowly the UN is trying to mend the fences. But its monitoring mission is already two critical weeks behind schedule.

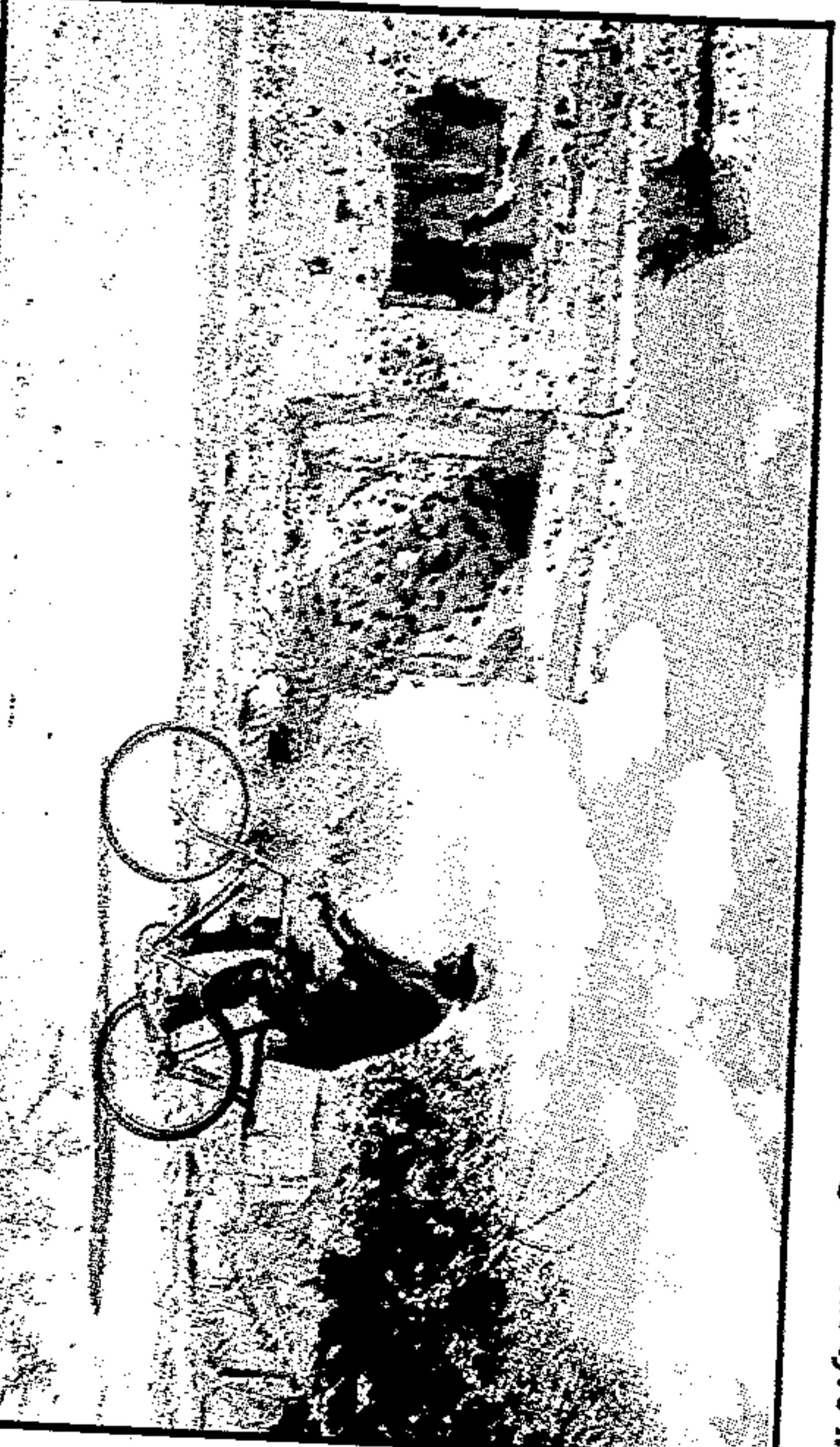
A giant transport plane disgorges the 271-strong Finnish contingent. To add to the steadily growing UN mix a party of Irish troops was flying in with the latest Untag batch late this week. And 200 Kenyans have also arrived.

But the UN's supply lines are stretched to their limits. Already behind time because of a political squabble over Untag's budget, the logistics of monitoring Namibia's sprawling territory are daunting.

At the Oshikango border assembly point, Aussie lance-corporal Tony Langley and Lee Thomas lean languidly on their four-wheel-drive vehicle.

The trials and tribulations of Brits battling in the bushveld are a source of never-ending amusement to the Aussie contingent.

"We spend half our time waiting for the bloody Poms to arrive and the other half swatting mosquitoes," quips



Battle-scarred ... a peasant amid the rubble of the border post at Oshikango

one young Aussie. A few hundred metres away at a security force camp, weightier issues are being discussed.

Commandant Johan Hougard, commander of 53 Battalion, briefs his UN counterparts, including a high-ranking Pakistani officer. He tells them that his men have swept the area for mines.

It is safe in the immediate vicinity, he advises, but elsewhere, where newsmen are blithely trampling through the rubble, there could be undetected mines.

The atmosphere is relaxed. Untag and SA officers in their shirt-sleeves take over where the politicians have left off. They have to put the mines and bolts on the "safe haven" assembly plan. Commandant Hougard tells newsmen that troops

have been pulled back to an area 10km to the east and west to give Swapo insurgents a chance to come in. There is a flurry of excitement as figures are spotted approaching stealthily from the Angolan side of the border. They are armed. Swapo, perhaps?

The hopes are premature. A Papia (Angolan army) border post is seen in the distance.

Avoid

The dust telegraph

firmly the fairs. V who have had contact Swapo cadres say the agents will avoid the as points because of the s force presence.

A windscreen sticker Untag vehicle proclaims "Namibia: Free and fair elections." At high noon in

PROFILE 2

SAM Daniel Nujoma, leader of the Namibian nationalist movement Swapo and, some say, future president of Namibia, has an image problem in the West.

He has made so many controversial statements and has taken so many wrong decisions that he is seen in some diplomatic quarters as an erratic, bullying man, lacking in intellect and with no capacity to lead the future independent state of Namibia.

This image is strengthened by his faltering pronunciation when speaking English which makes his appearance unsophisticated... and by the fact that the movement which he leads has failed to make any military inroads in the liberation struggle it launched more than two decades ago.

Indeed, so irrelevant in the military field is Swapo that it is the only southern African liberation movement which will go back to the country it fought for without even being invited to the negotiating table.

But despite this image, Mr Nujoma has survived several crises inside the organisation which he has led for 30 years. Despite his monumental blunder earlier this month in sending his guerrillas on a suicide mission across the border, there are no signs that his position as president of Swapo is in danger.

WHAT he lacks in charisma, he makes up in ruthless determination to be at the head of the pack as far as Swapo is concerned.

Indeed, in 1984 when the South Africans released Herman Toivo ja Toivo from jail after 16 years in jail, it was expected he would be a serious challenge to Mr Nujoma.

Mr Toivo was appointed secretary general, quickly disappeared from the public scene and was obviously no threat to Mr Nujoma.

Nujoma's problem:

The West doubts his ability to lead

by JOAO SANTA RITA, Weekend Argus Africa News Service

In 1976, Mr Nujoma suffered the most serious challenge to his authority when hundreds of Swapo members revolted against his style of ruling, accusing the leadership of corruption and tribalism.

Ironically the rumblings of discontent among Swapo members had started in 1975 because of the close links Mr Nujoma at the time with Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi.

Swapo's Information Secretary Andreas Shipanga and other top Swapo officials were arrested and spent many years in jail in Zambia and Tanzania after being accused of being South African agents.

MR Nujoma's controversial statements are many. In 1979, during negotiations for a peacekeeping force to be sent to Namibia, he said he would refuse the presence of any Nato countries in the force.

He said that if Britain was invited by the UN to send soldiers to Namibia "Swapo will fight them".

In 1980, Mr Nujoma caused another furor when he said in Harare that he would not accept a defeat in any election held in Namibia.

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His most controversial statement was made in a television interview given at the United Nations in 1978 at the height of peace negotiations for the territory.

Questioned on what he would do if majority rule was achieved in Namibia without Swapo, Mr Nujoma gave a reply that for days afterwards had other top Swapo members trying to correct it.

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He was arrested in December 1959 and in December 1960 went into exile.

He tried to return home in 1966 but was expelled.

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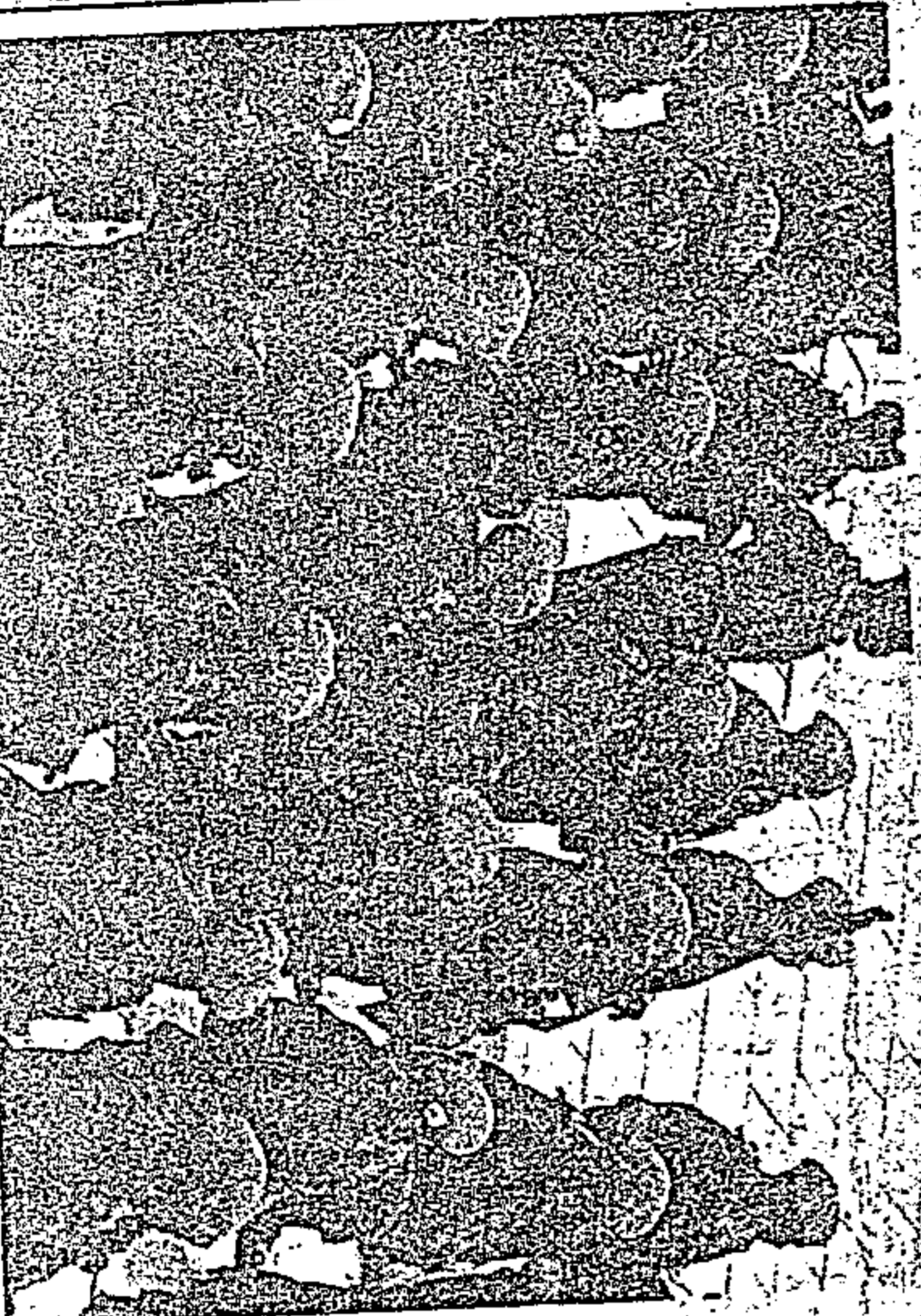


SWARTZBOERGES UP

13 Swapo dead in Namibia

GR TWP 15/4/89

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KENYANS ARRIVE . . . The first 208 soldiers of a planned 850-strong Kenyan Armed Forces contingent of the Untag force arrived at Windhoek's airport yesterday.

Picture: DIRK HEINRICH

WINDHOEK — Thirteen more Swapo insurgents have died in clashes with security forces in northern Namibia during the past few days.

The deaths were announced yesterday by Mr Gerhard Roux, a spokesman for the administrator-general's office, as South Africa came under fire for "caving for more fighting."

On Thursday the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, imposed a clampdown on reporters speaking to SA security forces in northern Namibia.

At a media briefing in Windhoek yesterday, Mr Roux said two guerrillas were killed in a contact 25km south-west of Eenhana in eastern Ovambo on Tuesday.

Five PLAN fighters died in a contact with security forces on Thursday at Swartbooisdrif in western Ovambo, while the bodies of two fighters were found in the area of the clash, he said.

It was reported that the bodies of four PLAN fighters were found in the operational area between Saturday and Monday.

Meanwhile, Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, lashed out at South Africa saying: "They are still in the mood to fight in the north to attack in the same bloody mood."

He was quoted by Ziana, the national news agency, as saying the situation could possibly improve through greater supervision by Untag and resistance by the monitoring forces to South Africa's "caving for fighting."

In a related development the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, last night said that "it must be very clear that at this stage there is no ceasefire — this will follow when everything is normal again."

Addressing a National Party youth conference in Graaff-Reinet, he said he would take responsibility for any shooting which was necessary — "but before I do this, I must be convinced that every possible way has been tried to bring about peace."

So far 276 Swapo guerrillas and 27 security force troops have died in the bitter clashes since April 1, the official start of the UN-sponsored peace plan for Namibian independence.

Mr Roux also announced yesterday that tracks of about 350 guerrillas go

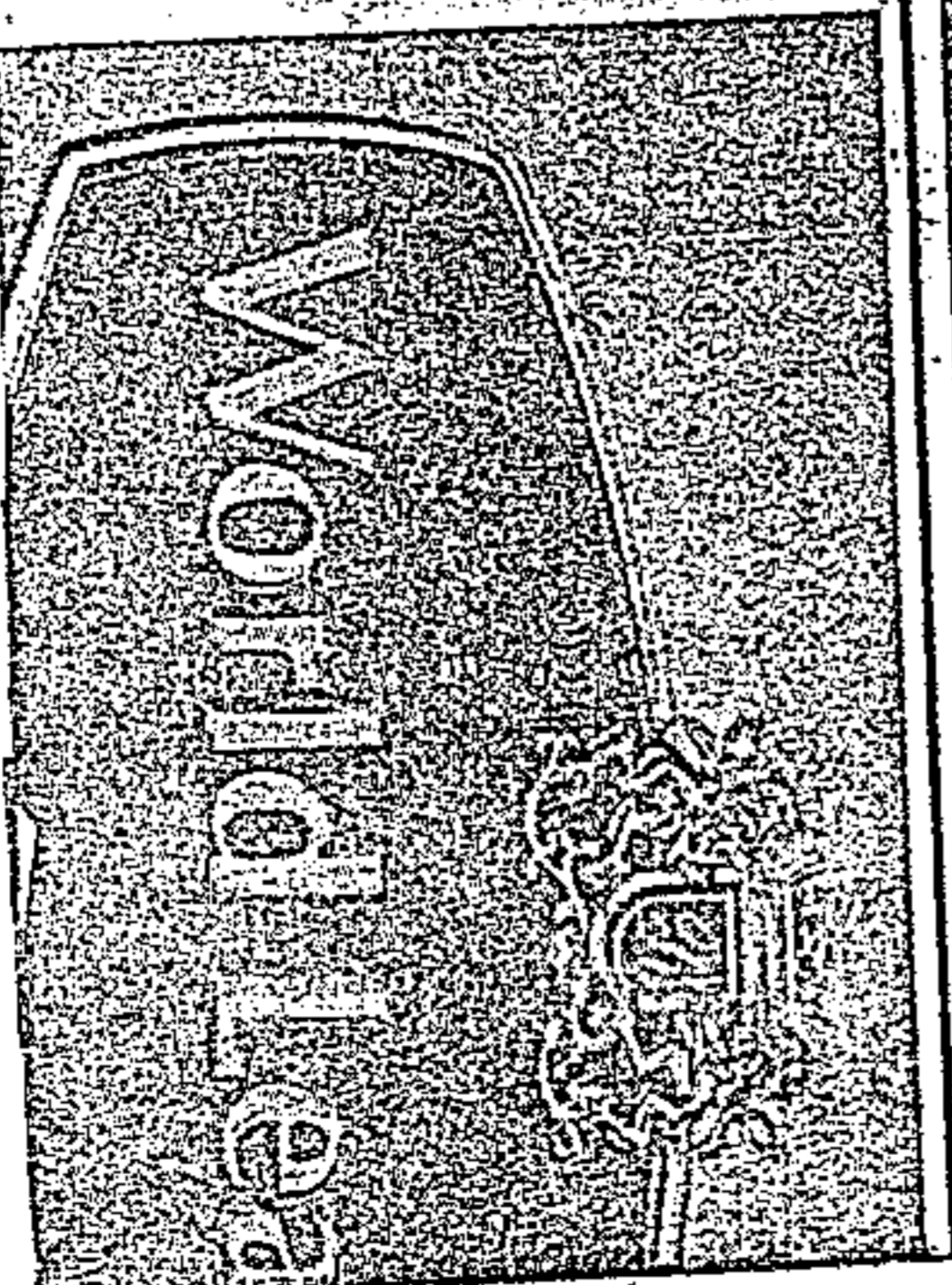
Firms plan visit to SA

HELSINKI, Finland — The Finnish parliamentary foreign affairs committee is planning a visit to Namibia and South Africa, in an apparent change of policy towards the apartheid regime, reports said yesterday.

The trip, planned for the autumn, would include a meeting with government ministers in Pretoria.

Mr Markus Alonen, the chairman of the committee, was quoted as saying that parliamentarians "usually had generally avoided South Africa by a wide margin."

But he said that any change in policy did not extend to "other foreign policy leaders in the country". — Sapa-AP



Swapo an urgent issue

News 17/4/89

From JON QWELANE
Argus Africa News Service

OSHAKATI. — The status of Swapo prisoners has become an urgent issue between Untag and South Africa since the arrest of 28 members of the organisation by the SWA Police at the weekend.

The arrangement between the United Nations and South Africa concerning any captured guerrillas by the security forces is understood to be that the insurgents must be handed over to Untag immediately, which in turn will hand them over to Fapla to relocate in Swapo bases north of the 16th parallel in Angola.

According to SWABC news, they should be evacuated today.

The fighters should have gone earlier, but UN sources said there were "logistic problems". There were also communication problems between the Italian pilots of a cargo aircraft and Angolan authorities. The men should be flown out to the Angolan town of Lubango.

Meanwhile, the whereabouts of 22 guerrillas captured on Friday after armed clashes with the police are unknown, but it is known a further six were captured yesterday.

At least 15 members of Swapo have died in fighting with the security forces since the Mount Etjo peace initiative.

So far, only seven guerrillas have handed themselves over to Untag to be taken back to bases in Angola, and at least four of them are at the Roman Catholic Church hospital in Oshikuku, north-west of Oshakati.

The Council of Churches of Namibia, through secretary-general the Reverend Abisai Sheyavelo, has warned that Untag's delay in taking the guerrillas to Angola will cost the UN body loss of credibility with the church in Namibia, and also with the people generally.

Isolated contacts

Meanwhile, reports of isolated contacts between security forces and Swapo infiltrators continued to filter into Oshakati over the last few days in spite of the "hold-off" official approach of the SADF and SWA Police units in the field, according to Sapa.

A spokesman for the office of the Administrator-General, Mr Gerhard Roux, said two guerrillas reported to UN assembly points, two more were killed in fighting and six more were captured yesterday.

'Trial' in Namibia shows battle lines are intact

WINDHOEK — A marula tree in the middle of a millet field was the unlikely setting for a "trial" deep in the northern Namibian bush when five villagers were summoned by their fellows to answer allegations of spying for "the enemy".

The "enemy" were said to be the South African Defence Force and the South West Africa Police.

The "accused" were a man, probably in his 60s, and four women. Most of the adult population of the village were present at the "trial", which appeared to be an investigation into what happened in the last

A man and four women in northern Namibia were put on 'trial' by their fellow villagers for allegedly informing the 'enemy' (the SADF and Swapo) of the presence of Swapo fighters. An obstacle to the independence process may be that many in the region still consider themselves as being at war. **JON GWELANE** of The Star's Africa News Service, was there.

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minutes leading to a contact between the security forces and four Swapo guerrillas in which three of the guerrillas died.

The hearing, held last weekend, was conducted in a serious manner and lasted for several hours. No threats or insults were exchanged.

The man was questioned at length about his movements on

the day of the shootings. It was stated that on the day of the clash the four guerrillas had walked into the village and immediately headed for some trees, into which they climbed.

After some time one of them went to a "coca shop" to buy cold drinks and was spotted by some people among them the accused.

The accused man was said to have hurried away to the home of a headman in the next village, who was said to be friendly with the "enemy" and to have a radio set through which he regularly contacted the security forces.

Later armoured troop carriers arrived and the clash which ended with the death of

three guerrillas took place.

The man denied he was an informant for the security forces and said he had gone to Ondangwa to collect his pension. But he could not explain what he was doing at the headman's home or how he could have been there and in Ondangwa at the same time.

The "court" made no defini-

tive judgment and imposed no sentence. The man was simply asked to mend his ways and told to go.

Two of the women "accused" were not present to give their side of the story, but one of the other two present said she had never given away information about anyone.

The women's case was postponed to a later date so that all four could be present.

The "trial" ended with a prayer by a local priest.

Winner Jane Bondia is following the work of a West-Indies telephone caller to a quarry, Usaga, was shot dead in on Saturday evening. Mr. he said. trying to look at her cop- can why? worker have found telephone caller to a quarry, Usaga, was shot dead in on Saturday evening. Mr. he said. million from Tom. Hys- can why? worker have found telephone caller to a quarry, Usaga, was shot dead in on Saturday evening. Mr. he said. of his baby daughters as a dump site near Petaluma, the family home at Hayes Hot South of San Francisco.

By STEPHEN ROBINSON

UN chiefs square up to SA 'bully-boys'

Mr. T. J. 17/4/69

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Cape Times, Monday

OSHAKARTY — The bull-necked South African army colonel was a clear 25cm taller than the commander of Britain's UN force in Namibia, and he was very angry.

He leaned down towards Lt-Col Neil Donaldson and jabbed at the British officer's chest to make his point.

Smiling patiently and glancing around for some invisible source of divine guidance, Lt-Col Donaldson took a deep breath and continued his negotiations.

"If you saturate the area of our UN troops, Swapo will not come in. I'm afraid it's that simple," Col Donaldson said to the South African who was towering over the British force commander, menacingly.

Salvation for the UN arrived in the form of Australian Major David Kruger, who at 2m tall and with the

build of a telephone box, was more than a match for the huge South African who, like any 'bully', became instantly more reasonable in the bigger man's presence.

In a development which only five minutes before would have seemed impossible, the South African began nodding and smiling as Maj Kruger continued his lecture. Within seconds, the South African colonel agreed to consider the UN's request. Climbing on to a trail motorcycle, the South African disappeared in a cloud of dust. Col Donaldson and the major smiled at each other and in an imitation of Laurel and Hardy knocked the dust away and shook hands.

By such small victories, was progress last week marked by the UN

combined British-Australian forces in Namibia in their often very strained relations with the South African army.

After having squarely beaten back the massed Swapo guerrillas into Northern Namibia, the South Africans were in no mood last week to allow Swapo guerrillas to lock unpoliced into the mine assembly points hastily established by the UN.

Faced with what was described in an official report to London as "mid- and low-level, bully-boy tactics" from the SA army and near-partisans from UN headquarters in Namibia last week, it was left to Britain's source and his no-nonsense Australian counterpart Col Richard Parren to establish a tenuous foothold for the

UN in Namibia's war zone.

Throughout the last week, Maj Kruger, reminiscent of Paul Hogan after a concentrated course of anabolic steroids, paced up and down the UN operations room in Oshakati muttering constantly to himself: "This is all a very big learning experience for me."

This view was shared by every one of the 100 men and one woman who made up the joint British-Australian UN force which, in the complete absence of any other UN troops, thrust itself into the heart of Namibia's bush fighting.

While better-suited infantry battalions from Kenya, Malaysia and Finland made clear by their continued absence from Namibia their preference for not becoming involved in the

fighting, it was left to the group of British signallers and Australian engineers to save the UN and its intellectual and ageing commander, Gen Prem Chand, from complete humiliation.

Last Wednesday I drove the British and Australian colonels to a hastily arranged meeting with Gen Chand in Oshakati. Despite the cooling of the two younger officers, it was soon apparent that Gen Chand had no stomach for the battle he would inevitably have to fight with the South Africans if he was to ensure his force was recognised by Pretoria's army not as a hop-elessly, but as an equal.

Looking old and very tired, Gen Chand seemed almost relieved to pass to his subordinate the job of negotiat-

ing directly with the SA army.

For the British and American commanders, however, such fatalism was not enough. They were determined last week to ensure that the South Africans did not intimidate either those Swapo guerrillas who wished to give themselves up or indeed their own UN troops.

Perhaps the most telling sight was the dog I saw making for the UN assembly point at Okankolo deep in the bush last week. In search of scraps to eat, the dog broke cover to cross the road into the UN camp and was killed under the wheels of a speeding South African army Caspir sweeping the road for Swapo guerrillas.

The dog had, in his sacrifice, aptly demonstrated what little chance any Swapo guerrilla would have stood trying to penetrate a heavy South African military presence around the UN collecting points to reach sanctuary last week.

UN short of troops for bush patrols

From KEVIN JACOBS
WINDHOEK. — United Nations officials hoping to save the ambitious independence plan for Namibia are juggling with their international army to find soldiers ready for bush deployment amid potential shootouts between Swapo guerillas and security forces.

Peacekeeping officials have also acknowledged difficulty in ascertaining the extent of Swapo's voluntary withdrawal to Angola under a week-old truce.

But they believe "political will" on all sides will keep the peace plan on track.

UN sources said a sixth Swapo guerilla turned himself over to a UN-manned checkpoint at the weekend.

Officials said the South African military reduced their units encamped close to UN assembly points — after UN criticism that they were discouraging guerillas from reporting — but no further Swapo use of the truce was evident.

None of the five guerillas already under UN protection had been taken to Angola by last night.

"We are trying to work out the logistics of getting those people back over the border ... it's unfortunate that it hasn't happened yet," Untag spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said yesterday.

"This is the first quiet weekend since April 1. It is disturbing to hear that deaths are still occurring, but we are trying to put back into the bottle what spilled out on the 1st," he said.

Angop, Angola's official news agency, yesterday quoted Defence Minister Mr Pedro Maria Tonha as saying 500 Swapo guerillas had moved back to

positions behind the 16th parallel and that the insurgents were continuing to leave Namibia.

But UN peace-keeping operations chief Mr Marrack Goulding, who accompanied Mr Tonha on a tour of Swapo bases in southern Angola, said the UN had not yet established how many had crossed the border.

He said Angolan authorities had problems transporting and accommodating returning guerillas, and were commandeering civilian vehicles.

"As far as we could see, the people had no infrastructure at all ... there were no tents," he said.

A multinational army is still trickling into the territory to build up the 4 650-man military contingent assigned to Untag to supervise the run-up to elections.

UN officials are preparing to deploy infantry units in the Ovambo region, where most skirmishes occurred last week.

But they're juggling resources to find soldiers ready for the task of patrolling and shepherding to safe points any Swapo guerillas seeking refuge under the truce agreement.

The only ready-to-roll infantry unit is the 800-strong Finnish battalion initially assigned monitoring and border-patrol duties in eastern Kavango.

"But a problem faces us," Mr Eckhard said. "We need to free up the Australians and British who were assigned as engineers and signallers. They were able to jump into the breach within 72 hours and man the assembly points."

"But so long as they are doing that, other work is not getting done." The Australians, for instance, need to get down to mine-clearing operations."

'500 Swapo cross to Angola'

LUANDA. — More than 500 Swapo guerillas from northern Namibia have been moved to positions north of the 16th parallel in Angola under a week-old withdrawal agreement, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

Angolan Defence Minister Colonel-General Pedro Maria Tonha said in Lubango on Saturday that fighters were continuing to cross from Namibia.

But UN under-secretary-general Mr Marrack Goulding, who accompanied Gen Tonha on a tour of bases where the Swapo guerillas were being confined, said in Luanda on Saturday night: "We have not yet established how many have come back across the frontier."

He said he saw several hundred armed and uniformed Swapo fighters at Chibemba, a village in southern Huila province about 30km north of the 16th parallel and 180km north of the Namibian frontier.

Meanwhile in Oshakati no one knows when the two Swapo guerillas closeted in a room at Ondangwa Air Base will be flown to Angola.

That's what they are saying anyway.

But a senior British Untag officer ventured that the Angolans could be to blame.

"They were supposed to set up bases parallel to ours along the border ... they didn't." — Sapa-Reuters

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Untag and SA may fall out over Swapo arrests

By Jon Gwelane,

The Star's Africa News Service
OSHAKATI — Matters could come to a head between the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag) and South Africa with the arrest of at least 28 members of Swapo by the SWA Police.

The arrangement between the UN and South Africa concerning any guerrillas captured by the security forces is understood to be that the insurgents must immediately be handed over to Untag, which in turn will hand them over to Fapla to relocate them in Swapo bases north of the 16th parallel in Angola.

^{Step 1 of 4/87}
The whereabouts of 22 guerrillas captured on Friday after armed clashes with the police are unknown, and it is known another six had also been arrested by yesterday.

DELAY

(22)

So far only seven guerrillas have handed themselves over to Untag to be taken back to base in Angola, and at least four of them are at the Roman Catholic Church hospital in Oshakati, north-west of Oshakati.

It had been widely expected in Owanbo by the community and the churches that by the weekend the Swapo men in UN

care would be flown to Angola.

Untag itself has promised since Thursday to send them away, but by yesterday the guerrillas were still inside Namibia.

The Council of Churches of Namibia has warned that Untag's delay in taking the guerrillas to Angola will cost the UN body loss of credibility with the Church in Namibia and also with the people.

Reports of isolated contacts between security forces and Swapo infiltrators continued to filter into Oshakati over the last few days in spite of the "hold-off" official approach of the

SADF and SWA Police units in the field, according to Sapa.

A spokesman for the Administrator-General, Mr Gerhard Roux, said 278 Swapo guerrillas had been killed since April 1, 28 had been captured and seven had reported to assembly points.

TWO KILLED

Brandan Seery reports that two more Swapo insurgents were killed in fights with security forces in northern Namibia yesterday, bringing to 11 the number of fighters who have been killed since the Mount Etjo Declaration peace proposals officially came into effect.

How the war sent thriving mission to limbo

City Times
17/4/89

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By KEVIN JACOBS

ST MARY'S MISSION, Namibia. — The Rev Simon Hamolah waved a hand at the shattered panes in every window of the derelict mission school. "Some of them were broken by the children," he said. "The spirit of our children is the spirit of war."

More than just the spirit of war has passed through the 65-year-old Anglican mission compound, hard by the Angolan border east of Oshikango, near the former Santa Clara border post.

It no longer has doctors and nurses, secondary school pupils, aspirant priests, teachers, or workers labouring in mohangu fields. Sabotage, military raids, government clamps and two decades of bush warfare in the region stopped all that.

Once a bustle of 300 people, its daily population is now down to Mr Hamolah, who is the assistant priest, and a handful of retainers keeping a measure of hospitality amid the ruins, and waiting for peace to put them back in the business of ministering, teaching, feeding and healing.

This week they were also waiting for Swapo's guerillas to come out of the bush under a shaky truce allowing them safe passage to Angola with UN chaperones.

Safe havens

Churches and church-owned property are deemed safe havens if Swapo's fighters choose to avoid UN-supervised assembly points.

It hasn't always been safe. Last Sunday during the mid-morning service a military patrol drove into the mission grounds and surrounded the church. A few minutes later the soldiers left.

The soldiers spotted two visiting reporters and left. "We were very fortunate," Mr Hamolah said, pointing out mili-



THE REV SIMON HAMOLAH: "We closed the hospital because of the war. We had white doctors and nurses, some from the United States, some from England. But the government compelled them to leave the country. So the whole thing stopped."

P.T.O.



BISHOP JAMES KAULUMA: "South Africa and Swapo both signed ceasefires, but they were not at the same table. The fighters were caught by surprise. They were looking for UN officials to find out where they should congregate, in terms of the ceasefire. It was sad and unfortunate. It has brought unnecessary fighting and death."

tary boot-prints still in the dust around the church. Anglican Bishop James Kauluma visited the mission on the day this week that Mr Hamolah waited up for possible arrivals from the bush.

"I just came to see what is happening," he said. "We heard some of these people may be gathering at church premises, so we came to see if this will happen."

"The present situation came about after Sam Nujoma recalled his men. I believe they will probably honour the request of their chief."

"There are channels of communication for them. I have not been in touch with any of them to know if Nujoma's message did or did not reach them. That is for the fighters to prove," he said.

Bishop Kauluma defends the Swapo guerrillas' presence, attributing it to misunderstandings and misperceptions of overlapping peace agreements, rather than wilful violation of the settlement.

"Swapo has never been to those discussions, and that could create misunderstandings," he said.

"The fighters were caught by surprise. They were looking for UN offi-

cials to find out where they should congregate, in terms of the ceasefire," he said.

"It was sad and unfortunate. It has brought unnecessary fighting and death."

The UN, too, made mistakes, Bishop Kauluma said. "We pleaded with them not to reduce their forces, because we know this place."

"They have had a bad start and our people are raising questions about the role they are playing."

"There is a wide feeling that South Africa has been given the right to fight under the UN flag. There is no question of impartiality — the whole thing is on South Africa's side."

"We expect the UN to correct the situation. That is our hope and our prayer, that the situation can be re-deemed. I hope things will not keep on as they are."

Bishop Kauluma and his ministers and workers look ahead to peace, to rebuilding the hospital, the clinic, school, its boarding hostels, and the workshops.

War closed hospital

"That hospital building there," he says, indicating a low, derelict building, "used to have 50 beds. We received 400 patients a day from Namibia and Angola."

Mission staff shut the medical facility a decade ago. "We closed the hospital because of the war," Mr Hamolah said.

"We had white doctors and nurses, some from the United States, some from England. But the government compelled them to leave the country. So the whole thing stopped."

Bishop Kauluma blames another aspect of the war. "The building has been destroyed, mostly by the army."

"When they search the place they break windows and doors, they broke the ceilings to see if there were Swapo guerrillas hiding in the mission. "Of course, they never found them here."

"You see how the buildings are broken . . . well, it's very difficult to maintain buildings when tomorrow the doors down even though the keys are here. The rector and his wife are always willing to open the doors. We have nothing to hide," Bishop Kauluma said.

"This was once a self-supporting centre," he said. "It was a centre of activity. All kinds of programmes were run here."

'Christ for all people'

Inside the warehouse-like church, Mr Hamolah looks up at a six-foot black Christ figure suspended above the altar. "He is black to show that Christ is for all people," he says, mentioning on a reporter's observation that mostly white congregations usually worship amid white images.

"This was once a big settlement, and we hope that God helps us to put it together again."

Outside, beneath an ommandi tree whose shade in 1924 cooled the tent of Father Tobias, founder of the mission, Bishop Kauluma watches a column of troop carriers dust past the mission gates.

"I hope peace comes, today," he said.

"It's an unrealistic hope . . . but there will be a time when this situation will come to an end. We hope it will come soon."

"There is a lot of work to be done here when peace comes."

Pik rejects CP
jibes SA was
caught napping

22)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday rejected CP accusations SA was caught with its pants down in Namibia.

CP foreign affairs spokesman Tom Langley, who likened Swapo's raid from Angola to the 1941 Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbour, added government knew Swapo would not honour the peace plan.

He said it was government's fault that there had been open graves and blood flowing.

Botha said SA had emerged from the crisis with honour and dignity.

DP spokesman Colin Eglin questioned whether it would have been better to have had Swapo also sign the peace agreement.

Botha said Swapo was only one of many parties involved in Namibia and, if it had been invited to the talks, the others would also want a seat.

He added nobody could know with certainty if a party to an agreement was going to violate it.

Swapo leader Sam Nujoma had bound himself to the agreement — by promising to keep his forces north of the 16th parallel in Angola — but had then broken his word.

South Africa on the other hand had acted correctly at all times and earned the praise of the world.

GUERRILLAS KILLED ⁽²²⁾

WINDHOEK — Two more Swapo insurgents were killed in clashes with security forces in northern Namibia yesterday, bringing to 11 the number of fighters who have been killed since the Mount Etjo Declaration peace proposals officially came into effect five days ago. *Sanderson 07/14/81*

A spokesman for the office of South African Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar, Mr Gerhard Roux, said yesterday evening that there had been two contacts reported yesterday morning between security forces and

Swapo insurgent groups whose tracks were moving south.

It was earlier announced that security forces would not "pursue aggressively" those groups of insurgents who were heading north in the direction of Angola.

Meanwhile, the Angolan news agency, *Angop*, yesterday said more than 500 Swapo guerillas from northern Namibia had been moved to positions north of the 16th parallel in Angola under a week-old withdrawal agreement.

Untag seeks soldiers for patrols

WINDHOEK — UN officials hoping to save Namibia's independence plan are juggling with their international army to find soldiers ready for bush deployment.

Peace-keeping officials acknowledged difficulty in ascertaining the extent of Swapo's voluntary withdrawal to Angola, but believed "political will" on all sides would keep the peace plan on track.

UN sources said a sixth Swapo guerrilla turned himself over to a UN-manned checkpoint at the weekend. None of the five already under UN protection had been taken to Angola by last night.

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KEVIN JACOBS

Officials said the SADF reduced units camped close to UN assembly points after UN criticism that they were discouraging guerrillas from reporting, but no further Swapo use of the truce was evident.

Angela said at the weekend about 500 guerrillas were pulled back to positions north of the 16th parallel.

UN peace-keeping chief Marrack Goulding said in Luanda his officials had no firm

● To Page 2 →

Untag juggles forces to find 'front-liners'

count of Swapo fighters leaving Namibia.

A multinational army is still trickling into the territory to build up the 4 650-man military contingent assigned to Untag to supervise the run-up to elections.

UN officials said they were juggling resources to find soldiers ready for the task of patrolling and shepherding to safe

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From Page 1

points any Swapo guerrillas seeking refuge in churches under the truce agreement.

The only ready-to-roll infantry unit is the 800-strong Finnish battalion initially assigned monitoring and border-patrol duties in eastern Kavango.

● From Page 1

DTA delegates end week of UK lobbying

LONDON — A four-man team from Namibia's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance ended a week of intense lobbying in the UK on Friday.

Among delegates were senior vice-president Mishake Muyongo — Swapo vice-president in 1966-80 — and vice-president Katuutire Kaura.

They met Foreign Office officials, foreign affairs committees of the Lords and Commons.

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ROBERT GENTLE

They addressed the question of investment in an independent Namibia and the need for a free-market economy trading with SA.

The delegation also tried to counter what it called the misleading perception that Swapo was the only movement that could speak for the people of Namibia.

Defence Correspondent

THE soldiers of 32 Battalion are to move from their base in Kavango to the disused Northern Cape mining village of Pomfret, about 200km from Vryburg.

The unit, originally recruited in 1976 from northern Angolan soldiers of the National Front for the Liberation

of Angola (FNLA), will continue to fulfil its traditional counter-insurgency and border-protection role, army headquarters said yesterday.

The statement did not say where 32 Battalion would serve, but observers said yesterday it was possible the unit would be deployed either along the nearby Botswana and Namibia borders or in the north-eastern Transvaal.

The battalion will begin moving to Pomfret this month.

Specialising in raids into Angola, the "Buffalo Battalion", as it has been called, is the most battle-experienced unit in the SADF.

It has taken part in virtually every major thrust over the border in the past 13 years.

According to the army everything possible was being done to ensure that "assimilation of its members and their families into the area" took place smoothly.

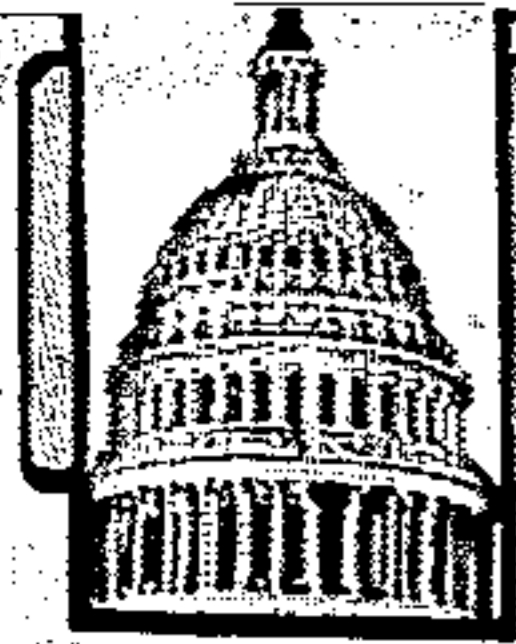
● It is believed the SADF will also relocate 201 Battalion, a unit of Angolan and Caprivian Bushmen, but a decision has not yet been announced.

Namibian battalion moves to

N. Cape

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Caprivi 18/1/87



Washington Letter

by SIMON BARBER

Nujoma led into thinking he is wise and statesmanlike

Capt. Timp 18/4/89

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THE colour photograph Newsweek chose to illustrate its Namibia story in last week's editions is an aftermath shot of PLAN corpses laid out to bloat in the Ovambo sun. The extreme violence of their deaths is evident. A young man in the foreground appears to have been filleted from the waist up, his head reduced to an eyeless mask of skin. The image lingers.

Many over here will see in this picture further proof of South African savagery, because that is what they have been acculturated to seeing. They will shed the contemptuous tears of the white man and in so shedding will become unwitting accomplices in the fraud that encouraged this utterly futile slaughter in the first place.

Tolerate incursion

SWATF and Koevoet fingers may have been on the triggers but the real killers are half a world away. The real killers are the churchmen, the UN bureaucrats, sleek and pampered, the intellectuals, journalists, activists and politicians who have sanctified the meaningless suicide of Africans in the name of "the struggle".

"300 people were sent to their deaths by the Swapo leadership," said Dr Chester Crocker on his return from Mount Etjo last week. "Anybody who thought that South Africa would tolerate an incursion of 1500 to 1800 men, in violation of all the provisions of the settlement plan, was very unrealistic."

Whose was the unreality? To answer simply, Sam Nujoma or PLAN commander Dino Amaambo is not sufficient. There is a context to their reasoning.

Few who have had to deal with him would deny that Nujoma is a fool but because he leads a "liberation" movement fighting the "racist regime" he has been made to feel wise and statesmanlike ev-



SAM NUJOMA: He has been made to feel statesmanlike from New York to Moscow because he leads a liberation movement fighting the racist regime.

erywhere from New York to Moscow to Pyongyang. Commissars, Lutherans, Swedish parliamentarians, American congressmen and, most egregiously, the UN, all have taken his propaganda and fed it back to him so assiduously that he can hardly be blamed for coming to believe it himself.

In the process the Swapo elite, especially its external wing, has fallen victim to a new kind of colonialism, a colonialism that treats its subjects if anything more like children than the old kind ever did. The result, not surprisingly, is a childlike leadership, spoilt, sheltered from reality, convinced that it can do no wrong: the "sole authentic representatives" of a people who have never been permitted a genuine vote.

Fruitless war

For a generation, Swapo has waged one of the most fruitless and incompetent guerilla wars anywhere on the planet. It has been shielded from its failings by its dotting, cosseting parents at the UN who have assured it that it is heir to the estate, so not to worry. It has, therefore, given little thought to how it will run things once it inherits, or even to how it will handle the transfer of ownership.

Instead, it has been content to have a few hundred of its own people butchered each year by the existing tenants on the theory that this will demonstrate who's boss. (It does so demonstrate, of course, but not quite in the intended manner.)

One would like to think that the week of April 1 brought Swapo to its senses. Mommy's and daddy's blue hats weren't there to come to the rescue when PLAN combatants surged over the border illegally.

This in itself was entirely the fault of Swapo and its sympathisers who had delayed Untag's deployment by squabbling for months over how many blue hats would be sent. Besides, as Swapo has belatedly discovered, Untag would probably not have been much help anyway.

All told, the result should have been instructive, especially since a number of previously tolerant grown-ups — principally Cuba, Angola and the Frontline states — finally lost patience and told Nujoma to get his act together. Unfortunately, it is almost certain that others will seek to vitiate the lesson.

A determined effort is under way to shift the blame. Already, we are being told that South Africa's response to the incursion was too vicious; that South Africa is hampering the intruders' return to Angola by placing menacing forces next to the UN assembly points and demanding the right to interrogate those who do come in; that therefore, by some spectacular leap of logic, South Africa has no interest in free and fair elections.

White neo-fascists

Worse, the pro-Swapo hive seems to be itching to provoke Pretoria into some act that will make everyone forget just who it was who violated the agreement. The hive would love South Africa to insist on a house-to-house sweep through Ovamboland to hunt down guerillas who cached their arms and melted into the local population. An atrocity is needed. Innocents must die.

What good will this do Swapo? Not much, and even less for the rest of Namibia's people, but then of course they don't matter much because, if you believe a recent report on the McNeil-Lehrer News Hour, they represent rather less than 10% of the country and most are white neo-fascists.

The saddest part of all this is that those most energetically

seeking to slow Swapo's ascent up the learning curve are Westerners. The Soviets, by contrast, having discovered the hard way the gross flaws in what they have so long preached, seem altogether more level-headed and less fawning.

I doubt a Russian journalist would fall on his knees before Herman Toivo ja Toivo, as one reporter of my acquaintance felt inclined to do a few years back.

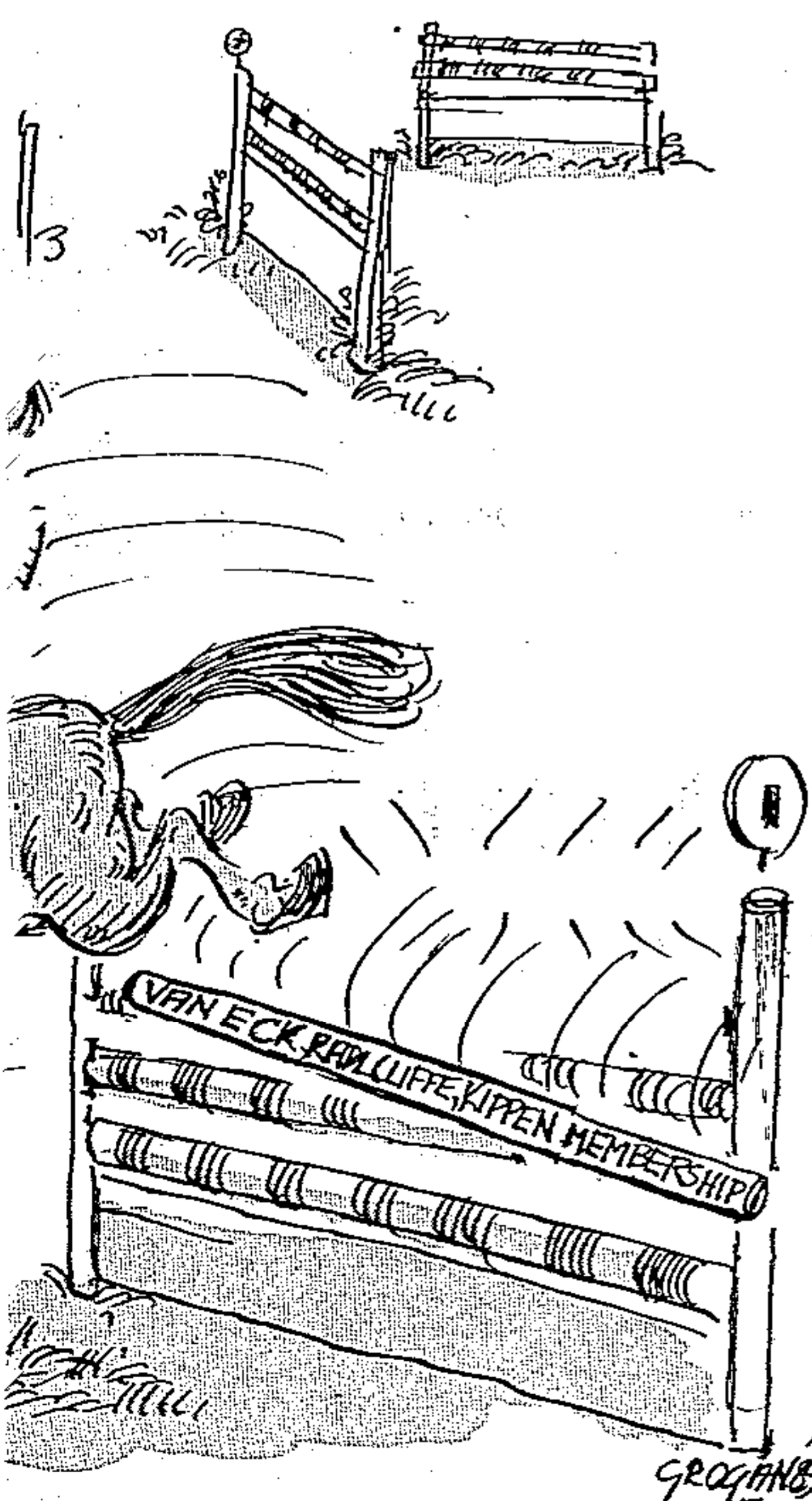
Disintegration

The Soviets are happily free of the fatal sentimentality of Left-leaning Western elites. They have done terrible things to Africa but, unlike the West, which has also done terrible things, they have never done them because they "cared". They have supported communist regimes because the regimes were communist, not because they found them romantic or thought it was the Christian thing to do, or felt sorry for them.

Few fashionable Western analysts would say Mozambique's problem was not "South African-backed" Renamo but rather a case of "total social disintegration" of which Renamo was but a symptom. A senior Soviet Foreign Ministry official I met last week said precisely that, adding, for good measure, that Renamo was just one of many "bandit" groups each seeking to make a living from a society that could no longer provide it.

"The Soviets have said that socialism shall not be built in Namibia," Crocker remarked recently. "Whether that's a prediction or a command is not quite clear."

Neither is it clear how sincerely they believe it but at least they are prepared to say it, which is more than can be said of many in the West. In their view, Namibia is still a land exploited by capitalists and they will not be satisfied until many more Namibians have died to make it a land exploited by Sam Nujoma.



Many could lose SA citizenship

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — South African citizens living in Namibia will not lose their South African citizenship from the date of independence unless they are naturalised citizens, that is, people born elsewhere who obtained South African citizenship.

South Africans born in South Africa, or whose parents or grandparents were born in South Africa, will retain their citizenship, states the South African Citizenship at Attainment of Independence by South West Africa Regulation Bill, tabled in Parliament yesterday.

ACTION REQUEST

The Bill has been drawn up following a request by the Administrator of Namibia that the South African Government indicate as soon as possible what citizenship regulations will apply to Namibia from April 1 — the date when the United Nations independence plan came into effect.

This is explained in a memorandum to the Bill.

It states that:

- A South Africa citizen who was born in South Africa or who has a natural parent or grandparent born here, shall not lose his South African citizenship.
- Other South Africans shall lose their citizenship at the date of independence if:
 - They had ordinary residence in Namibia on April 1 1989.
 - If they took up ordinary residence in Namibia after April 1 but before independence.
 - Or were ordinary residents in Namibia at independence.

The Bill also reduces the minimum period of ordinary residence which a person — who has lost his South African citizenship under this Bill — must have before applying for naturalisation.

This is normally five years, but is reduced to two-and-a-half years for these people. For the purpose of the Bill, the date of independence will be that fixed by the State President.

day April 18 1989

Former Angolans to live in SA

Elite battalion to be moved from Namibia

By Craig Kotze

One of the South African Defence Force's elite units, 32 Battalion, is leaving its base in Namibia's Okavango region and is moving to the northern Cape, where it will perform counter-insurgency and border protection functions.

The new home of the famed battalion will be Pomfret, a disused mining village about 200 km north of Vryburg.

Members will start moving this month and the move is expected to take about three months, said a state-

ment issued by Army headquarters in Pretoria.

The families of the battalion members, who are mainly Portuguese-speaking, will accompany them.

The battalion was originally formed in the aftermath of the 1976 Angolan war from leaderless members of the old FNLA movement.

Placed under South African officers, it was officially designated a unit of the South African Army and adopted its present name in October 1976.

It soon became one of the army's best fighting units and took part in almost all the major incursions into Angola, including Operations Protea, Askari and the more recent operations Modular and Hooper last year.

During operations, it inflicted thousands of casualties on Swapo and MPLA forces.

Its motto is "Forged in Battle".

Five members of the battalion have been awarded the Honoris Crux, South Africa's equivalent of the Victoria Cross. Another five members have received the Chief of the Defence Force Commendation, while 329 have received the Bronze Medal for outstanding services.

24-hour day for all but two industries

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Once the Business Bill becomes law all but two industries can operate on a 24-hour a day basis, a spokesman for the Office for Privatisation and Deregulation, Mr Frikkie Odendaal, said yesterday.

Mr Odendaal said in an interview that the Business Bill, which proposes to abolish all restrictions on trading hours except on Sundays and the four religious holidays, will enable businesses, including the motor car industry, to open and close whenever they please without restriction. The Bill does not apply to the liquor industry, however.

The Bill will effectively abolish business licensing, he said. The only categories of industries which will still need licences will be catering involving cooked food, and entertainment.

Mr Odendaal said garages would be able to open

Captives²²¹ held under ^{APC-1415 18/4/89} 30-day law

WINDHOEK. — A total of 28 captured Swapo guerillas are being held in terms of security legislation by police in Namibia, a spokesman for the Administrator-General's office said yesterday.

About half had been taken captive before the Mount Etjo agreement.

A spokesman for the International Committee of the Red Cross, Mr Nicolas de Rougemont, said he believed they were being held under Proclamation AG9, which provides for detention without trial for up to 30 days, renewable.

He said the ICRC had interviewed eight of the prisoners in terms of "our criteria", which included visiting them in the absence of witnesses.

The ICRC visited a ninth detainee without the criteria being "fully respected". Three had been in hospital. — Sapa

Cape Times 18/1/89

Long ride for Swapo 2⁽²²¹⁾ today?

OSHAKATI. — Two Swapo guerillas held in a hut at an Air Force base near here will leave for Ruacana today by four-wheel-drive vehicle, according to information picked up from an Untag signal.

The two guerillas checked into the Oshikango UN-monitored gathering point last Wednesday evening. Two days later they were airlifted to Ondangwa, where they have been ever since.

Commandant Frans van der Merwe of Sector Ten Headquarters in Oshakati could not account for their delayed transfer other than to suggest "rumours" about Angolan "reception facilities" not being ready and an Italian Untag helicopter pilot who feared being shot down over Angola because of "the language problem". — Sapa

● More reports — Page 2

in trim

on Saturday. The feud between Zola and father, Mr Frank Budd, was featured on the front pages of most Sunday papers. Mr Budd, who was not invited to the wedding, told the Sunday Times he owned his daughter. "I no longer have a daughter called Zola. To me she's dead. I curse her. May she never be happy," he was quoted as saying.

in the Cape Times

'Law-breaking' insurgents could be prosecuted

Pressure mounts

on Namibia accord

The Star's Africa
News Service

Windhoek

The Namibian independence process, already threatened by the recent fighting in the north of the territory, is coming under further strain from political pressures.

While Swapo attacked the United Nations for its handling of the independence exercise, members of three largely white communities in Namibia called for Swapo to be given a deadline for complying with the Mount Etjo agreement.

If Swapo failed to do so the whole independence process "should be reconsidered" say the three communities.

The implementation of the accord process continued today to be clouded by confusion over the situation inside Namibia following the fighting, which began on April 1 and cost more than 300 lives.

Neither UN officials nor the office of the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, were able or willing to say when and how the Swapo insurgents, who had given themselves up at the Untag assembly points during the fighting, would be sent back to Angola.

There was uncertainty also over the fate of the insurgents captured by the security forces.

Mr Gerhard Roux, spokesman for the Administrator-General, suggested yesterday that the captured insurgents might be prosecuted if the authorities felt they had broken the law.



Brave front . . . smiling Kenyan members of the peacekeeping force arrive in Windhoek.

Stew 18/4/89 (221)

Protests

Observers here believe any such prosecution would bring strenuous protests from Swapo and its supporters both in Africa and overseas.

Insurgents captured during recent fighting in northern Namibia could find themselves facing prosecution — while their comrades who handed themselves to UN assembly points are taken back to Angola.

Mr Roux said no decision had been taken as yet. Twenty-eight Swapo had been captured during the clashes.

However, it was possible that the SWA Police would bring prosecutions if they felt the fighters had broken the law.

The SA-promulgated Terrorism Act, which is still in force in Namibia, makes it an offence to carry arms of war.

No provision was made under the Mount Etjo peace proposals for any captured fighters.

But those Swapo insurgents who do hand themselves over to UN-manned and monitored assembly points are guaranteed safe passage to Angola, where they will be restricted to bases north of the 16th parallel.

So far, only seven insurgents have reported to the assembly points. None of them have been transferred to Angola.

SA and UN officials have said the delay was caused by transport and logistics difficulties, but that the first insurgents should leave "soon".

Mr Roux also said SWA Police and UN police monitors would investigate allegations of intimidation of civilians in the run-up to Namibian elections.

STAR 18/4/89

Owambo

221

the war zone

An area in which colonial powers made mistake after mistake

Special Correspondent

MANY of the problems in Owambo — the most northern part of Namibia — have a historical basis.

Besides the fact that Swapo's membership is made up mostly of Owambos and that the armed struggle was conducted mainly in this area (heavy fighting has continued there since last weekend), many of its problems originated in the 19th Century.

One of the biggest mistakes the colonial powers made was to draw a large part of the northern border of German South West Africa (as Namibia was known then) randomly from a waterfall to a river.

This straight line of about 450km, which simultaneously formed the northern border of Owambo, eventually divided a tribal grouping into two groups, one on each side of an international border.

This irony was further compounded by the fact that the people who drew the line used the wrong waterfall as their initial fixed point.

The Kunene River in the west and the Okavango River in the east would then have formed the natural border on both sides of the straight line. But the surveyors drew the line from the Ruacana Waterfall, 40km south of Epupa.

This caused the Kwanyama tribe, representing 37 percent of the popula-

tion of Owambo, to be divided in two.

This week's developments in Owambo caused international attention to be focused once more on this 53 000 square kilometre area. But apart from military personnel who have spent time along this border in recent years, few people know the area.

During the dry season, the area leaves the visitor with the impression of it being one large sandy plain. During the rainy season about 60 percent of

the area is transformed into a shallow marshland.

Apart from its contentious northern border, Owambo is bordered in the west by Kaokoland, by Kavango in the east and the well-known Etosha Game Reserve is its southern border.

Oshakati, which is in line with Harare, is the largest town in the area and has a sub-tropical climate. The rainy season normally starts in November and ends in April.

During the past few years Owambo had suf-

fered one of the worst droughts in its history. As much as 500mm of rain has been registered in this area during good rains.

The area has a population of about 580 000 — about 52 percent of the entire Namibian population. As most Owambos support Swapo, the numerical strength of this group could have an important influence on the coming election.

Most whites in the area are members of the security forces or government officials. Oshakati, by far

the largest town, has 2 300 white inhabitants. About 150 and 300 whites live in Ruacana and Ondangwa respectively.

While the whites are mainly salaried people, Owambo businessmen flourished in recent years, but this boom will gradually come to an end. It has been estimated the SADF spent about R6-million monthly in this area. This money will be withdrawn when the soldiers leave and many of the local inhabitants will probably have to close down their Cuca shops and return to the traditional economic activities.

The roads between Oshivello and Ruacana and between Ondangwa and Oshikango have tar-mac surfaces, while the area has about 650km of gravel road. Seven towns have post offices.

There are about 108 800 children and 4 300 teachers in the 500 primary and high schools.

HOURS after an intense firefight, the only clues that life around northern border village, Ombalantu, had been disturbed were the hundreds of used rifle shells lying on a sandy road, shining in the afternoon sun.

Police and black nationalist guerrillas waged a fierce battle for several hours on Monday night and early Tuesday morning along parts of the

and the Swapo guerrillas. The residents said they heard shooting and saw flares until 3am on Tuesday, and were worried renewed battles could catch their village.

Ombalantu has a police base, a few shops, small farms and not much else.

The numerous shells, gave some hint as to the intensity of the fighting. — Sapa

Life goes on as normal, except for the shells

40-kilometre road that connects Ombalantu to Tsandi, police said.

But in the daylight, local residents casually rode their bicycles past the shell casings, carried on herding their goats and drank beer in local shops.

The residents say they have grown accustomed to the fighting after 23 years of war between the South African-led security forces

STAR

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UN forces under fire for deployment delay

UNITED NATIONS officials have acknowledged that a delay in deploying peacekeeping troops in Namibia may have been a factor in the fighting that erupted on the first day of the UN force's mission.

The clashes between South African-led security police and Namibian rebels broke out on Saturday.

In Namibia, police and military officials said at least 169 guerrillas, 19 police and one South African soldier had been killed in the clashes near Namibia's northern border with Angola.

A ceasefire and the UN plan designed to lead Namibia to independence from South Africa were set to start on Saturday but the fighting has raised questions about the future of the measures.

Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar is devoting all his efforts to reinstating a ceasefire and to getting the operation back on track," UN spokesman Francious Guiliani told reporters this week.

Meanwhile, South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha has



A SWA policeman stands on an armoured vehicle damaged during clashes with Swapo. **HANNES SMITH, Windhoek Observer.**

warned that fighting between security forces and Swapo could result in the collapse of the four-day transition to independence.

About 900 UN troops are in Namibia, including about 100 - mostly officers - in an advance party in the northern region pre-

paring for the full deployment of more than 4,600 troops this month.

The UN has drawn criticism for allowing South African forces to engage Swapo and for not being in place to prevent trouble when Namibia's independence process began. - Sapa

to institute prosecution against the persons responsible.

VAT: information on application

*8. Mr D J N MALCOMMESS asked the Minister of Finance:

- (1) Whether he will furnish information on the application of the value added tax system (VAT); if not, why not; if so,
- (2) whether it is his intention to exempt charitable institutions from this tax; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) what criteria are to be applied in the granting of such exemption?

B620E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE:

- (1) No. In my recent budget speech I made reference to the fact that the draft VAT Bill has already been prepared but is subject to extensive refinement. I also mentioned that a comprehensive document on VAT will shortly be submitted to Cabinet for consideration. It is for this reason that I am presently unable to furnish any further details in this regard.
- (2) Falls away.

Mr D J N MALCOMMESS: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, may I ask if the hon the Minister or his department would be prepared to recommend to the Cabinet that charitable institutions be exempt from the payment of VAT, particularly in the light of the fact that donations to charity by companies are not tax-deductible whereas donations to sport are deductible at a special rate? In other words one gets the impression that rugby is more important than charity within the NP Government.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE: Mr Speaker, this extensive document will be published after the Cabinet decides on the main issues. We will then expect organisations like charitable institutions to submit their cases to the Government.

Children's Hospital in Durban: re-opened
*9. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

- (1) Whether there are any plans to re-open the Children's Hospital in Durban; if not,

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Human O.

- (a) why not and (b) what are the future plans for the building; if so, when is it anticipated that it will re-open;

- (2) whether there are any plans to move the children's out-patients sections from its present site in the Children's Hospital building; if so, where to?

B621E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) No:

- (a) — the current limited financial circumstances and the need to effect savings wherever possible mitigate against reopening the Children's Hospital,

— in the opinion of the Natal Provincial Administration the siting of both the Children's Hospital and Addington Hospital is not ideal. Re-commissioning the Children's Hospital would compound this problem,

— the overall need for paediatric services is adequately catered for in the accommodation presently provided in Addington and other hospitals in the Durban functional region,

— the old Children's Hospital currently serves an important role in providing essential accommodation for certain auxiliary services for Addington Hospital such as a staff canteen and stores,

- (b) there are no specific plans at present;

- (2) no.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, is he aware of the fact that the old Children's Hospital building was originally erected as a specific children's hospital and is fully fitted out including the utilisation of facilities downstairs for such children's hospital? Is he aware that the children are currently on the thirteenth floor of the building and for exercise have to use the corridors of the building?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am aware of these facts. [Interjections.]

Stein Report on Children's Hospital in Durban

*10. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

Whether the Stein Report on the Children's Hospital in Durban is available or is to be made available to (a) members of the public and (b) members of Parliament; if not, why not; if so, when?

B622E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

- (a) No,

- (b) no;

The Executive Council of the Natal Provincial Administration decided on 9 December 1985 that the Report should not be made public. The Executive Council was of the opinion that the Report was incomplete.

SWA: cost of withdrawal of troops

*11. Mr R A F SWART asked the Minister of Defence:

Whether the Chief of the South African Defence Force stated at a press conference in Pretoria on or about 27 January 1989 that the withdrawal of South African troops from South West Africa would cost approximately R143 million; if so, how is this amount made up?

B623E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

The Chief of the SA Defence Force actually said that the estimated cost will amount to RM146,4. The amount is made up as follows:

(a) Transfer of Permanent Force :	RM 47,9
(b) Members and their families	
Transport of other troops by :	RM 24,1
road, rail and air	
(c) Transport of stores by road :	RM 47,4
and rail	
(d) Withdrawal and relocation	RM 8,8
of computer and telecommunication services	
(e) Packaging material and handling equipment :	RM 17,0
(f) Operating of an equipment	RM 1,2
collecting point in the RSA	
Total	RM146,4

Monitoring of media: amount allocated

*12. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

- (a) What amount of the total amount allocated to his Department for the 1989-90 financial year is to be set aside for the monitoring of the media and (b) how is this amount to be made up?

B624E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

The amount allocated to the Sub-program: Media Relations for the 1989/90 financial year amounts to R1 238 500 which includes an amount of R438 500 which is earmarked for liaison and information services. The objective with this program is the promotion of public relations and the application of media control in terms of the Media Emergency Regulations. A variety of functions to promote this objective is being executed in head office and in regional and district offices and the monitoring of the media *per se* forms a small part of this comprehensive task. It is further interwoven in such a way with other functions in the programs that it is not possible to vest the expenditure relating thereto in precise monetary terms.

Expropriation of land on N3: cost involved

*13. Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

What was the cost involved in the expropriation of land to accommodate the new section of road on the N3 national road from Frere to the Tugela Plaza?

B630E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

R684 380.

Frere/Tugela Plaza: commissioning body

14. Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

- (1) What body commissioned the construction of the recently opened section of the N3 national road from Frere to the Tugela Plaza;
- (2) (a) when was the construction of this section (i) commenced and (ii) completed and (b) (i) at what cost was it constructed

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

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GALLIES TO SHUN SWAPO

221
some from
1.8/4/89

WHITE farmers in Namibia have begun holding regular meetings with their workers to try to dissuade them from voting for Swapo in the November elections, according to black trade union leaders.

They say these meetings are particularly well-ordinated immediately below the "red line" in the northern area of the country, where Swapo insurgents and security forces clashed bloodily on and after April 1.

Swapo's leaders in exile are reported to be concerned that intimidation of Swapo supporters by farmers may seriously affect their chances of getting the two-thirds majority in the election which would allow them to dictate the course of Namibia's future after independence.

Trade union heads are due to meet the Swapo leadership in Harare this



week to discuss means of countering such pressure from white bosses in all the sectors of the economy.
Mr Ben Ulennga,

president of the Namibian Miners' Union — the largest union in the country — said reports from farm workers indicated that farmers had begun their campaign of dissuasion before April 1 but had intensified it since.

"They are holding regular meetings," Mr Ulennga said, "telling workers to vote for Democratic Turnhalle Alliance."

'850 Swapo guerrillas still in Namibia'

UN, police to investigate intimidation allegations

221
B/Day 18/4/89

WINDHOEK — Namibian police and UN police monitors would jointly investigate allegations of intimidation of civilians in the run-up to elections, a spokesman for Administrator-General Louis Pienaar said yesterday.

He said the procedure was agreed to by Pienaar and UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari.

Reports of intimidation received by Pienaar's office would be conveyed to Untag, and the other way round, for joint investigation.

The number of insurgents who had handed themselves over to be returned to bases north of the 16th parallel in Angola remained at seven.

The spokesman said about 380 Swapo fighters had crossed the border from northern Namibia back into Angola without reporting to any of the nine assembly points. About 850 Swapo guer-

rillas were still in northern Namibia.

The number of guerrillas killed was 278 while 28 had been captured by Namibian police. About half of them had been taken captive before the Mount Etjo agreement between SA, Cuba and Angola on April 9, which guaranteed Swapo insurgents safe passage back into Angola.

Forwarded

The spokesman said: "At the moment they are in police custody." They were being held in terms of security legislation but it was up to top-ranking officers to decide what to do with them.

International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) spokesman Nicolas de Rougemont said the ICRC had interviewed nine of the insurgents and had forwarded a confidential document on its findings to Pienaar's office.

The spokesman said in the latest skirmishes in northern Namibia yesterday,

an insurgent was killed when a military patrol followed tracks leading in a south-easterly direction from Swartboois Drift on the border with Angola. He died in an ambush while another insurgent was killed a few hours later after a police patrol had followed tracks leading southwards from Okandjera in northern Namibia.

He denied a weekend report that communications were poor between Pienaar's office and Ahtisaari. Both officials were "perfectly satisfied" communication was good at all levels between the two offices.

UN spokesman Cedric Thornberry said Untag had had to think of "ingenious ways" of deploying personnel to keep to the schedule for elections.

He said military forces were supposed to have pulled out of bases already but "they are not doing so" and in some areas there were possibly more forces. — Sapa.

THE COLOUR photograph Newsweek chose to illustrate its Namibia story in last week's editions is an aftermath shot of PLAN corpses laid out to bloat in the Owambo sun. The extreme violence of their deaths is evident. A young man in the foreground appears to have been filleted from the waist up, his head reduced to an eyeless mask of skin. The image lingers. Many over here will see in this picture further proof of South African savagery, because that is what they have been acculturated to seeing. They will shed the contemptuous tears of the white man, and in so shedding will become unwitting accomplices in the fraud that encouraged this utterly futile slaughter in the first place.

SWATF and Koevoet fingers may have been on the triggers, but the real killers are half a world away. The real killers are the churchmen, the United Nations bureaucrats, sleek and pampered, the intellectuals, journalists, activists and politicians who have sanctified the meaningless suicide of Africans in the name of "struggle".

Three-hundred people were sent to their death by the Swapo leadership," said Dr Chester Crocker on his return from Mount Etjo last week. Anybody who thought that SA would tolerate an incursion of 1 500 to 1 800 men, in violation of all the provisions of the settlement plan, was very unrealistic.

Whose was the unrealism? To answer simply Sam Nujoma or PLAN commander Dino Amaambo is not sufficient. There is a context to their reasoning.

Few who have had to deal with him would deny that Nujoma is a fool, but because he leads a "liberation" movement fighting the "racist regime" he has been made to feel wise and statesmanlike everywhere from New York to Moscow to Pyongyang.

Determined effort under way to shift blame from Swapo

221
R/Dog 18/4/89

SIMON BARBER in Washington

Commissioners, Lutherans, Swedish parliamentarians, American Congressmen and, most egregiously, the UN, all have taken his propaganda and fed it back to him so assiduously that he can hardly be blamed for coming to believe it himself.

In the process, the Swapo elite — especially its external wing — has fallen victim to a new kind of colonialism, a colonialism that treats its subjects if anything more like children than the old kind ever did.

The result, not surprisingly, is a childlike leadership, spoilt, sheltered from reality, convinced that it can do no wrong; the "sole authentic representatives" of a people who have never been permitted a genuine vote.

For a generation, Swapo has waged one of the most fruitless and incompetent guerrilla wars anywhere on the planet. It has been shielded from its failings by its dotting, cosseting parents at the UN who have assured it that it is heir to the estate, so not to worry.

It has therefore given little thought to how it will run things once it inherits, or even to how it will handle the transfer of ownership. Instead, it has been content to have a

few hundred of its own people butchered each year by the existing tenants on the theory that this will demonstrate who's boss (it does so demonstrate, of course, but not quite in the intended manner).

One would like to think that the week of April 1 brought Swapo to its senses. Mommy's and Daddy's blue hats weren't there to come to the rescue when PLAN combatants surged over the border illegally.

This in itself was entirely the fault of Swapo and its sympathisers who had delayed Untag's deployment by squabbling for months over how many blue hats would be sent. Besides, as Swapo has belatedly discovered, Untag would probably not have been much help anyway.

All told, the result should have been instructive, especially since a number of previously tolerant grown-ups — principally Cuba, Angola and the frontline states — finally lost patience and told Nujoma to get his act together. Unfortunately,

ly, it is almost certain that others will seek to vitiate the lesson.

A determined effort is under way to shift the blame. Already we are being told that SA's response to the incursion was too vicious; that SA is hampering the intruders' return to Angola by placing menacing forces next to the UN assembly points and demanding the right to interrogate those who do come in; that, therefore, by some spectacular leap of logic, SA has no interest in free and fair elections.

Worse, the pro-Swapo hive seems to be itching to provoke Pretoria into some act that will make everyone forget just who it was who violated the agreement. The hive would love SA to insist on a house-to-house sweep through Owamboland to hunt down guerrillas who cached their arms and melted into the local population. An atrocity is needed. Innocents must die.

What good will this do Swapo? Not much, and even less for the rest of Namibia's people. But then, of course, they don't matter much because, if you believe a recent report on the McNeil-Lehrer news hour, they represent rather less than 10%

of the country and most are white neo-fascists.

The saddest part of all this is that those most energetically seeking to slow Swapo's ascent up the learning curve are Westerners. The Soviets, by contrast, having discovered the hard way the gross flaws in what they have so long preached, seem altogether more level-headed and less fawning. I doubt a Russian journalist would fall on his knees before Herman Toivo Ja Toivo as one reporter of my acquaintance felt inclined to do a few years back.

The Soviets are happily free of the fatal sentimentality of left-leaning Western elites. They have done terrible things to Africa, but unlike the West — which has also done terrible things — they have never done them because they "cared".

They have supported communist regimes because the regimes were communist, not because they found them romantic or thought it was the Christian thing to do or felt sorry for them.

Few fashionable Western analysts would say that Mozambique's problem was not "South African-backed" Renamo but rather a case of "total social disintegration" of which Renamo was but a symptom.

A senior Soviet Foreign Ministry official I met last week said precisely that, adding, for good measure, that Renamo was just one of many "bandit" groups each seeking to make a living from a society that could no longer provide it.

"The Soviets have said that socialism shall not be built in Namibia," Crocker remarked recently. "Whether that's a prediction or a command is not quite clear." Nor is it clear how sincerely they believe it.

But at least they are prepared to say it, which is more than can be said of many in the West. In their view, Namibia is still a land exploited by capitalists, and they will not be satisfied until many more Namibians have died to make it a land exploited by Sam Nujoma.

Nujoma wants SA forces confined to bases

8 Dec 1976
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LUANDA — The UN has been asked by Swapo president Sam Nujoma to request SA to withdraw its forces to their Namibian bases and allow Swapo guerrillas to pull back unhindered to Angola.

Nujoma said yesterday SA had deployed a division of troops along the Angola-Namibia border.

Those troops were patrolling the frontier and mounting ambushes around special assembly points set up by the UN to receive Swapo fighters due to withdraw to Angola under a plan worked out by SA, Angola and Cuba eight days ago.

The SA deployment was making it prac-

tically impossible for Swapo guerrillas to reach the assembly points.

Swapo officials said Nujoma had dictated the message to them by telephone from the southern Angolan city of Lubango.

Nujoma has already accused SA of trying to use the UN assembly points in Namibia to trap Swapo guerrillas withdrawing to Angola under the April 9 three-party agreement.

He said 500 Swapo fighters had already pulled back into Angola but most had avoided the UN assembly points.

SA was accused of trying to block the independence process. "It is part of SA's

hidden agenda to derail the UN plan for the independence of Namibia."

SA had, since April 1, launched a "military onslaught" against Swapo and its supporters which "demonstrated once again deceit, duplicity and bad faith".

SA officials in Namibia said 278 Swapo guerrillas and more than 20 members of the security forces had been killed in the fighting since April 1, which had died down to sporadic clashes during the last week.

Swapo said 80 fighters had been killed and accused the SA-led security forces of killing many civilians. — Sapa-Reuter.

● See Page 3

Briefing

Namibia: why keep us all in ^{STAR 18/4/89} the dark? ²²¹

Little information is emanating from northern Namibia. The Star's man on the spot, **BRENDAN SEERY**, asks why.

WINDHOEK — There may not have been an official veil of secrecy drawn over events in northern Namibia, but information is as sparse as grass in the Namib in winter, according to frustrated journalists.

Reporters have long been used to the tight-lipped official South African stance, so were not surprised when the authorities in Windhoek decided last week to tighten the valve on information by ordering that all future briefings emanate from the Office of Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar.

The principal spokesman for the office, journalist and PR man Gerhard Roux, has been the man on the receiving end of many difficult questions from journalists. In making available all the information he was authorised to, he appealed to journalists for understanding, particularly in respect of reports of killings of Swapo insurgents after the implementation of the Mount Etjo peace proposals. The situation, he said, was "extremely sensitive".

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

More of a surprise was the ducking and diving from the official spokesmen for the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag).

Resolution 435 guarantees freedom of speech and expression, and reporters had hoped the world body's officials would be valuable allies in the fight to get the story out. The second-in-command of the UN operation in Namibia, Mr Cedric Thornberry, made rose-tinted remarks shortly after Untag began establishing itself here about the partnership between the UN and the press in ensuring that Namibia found its way to independence in a free and fair manner.

Mr Thornberry has since then shown himself to be highly adept at answering but saying nothing in doing so.

Over this weekend, one frustrated journalist wrote that he had actually been lied to by UN peacekeeping troops in the field about the presence of Swapo insurgents at a declared sanctuary at a Roman Catholic mission.

NO KNOWLEDGE

If the communication with the press by the Administrator-General's Office and Untag is bad then it can only be said that the communication they have between each other is appalling.

Untag officials, when pressed hard, admitted last week they had no knowledge of incidents of Swapo insurgents handing themselves in to the police, nor of other insurgents being killed in fire-fights close to assembly points. Yet the Administrator-General's Office had told the world's press about the incidents 24 hours previously.

Questions which remained unanswered, or at least unsatisfactorily answered, were: What happens to insurgents after they hand themselves in? Why is the UN keeping the Swapo insurgents incognito? When are those that have handed themselves in going back?

And, of course, why must this all be kept in the dark?

Malan to deal with atrocity allegations

Political Staff

GENERAL Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, is to deal extensively with the increasing allegations of security-force excesses and atrocities when his vote is debated in Parliament tomorrow.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Defence said today that the allegations had been anticipated.

He pointed out that General Malan and the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, had said at a Press conference yesterday that a concerted international campaign was being launched to reverse the bad publicity Swapo had received for contravening the Angolan/Namibian peace agreements.

At the conference they said the object of the campaign would be to put South Africa in the dock.

● The end of April is roughly the deadline for the remaining Swapo insurgents to return north of the 16th parallel, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has said.

If this deadline was not met it might be necessary to start rescheduling the timetable for the implementation of the Namibian peace plan under UN Resolution 435.

Mr Botha said that under the revised Mount Etjo declaration Swapo had been given a "reasonable time" to comply with requirements to retire north of the 16th parallel.

This had been kept deliberately vague to give the maximum flexibility, but he hoped that Swapo would comply by the end of the month.

If not "we will have to ask ourselves if the the agreed time schedules are still viable", he said.

The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that conservative Republican Senator Jesse Helms has suggested that if the United States has to contribute millions of dollars to the costs of the UN peacekeeping force in Namibia, some of the money should go to the SADF.

"South African forces have been required to assume the peacekeeping function willy nilly," he told the Senate's foreign relations committee yesterday.

● See page 5.

Tutu trial postponed

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The trial of Mr Trevor Tutu, 32, who has pleaded not guilty to three counts of crimen injuria, hindering the police, making a false bomb threat and malicious damage to a traffic officer's hat, has been postponed to June 26 after Mr Tutu's attorney, Mr J Bolleurs, withdrew because he had not been paid for an earlier case.

10 hanged for drugs

NICOSIA. — Iran hanged 10 drug traffickers in public this week, according to Teheran Radio. Iran has now reported executing 398 drugs traffickers since launching an anti-narcotics campaign three months ago. — Sapa-Reuter.

Lucky to be alive

ched through did not pen-

ere called to r du Plessis, heavily, was y treatment tal. A doctor ch also gave

me the shot ar," he said. ad lost much he time it hit ould not be

Having been a policeman, he recognised the injury as a bullet-wound.

"The funny thing is that we had tickets for seats at the top. After the game began we moved down to the front row where I was when I was hit."

He was taken to the Johannesburg Hospital where he was treated for shock and X-rayed.

Police believe the shot might have been fired from a passing train.

Mr Johan

e 12-13, Letters 14, Racing 16, Sport 17-18. TV — pag



A conspiracy of platitudes

ARGUS
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By BRENDAN SEERY of The Argus Africa News Service in Windhoek.

THERE may not have been an official veil of secrecy drawn over events in northern Namibia, but information is as sparse as grass in the Namib Desert in the middle of winter, according to frustrated local and foreign journalists.

Reporters have long been used to the tight-lipped official South African stance, and so were not surprised when the authorities in Windhoek decided last week to tighten the valve on the information flow by ordering that all future briefings emanate from the office of Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar.

The principal spokesman for the office, experienced journalist and PR man Gerhard Roux, has been the man on the receiving end of many difficult questions from journalists. In making available all the information he was authorised to, he appealed to journalists for understanding, particularly in respect of reports of killings of Swapo insurgents after the implementation of the Mount Etjo peace proposals. The situation, he said, was "extremely sensitive".

Partnership

More of a surprise was the ducking and diving from the official spokesmen for the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag).

Resolution 435 guarantees freedom of speech and expression, and reporters had hoped the world body's officials would be valuable allies in the fight to get the story out. The second-in-

command of the UN operation in Namibia, Mr Cedric Thornberry, made rose-tinted remarks shortly after Untag began establishing itself here, about the partnership between the UN and the Press in ensuring that Namibia found its way to independence in a free and fair manner.

Mr Thornberry has since then shown himself to be highly adept at answering, but saying nothing in doing so, the most probing of media questions.

Evasive

Over this weekend, one frustrated journalist wrote that he had actually been lied to by UN peacekeeping troops in the field about the presence of Swapo insurgents at a declared sanctuary at a Roman Catholic mission. At an official Untag press conference in Windhoek at the height of the fighting, one journalist, fed up with evasive replies from UN press spokesman Mr Anouar Cherif, cried in frustration: "Just exactly what can you tell us?"

If the communication with the Press by the Administrator-General's office on the one hand, and Untag on the other, is bad, then it can only be said that the communication they have with each other must be appalling.

Untag officials, when pressed hard, admitted last week they had no knowledge of incidents of Swapo insurgents handing themselves in to the police, and of other insurgents being

killed in firefights close to assembly points.

Frustrating

Yet the Administrator-General's office had told the world's press about the incidents 24 hours previously.

Press spokesmen for both announced blandly that there was "close co-operation" between them.

The case of the repatriation to Angola of Swapo guerillas who have handed themselves in has been one of the most frustrating for journalists.

Mr Roux, Mr Thornberry and UN press spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard, have between them issued a stream of platitudes on the situation — "logistic difficulties", "language problems", "trickle down" (as in the time it takes for orders to trickle down from above), "continuing discussions", "sensitive situation" to describe but a handful.

Questions

Questions which remained unanswered, or at least unsatisfactorily unanswered, were:

What happens to insurgents after they hand themselves in?

Why is the UN keeping the Swapo insurgents incognito?

When are those that have handed themselves in going back?

What will happen to those insurgents described as "captured" by the South Africans?

And, of course, why must this all be kept in the dark?

Malan to deal with atrocity allegations

Political Staff

AR 6/6/89 19/4/89 221
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"South African forces have been required to assume the peacekeeping function willy-nilly," he told the Senate's foreign relations committee yesterday.

● See page 5.

**R146-m to
pull troops out
of Namibia**

THE withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia would cost about R146,4-million, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, told the Assembly.

He said that of this R47,9-million would be spent on transfer of Permanent Force troops and their families, R24,1-million on transport of other troops by road, rail and air, R47,4-million on transport of stores by road and rail, R8,8-million on withdrawal and relocation of computer and telecommunications services, R17-million on packaging material and handling equipment and R1,2-million on operation of an equipment collecting point in South Africa. — Sapa.

Defence Correspondent

UNITED NATIONS Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, his representative Martti Ahtisaari and Untag commander Lieutenant-General Prem Chand would probably agree about the truth of that allegedly Confucian saying that "he who makes peace ends up fighting everybody else".

Between them they have had to bear the brunt of criticism from a spectrum of people and organizations, ranging from confused on-lookers and the anti-UN school to Swapo sympathisers and front organizations desperate to find some sort of scapegoat other than their leader, Mr Sam Nujoma.

Yet, if one reviews the happenings since April 1, it is obvious that such criticism is probably both unfair and ignorant. Hindsight has clarified at least six of the complaints which have been frequently heard so far:

● When Mr Martti Ahtisaari allowed the elements of the South West Africa Territory Force and South African Defence Force to be activated he was accepting the better of two unpleasant options. If he had not, the South African Government would certainly have abrogated implementation of Resolution 435 and the entire peace process would have gone back to square one.

That would have entailed months of ferocious fighting until most of the insurgents had been killed, captured or driven back over the border, followed by months of tortuous negotiation aimed at cutting through the renewed suspicion and hostility caused by the fighting.

● The Untag force was not cut from 7 500 men simply to save money at all costs. It was reduced because the Swapo "armed struggle" had dwindled to almost nothing so that 4 000-plus men should have been enough to monitor all parties and ensure they played the game.

Things were so quiet that the South African Government voluntarily disbanded the Koevoet counter-insurgency unit; I can now reveal that at the end of January both the South African Government and Dr Perez de Cuellar's office agreed that, apart from symbolic reasons, an Untag military element was not strictly necessary for implementation of Resolution 435.

Hindsight proves criticism of UN was unfair and built on ignorance

CVT Times 19/4/89

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● Even if the Untag force had not been cut, the monitoring troops would still not have been in position on April 1. The Untag troops who arrived before April 1 were the advance party, consisting of specialists such as engineers and signallers and administrative, logistic and other support troops told to set up a proper structure for the main body due later in the month.

This was why it was such a scramble to get them to the border and why they were so under-equipped for the task that the South Africans had to supply them with everything from tents and blankets to flagpoles and rations.

● Given the restraints under which UN peacekeeping forces work, even a full-strength Untag military component of 7 500 would not have been able to do anything about the big Swapo incursion except make feeble protests — which, of course, was what Mr Nujoma was banking on, except that he seems to have misunderstood the withdrawal timetable and moved three months too soon.

● The Untag force is not cowardly, useless, inefficient or irrelevant: its operating ability has been crippled by the drastic change in circumstances as a result of Swapo's incursion.

Prior to April 1 the war was over and Untag was there to ensure it stayed that way. The Swapo incursion changed all that

by causing a resumption of the war. Needless to say, this put Untag in a spot because, as a peace-keeping force, the last thing it must do is get involved in a shooting war in which purely practical considerations would, sooner or later, force it into actions which could be construed (rightly or wrongly) as taking sides.

● Lieut-Gen Prem Chand is being written off as an ineffectual old man. I think this is unfair. He has had to throw his arrangements out of the window, weld together a motley array of national contingents and, in the absence of the actual monitoring components, hastily pull rear echelon personnel and specialists away from their main tasks and redeploy them in a totally different role and location.

Any military man who has had to go through what the army calls "marrying-up drills" or change detailed operational plans in the heat of battle, as it were, would probably reckon he handled a very ticklish job quite well.

The UN General Assembly's long history of knee-jerk partisanship in Swapo's favour has tended to obscure the fact that the Security Council is in charge in Namibia and that, while there has been some friction on the ground, in general the Untag senior leader group has conducted itself with discretion and usually with acceptable correctness.

The same can be said for the South Africans.

SA security forces executed Swapo, TV show claims

The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. — South African security forces effectively executed scores of captured Swapo fighters by shooting them in their heads at point-blank range, a television documentary programme screened privately for congressional aides and the media on Capitol Hill claimed last night.

The documentary is to be televised across the United States next week by a private group known as South Africa Now. The claims of the executions, which were accompanied by footage of bloodied and semi-naked bodies of Swapo insurgents, were greeted with shock and horror by the gathering. If the programme goes ahead unchallenged, any credibility South Africa has gained by its handling of the Swapo incursions across the Angold / Namibia border since April 1 will almost certainly be destroyed.

South Africa Now, which bills itself as an independent news-gathering organisation reporting the real news in South Africa — "the news the major American networks are too afraid to report" — claimed the South African security forces normally used 20 mm calibre weapons.

"None of the bodies showed signs of wounds from such large weapons," the report said. "Instead," it added, "they all had wounds through their heads at what could be deduced was point-blank range."

EXECUTED
"The South Africans effectively executed them," the report claimed.

The programme reported aggrieved relatives were demanding the exhumation of the bodies which had been buried hastily in mass graves. Last night's screening of the film in the US Senate office building was officially hosted by Senator Paul Simon, who this year is spearheading a new campaign to get the Senate to enact tough new economic and other sanctions on South Africa.

The screening was attended by dozens of Washington journalists and congressional aides.

SA 'bully boy' tactics slammed by Press

The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — The security forces in northern Namibia are rapidly nullifying the diplomatic gains South Africa made as a result of Swapo's breach of the peace accord by the incursions of its fighters into the territory, according to reports in the British press.

The British media have generally taken the heat off Swapo and are turning it on South Africa, accusing the security forces of "arrogant" and "provocative" behaviour. A report in the Sunday Times, under the headline "UN's lonely 100 thwarted Pretoria's bully-boys", quoted a British officer of Untag telling a "bull-necked" South African colonel: "If you saturate the area of our assembly points with South African troops, Swapo will not come in. I'm afraid it's that simple."

The report said the South African colonel lowered over the British officer but "salvation for the UN arrived in the form of the Australian Major David Kreger, who at 198m and with the build of a telephone box, was more than a match for the irate South African. Like any bully, the South African became instantly more reasonable."

The Independent, which has covered the Namibian situation extensively, referred to "the perception that the South Africans are being needlessly bloody-minded". In another report, the newspaper said: "The South African army is pushing its luck. Having been granted a licence to fly in a helicopter taking a wounded Swapo fighter to hospital."

The Independent quotes four examples of how South Africa has injured Untag's "pride and authority": It forced the UN to agree to the release of army troops from their bases to fight Swapo, it constantly patrols Untag assembly points, it maintains a "menacing" presence around assembly points, and it failed to inform Untag about the killing of five guerrillas near an assembly point before the news appeared in the press.

Western diplomats here are agreeing that the establishment of a South African military camp in close proximity to Untag assembly points was "provocative". One diplomat said he could not understand why South Africa was throwing away the diplomatic gains it had made over Swapo's incursions. In the months ahead, South Africa and Swapo were bound to clash over various issues, and the more South Africa alienated Untag, the less chance it would have of persuading Untag to see things its way, the diplomat said.

Security forces 'shot villagers', 'shot and Accounting'

Argus Africa News Service
WINDHOEK. — Villagers in Owamboland have claimed that at the height of the clashes with Swapo guerrillas this month, soldiers and police burned down kraals, flattened huts and granaries by driving armoured vehicles into them, and shot civilians.

The office of the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, denied that the armed forces were involved in any excesses or atrocities against villagers during the clashes. However, both Chief Inspector Derek Brune of the SVA Police and Colonel Japie Dreyer of the SADF told newsmen last week that civilians might have been killed "in crossfire".

Last weekend villagers in Owamboland told of attacks on members of the local population. A Kenyan UN peacekeeping soldier escorts one of the Swapo guerrillas from a hospital in northern Namibia to a border.

He was taken to hospital and his family said they had been told he was being treated "in Cape Town".

"Hit with rifle butt"
Mr Shafyohamba said he was hit in the face with a rifle butt when he protested at the shooting of his son. He said the soldiers had threatened to shoot him.

Part of Mr Shafyohamba's kraal was flattened, he said, when the troops drove over his wooden fence and headed straight for the huts, in one of which the three children were hiding in fear. The "wheel marks" ran through at least two huts, including the one in which the children had been hiding. In Ondeshifilwe village, there was confusion about the identities of 22 men whose bodies were brought together following a clash between security forces and group of insurgents.



HANDED BACK: A Kenyan UN peacekeeping soldier escorts one of the Swapo guerrillas from a hospital in northern Namibia to a border.

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Damelin
MANAGEMENTSCHOOL

The South Africa Now allegations follow a series of reports which have begun to appear in the US media which have hammered South Africa's conduct in reacting to Swapo's cross-border incursions.

Attempts are being made to portray Swapo as the aggrieved party and its slain fighters as the victims of South African brutality.

There are an increasing number of reports of South African security forces beating up civilians in their search for Swapo insurgents.

Security forces are also accused of demolishing homes.

Pro-Swapo media reports are emphasising the movement's fighters were merely returning to their own country because they thought there was a ceasefire.

The official US attitude towards Swapo's actions was that it had acted in violation of the agreements which had brought about the implementation of Resolution 435 and the Namibian independence process.

American officials have also publicly stated the Swapo leadership has to answer for its decision to send so many of its men to certain death.

members of the local population, allegedly by members of the armed forces.

Bow and arrows

They said that in Okatope "cucua shops" (informal sector outlets serving a large part of the community) were sprayed with bullets.

Laban Shafyohamba, 12, was shot in the side by members of the SADF, according to his parents and his grandmother, Mrs Lusla Teckela. They said the boy's three cousins, Sara Muntlo, 2, Helena Shakata, 16, and Timoteus Shikongo, 12, narrowly escaped being crushed by an armoured troop carrier which crashed into the hut in which they were sheltering.

According to Laban's father, Mr Titus Shafyohamba, the troops invaded the family kraal in Okatope long after a clash with four Swapo fighters had ended.

He said the troops found his son holding his bow and arrows, the kind used by most herdboys in the northern villages for hunting hares and other animals while tending cattle and goats in the bush.

They allegedly accused Laban of using the bow and arrows to shoot at the soldiers, and, when he denied it, one of the uniformed men shot him.

insurgents. A nursing sister who went to the scene of the shooting immediately after it happened said that nine of the 22 dead were identified as Swapo fighters by a man who identified himself as Swapo's area commander.

The nurse said she had tended a wounded guerrilla who had a bullet lodged just above his right hip. The guerrilla told her he and his friends had just finished eating a meal and were resting under some trees when they were fired at by the security forces. The man died.

The nurse, who asked not to be named as she feared reprisals, said the Swapo commander said the other bodies were unknown to him and suggested they might have been brought to Ondeshifilwe already dead.

Stripped of clothing

The nurse said villagers could not identify any of the bodies, which had been stripped of clothing.

Villagers and churchmen speculated that this was done by the security forces to make it difficult to distinguish between Swapo members, who wore uniforms, and others among the casualties who might have been civilians or even security force members.

three Swapo guerrillas from a hospital in northern Namibia to a border post where they were handed over to Angolan authorities.

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None could suggest, however, why the bodies of the latter should have been mixed with those of Swapo members.

In Ondeshifilwe a kraal was said to have been flattened by a troop carrier, and a number of huts burnt down.

At Okahenge, which is generally regarded as the village where the fighting started on April 1, villagers told churchmen of allegedly indiscriminate shooting and destruction of property by security forces.

Several huts were burnt down, they said. People fled in all directions when the security forces opened fire on a group said to have included guerrillas.

In the end 33 people died according to statements given by villagers to church leaders.

Some were villagers, some guerrillas and some could not be identified as either.

Four held in golf heist

DURBAN. — Four men were arrested by police today and R15 000 worth of golf equipment stolen yesterday from the Pro Shop at Beachwood Golf Club recovered. — Sapa.

Namibian UN schedule in jeopardy

8/20/81
19/11/81
Political Correspondent

221

CAPE TOWN — The end of April is the rough deadline for Swapo insurgents to leave Namibia and move north of the 16th parallel in Angola, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

If they did not do so, it might be necessary to start rescheduling the timetable for the implementation of the Namibian peace plan under United Nations Resolution 435.

Mr Botha said that under the revised Mount Etjo declaration, Swapo had been given a reasonable time to withdraw.

If Swapo did not comply by the end of the month, "we will have to ask ourselves if the agreed time schedules are still viable", Mr Botha said.

Under the Mount Etjo declaration, South African troops would not withdraw to their bases until UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari and Namibia's Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar had verified that Swapo troops were north of the 16th parallel.

Mr Botha said Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma was now saying that Swapo forces were not surrendering at UN assembly points because of the presence of security forces.

But under the Mount Etjo declaration, the security forces were entitled to remain there until Swapo withdrew from Namibia.

Sapa reports that the first three Swapo guerrillas to be escorted by Untag monitors to north of the 16th parallel crossed the Angolan border yesterday.

...sions across the Angola/...
...via border...

SADF accused of executing Swapo

Star 19/4/89

221

CAPE TOWN — The deadline for Swapo to and move north of the Minister of Finance said yesterday.
If they did not start rescheduling of the United Nations Res. Mr Botha said the Etjo declaration. Swapo able time to withdraw. If Swapo did not month, "we will agreed time schedule said.

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

Washington

A major international row is brewing over the deaths and mass burial of Swapo insurgents, with security forces being accused of atrocities which could effectively destroy any credibility South Africa may have gained for its handling of the incursion.

In the last two days, the actions of the SWA security forces have been questioned, and last night, a TV documentary programme screened privately for dozens of congressional aides and journalists on Capitol Hill, claimed that scores of captured Swapo fighters had effectively been executed by shooting in the head at point blank range.

The documentary is to be televised across the United States next week by a group known as South Africa Now.

The claims of the executions, which were accompanied by grisly footage of bloated naked and semi-naked bodies of Swapo insurgents, were greeted with horror by the gathering.

If the programme goes ahead unchallenged, any credibility South Africa has gained by its handling of the Swapo incursions across the Angola-Namibia border since April 1 will have been destroyed.

Yesterday Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Botha said the burial of Swapo infiltrators in mass graves was unavoidable. He conceded at a press conference in Cape Town that pictures of the mass burial had done South Africa harm.

But he said the burials and disagreements between Untag and security forces were being used in an attempt to get Swapo off the hook and South Africa in the dock. A military spokesman at the conference said that the mass burials had been stopped.

Mr Botha said the mass burials were now being used to make South Africa the accused. No one, however, asked what Swapo did with its dead and wounded. He claimed Swapo killed its own non-walking wounded and buried them in shallow graves. He also said Swapo was known to leave its wounded lying in the sun to die.

The SADF spokesman said agreement had been reached with Swapo that those buried in mass graves would



Recovering ... Mr Johan du Plessis in hospital this morning.

Mystery shot injures fan at Ellis Park rugby match

Staff Reporters

Rugby fan Mr Johan du Plessis today regarded himself as lucky to be alive after being shot during last night's Transvaal and Eastern Transvaal match at Ellis Park, Johannesburg.

Mr du Plessis (25) was hit by a bullet believed to have been fired into the crowded grandstand from outside the stadium.

"The police told me the shot was fired from a distance," he said. The 9 mm bullet had lost much of its velocity by the time it hit him.

"If it had not, I would not be alive today," he said.

"My friend Pastor Wynand Snyders and I were watching the match when I felt this shot hit me. At first I thought I had been hit by a coke can or something like that but then I looked down and saw the blood."

CHANGED SEATS

A former policeman, he recognised the injury as a bullet-wound.

"The funny thing is ... we had tickets for seats at the top. After the game began we moved down to the front row where I was shot," he said.

Mr du Plessis narrowly escaped death because the bullet punched through his breastbone but did not penetrate deeper into his body.

Mr du Plessis is an assessor with the Receiver of Revenue in Germiston.

Police have launched an intensive investigation into the 6.50 pm incident and have appealed to anyone with information to come forward.

Helping hand ... a Kenyan member of the United Nations peacekeeping northern Namibian hospital to a border post, where he was handed

be disinterred.

In the documentary, South Africa Now, which bills itself as an independent news-gathering organisation reporting "the real news in South Africa — the news the major American networks are too afraid to report" — claimed the bodies all had wounds clear through their heads at what could be deduced was point-blank range.

"The South Africans effectively executed them," the report claimed.

Last night's screening of the film in the US Senate office building was officially hosted by Senator Paul Simon, who this year is spearheading a new

campaign to get the Senate to enact tough new economic sanctions.

Attempts are now being made to portray Swapo as the aggrieved party and its slain fighters as the victims of South African brutality. There are an increasing number of reports of South African security forces beating up civilians in their search for Swapo insurgents and of demolishing homes.

Pro-Swapo media reports are emphasising that the movement's fighters were merely returning to their own country "because they thought there was a ceasefire".

3 Swapo men cross border

RUACANA, Namibia. — The first three Swapo guerillas to be escorted by Untag monitors to a point north of the 16th Parallel crossed the Angolan border at Beacon One, Ruacana Falls, at 4pm yesterday.

About 1 600 insurgents are estimated to have come south into Namibia on April 1. Since last Tuesday, when the Mount Etjo declaration became effective for providing safe passage back across the border for Swapo fighters through nine UN-monitored assembly posts, seven guerillas have made use of the arrangement.

Between 350 and 380 Swapo fighters are believed to have returned to Angola following an appeal by Mr Sam Nujoma, but without going through the designated assembly points.

To date 279 Swapo fighters have been killed since clashes started with combined Namibian police and military units on April 1, and 32 captured.

In Windhoek, meanwhile, talks between the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, and UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari on the regulation of legislative and executive powers of second-tier ethnic au-

thorities and of Rehoboth will continue today.

In Cape Town the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday that South African security forces would be confined to their bases only once Swapo's insurgents had withdrawn from Namibia.

He said the Cuban withdrawal was still continuing on schedule but by the end of the month there were deadlines for other reciprocal actions, such as a further reduction of SADF troops. This could not be done if Swapo had not yet complied with the withdrawal demands.

Peace talks on in spite of violence

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B/Day 19/4/89

KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — Sporadic violence has disturbed the truce in northern Namibia, but UN and SA administrators have begun top-level talks to prepare the ground for independence elections — still scheduled for November.

SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha, meanwhile, said in Cape Town yesterday that SA troops would be confined to base only once Swapo fighters had moved north of the 16th parallel in southern Angola. Adopting a conciliatory approach, Botha said they would be given "reasonable time" to withdraw.

In Windhoek, government spokesman Gerhard Roux yesterday said that in spite of the delay caused by Swapo's incursions and ceasefire violations, "the preparatory process has not stopped."



● BOTHA

"As far as the Administrator-General's office is concerned, the electoral process is on schedule," he said.

But he warned that Swapo's estimated 850 armed guerrillas still in the territory must return to Angola and a new ceasefire must be in place before the resolution 435

independence plan could get under way again.

"In terms of the Mt Etjo agreement the situation must be restored to what it was on March 31 before any practical steps can be taken," he said.

In Cape Town, Botha was conciliatory towards Swapo's apparently slow withdrawal from Namibia, but he insisted that SA troops temporarily freed from base confinement to counter incursions would remain deployed until all guerrillas had been withdrawn to north of the 16th parallel.

In terms of the Mt Etjo agreement endorsed by SA, Angola and Cuba, Swapo was given a week to pull back behind the 16th parallel — some 160km inside southern Angola — where they should have been located since mid-March in terms of the Geneva protocol signed last year by the same parties.

Administrator-General Louis Pienaar and the UN's Namibia chief, Martti Ahtisaari, had extended the withdrawal truce to Friday this week, but Botha yesterday dropped the date and said the guerrillas

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Namibian talks on in spite of violence

had to leave "within reasonable time."

He specified they should be out of Namibia and under UN scrutiny in southern Angola before a scheduled end-of-month meeting in Cape Town of the Joint Monitoring Committee set up by SA, Angola and Cuba.

"As time passes, we will come to a situation where we must ask if the time schedules are still viable," Botha said.

"That is why all parties concerned must go out of their way to get Swapo back over the 16th parallel, and the withdrawal verified."

Pienaar and Ahtisaari began talks yesterday on electoral preparations and on the status of second-tier ethnic authorities in the territory. The meeting is to continue today.

Roux said Pienaar's office would no longer give out official estimates of Swapo fighters returning to Angola, but security

forces had confirmed a continuing pullout.

On Monday, Roux said military and police commanders estimated that up to 380 guerrillas had left the territory.

Meanwhile, officials reported sporadic violence yesterday as Ahtisaari and Pienaar began their talks.

In the first such reported incident, two landmines blew up an army troop carrier near the Oshikaku mission village yesterday, but no one was hurt.

In other incidents:

□ An army patrol killed another insurgent, bringing Swapo's losses to 279 since the incursions began on April 1; and

□ Combined military and counter-insurgency units captured four more guerrillas on Sunday and Monday and are now holding 32 prisoners.

From Page 1

'Substantial' retreat

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — Four days from a withdrawal deadline on Friday, United Nations officials say "substantial" numbers of Swapo guerrillas are returning to southern Angola from Namibia.

South African security forces tracking the insurgents yesterday estimated that some 380 had crossed into Angola, leaving about 850 still in the territory.

Untag deputy chief Mr Cedric Thornberry said yesterday that the return was "continuing at a substantial rate" but gave no numbers.

A spokesman for the Administrator-General's office, Mr Gerhard Roux, said two insurgents were killed on Sunday. One died in an ambush when a military patrol followed tracks leading south-east from Swartboois Drift on the border with Angola. Another was killed a few hours later after a police patrol followed tracks leading southwards from Okandjera in northern Namibia, he said.

Two caches of food, medical supplies and uniforms were found. One of the caches contained explosives.

The latest killings bring the Swapo death toll to 278. Mr Roux said security forces were holding a further 28 insurgents captured in the clashes. Police and the army had lost 27 men.

Mr Thornberry said Untag administrators, hoping for reinstatement of a ceasefire, were wrestling

Checkpoints ignored

NEW YORK. — Swapo guerrillas have received orders to proceed independently to Angola and not to report to UN-manned checkpoints in northern Namibia, a Swapo official said yesterday.

"We directed our combatants not to go to the checkpoints because their lives will be in danger," said Mr Theo Ben Gurirab, permanent Swapo representative at the UN. "We directed them to go on their own, and not give the South Africans another pretext to kill."

He added that Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar should visit Namibia to help restore the UN's "tarnished" image. Such a trip would "help create the kind of atmosphere that is necessary for co-operation and indeed for what we all hope will be peaceful elections on November 1 in Namibia".

with problems of redeployment and replanning forced on them by the hold-up in implementation of the Resolution 435 settlement plan.

"We were beginning to catch up when we were so rudely interrupted on April 1.

"It had been expected that by now many of the existing (South African) forces would have been pulling out of their bases and their houses in areas where housing is in very short supply.

"There is enormous competition for limited re-

sources. This is causing us a lot of difficulty. We are going to face even more difficulties and we are going to have to run a darn sight faster than we have been in order to make the settlement plan work," Mr Thornberry said.

He added that Untag was slowing down the arrival of civilian administrators and concentrating on bringing in international policemen and military units assigned to supervise the run-up to elections.

Almost 100 policemen, one-fifth of their eventual strength, are preparing for assignment as watchdogs over SWA Police operations. "My expectation is that they will be out in the north and in Windhoek, including Katatura, by Thursday morning," he said.

Among the duties of the officers drawn from 15 nations will be investigation of allegations of intimidation and politically linked thuggery, especially when electioneering begins.

Swapo and DTA supporters frequently allege assault by each other, and human-rights lawyers have claimed that police and the military intimidate civilians in the north.

Mr Roux said SWA Police and the UN officers would jointly investigate allegations of intimidation, under a system agreed to by Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

Two senior Untag military officers with observer status yesterday attended a meeting at Ruacana of the Joint Monitoring Commission set up by South Africa, Angola and Cuba, but no details of the meeting were disclosed.

Call to dig up Swapo bodies in Namibia

From DAVID BRAUN
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — International attempts are being made to exhume all 283 Swapo insurgents killed by security forces since April 1 to see if there is any truth to claims that some were executed after their capture.

This was learnt during an interview with a researcher for the American television programme *South Africa Now*, Mr. Alun Roberts.

South Africa Now televised claims that security forces ef-

fectively executed Swapo fighters by shooting them in the head with small-calibre weapons at point-blank range after they had been captured and confined.

The programme was shown in the New York area last night and is to be televised in other parts of the US this week.

A preview of the programme was screened to US congressional aides and the media earlier. It was introduced by Senator Paul Simon, leading proponent for tougher sanctions against South Africa.

Inquiry

● From Windhoek The Argus Africa News Service reports that the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, has announced that South Africa is to set up a permanent commission in Namibia to investigate all allegations of intimidation and misconduct.

Mr Pienaar said he was re-

sponding to recent allegations of intimidation, assault and misconduct which had been brought to his attention.

He vowed that all those who broke the law would be prosecuted regardless of their position or their ideological stance. The commission would also probe accusations levelled against people he labelled as "political activists".

The commission would be "in continuous session" and would report to his office, said Mr Pienaar. The public would have "free access" to the commission and he guaranteed that "any violation of the law would result in prosecution".

He had spoken to Namibian lawyer Mr Bryan O'Linn SC about appointing him as commission chairman.

Mr O'Linn has maintained a high-profile, outspoken position over the years in support of the implementation of UN Resolution 435.

SWAPO

POISONED

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CML Twp's

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar yesterday set up a permanent commission of inquiry to probe increasing accusations of harassment and intimidation in Namibia, particularly by the security forces.

The body will be headed by one of the territory's most respected lawyers, Mr Brian O'Linn, chairman of the Namibian Bar Council.

Mr Pienaar's move was obviously prompted by the mounting wave of allegations implicating security forces in atrocities in Namibia.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, is expected to speak on the issue in Parliament today.

Both he and Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, had earlier claimed that a concerted international campaign was being launched against South Africa to counter Swapo's bad image in past weeks.

Mr Pienaar, acting without consulting United Nations special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari, told a news conference he was determined that any violation of the law would result in prosecution.

Earlier this week Mr Ahtisaari ordered United Nations police officers to probe accusations that security force members assaulted civilians near Oshikuku mission

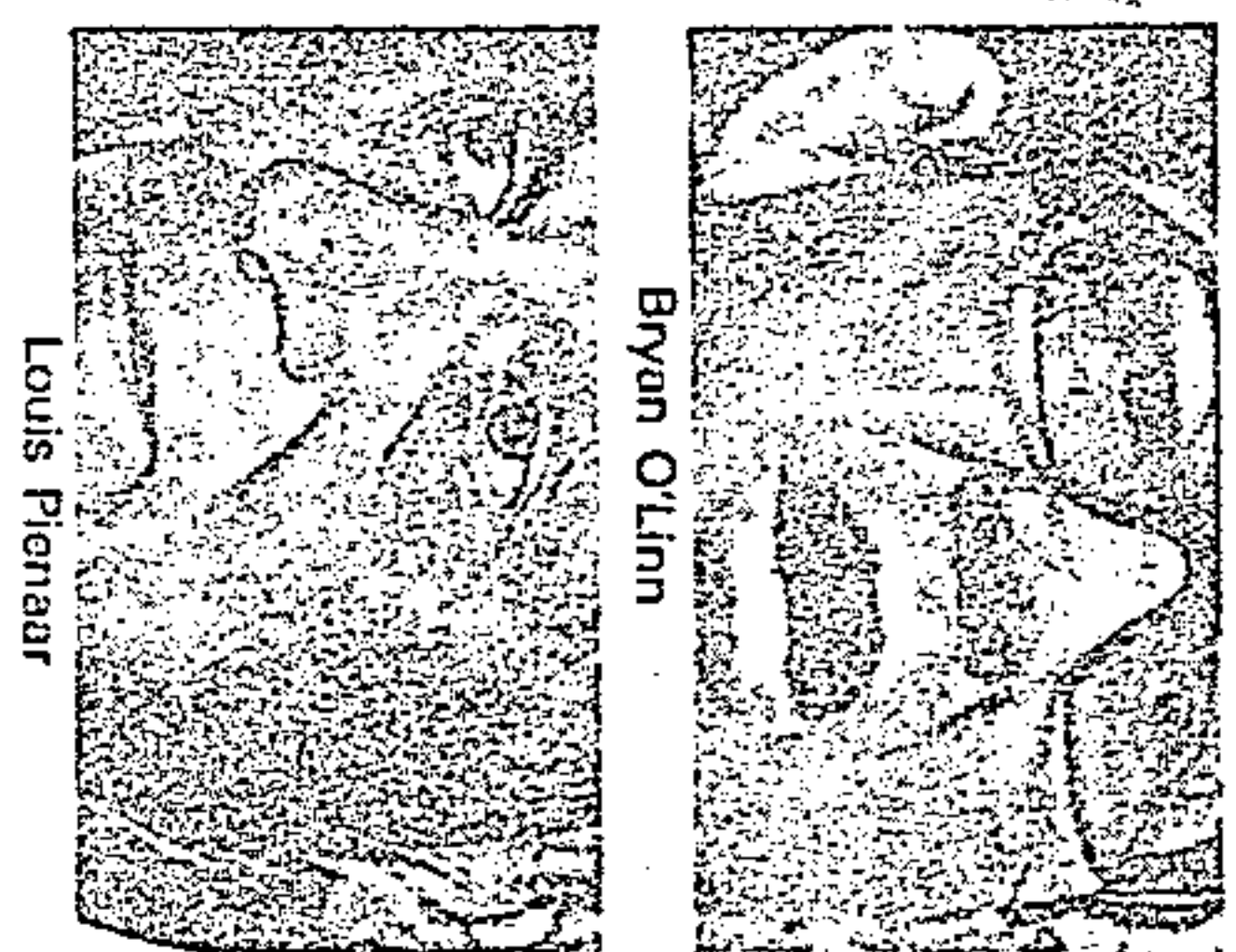
church in northern Ovambo.

Deputy UN chief Mr Cedric Thornberry said yesterday the investigators' report "is on its way to Windhoek for Mr Ahtisaari's urgent consideration."

Mr Ahtisaari had expressed his "profound concern" over the number of allegations of intimidation, assault "and other misconduct" from the north of the territory.

A Western diplomat in Windhoek said yesterday: "There might be something in allegations of a campaign against South Africa, but there certainly have been real incidents of intimidation."

Church officials in Ovambo have accused security forces of assaulting civilians wearing clothing in the red, blue and



21 SAIDF members committed suicide

By 20/4/89 Political Staff

LAST YEAR 21 members of the Defence Force committed suicide and 344 members attempted to commit suicide, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday in reply to a question from Mr Roger Hullely (DP Constantia).

Eleven of those who committed suicide were national servicemen, while four were members of the Permanent Force and six were members of the Citizen Force or Commandos. Ten of these Defence Force members were shot, seven died from overdose, three hanged themselves and one was gassed.

General Malan also explained that 294 national servicemen attempted to commit suicide, as did 44 members of the Permanent Force and six members of the Citizen Force or Commandos.

He said 207 of the national servicemen tried to commit suicide by overdose, 65 slashed their wrists, 14 shot themselves, three tried to hang themselves, three drank poison and two gassed themselves.

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green Swapo colours, while policemen and soldiers openly wear DTA T-shirts.

"I have always taken the allegations very seriously," Mr Pienaar said yesterday, pledging that the commission of inquiry would probe accusations against political activists and the security forces, as well as Untag.

"If we want to have free and fair elections in this country, we should rid ourselves of the scourge of intimidation."

Meantime in Luanda Swapo called for an independent international inquiry into the fighting in Namibia.

Nujoma

This comes on the eve of Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma's visit to London today.

He will meet British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and may possibly have a private meeting with Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Other developments are:

- UN administrators are rushing additional officials to southern Angola to bolster an inadequate reporting system on Swapo guerillas returning from Namibia under a truce in place until April 30.

- Officials in Luanda said some 800 guerillas had crossed into Angola.

- Namibian security force spokesmen put the latest death toll for Swapo guerillas at 279 and said 32 had been captured.

- Policemen from Holland and Ireland will from today act in charge offices in Windhoek and Katatura and 73 will move northwards today to take up monitoring duties in Ovambo.

LASER Transport, SA's largest removals group, has been awarded a significant contract to move 1000 Untag military personnel into Namibia.

Laser moves in on Untag

MARC HASENFUSS

CE Dennis Kaye said yesterday Laser would be responsible for storing and distributing the task forces' personal effects in Namibia.

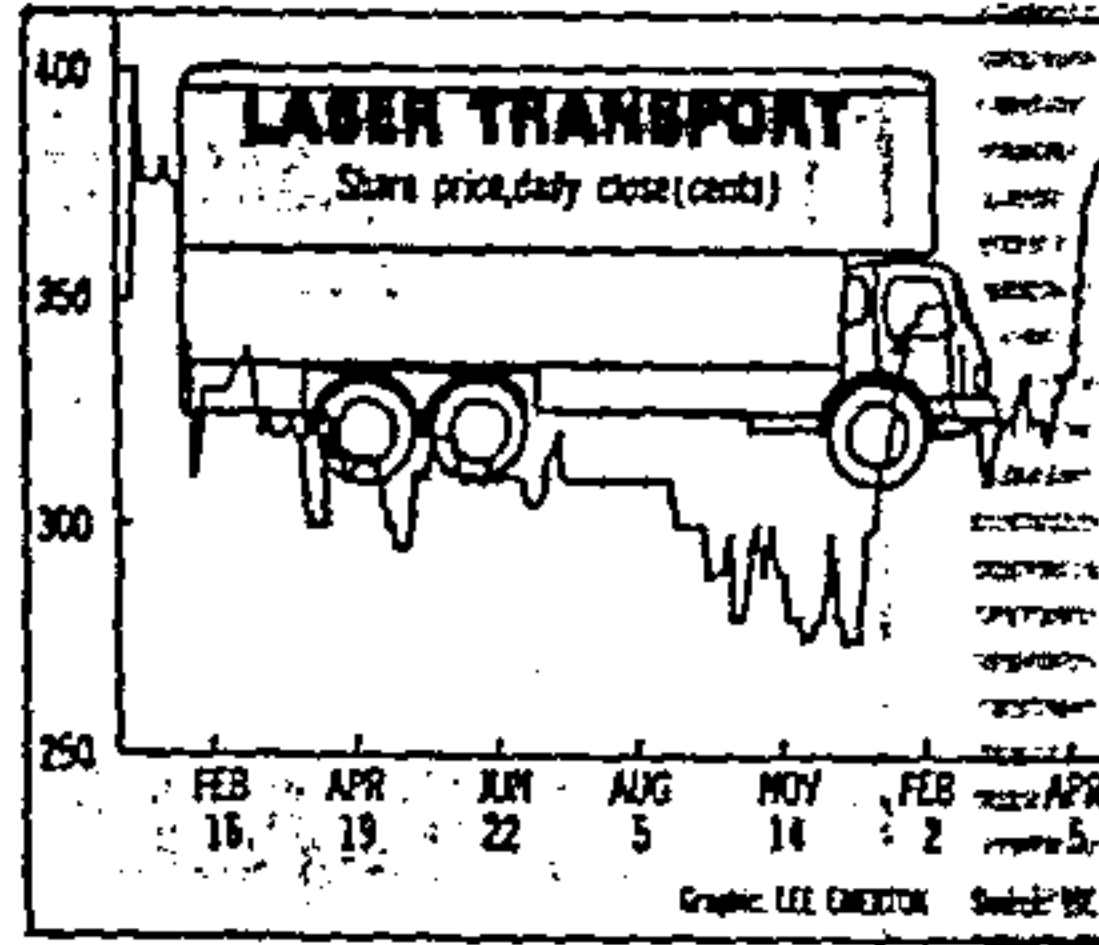
Kaye, who was delighted with the contract, could not disclose accurate estimation of the contract's value as rates were based on weight per 100kg *Blum*

New peak *28/4/89*

This is the second major contract secured by Laser in the last week. The group also secured a major contract to move military personnel out of Namibia, said Kaye.

Speculation about the awarding of these contracts pushed Laser's shares up 10% to a new peak of 385c this week.

At the current price the shares are on a



historical dividend yield of 6.5%, double the Transport sector yield of 3%.

Laser's good earnings track record suggests the shares could have further upward potential.

Untag 'protect' Swapo

OSKAHATI — The delay in transferring the remaining surrendered Swapo guerillas across the Angolan border is due solely to "humanitarian reasons", an Untag monitor said in Oshakati yesterday.

The officer, who asked not to be identified further, said the three still being treated in hospital all had "dangerous" wounds and immediate transfer to Angola could jeopardise their health.

Information about

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them is hard to come by, but the only reason for this was to protect the guerillas from being harassed by the press, the monitor said.

He said they had suffered a definite setback due to shock and fear, after the Press had earlier been allowed to photograph them.

Low key

News of a further two guerillas still to be "channelised" from points near Swartbooisdrift and Pupa Falls in the north western Namibia were also supplied yesterday.

The monitor would not confirm that two more Swapo fighters had in fact checked in to the gathering points in these areas but intimated that, if not, they would soon be doing so.

The low key affair which saw the first three guerillas and their Untag escorts slip over the Angolan border at Ruacana Falls on Tuesday, was also not an

attempt at subterfuge, the monitor said.

"On the contrary we want it publicised, we want people to know about it. The Pakistanis are doing their best," he said.

There are 18 Poles, 25 Malays and 20 Pakistani monitors in the north, under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel Farouk Afzal. — Sapa.

Pienaar sets up probe into misconduct

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WINDHOEK — Administrator-General Louis Pienaar, responding to mounting accusations of harassment and intimidation — particularly targeted at security forces — is setting up a permanent commission of inquiry to probe misconduct allegations.



PIENAAR

Pienaar, acting without consulting UN chief Martti Ahtisaari, has asked senior

KEVIN JACOBS

advocate Brian O'Linn, chairman of the Namibian Bar Council, to head the body.

"Any violation of the law, I am determined. will result in prosecution," he told a news conference yesterday.

The UN is rushing additional officials to southern Angola to bolster the reporting system watching Swapo guerrillas returning from Namibia under a truce in place until April 30. Untag deputy chief Cedric Thornberry said eight military observers drove through Ruacana yesterday to

points along the 16th parallel, the barrier line for Swapo. Additional observers were preparing to leave today to help estimate Swapo numbers back in Angola.

SA officials, declining to estimate the extent of the guerrillas' pullout from Namibia, said the April 9 Mt Etjo agreement required Swapo ultimately to tell Ahtisaari and Pienaar their fighters had fully withdrawn.

Thornberry said UN observers knew the location of Swapo bases behind the 16th

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Pienaar to probe border misconduct

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parallel and would be stationed there. UN international peacekeeping chief Marrack Goulding told reporters in Luanda at the weekend that the Angolans were unprepared to receive returning Swapo fighters, and were commandeering civilian cars to transport them to camps lacking shelter and food. Officials in Luanda said about 800 guerrillas had crossed into Angola. Namibian security force spokesmen say at least 279 were killed and a further 32 were captured.

Earlier this week Ahtisaari ordered UN police officers to probe accusations that

security force members assaulted civilians in northern Owambo.

"I have always taken the allegations very seriously," Pienaar said yesterday, pledging that the commission of inquiry would probe accusations against political activists and security forces.

"If we want to have free and fair elections in this country, we should rid ourselves of the scourge of intimidation and such unlawful acts," he said. "I will not allow such actions to go unpunished."

● From Page 1 ←

Ovambo call for end to fighting

20-26/4/89

(221)
South

From MARK VERBAAN
WINDHOEK. - "We demand that the United Nations Special Representative does everything in his power to stop the fighting immediately, by deactivating Battalion 101 and confining Swapo combatants to points inside Namibia."

Had this demand been made by one of the diplomats involved in the convoluted attempt to guide Namibia to independence from Pretoria's rule, it might be regarded as at the very least a reasonable demand.

It is not. It is a demand that is based on a complete lack of understanding of the situation in Northern Namibia. The Ovambo people, who live in the far north of the country, have been waiting with great hope and confidence for the implementation of Resolution 435 for the last 10 years. Our hopes were raised by your arrival in Namibia on March 31 1989.

It reads: "We, the mothers, fathers, sons and daughters living in the far north of Namibia have been waiting with great hope and confidence for the implementation of Resolution 435 for the last 10 years. Our hopes were raised by your arrival in Namibia on March 31 1989."



Another mass grave? Before photographer Benny Gool was able to find out he was chased away by this group of soldiers in Northern Namibia last week

Mentioning the outbreak of fighting on April 1 between South African and Swapo forces, which has so claimed at least 300 lives, the residents said: "A lot of lives of homesteads and cattle have been destroyed. We have experienced increased harassment and intimidation, as well as physical attacks."

They pointed out to Ahtisaari that the bloodshed could have been avoided "if Untag had been deployed in this region which has been a war zone

for a long time".

The petitioners said Untag should have "communicated its views in order to get a balanced overall picture of the situation, instead of merely relying on South African military and police

for information".

Demanding that Ahtisaari does everything in his power to stop the fighting, residents called on him to deactivate South African military units and to confine Swapo combatants to bases inside the territory.

Urgent steps to save peace plan

Tension grows over Namibia 'atrocities'

Star 20/4/89

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By David Braun and Brendan Seery
Urgent moves are being made to get to grips with allegations of military "executions" and political misconduct as tension mounts again over Namibia's peace and independence plan.

Pressure is being applied abroad as steps have been announced in Namibia. The new moves are:

- International attempts are being made to exhume every single one of the 283 Swapo insurgents killed by South African and Namibian security forces since April 1, to see if there is any truth to claims that some of them were executed after their capture.
- South Africa is to set up a permanent commission in Namibia to investigate all allegations of intimidation and misconduct, including those levelled against its own forces in the territory.

This was announced by Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar, who said he was responding to allegations of intimidation, assault and misconduct brought to his attention.

- Representatives from Angola, Cuba and South Africa are to meet today on the Angola-Namibia border to try to keep the independence plan on course and iron out problems in the agreement they made 10 days ago.

The meeting, to be held at Ruacana, will have to find ways of verifying that Swapo guerillas, who infiltrated Namibia from Angola as the independence process started, are counted back into Angola.

Fierce arguments

Only 12 guerillas have so far reported at the nine assembly points and British and Australian troops manning them have been involved in fierce arguments with the South Africans over their treatment.

- Senator Paul Simon, who heads the subcommittee on Africa in the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has asked that the International Commission on Namibia discuss an allegation that guerillas were "effectively executed" by forces under South African leadership.

The South African Government has denied that its forces were following a policy of not taking prisoners.

In his announcement, Mr Pienaar vowed that all those who broke the law would be prosecuted regardless of their position or their ideological stance. He said that, as well as investigating allegations of intimidation against security forces, the commission would also probe those levelled against people he labelled as "political activists".

The commission would be "in continuous session" and would report on a continuous basis to his office, said Mr Pienaar.

A researcher for the American television programme "South Africa Now", Mr Alun Roberts has disclosed the plan to exhume the bodies of Swapo insurgents killed by security forces this month.

"South Africa Now" last night televised in the New York area claims that security forces effectively executed Swapo fighters by shooting them in the head with small-calibre weapons at point-blank range, after they had been captured and confined.

There has so far been no response to the allegations from Defence Minister General Magnus Malan or Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha. However, a spokesman for the Ministry of Defence said the allegations had been anticipated and General Malan would respond to them in Parliament today or tomorrow.

Civilians may have been shot in crossfire, say police and army leaders

SADF attacked us, say villagers

SA 20/4/89

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WINDHOEK — Villagers in Owambo have claimed that at the height of the clashes with Swapo guerrillas this month soldiers and policemen burnt down kraals, flattened huts and granaries by driving armoured vehicles into them and shot civilians.

The office of the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Planaar, categorically denied the armed forces were involved in any excesses or atrocities against villagers.

His office also denied civilians were killed during the clashes between security forces and the insurgents.

However, both Chief Inspector Derek Bruene of the SWA Police and Colonel Japie Dreyer of the SADF told news-men last week that civilians may have been shot and killed "in crossfire".

Child shot

Last weekend villagers in Owambo told of attacks on members of the local population, allegedly by members of the armed forces.

They said that in Okatope "coca shops" (informal sector outlets serving a large part of the community) were sprayed with bullets.

Laban Shatyohamba (12) was shot in the side by SADF members, according to his parents and his grandmother, Mrs Lusla Tsekela. They said the boy's three cousins — Sara-Mundilo (2), Helena Shakala (16) and Timonius Shikongo (12) — narrowly escaped being crushed by an armoured troop carrier which crashed into the hut they were sheltering in.

According to Laban's father, Mr Tius Shatyohamba, the troops invaded the family kraal in Okatope long after a clash with four Swapo fighters

Owambo villagers say SADF soldiers committed acts of violence against them, JON GWELANE, of The Star's Africa News Service, reports.

He said the troops found his son holding his bow and arrows, the kind used by most herd boys in the northern villages for hunting hares and other animals while minding cattle and goats in the bush.

The troops allegedly accused Laban of using the bow and arrows to shoot at the soldiers, and when he denied it one of the men in uniform shot and wounded him. He was taken to hospital and his family said they had been told he was being treated "in Cape Town".

Mr Shatyohamba said he was himself hit in the face with a rifle butt when he protested against the shooting of his son. His eye was still closed and his face swollen when I saw him. He said the soldiers had threatened to shoot him.

Part of Mr Shatyohamba's kraal was flattened, he said, when the troops drove over his wooden fence and headed straight for the huts. In one of which the three children were hiding in fear.

The heavy wheel marks of the armoured troop carrier were still clearly visible when I visited the kraal.

In Ondeshillive village, there was confusion about the identities of 22 men whose bodies were brought together after a clash between security



Elderly Mrs Lusla Tsekela sits among the ruins of her huts in Okatope village in Owambo. The destruction was, she said, caused by security forces driving their troop carriers through the kraal.

forces and a group of insurgents.

A nursing sister who went to the scene of the shooting immediately after it happened told me in the company of senior Namibian churchmen at the weekend that nine of the 22 dead were identified as Swapo fighters by a man who arrived on the scene a short time later and said he was Swapo's area commander.

The nurse said she had tended a wounded guerrilla who had a bullet lodged just above his

right hip. The guerrilla told her he and his friends had just finished eating a meal and were resting under some trees when they were fired upon by the security forces. The man later died, the nurse said.

The nurse — who, like many other people interviewed asked not to be named as she feared reprisals — said the Swapo commander had said the other bodies were unknown to him and suggested they might have been brought to Ondeshillive already dead. The bodies had

been dragged across the veld and dumped with those of the guerrillas killed in the clash.

The nurse said villagers could not identify any of the bodies, which had been stripped of clothing. Villagers and churchmen speculated that this was done by the security forces to make it difficult to distinguish between Swapo members, who wore uniforms, and others among the casualties who might have been civilians or even security force members. None could suggest,

however, why the bodies of the latter should have been mixed with those of Swapo members.

In Ondeshillive a kraal was said to have been flattened when a troop carrier smashed through the wooden fence and into the huts. A number of huts were burnt down and a shack of corrugated iron sheets was sprayed with gunfire. The remaining mud huts are pock-marked with bullet holes.

At Okahenge, generally regarded as the village where the fighting started on April 1, vil-

lagers told churchmen of allegedly indiscriminate shooting and destruction of property by the armed forces.

Several huts were burnt down, they said.

People fled in all directions when the security forces opened fire on a group said to have included guerrillas. In the end 33 people lay dead, according to statements given by villagers to church leaders. Some were villagers, some were guerrillas and some could not be identified as either.

The Rev Lapinda Nghole of Okatope said: "This is all the fault of Mr Absisanti (the United Nations special representative in Namibia). He has agreed that Kooevot and 101 Battalion must be brought back and we all know that Kooevot and 101 hate our people. All this damage and these shootings are the work of Kooevot and 101."

"I came to the kraals to investigate shortly after the shootings and everybody told me that the South Africans fired first at the guerrillas. After the fighting with the guerrillas had ended the South Africans attacked villages for no reason."

In Ombalantu bodies were exhumed from a mass grave in terms of an undertaking by the Administrator-General.

On Monday a doctor who examined some of the bodies, and who may not be named for professional reasons, said that "about 90 percent of them were gunshot victims".

"On one body I noticed no gunshot wounds but all the bodies were in an advanced state of decomposition and there may have been a bullet somewhere."

"There were a number of fractured skulls as possible the fractures may have happened after death."

The doctor said it was possible a bulldozer used in the burial could have broken some skulls but villagers said no bulldozer was used.

The allegations of excesses were not confined to contacts between Swapo and security force units.

Annoyed

A group of Swapo supporters returning by car from a political rally are said to have been fired at by whites in another car on the B1 highway between Tsumeb and Oshanaelo.

Speaking in Ward 3 of the Oshakati hospital, Mr Velego Nghifkama (25), who still had a bullet lodged in his back, said the white occupants of the car which passed them were apparently annoyed by their rejoicing. They turned and gave chase.

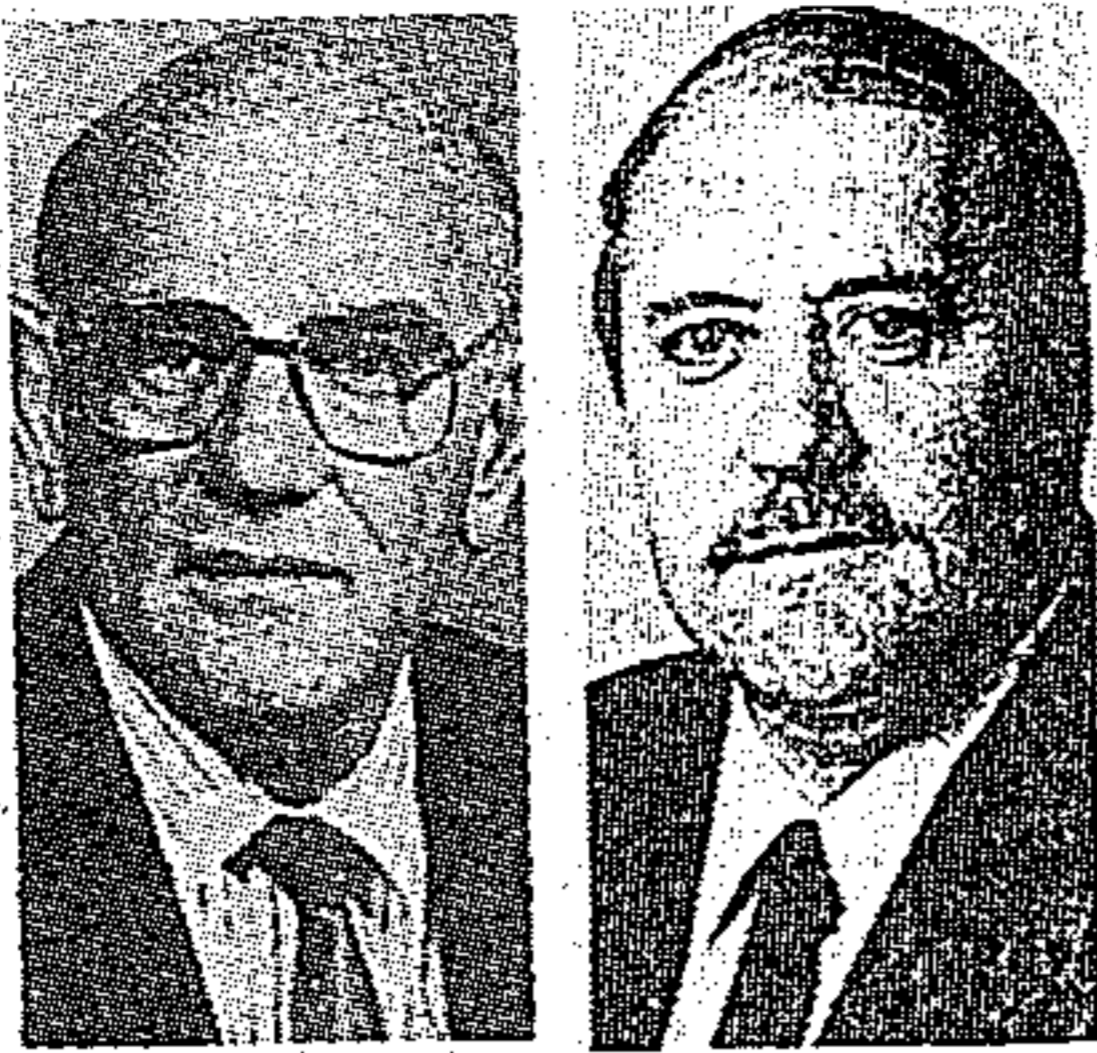
"Shots were fired at us by those soldiers and many of us were injured." Mr Nghifkama said.

One of the passengers suffered a bullet wound in his head and another, a baby, is said to have died of gunshot wounds.

Mr Joseph Shimphepo (23) said he was attacked with an assegai by a group of men while walking in Oshakati wearing a T-shirt of the National Union of Namibian Workers and a cap in the red, green and blue colours of Swapo.

Vacancy for a Further-figure again?

2 PUBLIC AUCTIONS



Mr Dalling Mr van der Merwe

Mbus 21/6/89
**'Suspend 435
before the
bloodbath'
— CP plea**

Parliamentary Staff

RESOLUTION 435 should be suspended and other safer methods to resolve the Namibian problem should be found, Conservative Party defence spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe said.

He also repeated his demand for the resignation of Defence Minister General Magnus Malan during the Defence budget debate.

South Africa had "lost the strategic advantage" in Namibia and Swapo had taken it over.

"Is there an effective plan to prevent a large-scale bloodbath? I urgently appeal to the government to review the position. Do you not realise there is probably going to be a large-scale bloodbath?"

"Would it not be better to suspend Resolution 435 and find other, safer methods to resolve the problem in SWA?" he asked.

The Democratic Party's deputy defence spokesman, Mr Roger Hulley, praised the efforts of the Department of Foreign Affairs and SADF negotiators for their contribution to events in Namibia, but he said South Africa's experience in the region proved "involvement in foreign wars does not pay".

Many people had lost their lives and the region's military balance of power had changed significantly.

But he believed "there is a real chance now that the ANC could also be deflected from the armed struggle and be persuaded to take part in a great indaba or national convention. This would be possible if the West and Russia were to act in concert.

"I therefore believe now is the time for South Africa to make maximum use of the international community to help establish regional peace and an internal negotiated settlement."

Mr F J van Deventer (NP Durbanville) said the SADF's contribution to development in Namibia should not be underestimated.

It had helped provide educational and health facilities that would continue to serve the local community for many years.

Mr Les Abrahams (LP Diamant) rounded on CP suggestions that coloured people had made no contribution to the defence of the country.

He said: "The coloured community does not need national service to demonstrate its loyalty. The coloured community might be bitterly disappointed about certain aspects of daily life in South Africa, but they are still fierce fighters for South Africa."

Nujoma visits my sisters

Capr Town 21/4/89

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Mr Sam Nujoma



Sir Geoffrey Howe

**From IAN HOBBS
LONDON. — The president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, mysteriously failed to arrive on his four-day visit to Britain yesterday.**

He had been due to meet British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe last night and speculation was that he would also see Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Embarrassed Swapo spokesmen here said that Mr Nujoma had decided at the 11th hour to stay in Angola to "keep in touch with" yesterday's urgent tripartite meeting in Namibia between South Africa, Angola and Cuba in the aftermath of the bloody fighting between South African troops and Swapo guerrillas.

The rest of the Swapo delegation did arrive and will hold a press conference today.

Some pro-Swapo sources suggested that Mr Nujoma had travelled to the border area to be close to the talks.

However, a South African Foreign Affairs spokesman, Mr Roland Darroll, said last night that no one from Swapo was at the deliberations.

British political circles expressed astonishment that Mr Nujoma had apparently passed up an opportunity to improve his battered image and to address an international business conference here.

At yesterday's talks of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission — its second unscheduled meeting this month — there were representatives of the three governments as well as US and Soviet observers.

South Africa was represented by the director-general of

foreign affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, the head of the South African Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, and the head of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Niel Barnard.

The aim of yesterday's meeting was to discuss the current position in northern Namibia and southern Angola "to get the Swapo insurgents north of the 16th Parallel in Angola, as provided in the agreements".

The commission is scheduled to meet again in Cape Town next week.

● **KEVIN JACOBS** reports from Windhoek that the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, yesterday studied the first formal United Nations report on accusations of security forces' misconduct in Namibia.

Mr Pienaar today meets his UN counterpart, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, in resumed discussions on the scheduled elec-

tions, but it was not clear late yesterday if the misconduct probe would be raised.

Mr Pienaar had set up his own permanent commission of inquiry under senior Windhoek advocate Mr Bryan O'Linn.

In Windhoek, UN police commissioner Mr Stephen Fanning yesterday assigned a squad of Irish and Dutch police officers to a monitoring station in Katutura township.

By mid-May some 500 police monitors from 15 nations will be deployed at 53 stations throughout Namibia.

"The enforcement of law and order remains the sole responsibility of the SWA Police.

Mr Fanning said other officers sent to northern Ovambo would, in white-painted UN vehicles, accompany counter-insurgency police patrols who fought most of the bush skirmishes with Swapo infiltrators two weeks ago.

PARLIAMENT. —

Swapo and its president Mr Sam Nujoma had taken the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, for a ride and he should do the honourable thing and resign, Mr Koos van der Merwe (CP Overvaal), said yesterday.

Speaking in the Defence Vote of the budget, he said Swapo had not been north of the 16th parallel before April 1 and were in southern Angola in numbers of 4 000 to 5 000.

The CP had warned the government that Swapo would enter Nami-

CP: Swapo has taken Magnus for a ride

221
CPV Times 21/4/89
bia and this was exactly what happened.

He said there were now about 1 000 armed terrorists in Namibia which endangered the territory.

South Africa might be able to say to the world that it had played the game according to the rules, but Swapo had broken the rules and gained an advantage which is to the detriment of the people of the territory. — Sapa

With the withdrawal of South African troops and the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 and independence in Namibia, the Northern Cape near the border could be in for a period of growth. DEBORAH SMITH of The Star's Pretoria Bureau reports.

Cape awaits a Namibia boom

The Northern Cape — especially Springbok and Upington — is heading for an economic boom with an injection of new capital and an influx of people because of Namibia's approaching independence, according to business leaders in the area.

Mr Keis Malan, vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce in Upington, said the town already had a housing shortage as South-Westers bought up properties in the area.

Prices had increased dramatically in some instances, and there were not enough homes to meet the demand.

Mr Anton Steenkamp, of the Small Business Development Corporation in Springbok, said there had been a great deal of interest from people in Namibia who wanted to buy businesses and homes.

Mr Malan said the increased police and military presence would mean more money being spent in Upington.

Mr Steenkamp and Mr Malan agreed that retail business and services would increase, though it was difficult to make long-term predictions.

MILITARY BASE

"The whole community is expecting something to happen," said Mr Steenkamp.

Mr Malan said much depended on the situation in Namibia after independence.

He also predicted possible growth in Kahatle as a result of the military base.

"The general feeling among business is that there will be an improvement in the economy," said Mr Malan.

Mr Piet Venter, head of cultural and information services in Upington, was less optimistic, saying that though there had been inquiries, he had not seen signs of change.

He did not foresee any difficulties in dealing with increased traffic in the area, though more tourists were expected on the completion of a tarred road to the Gemsbok National Park.

LOSING ON BOOM

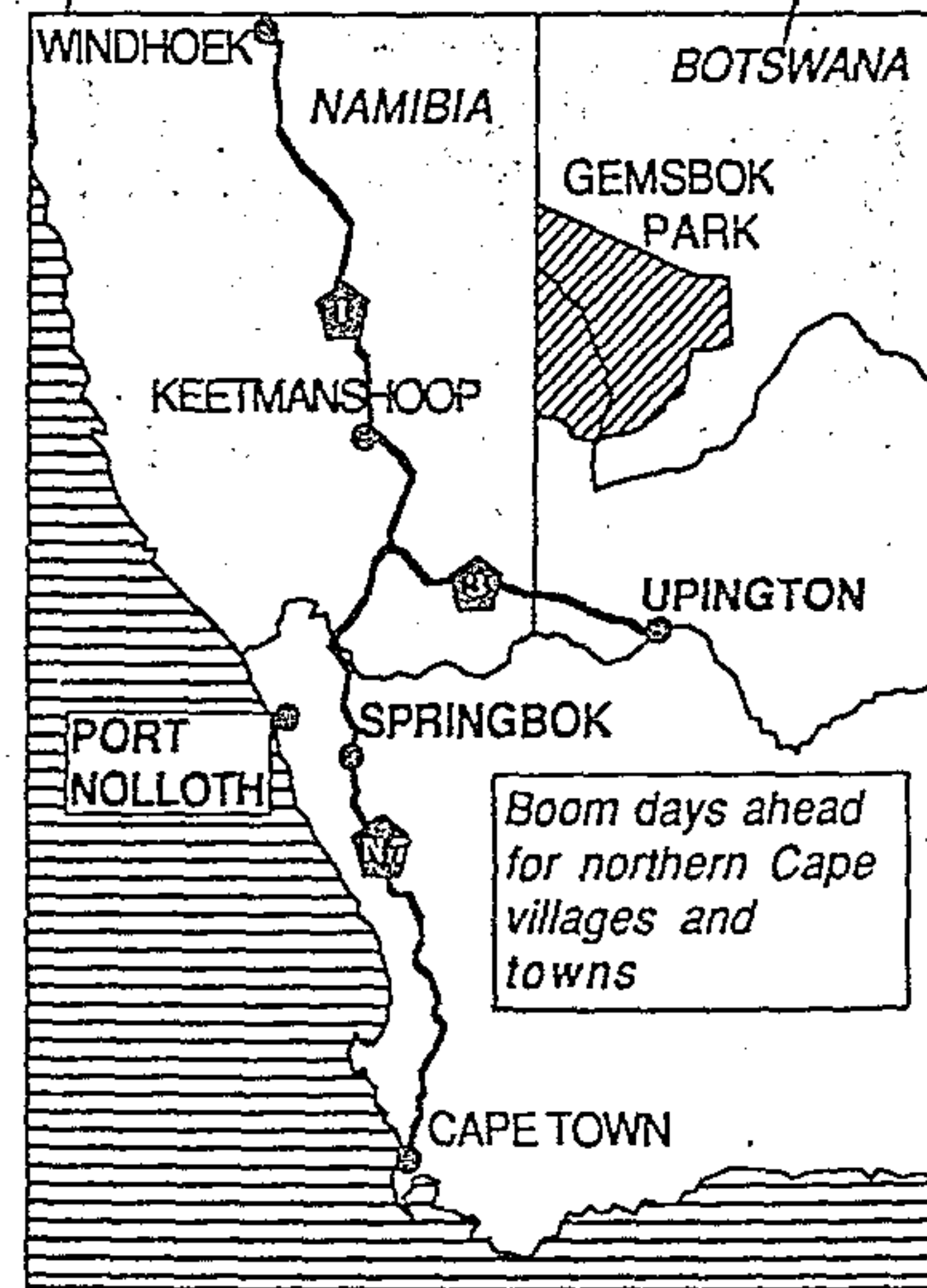
Mr Steenkamp said there were signs of a homes shortage developing in Springbok and he felt the municipality could contribute by helping development and making more land available for housing.

"If they don't act quickly we will lose out on some of the boom," he said.

A spokesman for the Springbok municipality said the town was likely to experience growth.

Another centre likely to be affected by Namibian independence is Port Nolloth, where two shops, a hotel and other businesses have already been bought by people from Namibia.

"People are still weighing their options as they wait to see what happens, though there will always be a military presence, because the border has to be protected," said Mr Steenkamp.



SOWETAN Friday April 21 1989

URGENT moves are being made to get to grips with allegations of military "executions" and political misconduct as tension mounts again over Namibia's peace and independence plan.

Pressure is being applied abroad as steps have been announced in Namibia's

The new moves are:

- International attempts are being made to exhume every single one of the 283 Swapo insurgents killed by South African and Namibian security forces since April 1, to see if there is any truth to claims that some of them were executed after capture.

By Own Correspondent

- South Africa is to set up a permanent commission in Namibia to investigate all allegations of intimidation and misconduct, including those levelled against its own forces in the territory.
- This was announced by Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar, who said he was responding to allegations of intimidation, assault and misconduct brought to his attention.
- Representatives from Angola, Cuba and South Africa are to meet on the Angola-Namibia border to try to

keep the independence plan on course and iron out problems in the agreement they made 10 days ago.

The meeting, to be held at Ruacana, will have to find ways of verifying that Swapo guerrillas, who infiltrated Namibia from Angola as the independence process started, are counted back into Angola.

Only 12 guerrillas have so far reported at the nine assembly points and British and Australian troops manning them have been involved in fierce arguments with the South Africans over their treatment.

Tension
Sowetan 21/4/89
mounts
over 221
deaths

Namibian peace plan teeters on the brink

From Page 1

black polka-dot skirt, a white jacket and with gold-rimmed white earrings, Mrs Thatcher boarded an Anglo American executive jet for Windhoek's small city airport, Eros.

She waved vigorously at a spectator waving a single Union Jack.

She was taken with a UN escort to the South West Africa Territory force base of Luiperdsvallei, 10 kms to the south, where she met British members of Untag under Lieutenant-Colonel Neil Donaldson.

There, Mrs Thatcher expressed her condolences for the first two Untag members to die during the peace process.

Two British troops were killed on Friday when their car left the road near the northern farming town of Otjiwarongo.

Mrs Thatcher said: "The

work of this unit can help to determine the whole future of southern Africa.

"They stand at the gateway to peace, to freedom, independence and justice."

Later, she flew to the world's largest open-cast uranium mine, Rossing, near the east coast holiday resort of Swakopmund. Rossing is a wholly owned subsidiary of the British mining conglomerate, Rio Tinto Zinc.

Clash

Mrs Thatcher then returned to Windhoek where she held talks with Mr Botha.

Her visit came on the first day of implementation of the long-delayed UN resolution 435 — the proposals for UN-supervised elections in the territory which would lead Namibia to independence.

But even as Mrs Thatcher was lurching came the first hiccup to the process: Mr

Botha issued the statement reporting the clash near Ruacana.

Only one hour after the official ceasefire between SA and Swapo had come into operation, about 15 000 Swapo supporters began marching from the township of Katutura towards central Windhoek at 7am.

A thin line of police confronted them and, after discussions between Swapo and the police, the march was called off.

In the Windhoek city centre, during the march, whites and other black Namibians went about their end-of-month shopping unaware of the drama unfurling on the outskirts.

A motorcade of Miss Namibia finalists in open cars, and clad in swimming costumes, waved breezily as they drove down the city's main thoroughfare, Kaiser Street.

CHRISTIE'S ROBSON LOWE



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V: A 4500 IU V: B1 4 mg
V: E 50 mg. Nicotinic
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For

10 FANTASIA

launched as a result of the taxman facing criticism for not being on top of major scams.

Surprise as Nujoma stands up Howe

3/12/89 2114/89 IAN HOBBS (221)

LONDON — There was astonishment yesterday when Swapo president Sam Nujoma failed to arrive on a four-day visit to Britain and lost the opportunity to rally support for Swapo and improve his own battered image.

He had been due to meet Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe last night and there was well-sourced speculation that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was willing to see him.

Embarrassed Swapo spokesmen said Nujoma had decided to stay in Angola to "keep in touch with" the tripartite meeting in Namibia of military officials from SA, Angola and Cuba in the aftermath of recent fighting between security forces and Swapo.

Britain's opposition party leaders had lined up to welcome him and support the launch of an appeal to raise funds for a Swapo election campaign.

Other Swazis rec
loc modale

Pienaar studies UN report

WINDHOEK — Administrator-General Louis Pienaar is studying the first UN report on accusations of security forces' misconduct in Namibia, and UN officials are anxious to see what action follows.

Also SA, Angolan and Cuban officials and military officers met at Ruacana in north-western Owambo yesterday at a session of the three-nation Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC) called to hasten Swapo guerrillas' withdrawal to Angola.

UN supervisors at the same time posted an international police squad in Windhoek's Katutura township, in the first step towards deploying a 500-strong police force as watchdogs over SWA Police.

Today Pienaar meets his UN counterpart Martti Ahtisaari in resumed discussions on issues crucial to scheduled elections, but it was not clear late yesterday if the misconduct probe would be raised.

Ahtisaari ordered an urgent investigation by senior UN police officers after civilians claimed they were assaulted near Oshikuku mission settlement northwest of

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BID 21/4/89
KEVIN JACOBS

Oshikati in Owambo last week.

Pienaar said on Wednesday he was setting up a permanent commission of inquiry under senior Windhoek advocate Bryan O'Linn.

Cedric Thornberry, director of the office of the UN Special Representative, said Ahtisaari welcomed formation of the commission "as further evidence of the determination of SA authorities to deal with matters of intimidation and unlawful violence in whatever quarter".

At Ruacana counter-insurgency police and SA soldiers yesterday guarded the venue of the JMC meeting called to boost diplomatic efforts to speed up Swapo's withdrawal under a two-week-old truce.

Under the Mount Etjo truce agreement signed on April 9, Swapo guerrillas who violated a ceasefire and other agreed con-

● To Page 2 →

Pienaar studies UN report on misconduct

strains a week earlier with a push southwards from Angola, may return to Angola unchallenged. Only nine have used UN-supervised assembly points set up along the border, but Angolan and UN officials estimate between 500 and 800 may have walked back undetected.

Pienaar and Ahtisaari set today as a loose deadline for the guerrillas' return to monitored points behind the 16th parallel inside Angola. Foreign Minister Pik Botha this week gave Swapo until month-end to verify a total pullout.

In spite of the presence in Angola of Marrack Goulding, head of UN peacekeeping operations worldwide, and UN military

monitors at the 16th parallel bases, Thornberry said determination of Swapo's withdrawal was "not conclusive" although guerrillas back in Angola were believed to number "in the hundreds".

In Windhoek, UN police commissioner Stephen Fanning yesterday assigned a squad of Irish and Dutch police officers to a monitoring station in Katutura township.

By mid-May about 500 police monitors from 15 nations will be deployed at 53 stations scattered throughout Namibia, in watchdog roles over SWA Police.

● Comment: Page 8

BID 21/4/89
From Page 1 (221)

THE dramatic improvement in perceptions of South Africa abroad as a result of deft and enlightened diplomacy in Namibia has been pretty well wiped out in the last few days by the strongly negative impression which has gone out to the world of what has subsequently been happening on the ground.

It is simplistic to brush this setback aside as the result of clever Swapo propaganda designed to smear the South African Police and Defence Force. Swapo has been delighted to get off the hook so easily and quickly following world condemnation of its flouting of the terms of the UN peace plan. Yet this success is not of its making. It has dropped into Swapo's lap like manna from heaven.

The change has come about as a result of reports in sober Thatcher-supporting conservative newspapers such as the Sunday Times and the Sunday Telegraph and in the influential and respected British daily, the Independent, in which the South African security forces have been portrayed as bloody-minded bully boys. The gist of these reports has gone round the world on television.

As a result, the heat is off Swapo. The worst has indeed happened, as this column last week feared might happen.

Atrocity allegations

It will do South Africa little good to appoint a respected Namibian lawyer to chair a permanent commission to investigate what are described as "atrocity" stories. Such an inquiry will be rejected as one-sided.

What has gone wrong? Atrocity allegations apart, the British reports suggest that the security forces have been coming on rather too strong, and in so doing, playing into Swapo's hands.

It will be recalled that the world applauded South Africa as it scrupulously upheld its undertakings while Swapo, in defiance of the peace plan, infiltrated large numbers of heavily-armed guerillas into Namibia after the cut-off date on April 1.

The initial waves of guerillas were met by waiting SAP counter-insurgency fighters (many of them ex-Koevoet) and 200 and more of them were

Mass graves put South Africa back in the dock

CAC - Times 21/4/89 (221)



Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

shot dead. Many were buried in mass graves.

Untag gave permission for certain SADF units to leave their bases to assist the police to restore order. Agreement was later reached on arrangements for the guerillas to surrender at Untag assembly points and to be escorted back north of the 16th parallel in Angola.

Then the reports began appearing by British correspondents on the spot in Ovamboland and they did not make pleasant reading.

The main line of criticism was that the SADF was maintaining an intimidatory presence at the Untag assembly points and would not withdraw, whatever the pleas of the British and Australian Untag commanders that their presence was preventing Swapo guerillas from coming in to surrender.

The Independent correspondent's on-the-spot observations convinced him that "the South Africans are being needlessly bloody-minded". There have been unpleasant wrangles between British officers and their South African counterparts.

It may be that elements of the security forces, having ruled the roost there for a decade, have become ac-

customed to acting beyond public scrutiny. They seem to have overlooked the public relations dimension of their actions and the fact that since April 1 they are acting in an internationally-controlled territory under the full glare of international media which are not subject to censorship or emergency regulations.

To shoot 200 and more guerillas is no doubt a splendid feat of arms. But it turns out to have been unfortunate, politically, creating instant martyrs and a huge emotional boost to the cause of Swapo on the eve of an election campaign. Could the guerillas — or many of them at least — not have been isolated, captured, disarmed and returned to Angola?

Close to despair

If the international reaction was indeed the result of a cunning Swapo propaganda ploy, then South Africa seems to have played right into its hands. The impression created by pictures of naked bodies being piled into mass graves has been devastating, recalling the worst excesses of the Third Reich.

If I were an official of Mr Pik Botha's Foreign Affairs Department I would be close to despair by now, watching hard-won gains built up over long months of slogging away at the diplomatic coalface being squandered in a day or two. A South African diplomatic triumph has been turned into a setback and Swapo has scored vital points in its election campaign at home and in its diplomatic campaign abroad.

It remains to be seen whether the Minister of Defence can persuade the world that they have got it wrong again and that it is all a communist plot.

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THE brother of a missing 68-year-old Brooklyn

Contents of JMC discussions not disclosed

SA Govt denies Swapo in talks

Star
21/4/89

221

Staff Reporter

The Department of Foreign Affairs has denied Swapo representatives participated in yesterday's Joint Monitoring Commission meeting.

However, there was no immediate statement on the content of yesterday's talks with Cuba and Angola at Ruacana in northern Namibia.

The South African delegation in the regional peace commission included Director of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden and SADF Chief General Jannie Geldenhuys.

The meeting was believed to have focused on methods to return to schedule Namibia's transition to independence.

The Joint Commission was established by South Africa, Cuba and Angola to oversee a regional peace accord in south-western Africa that provides for Namibian independence and the repatriation of an estimated 50 000 Cuban military personnel stationed in Angola.

Meanwhile, Botswana's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Gao-sitwe Chiepe, yesterday announced a joint observer mission from the Frontline states would leave Botswana for Namibia on Sunday.

Sapa reports that the National Party of South West Africa/Namibia has asked for an urgent meeting with the State President, Mr P W Botha, next week to discuss the further implementation of Resolution 435.

Escorted

The NP leader, Mr Kosie Pretorius, said in a letter to President Botha they wished to discuss the apparent inability of the international community to make Swapo and the Cuban forces withdraw as agreed.

Jon Qwelane of The Star's Africa News Service reports that hundreds of Swapo fighters who had not surrendered their weapons were heading north towards Angola where they were being escorted to bases beyond the 16th parallel, a spokesman

for the UN special representative for Namibia said yesterday.

The Star Bureau reports from London that Swapo has announced the arrival in Britain of a "high-level" delegation. But has declined to explain why leader Mr Sam Nujoma is not at its head.

Mr Nujoma's trip to Britain for a meeting with Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe is understood to have been postponed.

Yesterday, the Anti Apartheid Movement said that the delegation would now be led by Hage Geingob, director of the UN Institute for Namibia and a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of Swapo.

It is understood the Nujoma visit may have been cancelled so Mr Nujoma could attend the meeting yesterday of Cuban, Angolan and South African representatives on the Angola-Namibia border.

A news conference was scheduled for today.

Parliament in brief

off Times 21/4/89 (221)
5 detained in Namibia

THERE were five people in detention in Namibia at the end of last year, President P W Botha said yesterday.

R228m of beef imported

SOUTH AFRICA imported 67 128 tons of beef from 1986 to October 1988 at a cost of R228 694 073, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said yesterday.

Mystery of the clean head-wounds

(22) WMMR 21-27/4 89.

●From PAGE 1

as a transparent bid by Swapo to restore its political reputation — but an international furore has nevertheless erupted around the persistent reports.

Simon O'Dwyer-Russell, a senior journalist from the London *Sunday Telegraph*, said what he saw in the back yard of Oshakati's mortuary was profoundly disturbing: "... None of the bodies (he viewed the corpses of 18 guerrillas in the second week of April) showed the familiar signs of

mutilation by heavy machine-gun bullets of the type used by the South African-led security forces.

"Most had apparently been shot in the face at close range with small calibre weapons."

Several other journalists report similar impressions, and there are now intensive international efforts to have the bodies of all dead Swapo fighters exhumed and subjected to proper forensic tests.

Prominent Windhoek advocate David Smuts, who has been responsible for bringing many Swapo applications to court in Namibia, supports these calls. "No-one has concrete evidence (of the alleged "executions")," he told the *Weekly Mail* yesterday, "but it is a matter of the gravest concern in Namibia."

Smuts said besides the "execution" claims, Windhoek's Legal Assistance Centre and the Human Rights Centre in Ongwediva had received a flood of detailed reports of harassment and assault of civilians by security forces in Owamboland.

An urgent application for a restraining order against the security forces was being considered, he said. However, Smuts and his colleagues were first investigating the terms of reference of the permanent commission established this week by Administrator-General Louis Pienaar.

The commission, which is to be headed by respected Windhoek advocate Brian O'Linn, will be charged with investigating all forms of intimi-

dation and misconduct — from whatever quarter — in the run-up to November's scheduled independence elections.

A short video documentary produced this week by the independent US-based television group South Africa Now claimed that as many as 24 Plan fighters "allegedly killed in battle with (security) forces had actually been shot at close range execution-style".

According to the makers of the documentary, *Sunday Telegraph* photographer Judah Passow offered this graphic recollection of what he saw in Owamboland: "They had all been shot through the head with small-calibre rounds. The security forces use weapons up to 20-millimetre cannons ... a 20-millimetre round will cut a body in half, or just shear a limb off a body.

"There were no wounds corresponding to anything like that in the stack of bodies that we saw in Oshakati. In fact, all of the dead had been shot clean through the head, at what we could only deduce was point-blank or close range — effectively executed."

O'Dwyer-Russell reported that he had spoken to a black member of the notorious Koevoet counter-insurgency unit, and asked him whether the guerrillas had been killed after surrendering. "What does it matter?" the tracker replied. "They are Swapo, and they are dead. That's all that matters."

Some unsolved riddles of the killing veld

"I'm not a military man," said a Swapo supporter in Windhoek's Katutura township last week, "but there's something that really worries me about how all those Plan fighters died on April 1."

Now that the war in the north has died down, Namibians are beginning to ask probing questions about the bloody two weeks of conflict.

If anything, the Katutura resident's concern is voiced more bluntly by civilians in Owanboland. There, it is firmly believed that when Swapo guerrillas came across the Angolan border just before and on the first day of the transition process, they were ambushed by the South West African Police.

The civilians reject the Swapol description of events, which essentially rests on the claim that "routine patrols" came across tracks, followed them, and were fired upon.

They point to the very large numbers killed in the initial clashes, compared with the two weeks that followed.

No reliable global figure is available. But according to official sources, 38 guerrillas — as compared with two policemen — were killed in one engagement, near Ruacana, on April 1. A police spokesman later said there had been 30 "contacts" on that day.

Residents of Northern Namibia believe that Swapol — and more specifically, the "renamed" elements of Koevoet — knew all about the imminent crossing, and simply let Swapo walk into an ambush.

Observers in Windhoek also point to long-standing South African claims that Swapo had been heavily infiltrated by Pretoria's intelligence agencies.

If these were true, they ask, how was an infiltration on a scale dwarfing anything in the 23 year-old war carried out undetected until it was too

The more we learn about Namibia's bloody border battle, the more the puzzle deepens.

If South African intelligence have indeed infiltrated Swapo as heavily as they like to claim, why did the biggest-ever border crossing come as a surprise? Why were Swapo's heaviest losses right at the beginning when they should have been geared up for an attack? Perhaps because they tumbled into a trap?

By **SHAUN JOHNSON**
in Namibia

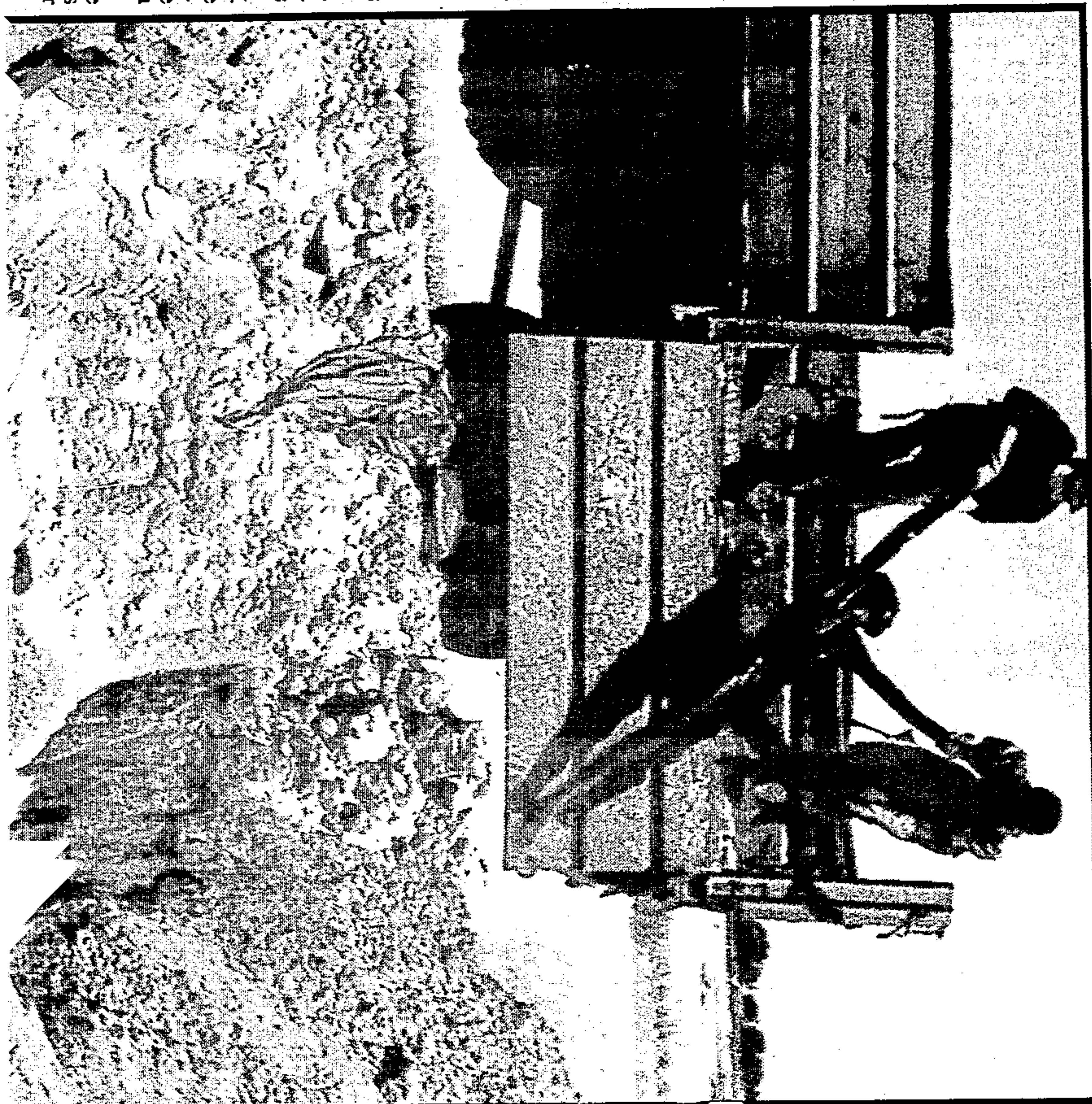
reporters in Washington were bluntly told that many Plan fighters had been "effectively executed". A television documentary programme, compiled by a group called South Africa Now, showed pictures of dead guerrillas.

It also records the hasty mass-grave burials — since said by South African officials to have been unfortunate but "unavoidable" — and this has fuelled the grisly hypothesis.

Many of these aspects could be clarified if pathological and ballistical investigations are undertaken on bodies of exhumed guerrillas.

And there remain other unclear factors. Civilians wonder whether the uncompromising character of Swapol's offensive had the approval of the SWA Territory Force and the South African Defence Force.

There is also uncertainty over the full role played by politicians, such as Administrator-General Louis Pienaar and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.



Against this, Pretoria has put it on record that complaints had been lodged with the United Nations for several weeks prior to April 1, detailing a Swapo build-up in southern Angola, below the 16th Parallel.

Nevertheless, the size of the infiltration was never hinted at, and the questions about the "ambush" persist, particularly among Swapo supporters.

There have also been angry Swapo accusations that even if, as South Africa says, regular police — not army — units attacked the guerrillas, they violated agreements by not limiting themselves to the carrying of small arms.

Many civilians allege that the Swapo Casspirs were armed with their customary rooftop cannons when the first "contacts" were made. Koevoet members say, however, that the big guns had been dismantled and were lying inside the vehicles when the firefights started — and were refitted during the battles.

As with all other elements of the complex peace package, there is ambiguity about the use of heavy weapons: the police were restricted to the use of side-arms, excepting in "extraordinary circumstances". Swapo argues an extraordinary situation, as envisaged by the relevant clause, did arise.

The underlying accusation — it has only this week been publicly aired — is that Koevoet, with or without the knowledge or approval of the army and the politicians, exploited an opportunity to wipe out as many of Plan's fighters as possible — and with effective international approval.

There were quick and emphatic denials from the security forces that a "no prisoners" policy had been adopted. However, for the previous two weeks there had been speculation among journalists in Owamboland that a number of guerrillas appeared to have been shot through the head at point-blank range, suggesting that not all had died in firefights.

This week, congressional aides and

some of the claims are proved to be substantively true, the international diplomatic gains made by South Africa since April 1, will be dramatically reduced.

And, for the first time, attention will be drawn away from the still-unresolved arguments about whether the guerrilla movement had legitimate grounds for believing that its fighters could surface in Namibia in peace.

Have fun today, for tomorrow is beyond control

TAKE the Brakwater turn-off on the Okahandja Road, 10km out of Windhoek, on any night you like.

At *Alla Pergola*, you will find young, dressed-to-the-nines white Southwesterners drinking and dancing as if their lives depended on it.

Then take the main road from Windhoek into Katutura — any evening — and at *Club Thriller* or *Namibian Nights*, you will find crowds of young black Namibians doing the same thing.

Last week the fledgling United Nations independence plan was in grave danger of collapse as thousands of armed men fought to the death in the north. But the crisis found itself strangely reflected in the south.

Since the fateful arrival of April 1, it seems the Namibian population has been afflicted by a scarcely-contained madness. It is on display in clubland like nowhere else.

It is certainly on the faces of *Alla Pergola's* patrons, sashaying unsteadily but determinedly to Madonna.

The discotheque looms out of the savannah, a luridly-lit, pulsating enigma. It is a kind of Namibian Paris, Texas.

Inside, through the miasma created by dry-ice machines and strobe lights, politics is exclusively sexual. Pick-ups are effected amid bellows — in Afrikaans, German and English — at black waiters for bottles of Windhoek Special.

The ritual is made to seem even



SWA police lower the body of a Swapo guerrilla into a mass grave outside Oshakati

Picture: JOHN LEBENBERG, Reuters

There is only one way to prepare for an uncertain future

In Windhoek: Go mad. SHAUN JOHNSON reports

more nihilistic by the computer message under which it takes place: "Don't worry! Be happy! Let's paarty!" The same words run relentlessly across the screen.

Over at *Namibian Nights* and *Club Thriller*, the faces are darker and the music more esoteric. But the pursuits are similar. The sparingly-decorated Katutura buildings resound with the citizenry's efforts to have fun right away, and consider the wider world some time later.

Here, too, the atmosphere is crazily jovial. The fine details of the Geneva Protocol on Namibia excite nothing like the passionate debate over the defeat of the Namibian soccer squad at the hands of the visiting team from Huambo, Angola.

Namibians, it has been said, are a relaxed people — even, it seems, in the face of tragedy. Their apparent dispassion probably reflects the widespread feeling here that outsiders always seem to make the final decisions about their country's future. And so they dance, not out of unconcern, but resignation.

The controlled madness is to be found in many other Namibian nooks. The three people possibly closest to irreversible dementia are the telephone operators in Oshakati,

Tsumeb and the Kalahari Sands hotel, Windhoek.

Their plight symbolises the almost-intolerable strain under which Namibia's limited infrastructure is being placed by the sudden descent of swarms of UN officials, journalists, diplomats and war-watchers. It is a strain with psychological spin-offs for Namibians.

One example will suffice: Tsumeb's premier hotel has two telephone lines, which operate on the old plug-in-pull-out system. On any given night during the height of the Owamboland battles, great numbers of journalists would make the 250-kilometre dash south from Ondangwa to escape the dusk-to-dawn curfew in force above the "red line" which traditionally separates Namibia-at-war from Namibia-at-peace.

On arrival at the Minen Hotel, there would be a terrifying rush for the reception desk, and a stricken operator had to try to satisfy — immediately — the deadline demands of the world's media. Night after night, frayed tempers, brandished ban-knotes and the ugly face of journalism left the poor woman ashen.

The Minen has probably been required to place calls to Keetmanshoop before, and possibly even Upington. But Belgrade... small wonder the superstructure is creaking.

Uitlanders are themselves soon afflicted. Evelyn Waugh could not have imagined that his parody of journalism in the 1930s — which had war correspondents careering off into a

fictitious African desert in pursuit of a non-existent battle in a non-existent town — could be improved upon in Namibia today.

It was, though, as columns of hired BMWs, minibuses, light planes and Lear Jets departed Windhoek on the strength of the slightest rumour.

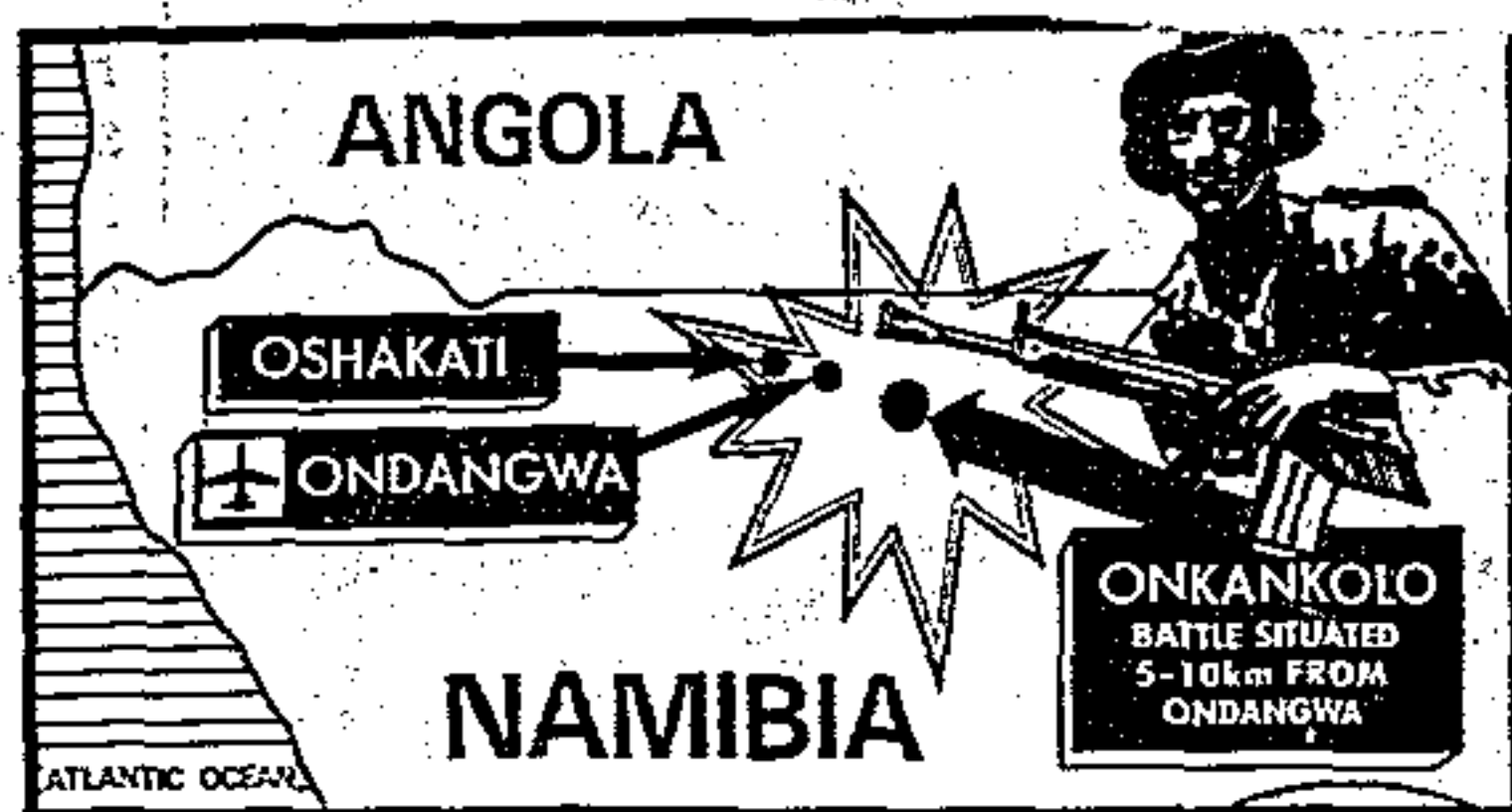
Even the authorities indulged in a little madness of their own, though it was perhaps more methodical.

In preparation for the announcement of the crucial "Mount Etjo Declaration", the South African Air Force put every journalist in Windhoek on two large C-160 transport aircraft. The planes flew them all the way to Mount Etjo, then turned around without landing, and returned to Windhoek. It was not a particularly unusual day.

The cracks in the framework show equally clearly at hotels — there are said to be 400 beds in Windhoek, with many hundreds more foreign bodies — restaurants, airports, and car-hire companies. Simply living is as precarious a pursuit as the implementation of Resolution 435.

The result is that the paraphernalia of the transition to independence is somehow unconvincing. Certainly, there are political banners, electoral posters, even slogans painted on the roads. But everything is uncertain and fraught.

Namibia does not feel "normal". It does not feel, for example, like Zimbabwe did during its great transformation. Everything is too fragile and, for the moment, too crazy.



Three Swapo killed in clashes

WINDHOEK. — Three Swapo fighters have been killed in clashes with security forces and there are reports of a battle, possibly a large one, in northern Namibia.

Mr Gerhard Roux, chief aide to Namibia Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar, said today that he was flying north to investigate the battle.

The three Swapo deaths were confirmed today by a spokesman for the office of the Administrator-General, Mr Dawid Venter.

Two died in follow-up operations after a security force vehicle detonated a landmine in an ambush in the east of northern Namibia, while the third was killed in fighting in the west of the operational area yesterday.

Special UN representative for Namibia Mr Martti Ahtisaari was told of the fighting.

● Hundreds of Swapo fighters were heading north towards Angola, where they were being escorted to bases beyond the 16th parallel, said a spokesman for the United Nations special representative for Namibia said.

And in Washington the United States government has rejected a Swapo call for an international inquiry into this month's fighting in northern Namibia.

But it has declared support for moves by South Africa and the United Nations to investigate allegations of brutality against Swapo insurgents by the security forces. — Argus Africa News Service, Sapa.

From KEVIN JACOBS

UN peace chief set for Namibia

WINDHOEK. — The UN is calling its global peace-keeping chief into Namibia this weekend in further steps to repair damage done to its independence plan for the territory by Swapo's incursions three weeks ago.

Mr Marrack Goulding, who oversees UN peace-keeping efforts internationally, flies to Windhoek from Luanda today, Mr Cedric Thornberry, deputy chief of the UN mission in Namibia, said yesterday.

UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar hastily diverted Mr Goulding to Angola from Middle East crises when a wave of guerilla crossings tripped up the plan on April 1.

He will brief Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the top UN administrator in Namibia, on efforts in Luanda to end the crisis

that nearly scuttled the operation.

Mr Ahtisaari yesterday resumed talks that began on Tuesday with Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar on issues crucial to elections scheduled in November, among them registration of voters and the future of racially-based government authorities.

Mr Goulding has been overseeing UN steps to set up a monitoring system in southern Angola that hopes to verify the return of Swapo guerrillas to bases behind the 16th parallel, under a truce agreed to on April 9 between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

In a concessionary move, South

Africa yesterday agreed to return its operational military forces in the territory to bases for 60 hours from 6pm next Wednesday, to allow Swapo fighters free passage back to Angola.

Six battalions were freed from base confinement and deployed in support of counter-insurgency police under a crisis deal with the UN when Swapo crossed into Namibia.

Mr Ahtisaari, in an interview published in Windhoek yesterday, said the peace plan "is not back on track yet, but it's on the way to being there".

SWA Police Commissioner Major-General Dolf Gouws yesterday said

police patrols had found the bodies of six guerillas in mountainous north-western terrain near the site of an earlier contact.

Apparently sensitive to widespread criticism of callous handling of insurgents' bodies, General Gouws has ordered further searches.

He said he had set up squads "to thoroughly search all areas of previous contacts, to ensure that any other killed or wounded are found and given the necessary attention".

"Police teams tasked to fulfil these instructions are accompanied by doctors and will fully meet the prescribed inquest requirements," he said.

Soldiers fined for assault on old pastor — who later died

ONDANGWA. — A young army officer and his corporal, tried in the Magistrate's Court here this week in connection with the death of a rural Ovambo pastor, were found guilty of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

They were each fined R200 (or 50 days).

The court heard that on April 21, 1987 Mr Frederick Nghihalwa, 65, was travelling in the Onhalusa area during the curfew period.

Lieutenant N J A Prinsloo, now a captain, Corporal Shatyoimb Kashihakumwa and several others gave chase in a Casspir.

They caught up with the pastor at a church where he had alighted from his vehicle.

Lt Prinsloo fired two shots and when the Casspir stopped, Cpl Kashihakumwa got out and struck the pastor on the head with his fist.

Mr Nghihalwa fell down and Lt Prinsloo, who had also alighted from the Casspir, kicked the pastor in his ribs and body "in an attempt to get him to stand", he said in testimony.

The pastor did not get up, and was then thrown "roughly", according to prosecutor Mr P J Muller, on the back of his vehicle and driven to the temporary 101 Battalion base nearby for questioning.

He was then allowed to go home, although his Toyota bakkie was to remain in the camp.

When he arrived home, according to testimony, his face was swollen and he had difficulty walking.

After remaining ill for some time, Mr Nghihalwa was persuaded to go to Oshakati's state hospital.

After giving a "confusing" history, the pastor was treated but not admitted. Dr Lestor Shivute testified that Mr Nghihalwa attributed his bad leg to an injection he had received some time before and also to a car accident in which he was involved about 10 years prior to that.

At no time did he say he had been assaulted. Mr Nghihalwa returned to the hospital again, was admitted and then transferred to Windhoek.

He was certified dead on arrival.

The post-mortem stated that he had died, exactly three months after the assault, of a subdural haematoma. — Sapa

BIG MEN

WE HAVE A HUGE VARIETY OF CLOTHING TO FIT YOU
(INCL EXTRA-LONG ARM AND LEG LENGTHS)

SA agrees to 'safe passage'

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA yesterday agreed to withdraw all its security forces to their bases for 60 hours from 6pm on Wednesday to create a "safe passage" period for Swapo guerillas to leave the territory.

In a second concession aimed at speeding up the return of Swapo guerillas to Angola and get the UN-supervised plan for Namibian independence back on track, Pretoria has hinted that it would be "realistic" about the Swapo withdrawal.

The government indicated it would not insist that every single Swapo fighter was accounted for.

Announcing the first leg of the plan, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said: "South Africa gives the assurance that Swapo infiltrators will be allowed unhindered return to Angola during the period in question."

Speaking in Parliament yesterday, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said the "basic

To page 2

From page 1

Namibia

questions" were how SA knew and what assurances it had that the roughly 1600 Swapo insurgents had in fact returned to Angola.

General Malan said the SA delegation to the Joint Commission had proposed a number of steps to facilitate the departure of the remaining armed Swapo elements:

- Angola and Cuba would obtain from Swapo a cassette tape recording of messages by PLAN commanders instructing Swapo armed elements still in Namibia to return to Angola immediately.

The messages, which would be broadcast in the territory by commercial radio channels and through "ground- and sky-shout" facilities, would not contain any political propaganda.

- The instruction to armed Swapo elements to return to Angola north of the 16th parallel during the 60-hour safe passage period.

- A verification period, which will depend on both the identification of armed Swapo elements and the successful location of arms caches.

Swapo leaders in London yesterday demanded the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from designated assembly points in Namibia.

Swapo foreign secretary Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab and Politburo members had not received official details of General Malan's offer of a 60-hour ceasefire next week to facilitate the withdrawal of Swapo forces.

The Swapo leaders told the press conference South African forces had committed serious atrocities in Namibia since April 1, including the killing of 18 guerillas they claimed had been shot in the back and buried in mass graves.

They said they were demanding an official international investigation of events since April 1, that should be headed by a respected international judge.

Mr Gurirab said they were confident the independently-established truth would expose South African atrocities and how, he claimed, the "gullible" Western media had swallowed information fed by Pretoria and misrepresented the situation from the outset.

Stein 22/4/89

Swapo given 60 hours to leave

221

● FROM PAGE 1.

"We will give them money and invite them to open offices in Windhoek, and if they want to use those offices in the struggle against apartheid, we will support them. But not military bases. We do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries."

A joint statement issued by South Africa, Angola and Cuba after the Joint Commission meeting on Thursday said that Angola and Cuba would inform Swapo of the new proposals.

Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan detailed the proposals to Parliament yesterday during the Defence debate. He said:

- Angola and Cuba would obtain from Swapo a cassette tape-recording of messages by Swapo army commanders instructing Swapo fighters still in Namibia to return to Angola immediately.
- The messages would not contain any political propaganda — and South African diplomats say they will ensure they do not give the impression that the commanders are in Windhoek.
- South Africa would vet the messages before broadcast and the tapes would be given to South Africa by Angola and Cuba at the Ruacana border post by midday tomorrow at the latest.

North of 16th parallel

- The messages would also state that Swapo forces in Angola were being moved to north of the 16th parallel.
- At 6 pm on Wednesday all security forces would withdraw to their bases for 60 hours. "This will create a safe-passage period during which all armed Swapo elements still in South West Africa/Namibia must withdraw to Angola."
- A period would follow during which the departure of all armed Swapo elements from Namibia would be verified.
- The length of the period would depend on the verification of the numbers of Swapo insurgents who have left. It would also depend upon the successful location of arms caches which have been established in Namibia.
- SA had pointed out that the verification period could be "considerably shortened" if Swapo provided information to locate the arms caches.

South Africa has confirmed that three Swapo fighters have been killed in clashes with security forces in the last 48 hours in northern Namibia.

Mr Gerhard Roux, spokesman for Administrator-General Louis Pienaar, said the insurgents were killed in "isolated incidents".

The deaths bring to 289 the number of Swapo guerillas who have died since the fighting broke out on April 1. At least 27 security force members died and 32 insurgents were captured in the battles.

Swapo guerrillas will be given 60 hours to leave

SWA 22/1/89

(221)

Agent Forsyth finds happiness — a husband

PRETORIA CORRESPONDENT

POLICE undercover agent Lieutenant Olivia Forsyth has rediscovered happiness — she is getting married. She is marrying a police lawyer, Sergeant Rian Myburgh, on June 24.

Describing their decision to get married, Lieutenant Forsyth said: "I don't think I have ever felt this happy."

The couple met before Lieutenant Forsyth went on her mission to infiltrate the ANC, but they became "re-acquainted" on her return this year.

Although "for security reasons" they refused to say where they would be getting married, it will be a traditional wedding in a Catholic church.

According to Lieutenant Forsyth, her parents are excited about her marriage.

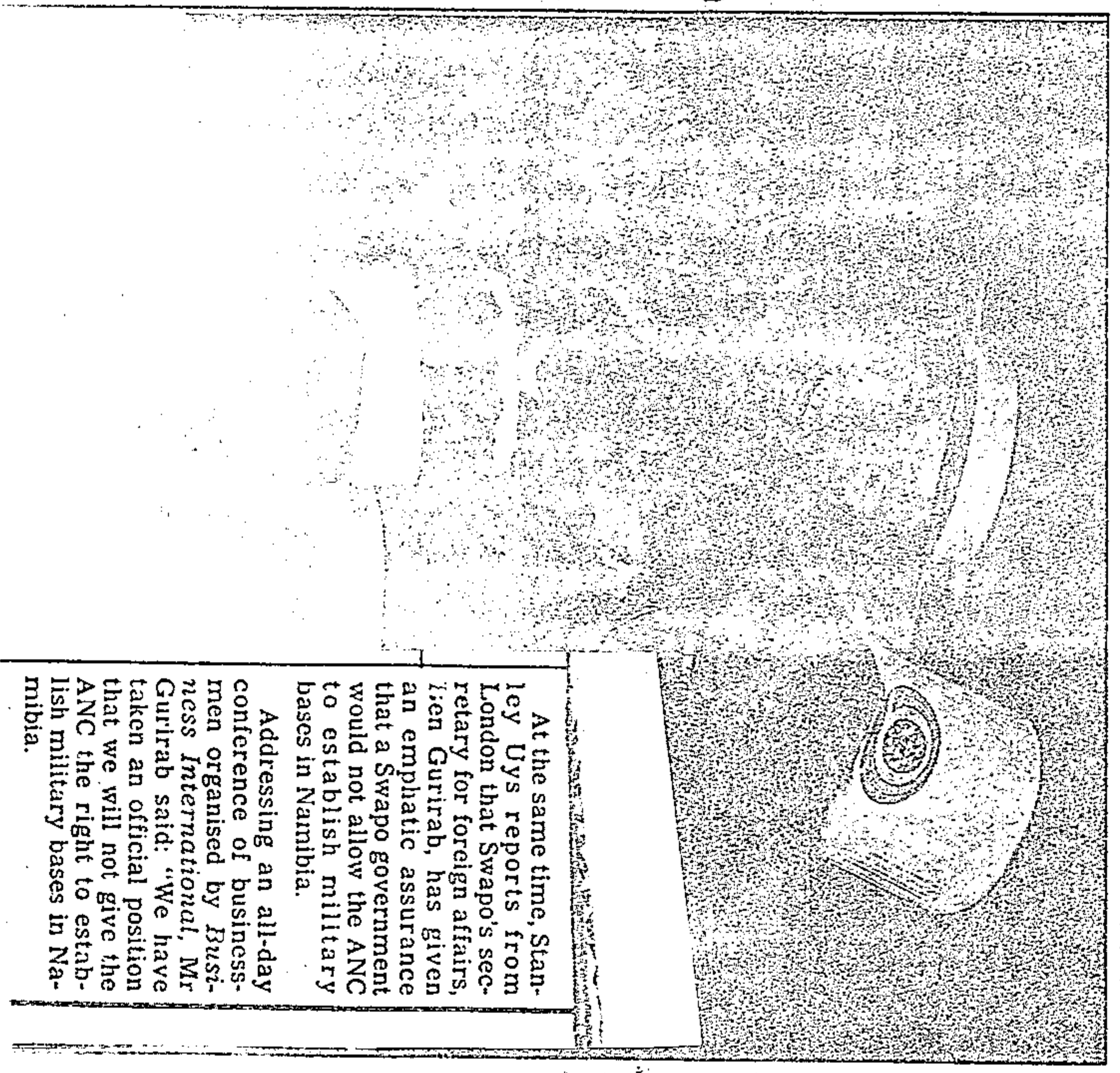
"My mother is very pleased. She has always wanted me to settle down," the bride-to-be said.

Lieutenant Forsyth said it would be an adjustment for her to get married, "because it will be now for me to orientate myself around another person".

Sergeant Myburgh said of the whirlwind courtship: "I met Olivia in a bar and we started seeing each other."



BRIDE TO BE: Lieutenant Olivia Forsyth shows first.



At the same time, Stanley Uys reports from London that Swapo's secretary for foreign affairs, Lien Gurirab, has given an emphatic assurance that a Swapo government would not allow the ANC to establish military bases in Namibia.

Addressing an all-day conference of businessmen organised by *Business International*, Mr Gurirab said: "We have taken an official position that we will not give the ANC the right to establish military bases in Namibia."

PETER FABRICIUS,
SUE LEMMAN and BRENDAN SEERY

SOUTH AFRICA has agreed to withdraw security forces in Namibia to their bases for 60 hours from 6 pm next Wednesday to give the remaining Swapo insurgents a "safe passage" out of the country.

Until then, taped messages from Swapo commanders ordering their troops to withdraw will be broadcast inside Namibia by radio, from vehicles and from aircraft.

The agreement was reached by the Joint Commission of South Africa, Angola and Cuba, which met at Ruacana on the Angolan/Namibian border on Thursday.

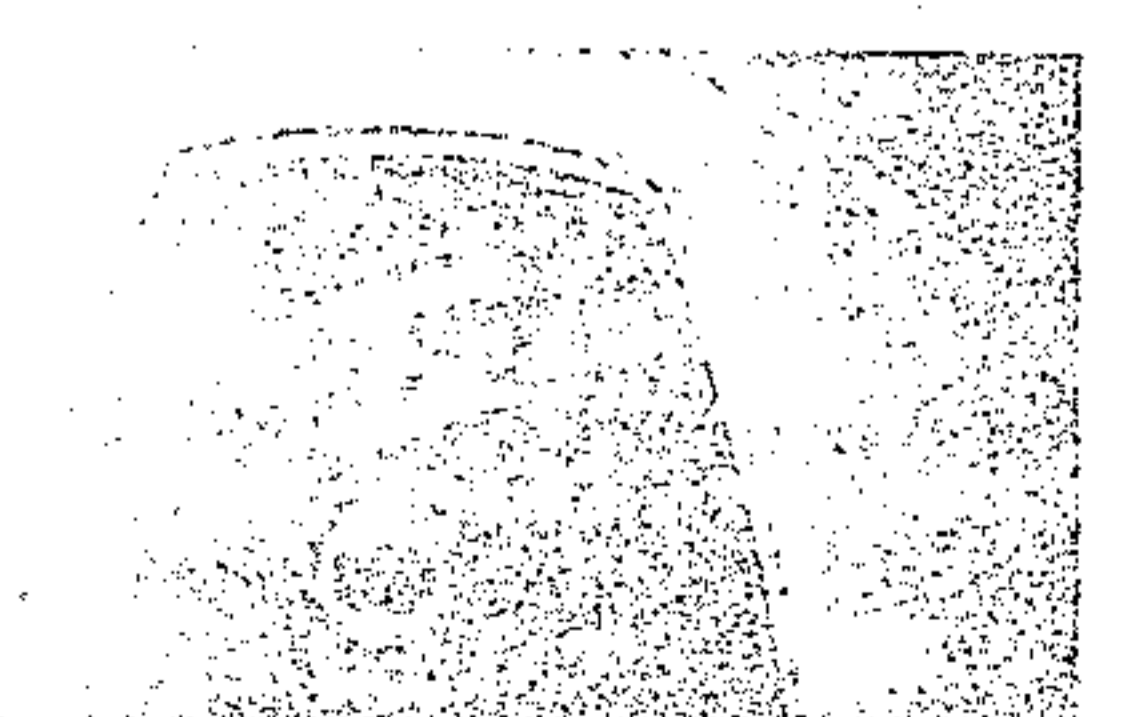
This is the third major effort to get the stalled Namibian peace process back on track since an estimated 1 600 armed Swapo insurgents crossed the border on April 1 in defiance of the peace accords.

Though many details of the plan are being kept secret, sources said that the verification after the 60-hour period of safe passage would be conducted by security forces accompanied at all times by United Nations monitors.

South African diplomats consider the new proposal a major concession from South Africa and said it was the last effort before the timetable for the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 and Cuban withdrawal had to be renegotiated.

"Once again we are being the nice guys," one diplomat said, hinting that the concession by South Africa was at least partly aimed at regaining the moral high ground.

The South African Government has been deeply concerned about a spate of acquisitions of arms from Swapo, which have been used to attack South African troops.



60-hour truce in Namibia next week

w/c ARGUS 22/4/89 221

by TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

SWAPO infiltrators are to be given time to leave Namibia with South African security forces confined to their bases.

Announcing this, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said the security forces would remain at base for 60 hours, starting on Wednesday at 6pm, to enable the infiltrators to leave.

Special steps would be taken to inform the infiltrators of the decision.

The three parties to the Namibia peace agreement, South Africa, Angola and Cuba, have reaffirmed that Swapo forces

must return to north of the 16th parallel and that the implementation of UN Resolution 435 must continue.

Mr Botha said South Africa gave the assurance that the Swapo men would be allowed to return to Angola unhindered during the period in question. He urged the Swapo leadership to call upon its members to avail themselves of this opportunity.

Messages

Speaking in Parliament, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan gave more details of the withdrawal procedure.

Angola and Cuba would obtain from Swapo a tape-recording of messages by command-

ers of Plan, the movement's "liberation army", instructing armed elements still in Namibia to return to Angola immediately.

The messages, which would be broadcast in the territory by commercial radio channels and through ground and sky-shouts, and which would be in the languages most commonly used by Swapo, would not contain political propaganda.

A period during which the departure of all armed Swapo elements from the territory would be verified, would follow.

The length of this period would depend on the verification of information regarding

the number of armed Swapo fighters who had made use of the opportunity to return to Angola, and on the successful location of arms caches established in the territory.

Swapo co-operation could thus considerably shorten this period, General Malan said.

● The Ruacana meeting of the Joint Committee yesterday was attended by observers from Russia and the United States, said a joint statement by South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

The parties exchanged views and proposals which would be examined by their respective governments. Angola and Cuba would apprise Angola and Cuba of decisions.

MEDIA PUTS SA IN BAD LIGHT

W/G
MAGS
22/1



"Keetmanshoop, where is that?" Corporal McGladrey from Chillawack Bc appears to be thinking while filling in forms for his UN ID card at their base camp near Windhoek.

THE shooting war in Namibia has been followed by a propaganda war — and South Africa is in danger of losing it.

Swapo, and its international supporters, have Pretoria on the defensive with allegations that the security forces executed captured Swapo insurgents, and were guilty of other excesses in combatting the guerilla incursion at the beginning of the month.

Although the execution allegations have not been proved, Pretoria has already lost much of the political advantage it gained from its initial response to the incursion by an estimated 1 500 insurgents.

Ironically, the damage to Pretoria's image has come through its willingness to open the fighting to the international news media.

One result of this was that international audiences were given television footage, still photographs and descriptions of the bloated and sometimes naked bodies of the dead, some piled in the mortuary at Oshakati and some being dumped into mass graves.

Most damaging of all was a television film produced by an anti-apartheid organisation in the United States and shown privately to Congressmen in Washington, and

by GERALD L'ANGE
Weekend Argus Africa
News Service in Windhoek

publicly to TV viewers in their homes. The TV footage of the heaped corpses, some badly torn, is said to have caused widespread revulsion.

THIS revulsion was easily turned into condemnation of the security forces as the villains, and sympathy for Swapo as the victims. By the end of this week, the international condemnation that had been heaped on Swapo for violating the independence agreement with its incursion had become largely drowned by the cries of atrocity against the security forces.

American and other diplomats, who have worked long and hard to bring about the Namibian settlement, are thought to be exasperated as they see the territory's independence now being jeopardised, not only by Swapo's incursion, but also by efforts by apartheid's overseas opponents to score points against South Africa.

Strenuous efforts are being made to get the independence process back on track, including a special meeting this week at Ruacana, on the border with Angola, of the hastily reconstituted South African-Cuban-Angolan Joint Military Monitoring Commission.

The meeting was aimed at making sure the Swapo insurgents withdraw from Owamboland and retire to north of the 16th parallel, as required under the Mount Etjo Declaration that the three nations signed to end the flare-up of fighting in northern Namibia.

Provided the Swapo withdrawal can be completed without much more bloodshed the procedure for bringing independence to Namibia under Resolution 435 seems likely to continue with no serious delay, leading to the election at the end of November.

In the meantime, however, more Swapo infiltrators have been killed in clashes with the security forces, and increasingly the villain of the peace is being depicted internationally not as Swapo, but as South Africa.

SCORES, perhaps even hundreds, of the Swapo infiltrators are believed still to be hiding in Owamboland with their weapons. Nobody seems to know for sure

whether they are afraid to surrender to the United Nations assembly points set up for their repatriation, or whether they are lying low with the intention of engaging in armed intimidation of voters during the election.

The security forces have been blamed for setting up camps close to the assembly points manned by troops of the UN monitoring force, Untag, and for having more men than Untag in the camps. Yet, the Mount Etjo Declaration, which was signed by Angola and Cuba as well as South Africa, provides for just that — joint security force-Untag camps at the assembly points, with 35 security force and 15 Untag members in each.

The few insurgents who did turn themselves in to the assembly points, spent days waiting to be handed over to the Angolans, and many overseas critics put the blame on South Africa. The security forces were accused of insisting on interrogating and fingerprinting the insurgents before they were sent back over the border.

There may, in fact, have been an informal provision attached to the Mount Etjo Declaration for the insurgents to be questioned, if not fingerprinted, but in any event Pretoria appears to have lost that particular point by default, for it was never clearly explained.

'I LOVE YOU MOMMY, OVER'

THE farewells were heart-rending when Master-Corporal Brigitte Hanchard boarded the Canadian Air force transport plane bound for Africa and a peace-keeping job with the United Nations.

Tearful son Paul, 6, could not understand why he could not go with Mommy when she was going off "to help some people a long way away".

Husband Richard, also an Army regular, was more encouraging, and quite happy to keep the home fires burning in Ottawa for the next five or six months.

Master Corporal Gloria Banfield accepted her overseas posting with alacrity, with support from husband Norman, a physical education instructor at the Royal Military College in Kingston, Ontario. He had done three tours overseas in Canadian peace-keeping operations for the UN, and believed it would be a fantastic opportunity for his wife.

SHE enthuses that Norman will "really be a great father". That she doesn't

by BRENDAN SEERY, Weekend
Argus Africa News Service
in Windhoek

have any worries that daughters Loralee, 6, and Lee-Ann, 4 will be well looked after.

Both woman soldiers — of only a handful in the UN operation in Namibia — miss their families, but are also excited about the foreign posting.

They have both found this vast, arid territory to be different from what they expected. They imagined they would be confronted by snakes, scorpions and possibly even lions, and would be sleeping in tents in the African jungle.

Instead, they have found, in Windhoek at least, a modern city of about 120 000 people not unlike the medium-sized towns back home. There is safe, drinkable running water and adequate, if not luxurious accommodation, at the agricultural show grounds close to the city centre.

Gloria comes originally from North Bay, Ontario, and says she is used to small

town life — experience which should come in handy when she and about 70 others from the Canadian contingent are posted soon to Keetmanshoop, about 500km south of Windhoek.

WITH a population of about 10 000, and one traffic light, the town will make sleepy Windhoek look like a bustling metropolis.

Keetmanshoop, which receives very little rain, is the epitome of a desert town, with scorching hot days in summer and bitter cold in winter (now only about two months around the corner). Cold, though, is one thing which doesn't faze the Maple Leaf soldiers one bit.

Brigitte, who comes from Quebec city, and is normally stationed with the National Defence Headquarters in Ottawa, says she has found Namibia "surprising" and that she and others have already done quite a bit of exploring in and around Windhoek since they arrived. The open space appeals to her, but she knows she must take care of her fair skin in the harsh African sun.

Although the 250-member Canadian contingent of the UN peace-keeping force here has been careful, and used sun barrier creams regularly, others — especially the Danes and Finns — have been bed-ridden with sunburn.

Gloria adds that she finds that Namibia, from what she has seen so far, is "very laid back and mellow".

GLORIA has written a number of letters to those at home, as has Brigitte, but both soldiers say they do not think it will be a good idea to have a mid-tour break with their families, either here or in Canada, as they are entitled to. Brigitte thinks, and Gloria agrees, that the trauma would be too much for children seeing Mommy, and having to say goodbye again to her a short while later.

Brigitte has managed to speak to Richard and Paul in a radio communication link-up, and was amazed by her son's grasp of the military formalities:

"I Love you Mommy, Over."
"I Love you, too, Paul, Over."

(221) down 23/4/89.

UN escorts Swapo men to Angola and freedom

MPLA and SADF watch as boom goes up

THE first three Swapo guerrillas to be escorted by Untag monitors to a point north of the 16th Parallel crossed the Angolan border at Beacon One, Ruacana Falls, this week.

Minutes before the crossing the guerrillas waited silently in three white UN Land Rovers while the monitors held a conference with their men at the point, GUY ROGERS reports.

As rain started to fall, the border boom went up and the deputy commander of Untag in Namibia, Brig-Gen Daniel Opande, recorded the crossing with a video camera.

Moments after their departure, top-ranking SA JMC officials - including SADF chief Gen Jannie Geldenhuys and his Namibian counterpart Gen Willie Meyer - crossed the line back into Namibia after talks with the Angolans.

On several occasions two MPLA officers crossed under the border boom to confer with SADF JMC officials.

From Beacon One the three guerrillas would be escorted by Untag and MPLA personnel to Lubango, some 200km north of the 16th Parallel - to which Swapo was supposed to withdraw by April 1 in terms of Resolution 435.

Opande said: "One guerrilla I spoke to said he had been here for nine months. Others, I'm sure, did cross after April 1."

He said he had confidence now that Untag was in control of the situation, and made it clear that surrendered guerrillas would be escorted all the way to a point north of the 16th Parallel.

He said the three men would first go to Chibembe and would be moved shortly afterwards to Lubongo, where it appeared the Angolans planned to house the majority of the insurgents.

Opande said this monitoring process applied also to the large number of Swapo fighters who had crossed the border back into Angola of their own accord.

He estimated between 700 and 800 Swapo members had already left Namibia and others were already moving north.

He had been in contact with another group - "a



The sixth Swapo guerrilla, second from right, to be brought to a UN assembly point on the Angolan border handed in his AK47 before being treated for a foot injury this week.

good number" - who had indicated they might be willing to surrender at one of the Untag-monitored gathering points.

"I think most of them will still just cross the border themselves... for two reasons.

"The first is Mr Nujoma's call for them to do so, and the second is because I think they are afraid of the large SA presence at these points... it's natural."

A fourth Swapo fighter who was supposed to cross this week was still being treated in hospital at Oshikuku, and two more were being treated at Oshakati's state hospital.

Untag HQ in Oshakati said nine insurgents had

surrendered, but was vague about further details.

At least two more would cross the border at Beacon One this week, a Malaysian Untag monitor based at Ruacana Falls said.

Untag's Portuguese translator, Jose Campino, said he understood UN under-secretary Marrack Goulding would be at Beacon One this week.

Opande said Swapo soldiers he had spoken to thought they were returning to free elections and that they would be protected by Untag.

"None I have interviewed said they were coming back to fight."

Just hours before the cross-over party arrived, the only people at Beacon One aware of the impending operation were Australian and English troops stationed on the hill above the falls. They had apparently received instructions direct from Oshakati.

The senior Malay monitor at the SADF base at Ruacana knew nothing of the crossing and the SA commandant there was equally in the dark.

The cloak of secrecy under which Untag seemed to want to keep the surrendered Swapo fighters enveloped barely lifted as the first three crossed into Angola. - Sapa.

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UN rejects OAU Namibia mission

HARARE — A three-man OAU team — bound for Namibia to monitor the territory's independence process — would return to Addis Ababa today without reaching Windhoek because the UN would not allow it to set up an observer mission there, officials said yesterday.

Delegation chief Yilma Tadesse said in spite of a request to the UN last February and an invitation from SA to set up an observer mission in Windhoek, the UN had not given the OAU approval to do so.

He said: "In view of this attitude of the SA government, I am baffled about the silence of the UN secretary-general to our request."

Tadesse, OAU assistant secretary-general in charge of political affairs, was accompanied by Brigadier Hashin Mbita,

● To Page 2



UN rejects Namibia mission for OAU

executive secretary of the OAU liberation committee, and Mensa Bonsu, chief of the OAU decolonisation secretariat.

He said his team wanted to go to Namibia to assess the situation on the ground, look into the question of logistics and meet UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari and discuss with him deployment of the OAU observer mission's personnel.

"We are racing against time. The sooner we are allowed (to set up the mission) the better and it will enable us to discharge our responsibilities properly."

The mission was important for the OAU in its commitment in the decolonisation of Africa.

Tadesse said the OAU viewed as "crucial" for the destiny of Namibian people

that the elections be conducted in conformity with provisions of UN resolution 435. □ Reuter reports from Luanda that Swapo said at the weekend that all of its guerrillas remaining in Namibia could withdraw to Angola by Friday if they were not obstructed by SA forces.

It reacted cautiously to SA's statement last Friday that it would confine its troops in Namibia to their bases for 60 hours from Wednesday, to allow Swapo fighters to pull out. A Swapo spokesman said: "We are waiting on the ground to see if that really happens." — Sapa.

BIP Day 24/7/87

● See Page 3

● From Page 1

CAP-1075 24/4/89

SA army obstructing pullout — Swapo 221

LUANDA. — Swapo claims that all its guerillas remaining in Namibia could withdraw into Angola by next Friday if they were not obstructed by South African forces.

The group reacted cautiously at the weekend to South Africa's statement on Friday that it would confine its troops in Namibia to their bases for 60 hours from next Wednesday, to allow Swapo fighters to pull out.

"We are waiting to see on the ground if that is what really happens," Mr Hivananye Shafodino Nehova, deputy information secretary of Swapo, told Reuters in Luanda.

"But we are not pessimistic ... we still believe that the process at long last will continue," Mr Nehova said. — Sapa-Reuter

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Frontline men fail to arrive

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — Swapo supporters waited in vain yesterday to welcome to Namibia a delegation of observers from the frontline states.

Wearing the red, blue and green Swapo colours, supporters of the movement including vice-president Mr Nathaniel Maxuilili gathered at Eros airport for the expected arrival from Botswana of an 18-member delegation from the six frontline states.

But the only official arrival on board a scheduled Air Botswana flight from Gaborone was Botswanan High Commissioner

Mr Oteng Tebape, an envoy for the Botswana government.

Up to 500 Swapo supporters gathered at the airport earlier in the day, but the crowd had diminished to some two dozen by the time the delayed flight arrived about 1.15pm.

South African Foreign Affairs Department spokesman Mr Eric Blumer said no officials of the other frontline states — Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola and Tanzania — had applied for visas to enter Namibia.

Under official agreements Botswanans do not need entry visas.

Mr Tebape told reporters he would represent the Botswana government in Na-

mbia during the UN independence programme and was not part of a frontline states delegation.

Mr Blumer said two Zambian officials had arrived on Friday on visas valid until today. The Zambians had not asked for extensions, but officials "will look at it" if a longer stay was requested.

A Kenyan representative had also arrived, Mr Blumer said.

© Sapa reported from Harare yesterday that a three-man Organisation of African Unity (OAU) team bound for Namibia to monitor independence returned to Addis Ababa without reaching Windhoek because the UN has not allowed it to set up an observer mission there.

...for a swap of light arms, the largest of shadowy military groups set up in the area. The Transvaal leader of swooped on the extreme-... Mr Storm and Mr Storm as they rather than money, in re-... But it was then discovered that Mr

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'Swapo met SADF for talks on border'

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Swapo insurgent commanders met South African military officers on the border of Namibia and Angola last week, a senior Swapo official has confirmed.

Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, the organisation's information secretary, told *The Namibian* newspaper that the Swapo delegation at the talks had been headed by Mr Nahas Angula, the education secretary.

The newspaper reported that it believed the commander of the SWA Territory Force, had headed the delegation from the other side. The meeting took place on the Namibia-Angola border on Tuesday.

The talks would thus have preceded the meeting later in the week in Ruacana between the members of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission — South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

MADE CLEAR

After that meeting Pretoria offered to withdraw its troops to base for 60 hours starting on Wednesday evening to allow the remaining insurgents to leave the country.

Mr Hamutenya said the Swapo delegation had made it clear to the South Africans that they should decide whether they wanted to fight or wanted to let Swapo fighters leave the country unhindered.

"They couldn't have both," he told *The Namibian*.

Mr Hamutenya claimed the South Africans were not granting "safe passage" to exiting insurgents as had been guaranteed in the Mount Etjo Declaration peace proposal.

Instead, he claimed the SADF used Untag assembly points as "interrogation centres".

The Swapo information secretary said it was impossible for fighters already inside Namibia to hand in their arms to the UN and return to their villages in the north of the country as they would be "hunted down" by the security forces.

OAU TURNED BACK

It had therefore been decided by Swapo that all fighters should return to Angola and come back to Namibia later with the rest of the Namibian refugees.

●In Harare, the national news agency Ziana reported that the Frontline states' observer group for Namibia is in Gaborone en route to Windhoek to monitor Resolution 435.

But a three-man OAU team bound for Namibia returned to Addis Ababa today without reaching Windhoek because the UN has not allowed it to set up an observer mission there.

The team said it had stopped over in Luanda on Saturday where it had held discussions with Swapo over OAU participation in the repatriation of refugees, and its bid to send an observer mission to Windhoek.

Swapo to conduct 'damage assessment'

MB 93 24/4/89

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From LAURINDA KEYS
of Associated Press
in Windhoek

LEADERS of the internal wing of Swapo who addressed the mass rally in Windhoek on April 1, said their forces had done their job and now civilian supporters should do theirs by working to win independence elections.

NAMIBIA

But the guerrillas weren't finished. They declined to wait in their camps in Angola for an orderly, unarmed return to Namibia in May. Hundreds crossed the border, with weapons, in the largest incursion of their 23-year war for independence from South Africa.

The result has been nearly 300 guerrillas killed by security forces, one of Swapo's worst defeats at a time when it sought to show itself as a victorious liberator.

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Daniel Tjongarero, national chairman of the South-West Africa People's Organization, says he doesn't yet know why such action was taken, but he isn't overly worried about its impact on the elections.

"Politicians can explain anything," he said in an interview.

Explanations from Swapo's external leaders have varied: from denial that there was an incursion, to a claim that guerrillas entered to protect Namibia-based comrades who were attacked by South Africans, to a widely rejected argument that Swapo units were entitled to go to bases in Namibia on April 1 — even though no such bases existed.

Namibians wonder why such risky action was taken on the day a United Nations plan was implemented that would have brought independence after November elections that Swapo was favored to win.

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Swapo's opponents, and South African officials, suggest Swapo began to fear the exposure of a political campaign. But even the heavy guerrilla losses and the near-collapse of the independence plan may not cut very far into Swapo's political support.

"Let's wait to see the outcome of the election. That will tell whether people are angry with Swapo," Tjongarero said.



ESCORTED: A Swapo fighter is escorted to a UN helicopter to be flown to Angola.

He is anxious to go north to Ovamboland, the site of the fighting and the major source of Swapo support. "We have to do a damage assessment," he said.

He said the attitude of Ovambo residents "will depend on what the guerrillas have been telling the people — what purpose they had in coming."

Civilians also would be influenced by the impact the fighting had on them, Tjongarero said.

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As soon as security force units were deployed to combat the incursion, residents reported renewed harassment. Villagers pointed to chewed-up fields and flattened huts after armored vehicles crashed through the bush tracking the guerrillas.

"Namibians might think this was a treacherous act by the South Africans, to attack the guerrillas who weren't even prepared to fight," Tjongarero said.

Internationally, the task of repairing Swapo's image may be tougher than inside Namibia.

"We have to go out in the world and explain to people who have been supportive," Tjongarero said. "One has to accept that the South Africans took the media in very effectively. Whatever confusions there were, they have jumped on them in a deliberate attempt to taint Swapo's image."

The overseas image is important. Swapo was expecting aid from Nordic, East Bloc

and African countries, and from humanitarian groups, to match aid Swapo opponents may get from South Africans.

In a campaign in which Swapo will want to convince whites that their futures are secure, the organization may be hurt by the impression that it does not keep commitments.

Also unflattering is the image of a disorganized external leadership that apparently made a major military decision without knowing the situation inside Namibia.

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"Anyone who sends an army across an international border, and then a week later calls it back, has a screw loose," said top Western diplomat after Swapo's allies, the Angolans and Cubans, forced Swapo President Sam Nujoma to recall his fighters.

Many guerrillas apparently were caught by surprise, gathering in large groups, in full uniform, as if they expected to be escorted to bases supervised by UN monitoring forces. If that was the case, the fighters were tragically misinformed by their commanders.

"We assume the people (outside the country) might not have known that the United Nations Transition Assistance Group was not fully deployed," Tjongarero said.

Swapo has an office at the United Nations. If its leaders believed the UN had bases in Namibia for guerrillas to go to, why did no one find out where those bases were?

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Swapo officials had 11 years to resolve doubts about the 1978 UN plan, but they expressed surprise that paramilitary police units were still patrolling on April 1. UN Resolution 435 allows this during the transition to independence.

The resolution required combatants to be in bases on April 1. South African army units complied and Swapo did not, a situation that gave South Africa a huge public relations boost.

Swapo's external foreign secretary, Theo Ben-Gurirab, said South Africa knew guerrillas were gathering on the border and prepared an ambush of them.

It may never be known who fired first. But no ambush could have happened if SWAPO hadn't crossed the border.

"One has to accept that we did play into their hands," Tjongarero said. — Sapa-AP

Northern Cape faces boom as the Namibians move in

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Northern Cape, especially Springbok and Upington, were heading for an economic boom with an injection of new capital and an influx of people as a result of Namibia's approaching independence, according to business leaders in the area.

Mr Keis Malan, vice president of the Chamber of Commerce in Upington, said the town was already experiencing a housing shortage as South Westers bought up properties in the area.

Prices had already increased dramatically in some instances

and there were not enough homes to meet the demand, from both purchasers and lessees.

Mr Anton Steenkamp, of the Small Business Development Corporation in Springbok, said there had already been a great deal of interest from people in Namibia, who wanted to purchase businesses and homes.

The increased police and military presence as well as the foreseen customs and excise divisions would mean more money being spent in Upington, said Mr Malan.

Mr Steenkamp and Mr Malan agreed that retail business

and services would increase, although it was difficult to make long-term predictions.

"The whole community is expecting something to happen," said Mr Steenkamp, while Mr Malan said much depended on the situation in Namibia after independence.

"The general feeling among business is that there will be an improvement in the economy," said Mr Malan.

Mr Piet Venter, head of cultural and information services in Upington, was less optimistic, saying although there had been enquiries, he hadn't seen signs of change.

the number of small shipping companies made it hard to track the route of oil cargoes around the world. — Sapa-Reuter.

A centrally-planned economy with little or no private property was not an environment in which the majority of business could operate successfully.

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Minister 'wants to act unlawfully'

Handwritten: Theo Rawana
CONSTITUTIONAL Planning and Development Minister Chris Heunis wanted a free hand to act unlawfully and unhampered by the control of the courts, Lawyers for Human Rights national chairman Jules Browde said yesterday.

Browde was reacting to Heunis's explanation of the Alteration of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill, which would deny the courts the right to inquire or pronounce upon government proclamations on the alteration or extension of homeland boundaries.

The Bill is an attempt to force the 500 000-strong community of Botshabelo to be incorporated into QwaQwa, in spite of a Supreme Court ruling last year overturning an earlier attempt.

Responding to media inquiries about the Bill, Heunis had said: "When a proclaimed boundary is changed by way of a court action with retrospective effect, the result can be administrative, political and legal chaos."

Browde said: "What the minister is asking for is a free hand to act unlawfully, unhampered by the control of the courts. If anything can lead to chaos, that can."

"Our courts have often said that every legal power must have legal limits; otherwise there is dictatorship. That is what the minister is asking for."

Swapo appeals aired for guerrilla pull-out

Handwritten: Kevin Jacobs (221)
WINDHOEK — Swapo military commanders' pleas to guerrillas to return to Angola were broadcast for the first time last night over Namibian radio services, and similar helicopter-borne "skyshouts" are being amplified over Owambo's bushland.

Under an agreement with Angola, tape-recorded messages from Swapo's leaders are being broadcast across the territory in advance of a three-day military confinement to base offered by SA to induce a full guerrilla withdrawal from Namibia.

SA ordered the base restriction from 6pm tomorrow after Angolan officials said Swapo had complained its fighters in Namibia were reluctant to withdraw under threat of military pursuit.

Government spokesman Gerhard Roux said yesterday the Swapo tapes ordering the immediate pull-out had been handed over on Sunday.

It was not clear if UN or SA military helicopters and ground vehicles would be used to broadcast the appeals.

Officials have declined to estimate the number of Swapo fighters still in the territory, holding out for verification after this week's confinement. They say the military forces will remain in bases and SA will resume its withdrawal if Administrator-General Louis Pienaar is satisfied by UN monitors that all of Swapo's surviving fighters have reassembled behind the 16th parallel in Angola.

CALL TRIPS 25/4/89 221

Swapo call to guerillas on Namib radio

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — Swapo military commanders' pleas to guerillas to return to Angola were broadcast for the first time last night over Namibian radio services, and similar helicopter-borne "skyshouts" are being amplified over Ovambo's bushland.

Under an agreement with Angola, tape-recorded messages from Swapo's guerilla leaders are being broadcast across the territory in advance of a three-day military confinement to base offered by South Africa to induce a full guerilla withdrawal from Namibia.

South Africa ordered the base restriction beginning at 6pm tomorrow after Angolan officials said Swapo had complained that its fighters remaining in Namibia were reluctant to withdraw under threat of military pursuit.

The deal was agreed on last Thursday at a northern border meeting of the Joint Monitoring Commission formed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

"Angola and Cuba have obtained from Swapo cassette tape recordings of messages by People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) commanders, instructing Swapo armed elements still in Namibia to return to

Angola immediately," government spokesman Mr Gerhard Roux told reporters yesterday.

"They will be broadcast from tonight on commercial radio services in the languages normally used by Swapo, and will not contain any political messages.

"The fact that South Africa was prepared to accommodate this message from Swapo commanders must indicate that every effort is being made to get this message across ... we trust this will carry the necessary authority," Mr Roux said.

Government officials say the military forces will remain in bases and South Africa will resume its military withdrawal if Mr Pienaar is satisfied by Mr Martti Ahtisaari and UN monitors in Angola that all of Swapo's surviving fighters have reassembled behind the 16th parallel.

Officials say 289 guerrillas were killed and 32 captured. Security forces lost 27 men in the bush skirmishes that erupted in the wake of the incursions.

When Swapo's guerillas swept across the border, Pretoria froze its pull-out begun under Resolution 435 requirements, and with UN agreement, redeployed six battalions in support of counter-insurgency police patrols.

Full UN force for Namibia

NEW YORK. — The UN military observer group in Namibia will reach its full strength of 4 650 troops at mid-week, UN spokesman Mr Francois Giuliani said yesterday.

He said a final contingent of Malaysian soldiers is due to arrive in Windhoek tomorrow, bringing the force to the limit approved by the Security Council.

Malaysia, Kenya and Finland are supplying three enlarged infantry battalions as a mainstay of the force, which numbered only 300 on the first day of the UN operation in the territory, April 1.

That weakness was blamed in part for the fighting in northern Namibia. — Sapa-Reuter

Bryan O'Linn to head commission

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — Mr Bryan O'Linn, a senior Windhoek advocate, has agreed to head a panel that will probe complaints of harassment and intimidation during the lead-up to the November elections and Namibia's independence.

Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar last Wednesday announced his intention to set up a permanent commission of inquiry in the face of growing accusations against security forces. He said the commission would also probe accusations against political activists.

A government spokesman said yesterday that Mr O'Linn had accepted the offer of chairmanship. Mr O'Linn had told reporters he would accept if he was assured the commission's hearings would be public.



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Sympathetic pilot lifted smoke ban

Staff Reporter

THE gunfire of Namibia's wartorn transition to independence was recently echoed in a high-altitude outcry over an SAA pilot who allowed nervous, war-wary passengers to smoke while flying from Windhoek to Cape Town.

Anxious passengers, fearing the consequences of flying over the territory, begged SAA flight 762's crew to lift the in-flight ban on smoking, an SAA spokesman confirmed yesterday.

The pilot gave his nervous passengers the benefit of the doubt — and thereby evoked a squall of angry complaints from non-smokers.

11.00 News Headlines. 11.05 Woman's World. 11.45 Novel Reading. 12.00 Day. Sapa-Reuter

11.00 News Headlines. 11.05 Woman's World. 11.45 Novel Reading. 12.00 Day. Sapa-Reuter

Call to monitor SA

MOSCOW — The Soviet Union is calling for observers from the International Red Cross to be sent to Namibia to check on what it believes are South African attempts to kill Swapo guerillas rather than allow them to withdraw to Angola. (221)

Mr Yuri Yukalov, head of the Africa Desk at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, also criticised South Africa's proposal to allow Swapo fighters only 60 hours to leave Namibia. He said they were scattered far from the border.

Although Mr Yukalov said the idea of an IRC team was to support the UN force, the proposal is a significant change in Moscow's policy. It reflects increasing irritation over evidence that the UN force is not working properly. — The Star's Africa News Service.

Star 25/4/89

Radio used to order Swapo back to Angola

WINDHOEK — Commercial radio in northern Namibia was due to begin broadcasting tape-recorded messages by Swapo military commanders last night, telling Swapo insurgents to return to Angola from Wednesday at 6 pm.

The spokesman for the office of the Administrator-General, Mr Gerhard Roux, yesterday said transcripts of the tape-recordings had already been approved.

In terms of the Joint Commission accord, security forces in the north will be confined to base from 6 pm on Wednesday to 6 am on Saturday.

RIGHT-WING MOVE

The instructions by commanders of Swapo's military wing, Plan, would also be conveyed from vehicles and aircraft in all the languages used by Swapo.

● Leaders of the National Party of South West Africa are to meet the Administrator-General soon to discuss their fears about the implementation of Resolution 435.

● Right-wing organisations, including the AWB and the Conservative Party, are planning a "protest" motorcade to Pretoria or Cape Town.

● A draft proclamation for voter registration for the election of a constituent assembly was published yesterday. — Sapa.

Peace offer being broadcast to Swapo

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — A campaign has been started to inform Swapo insurgents still inside Namibia about the terms of the latest peace offer — which guarantees them safe passage out of the territory to Angola for a 60-hour period beginning at 6pm tomorrow.

Mr Gerhard Roux, a spokesman for the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, said yesterday that tape-recorded messages from Swapo commanders to their men in the field were being broadcast by the SWABC.

The messages would also be broadcast by "skyshout" aircraft flying low over northern Namibia. Vehicles would also be used to broadcast the tapes.

The tapes were handed to the South Africans at Ruacana on Sunday, following last week's meeting there between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

After that meeting South Africa said its troops would be withdrawn to base for 60 hours starting tomorrow evening to allow Swapo fighters to leave the country unhindered.

MEETING DENIED

In Windhoek the South African Defence Force has denied claims that its top commanders talked to Swapo leaders last week at a secret meeting on the Namibia-Angola border.

A report in a Windhoek newspaper yesterday quoted Swapo information secretary Mr Hidipo Hamutenya as saying the SADF delegation to the

talks met Swapo commanders led by the organisation's education secretary, Mr Nahas Angula.

The newspaper said it believed the commander of the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Willie Meyer, had headed the SADF team.

A SWATF spokesman in Windhoek, Commandant Fanie Krige, said there was no truth in allegations that either SADF or SWATF officers had met Swapo commanders.

The claims were "nonsense" and were part of an effort by Swapo to try to repair its badly-damaged international image.

UNTAG STATUS

Meanwhile details of Untag's status and privileges have been promulgated in a Government Gazette notice signed by President Botha and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

The status of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group in South West Africa Proclamation of 1989 further promulgated the agreement between the UN and South Africa, signed in New York on March 10.

The Government Gazette noticesaid the agreement was concluded for the sole purpose of assisting in the implementation of UN resolution 435.

The proclamation said the UN forces were to refrain from political activities or activities incompatible with "the spirit of the present arrangements".

Red carpet is out for communists

CAPE TOWN — A big cross-border communist incursion is expected today, but this time an official welcome mat is being rolled out.

More than 40 Cubans, Soviets and Angolans are expected in the Mother City — with US delegates — for this week's Joint Committee meeting on Namibia's transition to independence.

Accompanying them — to mix a lot of heavy business with a little lighter pleasure — are their entourages of aides and a

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

flock of foreign Pressmen.

Their visit marks the first time in many years that official government delegations from communist countries will be ceremoniously welcomed to Cape Town.

No details of the three-day agenda have been released but it is understood delegates will discuss with SA counterparts progress on Namibia's transition.

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Hitch in back-to-base plan

KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — Security chiefs and government officials were last night urgently examining a return-to-base order to security forces amid confusion over the status of counter-insurgency police under the 60-hour restriction from 6pm today.

SA agreed to pull its security forces out of the Namibian bush until sunrise on Saturday in a last-chance inducement for Swapo guerrillas to withdraw unhindered to Angola.

Government and police officials insisted that counter-insurgency units — frontline foes of Swapo — were excluded from the base confinement, but UN sources said their continued deployment could foil the effort to complete a Swapo pull-out.

UN officials in Windhoek said a deal struck at Ruacana last Thursday between SA, Angola and Cuba required security forces — including SWA Police (Swapol) counter-insurgency units — to return to bases for the agreed concession period.

But police and some government officials said the patrols — formerly known as Koevoet — were deemed to be part of ordinary policing. Under resolution 435, Swapol retain responsibility for upholding law and order in the lead-up to elections.

Most counter-insurgency police, who operate from a special base camp at Oshakati, still wear khaki bush dress instead of the standardised grey-and-black police uniform, and patrol in the same armoured cars the officially disbanded Koevoet used.

Measured coldly by a kill rate, they have been the most successful containment weapon against Swapo insurgency since the unit was set up some 10 years ago.

Announcing the confinement-to-base deal last week, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said "security forces" would be restricted.

An Untag source said Soviet and Angolan delegates at the Ruacana meeting of the three-nation Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) had sought clarity on the term and were told the confinement to base would include police units not involved in normal law-and-order oper-

● To Page 2 →

Hitch in Namibian back-to-base plan

B/Daw 26/4/89

Senior government officials last night confirmed the assurance had been given, but it was not clear if police chiefs in Namibia had issued back-to-base orders to the counter-insurgency units.

Police in Windhoek last night were counselling Foreign Affairs Department officials in Cape Town.

Under the Ruacana deal and the earlier Mt Etjo truce agreed on April 9, Untag and Angolan officials will monitor and report on Swapo's withdrawal. Administrator-General Louis Pienaar must be satisfied by Untag chief Martti Ahtisaari that the

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remaining guerrillas have been stationed behind the 16th parallel in Angola before the independence programme is restarted.

Ahtisaari and UN peacekeeping chief Marrack Goulding are scheduled to attend a meeting of the JMC in Cape Town beginning today.

Untag deputy chief Cedric Thornberry said yesterday the UN, the US and the Soviet Union were not parties to trilateral agreements between SA, Angola and Cuba, but "are available in the wings during these discussions".

Claims of SA 'intimidation' ^{CAPL} ^{Times 26/4/89} ⁽²²¹⁾ **Top UN Namibian officials due in city**

WINDHOEK. — More than 100 complaints of assault, intimidation and destruction of property have been filed against South African security forces by Namibian civilians since April 1, reports from here said.

A spokesman for the Legal Assistance Centre in Namibia, which also runs a human-rights office in Oshakati, was quoted as saying yesterday that most of the complaints were lodged by groups of people from the northern part of the country where South African soldiers in civilian clothes apparently harassed residents.

He said the centre was currently recording affidavits for civil suits. — Sapa

WINDHOEK. — The UN under-secretary-general for special political affairs, Mr Marrack Goulding, and the UN special representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, are due to attend the Joint Commission meeting in Cape Town from tomorrow, UN spokesman Mr Cedric Thornberry said here yesterday.

The UN, the United States and the Soviet Union will attend as observers.

It will be the third regular session of the commission, made up of South Africa, Cuba and Angola.

Mr Thornberry said the UN was not a party to any of the trilateral agreements, but would be "available in the wings" during the discussions.

Mr Ahtisaari said in a statement here yesterday that he and administrator-general Mr Louis Pienaar had reached agreement on soliciting the views of the public and political parties on procedures for coming elections.

He said he reserved his position on aspects concerning the present draft Registration of Voters Proclamation, under which Namibians of 18 years and older will qualify for the vote if they or one of their parents was born in the territory.

Mr Ahtisaari said further meetings would be held with Mr Pienaar upon completion of the consultation process. — Sapa

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9/26/89

SA tolerance limited, Malan warns Swapo

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

South Africa's patience with Swapo insurgents in Namibia had limits, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, warned last night.

Speaking at a political actuality week at the University of Potchefstroom, General Malan said that South Africa was doing all in its power to advance the peace process, but it was also keeping a close watch on Swapo.

"If the insurgents do not now return to the 16th parallel in Angola we will have to consider and decide what happens ahead."

His advice to Swapo was to end its "provocative opportunism" now.

South Africa had gone out of its way to keep the peace process on track.

This was shown by its agreement to confine the security forces to base for 60 hours to allow Swapo insurgents safe passage out of the country.

He said Swapo would profit by taking note that this action was based on a position of strength, and was not a concession made from weakness.

Russians join the big indaba in Cape Town

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — This city will be invaded by Russians, Cubans, Angolans and Americans from today as delegates arrive for the third scheduled meeting of the tripartite Joint Commission (JC) which monitors the peace accords in Namibia and Angola.

This will be the first official Soviet visit to South Africa since the two countries broke off diplomatic relations in 1953.

The JC will start meeting in the Cape Sun hotel tomorrow morning and is scheduled to continue on Friday and the conclusion will depend upon progress.

Discussions will centre on the agreement reached at the JC's extraordinary meeting last Thursday that security forces in northern Namibia should withdraw to base for 60 hours from 6pm today to allow Swapo insurgents inside Namibia safe passage back to Angola.

The progress of the agreement will be carefully monitored by the JC, diplomatic sources said.

In town for deadline

They said it was fortuitous that the deadline would expire while the delegations were still in Cape Town, which would allow them to discuss any problems which might arise.

A delegation of six Russian observers will be headed by special diplomatic envoy Mr Vyacheslav Ustinov.

Mr Ustinov has been reported as saying that he regards the JC discussions as an opportunity to outline views on various matters — including the internal situation in South Africa.

The large Cuban delegation of 28, including nine journalists, will be led by Mr Carlos Aldana.

Heading the Angolan delegation of 11 will be General Franca Ndalu.

The South African delegation will be headed by Mr Neil van Heerden, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, and will include the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, and Dr Neil Barnard, chief of the National Intelligence Service.

The American observer delegation will be headed by Mr Chas Freeman, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.

The American and Soviet delegations are due to arrive together this morning on a commercial flight from London.

The Angolans are due to arrive at DF Malan in their own aircraft at 5pm and the Cubans at 9.30pm.

It will not be all work and no play for the diplomats. Ample time has been set aside for leisure activities and South Africa is anxious to repay the hospitality it received at the two previous scheduled meetings of the JC — especially the one in Havana.

UN to monitor the police in Namibia

WINDHOEK — United Nations police monitors will accompany SWA police as they carry out their duties in northern Namibia during the 60 hours when South African security forces are confined to base to allow

Swapo insurgents to leave for Angola.

UN spokesman Mr Cedric Thornberry told journalists in Windhoek yesterday that the head of the UN police monitoring team, Commissioner Steven Fanning of Ireland, intended 185 police monitors to be deployed when the 60-hour period comes into effect at 6 pm today. Many would be in Owambo.

Police monitors will accompany SWA police patrols "as necessary", he said.

In reply to a question on monitoring of the security force bases during the 60 hours, Mr Thornberry said he was aware that the "pullback was not complete", and existing police units would be needed to maintain law and order.

More than 100 complaints of assault, intimidation and destruction of property have been filed against South African security forces by Namibian civilians since April 1, Zimbabwe's semi-official news agency Ziana reports from Windhoek.

A spokesman for the Legal Assistance Centre in Namibia, which runs a human rights office in Oshakati, said yesterday that most complaints had been by groups of people from the northern area where South African soldiers in civilian clothes apparently harassed residents, Ziana reported. — Sapa, Reuter, The Star's African News Service.

**UN men
visit
war zone**

221

26/4/89

WINDHOEK — Senior UN officials toured Namibia's war zone yesterday for a first-hand look at the UN operation mounted to end fighting between Swapo and South African-led security forces.

The visit to the northern border area by United Nations Undersecretary - General Murrack Goulding and Finnish envoy Martti Ahtisaari, who heads the UN operation in Namibia, came one day before South African forces were to start a 60-hour pullback.

South Africa has pledged to confine its forces to their bases during that time to allow safe passage.

OUR

ON PARADE/Williem Steenkamp

'Grumbles' over SADF manpower committee

ward, not back, and accept that a future South Africa will be so busy upgrading itself that it will not be able to afford large defence budgets.

This means that the country will either have to go defenceless or rely on an improved version of the present system, namely a small element of regular service people and an efficient, relatively cheap force of trained reserves of all races, partly conscript and partly volunteer.

That being the case, the committee would be wise to draw heavily on the accumulated wisdom of the CCF to devise a basically sound future system.

IT seems to be myth-mannal returning time in Namibia. From Washington we are told that the SADF's standard infantry weapon is a 20mm gun, from London that a "bull-necked bully" of an SADF colonel allowed himself to be shrivelled by the calm, manly gaze of an Australian Untag major and from Windhoek that the army smashed up St Mary's Mission in Ovamboland.

All of which sounds, to this veteran observer, a little odd. The 20mm gun is a vehicle-mounted weapon and SADF small arms are of 7.62mm and 5.56mm calibre like everyone else's. I have yet to see a Permanent Force colonel who would let himself be intimidated by a mere major of any sex, race, age or national origin, and for political reasons the military was never allowed to raid St Mary's Mission, even though it was a proven centre of Swapo activities. [Williem Steenkamp is a reservist in the Citizen Force].

There are some grounds for the grumbles, because while General Liebenberg makes no secret of his sympathy for the part-time forces, that is not the same as having a committee member who has long, intimate and recent knowledge of them — an important matter because they make up the bulk of the Army, by far the largest of the four services, yet have seldom been consulted or headed in the past when high-level decisions about their future were made.

On making inquiries to the Ministry of Defence, I was told, that various sub-committees would be formed to inquire into various aspects and considerable use would be made of Commando and Citizen Force representatives on this level.

Thinking CCF soldiers will find this rather more promising, since they believe that the part-time forces are going into a new transitional stage.

In the past 14 years the ever-present likelihood of an operational call-up has been one of the CCF's main motivating factors when it came to training and organisation, thanks to the self-evident truth that a pint of sweat spent in prep-

ation could save a gallon of blood spilt in action.

Now that that likelihood is fading away (at least in the popular perception) and the communist threat seems to be less of a threat, old hands foresee a return to the pre-1975 days, when most troops regarded training as a bit of a joke and their employers considered it a full-time nuisance.

What kept the system functioning more than anything else was the part-time units' sense of identity and the work of their hard-core elements — factors which had pulled the CCF through periodic bouts of official neglect and/or savage cost-cutting in the 1920s, the early 1930s and the 1950s and 1960s.

Now another down-cycle appears to be approaching and the committee's main task is to devise a service system that will see us through to the year 2000. No doubt this discussion is anathema to knee-jerk anti-conscriptionists and opponents of the government and the border war. However, we must look for-

SA has talks with Botswana

Argus 26/4/89
Argus Africa News Service

GABORONE. — The Deputy Foreign Minister of South Africa, Mr Kobus Meiring, and the Botswana Foreign Minister, Dr Gaositwe Chiepe, have had talks here that are believed to have dealt, among other subjects, with the bid by the Frontline states to send a monitoring mission to Namibia.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria said only that Mr Meiring

was in Botswana for a "courtesy visit".

There was no mention on either side of reports that Dr Chiepe had planned to lead a Frontline states delegation to Namibia last Sunday to establish a permanent mission to monitor the implementation of the Resolution 435 independence process.

Dr Chiepe did not arrive in Namibia after South Africa maintained that only the UN had monitoring rights there.

THE RUSSIANS ARE COMING

NEWS 26/4/89 (221)

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE Russians are coming to Cape Town today — and so are the Cubans and the Angolans.

The Joint Committee which oversees the implementation of the tripartite agreement on peace in south-western Africa will meet in the Cape Sun hotel tomorrow and Friday and the Russians will attend as observers.

Nazdaronje!

★ This is Russian for "good health!" (It's pronounced "nars drovia")

It will be the first official Russian visit to Cape Town since the two countries broke off diplomatic relations in 1953. American observers will also be present.

The Russian group of six will be led by Mr Vyachislav Us-tinoy, a special diplomatic envoy, and the American group by Mr Chas Freeman, acting Assistant Secretary for African Affairs in the State Department.

The Russians and Americans are due to arrive this morning on a commercial flight from London.

Own aircraft

Eleven Angolans are due to arrive at D F Malan Airport from Luanda in their own aircraft at 5pm and 28 Cubans, including nine journalists, are expected at 9.30pm.

The Cuban delegation will be led by Mr Carlos Aldana Escayballe, a secretary of the central committee of the Cuban Communist Party and the Angolan delegation by Lieutenant-General Franca Ndalu, Chief of Staff of the Angolan armed forces and a Deputy Minister of Defence of Angola.

The 11-member South African negotiating team will include SADF chief General Jan-nie Geldenhuys and National Intelligence Service chief Mr Niel Barnard.

Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the UN special representative in Namibia, is also expected to attend.

Agreement

Emergency meetings of the commission were held recently at Mount Etjo in Namibia and at Ruacana on the border of Angola and Namibia to discuss the Swapo incursion into Namibia.

Agreement was reached there on Swapo's withdrawal to north of the 16th parallel in An-gola.

● The 60-hour stand-down by security forces to allow Swapo fighters a clear run to the Angola border is to be closely monitored from Cape Town, reports Bruce Cameron.

The restriction is due to start at 6pm tonight.

Instructions

The Director-General of Foreign Affairs and leader of the South African delegation, Mr Neil van Heerden, said today the main focus of the meeting — which is scheduled for two days — would be to look carefully at the implementation of agreements reached at Mount Etjo and Ruacana for the withdrawal of the Swapo forces.

Radio stations have been broadcasting instructions from Swapo commanders to their troops to withdraw during the 60-hour truce.

High on the agenda is also expected to be the timing of implementation of the various agreements and United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia.

● The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, warned last night that South Arrica's patience with Swapo insurgents had limits.

Speaking at a political activity week at the University of Potchefstroom, General Malan said South Africa was doing all in its powers to advance the peace process but it was also keeping a close watch on Swapo.

"If the insurgents do not now return to the 16th parallel in Angola we will have to consider and decide what happens ahead."

2. Letters to the Editor



SADF soldiers set off on a dusk patrol in Northern Namibia

PIC: JOHN LIEBENBERG

WAR IN PEACE

Chronicle of embattled UN plan

South
27/4-3/5/89

From MARK VERBAAN WINDHOEK. — Since the United Nations independence plan for Namibia was implemented more than three weeks ago, the South African-led security forces have been accused on numerous occasions of committing atrocities and violating the rights of civilians in the north.

One of the most serious allegations concerned the alleged "execution" of several

Swapo fighters. Last week, Washington congressmen watched a television documentary showing photographic evidence of corpses which had been shot in the head at close range.

A source in New York claimed that powder burns on the faces of the dead guerillas were clearly visible, indicating that they had been "executed" after surrendering.

The military, as well as Foreign Minister Pik Botha, strongly denied these allegations. Botha said it was Swapo's policy to kill its non-walking wounded.

Two days after Resolution

435 was implemented, 120 combatants from the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) were dead.

The violent battles which broke out at Okahenge, some 25km from the Angolan border, spread rapidly across a 500km stretch of border, as combatants poured into Namibia to assist their beleaguered comrades.

Fighting

By the time the fighting ended, almost two weeks later, nearly 200 Swapo fighters and at least 30 South African troops had been killed.

Many residents of the war-torn north consider UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari's approval for several South African units to be released from their bases to assist in the fighting, as one of the first "atrocities" committed after implementation of the settlement plan.

These units, including SWA Territory Force's notorious 101 Battalion, had in terms of Resolution 435 been confined to their bases.

Political intimidation of civilians by members of the security forces has been a common occurrence since the beginning of the

month. On April 1, several Swapo supporters in Rundu were allegedly attacked by a group of soldiers from 202 Battalion.

Other Rundu residents were attacked by soldiers for wearing Swapo T-shirts. On April 3, a group of students returning to schools in Rundu after Easter were beaten and harassed by soldiers at a roadblock near Makena, east of Rundu.

On April 5, Swapo acting president, Nathaniel Maxhulili, brought an urgent Supreme Court application against Administrator General/Louis Pienaar for the immediate exhumation of Plan corpses, which had been buried by the security forces in unmarked mass graves.

On April 9, the strict dusk-and-dawn curfew was reimposed in the north, after having been scrapped in view of the implementation of Resolution 435.

On April 12, lawyers confirmed they were taking up several cases involving security force harassment of civilians in the Oshikuku area.

Advocate Dave Smuts said complaints had been laid against members of the security forces who were threatening residents with assault if they failed to give the DTA sign.

City's autumn beauty seduces Russian visitor

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE seductive effects of the beauty of Cape Town in fine autumn weather have impressed the chief Russian delegate to the Namibian talks.

Mr Vyacheslav Ustinov, the chief Russian envoy and head of the first official Russian group to visit Cape Town in over 30 years, said it was much like San Francisco or a city on the Mediterranean.

He was driven around the city and towards Camps Bay and Clifton after his arrival yesterday and said afterwards that "it looks very nice."

"The city is clean and the beaches are beautiful."

Speaking in his five star hotel he was in his shirt-sleeves and slippers and apologised for his casual appearance.

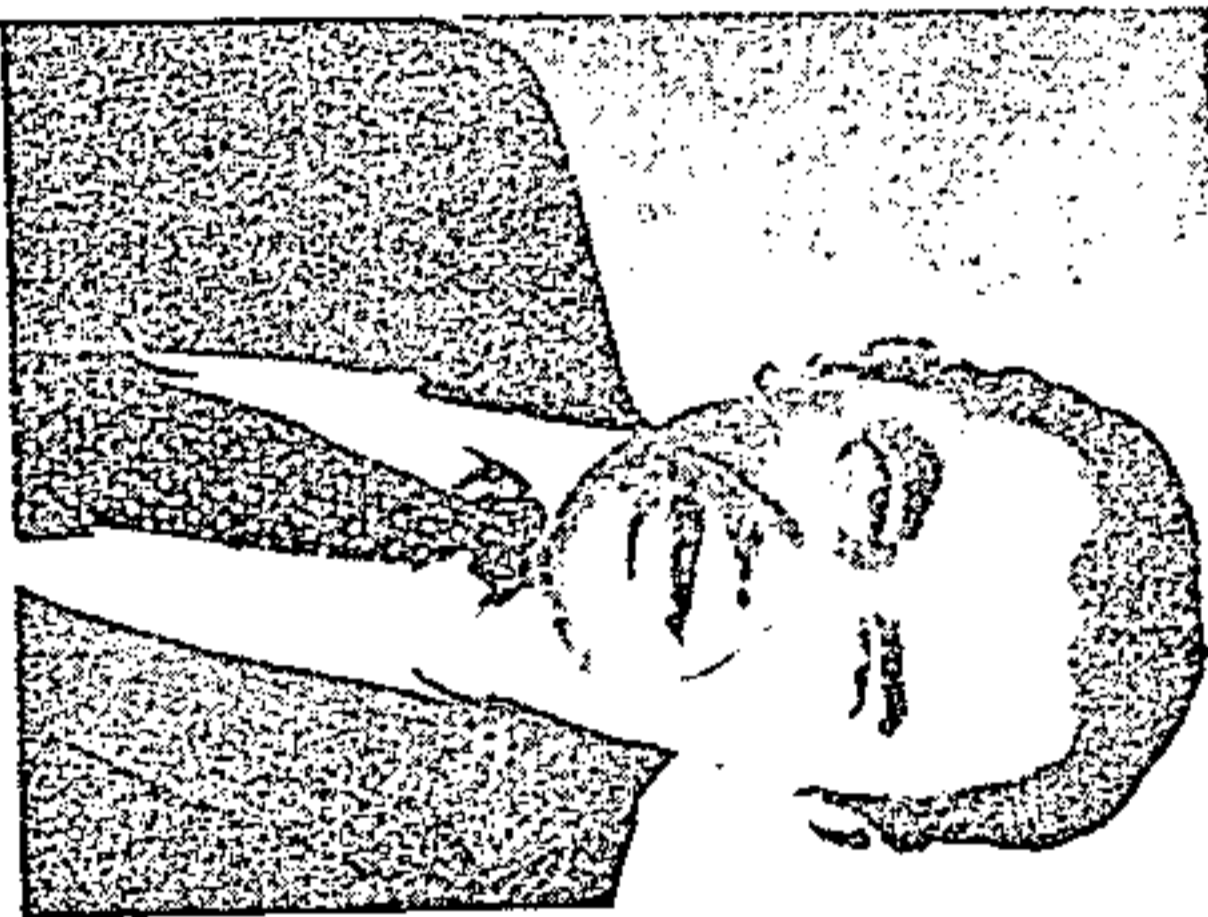
Mr Ustinov said he was afraid that he would have little time for further sight-seeing, but hoped to walk along the streets for a bit.

"In a car you cannot see enough. If I have time I will visit museums. I like museums."

Angolans and Cubans attending the talks are also curious to do some sight-seeing in and around one of the major cities of a country with which they have been at loggerheads for so long.

One of the highlights of their visit is not only entertainment at night but bus tours around the Peninsula on Saturday.

At least one Cuban was not taking a chance on the rum situation. He got off the Cuban plane which landed at D F Malan airport last night carrying a box of rum.



Mr Vyacheslav Ustinov

On this occasion customs officers in the international arrivals hall at D F Malan appeared to look the other way.

Some of the Cubans sported big cigars.

Tonight the delegates will be the guests of Mr Neil van Heerden at a wine tasting and dinner at the Bultenverwaching wine estate in Constantia. Angolan, Cuban and Russian journalists will meet their South African counterparts at another party in Constantia.

Tomorrow night the delegates will be at a grand Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha will give at his official residence, Newlands House.



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, the Argus

WELCOME: Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha opened the Joint Monitoring Commission at the Cape Sun hotel this morning. Flanking Mr Botha are Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden, left, and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan. At the end of the table is the head of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys.

'Serious' meetings Chaos at JMC's

By JOHN YELD

Staff Reporter

THERE was chaos at the opening session of the Joint Monitoring Commission's meeting in Cape Town this morning when about 100 journalists, photographers, television reporters and cameramen scrambled for a view of proceedings.

"The circus has come to town," one said as the opening remarks by Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden were drowned in the noise.

There was a minor stampede akin to a rush by football fans for cup final tickets when security men finally allowed journalists into the second floor conference room at the Cape Sun hotel where South African, Angolan and Cuban delegates were meeting under the eyes of American and Russian observers.

Earlier, reporters and photographers chased each other up and down the escalators as rumour and counter-rumours of a photo-session spread.

At one point the leader of the Angolan delegation, Deputy Minister of Defence and Chief of Staff of the Angolan defence

force, Lieutenant-General Franca Ndalu, was spotted talking quietly to Soviet special ambassador Mr Vyacheslav Ustinov on a first-floor landing.

Within seconds the two men were blinded by a score of television lights and their conversation drowned by the clicking of cameras.

Soon afterwards Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, being escorted from a lift by a harassed-looking Mr van Heerden, walked straight into a throng of journalists as security men tried to clear a path for them to the conference room.

Inside delegates were seated around a U-shaped table decorated with arrangements of orange, white and blue flowers.

Mr Botha, flanked by General Malan and Mr van Heerden, sat in the centre at the top of the table.

On their left were the Cubans, with the United States observers next to them.

At the open end of the table two translators sat in glass booths, and most of the foreign delegates listened attentively to Mr Botha's opening remarks through headphones.

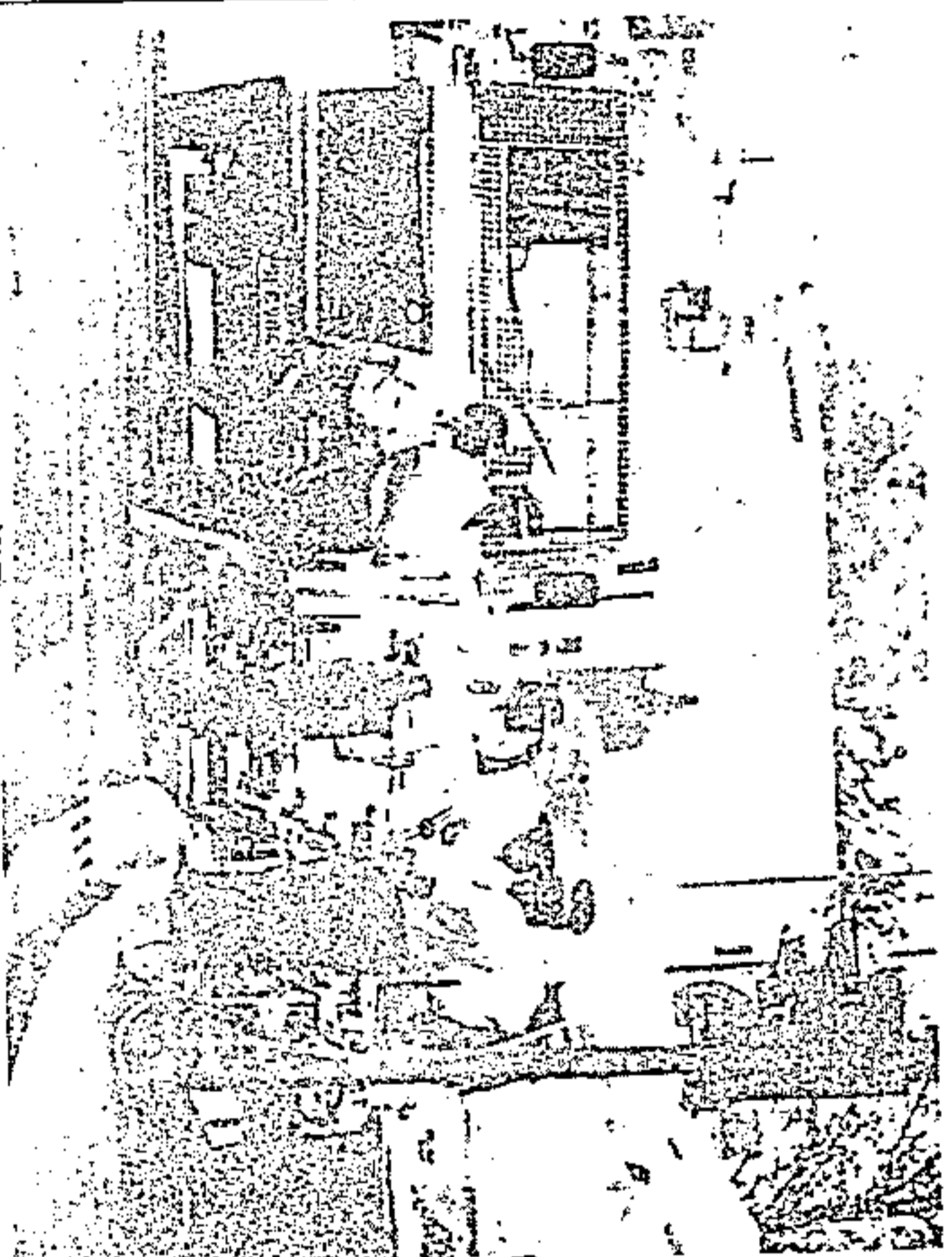
"This is the most serious of all the meetings the JMC has had so far — I do not underestimate the difficulties in your way," Mr Botha told them.

But he then joked about stealing the Angolan Deputy Minister's pen at a previous session — "I'm not going to give it back but I will replace it," he assured Lieutenant-General Ndalu.

There was a burst of indignant laughter as Mr Botha jokingly told the meeting that the Transvaal was the most important province. He then told delegates the Cape's weather was so fickle they could expect four seasons in a single day.

"I hope for spring and summer in the Namibian issue — good luck," he concluded.

It was Mr Botha's birthday today, Mr van Heerden told the meeting to a round of applause. Peace would be probably be the best present of all.



CLOSE WATCH: Security was tight in and around the Cape Sun hotel in Strand Street where five floors have been taken to accommodate delegates and officials. Police with riot vehicles were on standby outside the hotel.

metan 27/4/89

Namibia position 'stable'

OSHAKATI — The position in northern Namibia was "stable" and everyone was awaiting the outcome of the 60-hour period of grace afforded Swapo fighters, to return to Angola, said Mr Gerhard Roux, a spokesman in the office of the Administrator-General, here yesterday.

He said everyone was waiting to see how Swapo fighters would react to messages from their commanders to return to Angola.

While the dusk-to-dawn curfew was still in force, it would not be "applied as strictly" Mr Roux told a Namibia briefing. (221)

Police patrols after sundown, which encountered people moving about, would act with "compassion and understanding", said Mr Roux.

Talks to focus on Swapo withdrawal

(22)

CAPE TOWN — Swapo withdrawal from Namibia will top the agenda this morning when 50 delegates and observers from the Soviet Union, US, Cuba, Angola and SA meet here.

But final clarity on the relative success of the withdrawal operation is only likely to emerge once the 60-hour return-to-base order to security forces in the territory expires at 6am on Saturday — more than 12 hours after the Joint Commission talks are expected to end.

The delegates, who arrived yesterday, will monitor development on the Angolan border during their three days of talks. Other issues expected to be covered are

Political Staff

Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, communications problems in implementing UN resolution 435, and other outstanding problems relating to the implementation of the peace plan.

Participants indicated yesterday they wished to iron out problems that could delay the implementation timetable, and get the peace process back on track.

The head of the six-person Soviet observer group, special diplomatic envoy Vyacheslav Ustinov, made it clear his country had no intention of forging politi-

cal or diplomatic relations with Pretoria. However, he did not rule out the possibility that bilateral talks could take place.

Director-General of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden will host a dinner party tonight at which delegates will be treated to a wine-tasting ritual of the Cape's finest.

On Friday night Foreign Minister Pik Botha will entertain the foreign visitors to a traditional braai.

Meanwhile, security has been stepped up at the Cape Sun hotel and surrounding areas to help ensure the safety of delegates during their stay.

● See Pages 2 and 3

SWAPO'S FIGHTERS GO BACK

Sowetan 27/10/89

221

OSHAKATI — Thirty-four fighters of Swapo's military wing, Plan, who were captured in recent clashes with SWA police and territory force units in Namibia since April 1, were handed over to Untag in Oshakati yesterday.

Three of the guerillas accepted a general amnesty offered by South Africa and would be released immediately, said Mr Gerhard Roux, a spokesman for the office of the Administrator-General.

SWA police regional commanding officer, Gen Hans Dreyer, officially handed the remaining 31 men to Untag deputy police commissioner, Ezi Esijika from Nigeria, at a ceremony in Oshakati yesterday morning.

The 31 fighters left almost immediately for Ruacana in custody of Untag and International Red Cross officials from where they will be transported to Swapo bases north of the 16th parallel in Angola. — Sapa.

'Swapo will cut sports, diplomatic links with SA'

221
27/4/89
By Jon Qwelane,
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — A Swapo government in Namibia will have no diplomatic and sporting ties with South Africa, Mr Niko Bessinger, a member of Swapo's central committee, said here last night.

Speaking at a packed and lively meeting at the "coloured" township of Kohmasdal, Mr Bessinger said there would be no diplomatic relations between an independent Namibia and South Africa unless the situation inside South Africa was normalised.

"We will not have relations with South Africa because we have to remember our brothers and sisters there who are struggling against the South African Government's oppression," he said.

SEVERED

Mr Bessinger said all sporting ties with South Africa would be severed.

Mr Danny Tjongarero, also a member of the Swapo central committee and the organisation's national vice-chairman, said he wanted to put the record straight in view of the many allegations that Swapo had violated United

He said he had been present when the resolution was drawn up, and there was nothing in it about the 16th parallel and references to bases beyond that line.

Mr Tjongarero said: "The resolution states clearly that Swapo and the South African forces will be restricted to bases wherever they are found.

"The irony of the whole situation is that those whose birthright is as Namibians must now be confined to bases 300 km away from their country, and those who are here illegally must be in bases at Grootfontein and Oshivelo inside Namibia."

A former member of Swapo's military wing, Mr Ben Ulenga, told the gathering he had just returned from the northern district of Owambo.

He had spoken to many people "who saw the fighting" and they had told him that the shooting was started by Koevoet, the police counter-insurgency unit.

Optimism ⁽²²¹⁾ caution over ^{Star 27/4/89} Swapo pullout

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Cuban delegation to the tripartite Joint Commission meeting starting today arrived here last night convinced that Swapo would meet the Saturday 6 am deadline to clear Namibia of their insurgents.

However caution has been expressed by South African sources about Swapo's ability to pull its men out in time.

The sources were wary of assurances being given on behalf of Swapo and warned that no further major concessions could be expected from South Africa.

There was also a discernible uneasiness between the South Africa hosts to the JC meeting and the Soviet delegation.

Last night in an interview Soviet ambassador-at-large Mr Vyacheslav Ustinov said the Soviet Union was concerned that the 60-hour period for Swapo to withdraw might be too short.

CONCERN

He also intended establishing whether the Soviet Union had in fact been party to last Thursday's Ruacana agreement setting the 60-hour deadline truce to enable Swapo to withdraw.

A senior SA source expressed concern that the Soviets were taking the side of Swapo.

Mr Ustinov confirmed he held discussions with Foreign Affairs Director-General Mr Neil van Heerden shortly after his arrival yesterday.

Leader of the Cuban delegation Mr Carlos Aldana said at a brief press conference on arrival that he was "absolutely certain" that the peace accords would get back on track.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha will open the meeting at 10 am today in the Cape Sun hotel.

Guerillas have 60 hours to leave Namibia

SA frees Swapo men as truce starts

By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa News Service
OSHAKATI — Promising reconciliation and peace, South Africa yesterday freed 35 captured Swapo insurgents only hours before what Pretoria's officials have described as a "final-offer" peace proposal took effect in northern Namibia.

Four of the fighters accepted a South African offer of amnesty to remain in Namibia and return to their families. The other 31 elected to be handed over to the UN for transfer back to Angola, where they will be restricted to bases north of the 16th parallel.

At 6 pm yesterday — an hour before the autumn darkness settled over the dusty white bush and farmland of Owambo — SADF units and the counter-insurgency fighters of the SWA Police were back at their bases.

For the next 60 hours they will remain there, until 6 am on Saturday, to allow those Swapo insurgents still in Namibia to make their way to Angola.

Mr Gerhard Roux, spokesman for Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar, said the Swapo

insurgents would not be "harassed or obstructed" in their efforts to leave Namibia.

Though a curfew would still be in force during the 60-hour period, police would not enforce it strictly and those found moving at night would be treated with "compassion and understanding", Mr Roux said.

At a presentation of the captured Swapo members to the media in Oshakati, the director of the office of the Administrator-General, Mr Kobus Bauermeester, presented the four fighters who accepted amnesty with certificates.

CONVOY

The remaining 31 were then taken to a convoy of UN vehicles for transport to the Beacon One assembly point near Ruacana before transferring to bases north of the 16th parallel.

Mr Roux said later at a press conference that the situation in northern Namibia was "stable". Police patrols sent to search areas of conflict had recovered a further 13 bodies of Swapo insurgents, bringing the organisation's losses since April 1 to 305 dead.

One insurgent, Mr Albert Nakawa, a 25-year-old with a goatee beard belying his youthful eyes, said he and his colleagues had crossed the border on or after April 1, the day on which a ceasefire between South Africa and Swapo officially came into effect.

Although they were armed, they intended to hand themselves and their weapons over to the UN, he said. He was adamant the insurgents had no hostile intentions.

He was captured on April 3, after a fierce battle in which the South Africans used helicopter gunships to decimate his group.

Mr Nakawa, when asked how he was treated after his capture, replied: "They beat me."

● Jon Qwelane reports from Windhoek that a delegation of representatives of the Frontline states is expected to arrive in Namibia at the weekend to set up an observer mission.

Last weekend officials representing Frontline states failed to arrive as expected in Windhoek, where hundreds of Swapo supporters waited all day to welcome them.

SA-led forces pull back to Namibian bases

Swapo fighters released in a goodwill gesture

221
B/D am 27/4/87

OSHAKATI — SA-led forces in northern Namibia pulled back into their bases at dusk last night after freeing 34 captured Swapo guerrillas as another inducement to the movement to withdraw and end a delicate stalemate.

Military units and counter-insurgency police called off bush patrols and began an agreed 60-hour confinement to base from 6pm to allow Swapo fighters safe passage across the northern border into Angola.

Recorded instructions by Swapo guerrilla leaders to their fighters to return were continued as radio broadcasts and amplified messages from helicopters and trucks.

To keep the peace in place, Swapo commanders must convince Namibia's Administrator-General Louis Pienaar by sunrise on Saturday — probably through UN go-betweens — that the 500 guerrillas hiding out in the territory had relocated behind the 16th parallel in southern Angola.

Government officials declined to speculate on political or military action if Swapo failed to use the grace period to end the incursions that began on April 1, seriously knocking the UN-run independence plan off course.

Untag deputy chief Cedric Thornberry said in Windhoek: "There can be no doubt that we have come to a precarious point in an unexpected month."

KEVIN JACOBS

In a gesture officials said was humanitarian, Pienaar freed the 34 guerrillas captured in skirmishes with security forces, ending uncertainty and concern for their future.

Diplomats and church workers said the release was a surprise, as officials had hinted some of the captives might have been charged with criminal acts.

Three of the prisoners had accepted amnesty offers and were freed unconditionally.



● PIENAAR

The remaining 31 were handed over to Irish and Dutch police assigned to Untag, and were driven in a UN convoy to Ruacana for passage back to Angola.

Under the independence programme, they may return later as unarmed civilians and take part in a scheduled November election for a constituent assembly.

Kobus Bauermeister, chief executive in Pienaar's office, said: "The Administrator-General has taken this step in order to promote the process of peace and reconciliation in Namibia."

"He believes it will contribute to the smooth implementation of resolution 435."

Government spokesman Gerhard Roux said officials and military commanders hoped Swapo would heed come-home instructions from their leaders.

He said: "We are all optimistic, and after what we have witnessed here we are even more optimistic, because the goodwill is there."

"The people of Owambo are praying that this 60-hour period will finally bring to an end this tragic period we have witnessed since April 1."

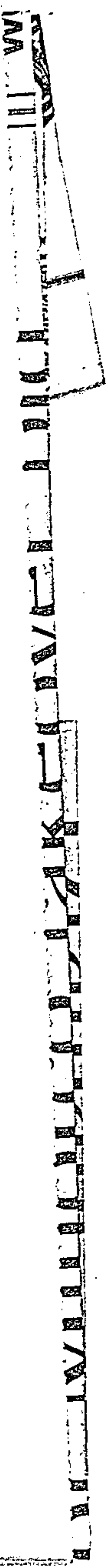
Bauermeister presented signed amnesty certificates to the three Swapo members.

Regional police commissioner Hans Dreyer formally handed the remaining captives to Untag deputy police commissioner Ezi Efijika of Nigeria.

Efijika said 30 of the 31 who opted to return to Angola would be driven in an Untag convoy to the Beacon One frontier crossing at Ruacana, from where they would be ferried to holding points behind the 16th parallel, in line with the Mt Etjo and subsequent Ruacana agreements with Angola.

Swiss officials said a wounded man — brought out on a stretcher — would be returned to hospital in Oshakati for more treatment before he was taken to Angola.

Roux said police teams sweeping the sites of earlier clashes found more bodies of Swapo fighters, taking the movement's losses to 305.



day, April 27, 1989

SA forces confined to bases

CR6 Times 27/4/89 221

Own Correspondent

OSHAKATI. — South African-led forces in northern Namibia pulled back into bases at dusk last night after freeing 34 captured Swapo guerillas as a further inducement to the movement to withdraw from the territory.

Military units and counter-insurgency police called off bush patrols and began an agreed 60-hour confinement to base from 6pm to allow Swapo fighters unchecked passage across the northern border into Angola.

The Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, yesterday said the counter-insurgency elements of Swapo, Koevoet, were part of the

60-hour confinement-to-base agreement.

Recorded instructions by Swapo guerilla leaders to their fighters to return were continued in radio broadcasts and amplified messages from helicopters and trucks.

To keep the peace in place, Swapo commanders must convince Namibia's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, by sunrise on Saturday — probably through United Nations go-betweens — that an estimated 500 guerillas hiding out in the territory have relocated behind the 16th parallel in southern Angola.

In a gesture which officials said was humanitarian, Mr Pienaar yesterday freed 34 guerillas captured in skirmishes with security forces since

April 1, ending uncertainty and concern for their future.

Diplomats and church workers said the release was a surprise, as officials had hinted that at least some of the captives may have been charged with criminal acts.

Three of the prisoners presented at a news conference in Ovambo's garrison capital, had accepted amnesty offers and were freed unconditional-

ly. The remaining 31 who declined amnesty, were handed over to Irish and Dutch police assigned to Untag, and were driven in a UN convoy to Ruana for further passage back to Angola.

Under the independence pro-

gramme, they may return later as unarmed civilians and participate in a scheduled November election for a constituent assembly.

"The Administrator-General has taken this step in order to promote the process of peace and reconciliation in SWA/Namibia," Mr Kobus Bauermeisters, chief executive in Mr Pienaar's office, told reporters, International Red Cross officials and Untag police officers at an outdoor ceremony in Oshakati.

Government spokesman Mr Gerhard Roux said police teams sweeping the sites of earlier clashes found more bodies of Swapo fighters, taking the guerilla movement's losses after the April 1 insurgency to 305.

CAPE TIMES

27/4/89

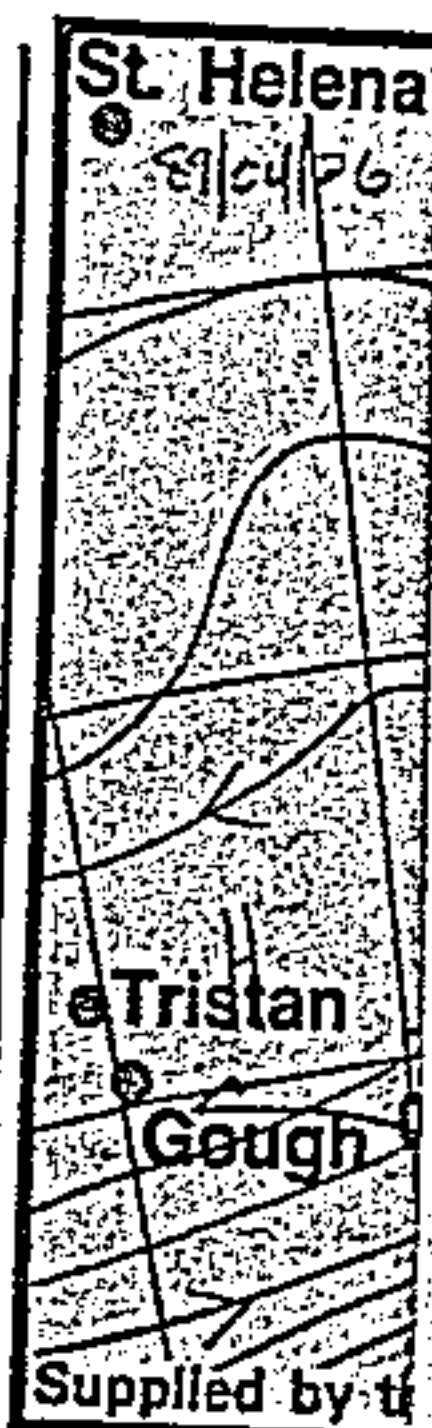
Swapo-SA indaba was held in ^(22/) Namibia

WINDHOEK. — High-ranking Swapo office-bearers met South African officials on Namibian soil last Tuesday for preparatory talks to return Swapo guerillas to Angola, the Namibian newspaper reported yesterday.

The meeting was followed two days later at Ruacana by an extraordinary session of the Joint Commission of South Africa, Cuba and Angola in which details were formulated for the restriction to bases of Namibian security forces to allow Swapo fighters a safe passage to Angola.

A South African Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed to Sapa that a meeting took place last Tuesday between Swapo officials and a delegation headed by a representative of the Administrator-General's office, Mr Carl von Hirschberg.

According to the Namibian report, the Swapo delegation was led by the organisation's Secretary of Education, Mr Nahas Angula, assisted by two members of Swapo's military council, Mr Erastus Nagongo and Mr Andrew Itamba. — Sapa



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CAPE PENINSULA

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Soviets tour before talks

By CHRIS BATEMAN and ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE withdrawal of Swapo forces from Namibia will top the agenda this morning when 50 delegates and observers from the Soviet Union, US, Cuba, Angola and South Africa meet for Joint Monitoring Commission talks in Cape Town.

Amid unprecedented security around the city's Cape Sun hotel yesterday, the Soviet Union's top roving ambassador, Mr Viacheslav A Ustinov, expressed hope for "an end to the bloodshed and the implementation of resolution 435 with all its consequences".

His arrival in Cape Town marks the first official visit to South Africa by a Soviet diplomat since relations between the two countries were broken in 1956.

The ambassador, who yesterday enjoyed three hours of drives and walks around Clifton, Camps Bay and Cape Town, said he was

the first of six Russians due in the city.

Mr Ustinov, a former under-secretary-general of the UN and 30-year veteran of African affairs, was a Soviet ambassador to Tanzania for four years before leading the (now defunct) "third African department dealing with East and Southern Africa" for nine years.

He is to be joined by Mr V Lebedev, secretary-general of the delegation; Mr V Berezovsky, whom he described only as "a delegate"; Mr V Baranova, a military advisor and two diplomat translators.

Mr Chas Freeman, acting assistant secretary for African Affairs in the US State Department and head of the American delegation, was found window-shopping in the Golden Acre Mall yesterday afternoon and reluctantly but good-naturedly agreed to pose a photograph.

Asked about the confinement of SA troops to bases, Mr Freeman said it was high on today's agenda, but declined to comment further.

The two top envoys were among scores of Cubans, Angolans and Americans to arrive in the city for the JMC talks yesterday.

Other issues expected to be covered during the 10 hours of deliberations at the Cape Sun include Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, communications problems attendant on the implementation of UN Resolution 435, and other peace plan problems still outstanding.

The foreigners are all staying at the central hotel, where they are occupying four floors. The Department of Foreign Affairs and security police staff are occupying another entire floor consisting of 18 rooms. Accommodation

To page 2



HISTORIC VISIT ... Mr Viacheslav A Ustinov of the Soviet Union, left, with the head of the US delegation, Mr Chas Freeman, and Mr Neil van Heerden in Cape Town yesterday. Picture: ERIC MILLER

City talks the most serious so far, says Pik

By TOS WENTZEL and BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

THE meeting of the Joint Monitoring Commission on the Namibian peace plan opened in Cape Town today with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, describing it as the most serious meeting so far.

He was addressing the South African, Angolan and Cuban delegations and observers from the Soviet Union and the United States at the Cape Sun Hotel.

PEACEFUL SOLUTION

He said the meeting was taking place within the 60 hours which Swapo had been given to withdraw to Angola while South African forces and Namibian police units were confined to their bases.

All South African people would like to have a peaceful solution and all those at the talks shared this objective, Mr Botha said.

After his introductory remarks Mr Botha, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and the Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Kobus Meiring, left the meeting.

The United States Ambassador, Mr Ed Perkins, joined the American group of observers.

In an interview before the talks started Mr Botha, who celebrates his 57th birthday today, said there was a problem because when a party had violated an agreement once it could always do it again.

"Swapo simply has to be made to understand this cannot be tolerated," he said.

The South African delegation is approaching the situation cautiously but is prepared to be flexible. If it would help to get UN Resolution 435 back on track, South Africa would be willing to extend the 60-hour period.

In an interview last night Soviet envoy Mr Vyacheslav Ustinov said

his country was concerned that the 60-hour truce period was too short.

Mr Ustinov, who also expressed concern about the high number of Swapo fighters killed compared to the low number wounded, confirmed that he had held discussions with Mr Neil van Heerden, director-general of foreign affairs, soon after his arrival.

United Nations special representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, was expected in Cape Town today to report on the situation in the territory.

He may raise the objections of some UN members to what has been described as harassment of

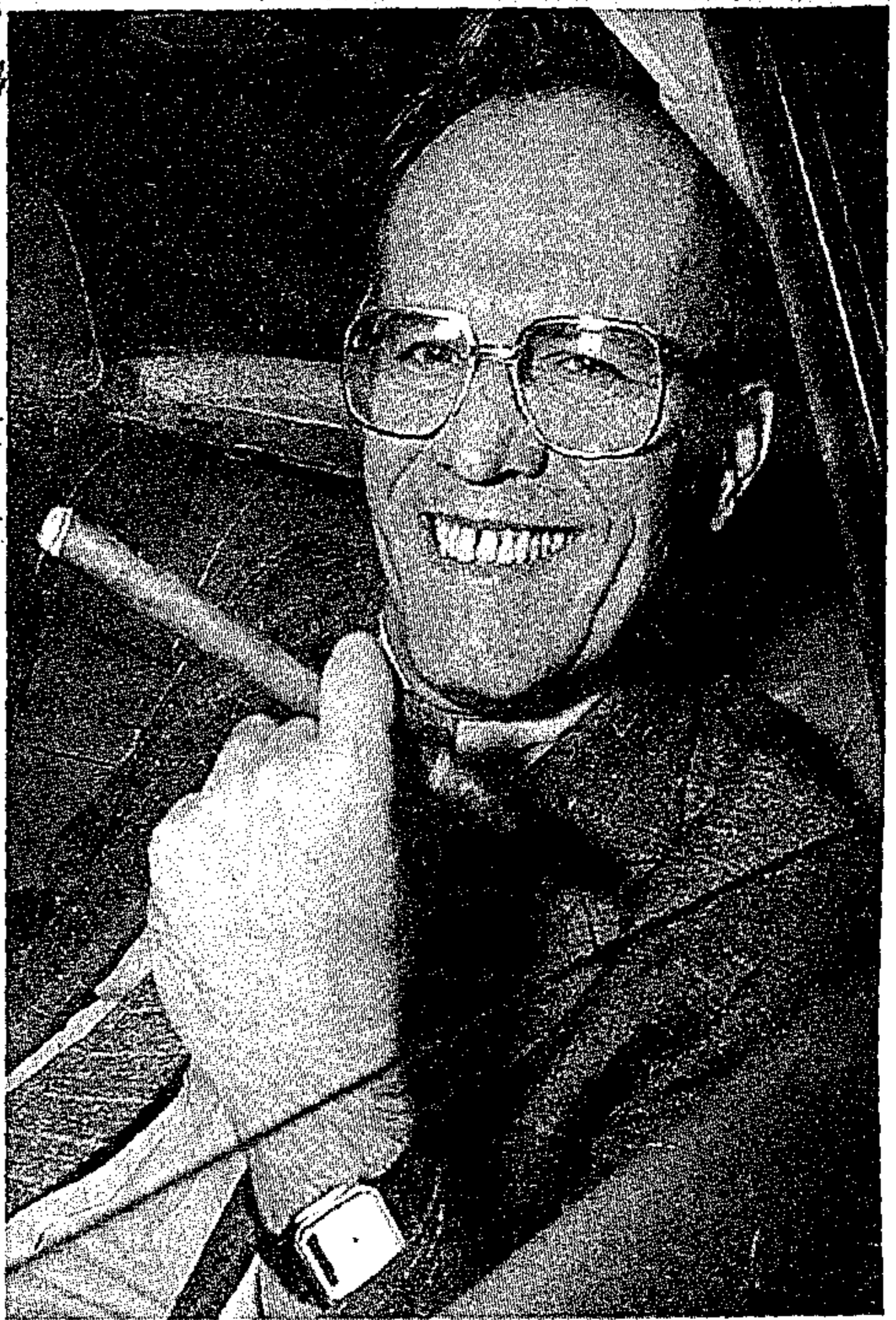
Swapo elements by South African security forces.

The Cuban delegation appeared convinced that Swapo would meet the 6am Saturday deadline and that the peace plan could get fully back on track.

This was stated by Mr Carlos Aldana, leader of the Cuban delegation, when he arrived at D F Malan Airport last night.

He said he was "absolutely certain" that the peace accord would get back on track.

He was also optimistic that no changes would have to be made to the scheduling of Cuban troop withdrawals.



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus

CUBA'S FINEST: Tantalising cigar-lovers at D F Malan airport last night with a whiff of his genuine Havana was a member of the Cuban delegation, Mr Ricardo Alarcon, Vice-Minister for External Relations and an alternate member of Cuba's central committee. More pictures, page 6.

35 Swapo freed in 'final offer'

From **BRENDAN SEERY**
Argus Africa News
Service
in Oshakati

PPROMISING reconciliation and peace, South Africa yesterday freed 35 captured Swapo guerrillas only hours before the "final offer" peace proposal took effect in war-torn northern Namibia.

Four of the fighters accepted a South African offer of amnesty to remain in Namibia and return to their families, while the remaining 31 elected to be handed over to the United Nations for transfer back to Angola, where they will be restricted, with their comrades, to bases north of the 16 degrees south.

At 6 pm yesterday — an hour before the autumn darkness settled over the dusty white bush and farmland of Owambo — SADF units and the feared counter-insurgency fighters of the SWA Police were back at their bases. For the next 60 hours, they will remain there, until 6 am on Saturday, to allow those Swapo fighters still at large inside Namibia to make their way over the border to Angola.

Mr Garhard Roux, official spokesman for South African Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar, said the Swapo insurgents would not be "harassed or obstructed" in their efforts to leave the country during the period of grace.

Mr Roux said South Africa was hopeful that the latest peace proposal would bring an end to this tragic episode.

Although the curfew would still be in force during the 60-hour period, it would not be strictly observed by the police as they had done in the past, and those people found moving at night would be treated with "compassion and understanding."

At the presentation of the captured Swapo members to the medai in Oshakati, the director of the office of the administrator-general, Mr Kobus Bauermeister, said the release of the 35 captured men was a "humanitarian gesture" by Mr Pienaar, and was aimed at promoting a "process of peace"

Four of the fighters who accepted amnesty and will remain inside Namibia, were presented with their amnesty certificates by Mr Bauermeister. The Regional Commissioner of the SWA Police, General Hans Dreyer, handed over the remaining captives to the deputy commissioner of the UN police monitoring group, Colonel Ezi Ifijika of Nigeria.

The 31 who elected to go back to Angola were called to stand. They moved quietly away when called by UN police monitors from Ireland, Sweden and the Netherlands and sat, in some awe, in the convoy of Land Rovers as the journalists descended.

Albert Nakawa, a 25-year-old with a goatee beard belying his youthful eyes, said he and his colleagues had crossed the border on or after April 1, the day on which a ceasefire between South Africa and Swapo officially came into effect. Although they were armed, he said they intended to hand themselves and their weapons over to the UN.

He was captured on April 3, after a fierce battle in which the South Africans used helicopter gunships to decimate his group.

Mr Roux said at a press conference after the handing over ceremonies that the current situation in northern Namibia was "stable". Police patrols sent to search areas of previous contact had recovered a further 13 bodies of Swapo insurgents, bringing the organisation's losses since the start of the incursion to 305 dead.

NAMIBIA

13 Swapo bodies recovered

*Cape Times
22/4/89*

221

OSHAKATI. — Security forces in northern Namibia recovered 13 more bodies of Swapo insurgents who died in clashes with combined SWA police and army units since April 1, a spokesman for the Administrator-General's office, Mr Gerhard Roux, said here yesterday.

This brought to 305 the number of infiltrators killed in the battles.

At least 27 members of the security forces died in the action, while 35 guerillas were captured.

Meanwhile, 34 captured Swapo guerillas were freed yesterday as a further inducement to the movement to withdraw from the territory.

A captured Swapo guerilla, Mr Levy Silvanus, 23, described yesterday how he entered Namibia from Angola on April 1 in a 60-strong group of Plan members and was attacked by security forces about 50km south of the border. Four Swapo fighters died. He escaped but was captured wearing civilian clothes on April 19.

Mr Silvanus is one of four captives who has accepted an offer of amnesty by South Africa.

● SA forces confined to bases,
page 2

Nujoma will 'hold back on socialism'

1864) 27/4/89 (221)

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Swapo leader Sam Nujoma has told a London business conference that Namibia will have a mixed economy if his organisation forms the new government.

In a speech read on his behalf at the conference, he said Swapo "acknowledges the superiority of the Socialist system," but in the immediate future would opt for a mixed economy.

"A significant role for the private sector is envisaged," he added.

"No wholesale nationalisation of the mines, ranches or other productive sectors is planned in the foreseeable future.

"In instances where exigencies of the economy necessitate State acquisition of private property, fair and adequate compensation will be paid."

Mr Nujoma criticised what he called "widespread irregularities and abuses in the mining industry," including over-mining and transfer pricing. Under a Swapo government international corporations "will have to enter into new deals ... setting strict codes of conduct."

Expropriation

He spoke of "a new tax regime to tap part of the mineral surplus for investment in other sectors of the economy, particularly agriculture."

On agriculture, he said Swapo would consider the expropriation of "some land, particularly the unused land, to meet the land hunger of the indigenous population." Swapo had been holding meetings with a cross-section of the Namibian business community, he said.

But in Windhoek, Swapo Central Committee member Nick Bessinger warned that there would be no diplomatic links

Speaking at a packed and lively meeting at the township of Kohmasdal, Mr Bessinger said: "We will not have relations with South Africa because we have to remember our brothers and sisters there who are struggling against the South African government's oppression."

Religion

Mr Bessinger said all sporting ties with South Africa would be severed.

The movement's leaders also told the meeting that contrary to "South African propaganda" Swapo was not an atheistic organisation and there would be full freedom of religion in Namibia after independence.

The meeting passed a motion of full confidence in Swapo.

● A delegation of representatives of the frontline states is expected to arrive in Namibia at the weekend to set up an observer mission in the country, a United Nations spokesman said yesterday.

● See Page 27.

Copter crashes — trainee pilot, instructor unhurt

Staff Reporter

A HELICOPTER has crashed in the Jonkersberg mountains near George but the trainee pilot and his instructor were not injured.

Mr Wim Clasquin saw the helicopter crash in a virtually inaccessible part of the mountains near his farm yesterday afternoon.

Trainee Mr Mike Thorn of The Fairways, Pinelands, and instructor Mr William Rookens-Smith of Hill Street, Mossel Bay, were rescued by a Soekor helicopter after Mr Clasquin telephoned P W Botha airport, George.

Both men were taken to Mossel Bay



RED: Christine Keeler, left, and ... at a New York nightclub during the premiere of the film ... starring Fonda, is based on the ... involving Miss Keeler and the ... Minister John Profumo.



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Crocker cautions SA not to overplay its hand

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From STANLEY UYS
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The peace settlement in Namibia got off to a "rough start" on April 1 due to Swapo's "foolishness", but he hoped South Africa would not take its cue from this and overplay its hand now, said Dr Chester Crocker when he addressed the South Africa Club at its annual banquet here last night.

The stakes were too high. It was essential that the settlement should remain on track.

The chairman of the SA Club, Sir John Killick (former British ambassador to Moscow), asked whether Untag would have been able to avert the Swapo incursions if it had been present in northern Namibia in full strength.

Dr Crocker (who retired last week as US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs) said that if Untag had been present and

had used force against Swapo, that would have been an "unmitigated disaster".

Referring to the "mutual flirtation" between Pretoria and Moscow, Dr Crocker said it was like a young couple on their first date, with the girl saying "I give you 30 minutes to take your hand off my knee".

The Soviet Union wanted direct access to Pretoria's thinking. It no longer wanted to rely on the Front Line states and the ANC for its information.

The contacts between Pretoria and Moscow were a signal that South Africa now had wider options. Pretoria hoped not only that the dialogue with Moscow would give it greater leverage over the Front Lines states, but also that it would be able to "demystify" Moscow for its own purposes — to give it more room in which to manoeuvre internally.

Illegal incursion was inexcusable — whatever the verdict on 'atrocities'

Swapo gambling with independence?

It now seems safe to say that the recent outbreak of fighting in northern Namibia was a close shave rather than a disaster for the territory's independence hopes.

But it seems to have been a closer shave than most people realise.

The best indication of how close it was came from the United Nations special representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari. He has been accused of buckling under South Africa pressure in agreeing to the reactivation of the security force units to counter the mass infiltration of Swapo combatants.

Swapo, which once made him out to be something of an heroic ally, tried to make him a scapegoat for its sins in sending its forces across the border in disregard of the Geneva protocol.

But Mr Ahtisaari has said he believed that if he had not agreed to the reactivation of security forces, the South Africans would have gone

Though Swapo's armed incursion into Owambo once appeared to threaten Namibia's independence, it now seems likely there will be no losers — other than the dead. But Swapo's motives still appear as shabby as ever, **GERALD L'ANGE** reports.

ahead anyway. And they would have used greater force, there would have been greater loss of life and a greater threat to the independence process that is being implemented under Security Council resolution 435.

He is almost certainly right. Although Pretoria seems clearly committed to extricating itself from Namibia, it would have been politically impossible for it to allow Swapo's heavily armed infiltrators to remain in Owambo.

20 years for nothing

This would have negated everything Pretoria has been sending men to fight and die for in Namibia for more than 20 years and would have brought an outcry from right-wingers in South Africa.

Knowing it would have to suffer the international condemnation that would have been provoked by a unilateral response to the infiltration, Pretoria could well have decided it might as well be hanged for a sheep as for a lamb and sent more powerful forces against the Swapo insurgents, killing more of them.

The resulting political upheaval would have done severe, though possibly not fatal, damage to the tender shoots of the 1988 New York agreement.

As it is, the Swapo adventure, barring further unpleasant surprises, will probably go down in the historical record as just a wobble in the runup to independence.

In this respect it would match the "no-losers-all-winners" formula through which the New York settlement was reached.

Although it was widely blamed internationally for the incursion, Swapo will almost certainly benefit by boosting its status among the voters in Namibia who are due to go to the polls in the independence election in November.

South Africa may also come out of the episode without loss either.

But for a while, allegations of atrocities and executions of prisoners by the security forces looked as though they might rob Pretoria of much of the international respect it had won from its immaculate behaviour up to that point.

The international community may be withholding its verdict until an inquiry into allegations of misconduct is complete, but nobody, especially the United States and the Soviet Union, is going to allow Namibia's independence to be jeopardised by

yet another stain on Pretoria's already bespattered reputation.

Which casts even more suspicion on Swapo's motives.

There is a strong feeling in informed quarters that the move was taken by the commanders of Swapo's armed force, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) without the knowledge of more level-headed political leaders in the organisation.

But even if they were not involved in the decision to launch the operation, Swapo's political leaders have been defending it vigorously — and in terms of extreme sophism.

Several possible motives could have influenced whoever was responsible for the incursion but none of them confer any credit, for it never was likely to result in much more than mayhem.

It will be left to history to decide whether that was the price the Swapo leaders were prepared to pay for the relatively small political advantage gained from the incursion.



Sam Nujoma ... did he know of the incursion before his men moved in?

... from Swapo's government's scapegoat.

Swapo says 1 300 men have left Namibia

LUSAKA — More than 1 300 Swapo guerillas had pulled back to Angola under the new Namibian peace accord, Swapo said yesterday.

A Swapo spokesman said 237 fighters passed through the southern Angolan town of Cahama on Wednesday on their way to bases above the 16th parallel, 150 km north of the border.

"This brings to a total of 1 337 the number of Swapo fighters who have redeployed to Angola," the spokesman was quoted as saying by the Swapo news agency, Nampa, in a report from its Luanda headquarters.

They are pulling back under an agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba to halt fighting between Swapo and South African/SWA forces.

Swapo did not say how many guerillas were still in Namibia but said the rest would withdraw soon if they were not hindered by South African forces.

A spokesman for the Administrator-General's office, Mr Gerhard Roux, said in Windhoek last night that the first 24 hours of the Namibian security forces' confinement to bases, which began at 6 pm on Wednesday, passed without incident.

DISCUSSED

Mr Roux said the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, and UN Special Representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, yesterday discussed an incident at Ongwediva mission station in northern Namibia where Swapo insurgents reportedly addressed a political meeting.

Mr Pienaar had expressed concern that the 31 Swapo fighters handed over to the UN on Wednesday had not been taken immediately across the border. But South Africa accepted a UN explanation that Angolan authorities had not been sufficiently prepared to receive the fighters.

Mr Roux said 28 of the 31 fighters eventually crossed into Angola at 12 noon yesterday and were received by Angolan and UN officials.

UN Under-Secretary-General Mr Marrack Goulding said earlier about 4 000 Swapo personnel had moved north of the 16th parallel. — Reuter.

STAR

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Mrs Marianne Vollgraaff . . . "Maybe the Kenyans will come to see how matters really are in this country."



Mariental Hotel regulars James Hayes (left) and Zippie Fourie. Mr Hayes is taken with the boots that the Kenyan members of Untag wear.

The place where ^{545 2-814/189} ~~any~~ ²²¹ black but the cleaner would venture in at his peril

JOHN RYAN of the Argus Africa News Service was in Mariental and discovered that the soon-to-arrive Untag forces could be in for a few surprises in a town that grows its white sons big.

Mariental's public bars are a hundred metres and two worlds apart.

One, at the Sandberg Hotel, is at first glance an astonishing manifestation of multiracialism in a southern Namibian town with a reputation for dogged white exclusivity. Namas, Ovambos, Damaras, Hereros and coloureds cram the benches to savour whatever the TV might offer this night, sipping beer, wine and cool drinks. Though their rate of expenditure must be galling for the management, it's an animated show of mixed enjoyment.

Then you notice that the bar is devoid of any whites except for yourself and the manageress.

The other bar, the only outlet at the Mariental Hotel with a counter, is unwaveringly unracial. Any black but the cleaner would venture in at his peril.

Mariental grows its white sons big, and usually bigoted. They tower above the pool tables in the bar-room like a training camp of tight forwards at leisure; karakul farmers, railway workers, policemen, artisans, slapping backs as the pool balls fall.

TECHNICALLY BREAKING THE LAW

Politics is spoken in the Mariental Hotel only in terms of absolute accord. Those who disagree with the consensus swallow their words.

The licensee's decision not to allow blacks into the hotel — "because they can't behave themselves" — would undoubtedly meet with the general approval of his clientele. Technically, however, he is breaking the law. Namibia is supposed to be integrated.

Into this situation of extremes in the inhospitable climate around Mariental, several hundred Kenyans are soon to be injected as part of the UN Transition Assistance Group. How will the town accept them?

White residents you speak to (outside the Mariental Hotel) are surprisingly sanguine that black troops should have been chosen to monitor their part of the peace process.

"They won't cause any problems here," says supermarket owner Johan de Lange. "Whether they're Kenyans or whites doesn't matter. They'll be treated the same as other people who come through Mariental, like the tourists. Unless they start to interfere on one side or another. Then there'll be resentment."

Marinne Vollgraaff, another store-owner, agrees. "I think it will be a good thing," she says. "Maybe the Kenyans will come to see how matters really are in this country, that we white people here are not as bad as we've been painted."

James Faves, an SWA-administrator,

house. Having met them, Mrs Donabidovicz doesn't expect any racial incidents. "They're gentlemen and why, anyway, should the local whites be bothered?" she asks. "They've got their own blacks to hate."

But she believes problems for the Kenyans could come from Swapo. She was tending bar in the Sandberg earlier this month when an argument erupted between members of the advance party of Kenyans and local Swapo supporters.

FORESEES NO TROUBLE

"The Swapo people were telling the officers that Untag was unwelcome in Namibia. They said Swapo could control the country without outsiders. I had to intervene. I warned the Kenyans in Swahili that there could be trouble and asked them to leave."

Major Hillary Kioko heads the Kenyan advance group. He is non-committal about the prospect of clashes between his men and Swapo, but foresees no trouble with white Marientalers in bars. "We will not go anywhere we are not wanted," the major says.

Plainly, where the Kenyans are not wanted is the Mariental Hotel. Licensee Dirk Redelinghuys is adamant they will not be allowed in — because, he says, some of the advance party were there once "and were drunk and a nuisance".

A contradictory claim, since Mr Redelinghuys admits he brooks no blacks of any kind in his hotel.

Yet there is every chance that, between now and November, Kenyan troops will come to town and, unwittingly, seek a beer in the wrong bar.

Back in that bar, Kenny Rogers is on the sound system, advising a friend's son to turn the other cheek. "You don't have to fight to be a man," he tells him.

The locals sing along, but whether they absorb the philosophy is another thing.



Hotelier Mrs Stella Donabidovicz thinks there might be trouble from a surprising quarter.

Mariental Hotel regular, ran into an advance guard of four officers when they first came down from Windhoek to do a recce on billeting conditions. "I'll tell you," he confides, "those chaps are bloody smart. See their boots, up to here." (He indicates calf-length.) "And black. I wouldn't mind a pair of boots like that." The Kenyan officers stayed at Stella Donabidovicz's hotel, the Sandberg. Now they're in a rented

(221)
www.mc
28/4-4/5/89.

'Executions' confirmed by expert - claim

By SHAUN JOHNSON

CLAIMS that Namibian security forces effectively executed captured Swapo guerrillas have been backed by a senior American forensic ballistics expert, alleges the Washington-based group South Africa Now.

Responding to South African Defence Minister Magnus Malan's rejection of the claims this week, the group says an investigation by a New York City Police Department ballistics specialist confirmed "clear evidence of execution-style killings".

South Africa Now quoted ballistics expert Joseph W Quirk as saying: "Whether (the guerrillas) were kneeling or sitting, evidently they were stationary and they were executed from behind. There are no frontal body wounds below the neck."

Quirk's evidence is sure to be challenged by South Africa, however, as he studied blown-up versions of previously unpublished photographs, rather than having access to the corpses of exhumed guerrillas.

Nevertheless the allegation that guerrillas were shot at close range with small-calibre weapons has created an international storm, which still threatens to reverse the diplomatic gains made by Pretoria since April 1.

Malan told the South African parliament that the allegation was "vicious and slanderous propaganda ... the work of those who make a habit of blaming South Africa ... whose professional job is to discredit South Africa".

The claims, which first received attention in the conservative British *Sunday Telegraph*, and then featured in a television documentary produced by South Africa Now, will be repeated in a new documentary next week.

The testimony of the ballistics expert will be central, and could breathe new life into a controversy Pretoria would rather go away.

It is understood that lawyers in Windhoek, briefed by Swapo, are still attempting to have the bodies of all the dead guerrillas exhumed.

Children cheer Swapo guerrillas

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — South African and United Nations administrators yesterday settled a row over accusations that the peacekeepers favoured Swapo as freed guerrilla captives who triggered the argument crossed into Angola with UN chaperones; cheered by some 3 500 black schoolchildren.

The pupils marched for 10km behind UN vehicles driving the guerrillas to the border, watched over by UN police monitors.

Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar charged that the UN had violated impartially undertakings by allowing the guerrillas in their custody to delay their return to Angola and attend a gathering at a human-rights centre.

The row was smoothed over after talks between Mr Pienaar and UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari. Mr Marrack Goulding, a senior UN official, said 32 UN

'4 000 Swapo move north'

WINDHOEK — About 4 000 Swapo personnel had moved north to the 16th parallel in Angola, UN under-secretary-general Mr Marrack Goulding said here yesterday.

He declined to disclose how many Swapo fighters still had to be moved to locations north of the latitude or to divulge figures of Swapo's military strength.

"I am not going to get into

Transition Assistance Group (Untag) monitors in Angola would assist in reporting on Swapo's withdrawal to points behind the 16th parallel.

South African officials declined to discuss the number of fighters leaving northern Owambo under a 60-hour confinement to base by security forces, but said the first 24 hours had passed quietly. Military units and the coun-

the numbers game. Numbers are sensitive and difficult," he said.

Mr Goulding arrived in Namibia at the weekend after establishing additional functions of Untag as stipulated by the Mount Etjo and Ruacana accords.

There were at present 32 "Untag Alpha (Angola)" forces stationed mainly at Lubango to monitor the confinement of Swapo fighters. — Sapa

ter-insurgency police units, formerly known as Koevoet, pulled back to bases from 6pm on Wednesday as a last-chance measure to get guerrillas to end the incursions that froze the independence programme on April 1.

Only SWA Police overseeing normal law and order are continuing their duties. Diplomats and government sources expected official

statements on the extent of Swapo's withdrawal only on Monday. Government officials said some security patrols may be freed from bases after Saturday's 6am deadline to sweep for insurgents' tracks.

In Ovamboland, Untag soldiers ferried 28 freed Swapo captives across the Ruacana frontier post at noon yesterday, some 24 hours after 31 captured in skirmishes were released into Untag care.

South African military officers charged that the Swapo members were not taken immediately to the border — thereby breaching an agreement — and had been allowed to address a gathering at an Ongwediva human-rights centre last night. UN officials said Angolan authorities were unable to receive the guerrillas yesterday and that they had to be cared for overnight.

Mr Pienaar "expressed his grave concern" at this apparent "breach of impartiality". He accepted the explanation that Angolan authorities were unprepared to receive the Swapo members.



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus

P.W. SEES REDS: At Tuynhuys President Botha meets the leaders of the Cuban and Angolan delegations and the Russian and United States observers to the Joint Commission on Namibia. The foreign visitors, who are taking part in talks in the city, were paying a courtesy visit. With President Botha are, from left, Mr Vyacheslav Ustinov of the Soviet Union, General Franca Ndalu of Angola and Mr Carlos Aldana of Cuba. ● Full report, page 2.

Namibia peace plan talks 'satisfactory'

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE talks of the Joint Commission on the Namibian peace plan were resumed in Cape Town today amid reports of "satisfactory progress".

Problems on the withdrawal of Swapo from Namibia to north of the 16th parallel in Angola were largely ironed out yesterday.

This issue remains one of the most important matters at the conference which may not be resolved at the present meeting.

The meeting, which may end earlier today than originally planned, is not likely to reach finality on this.

VERIFICATION

The 60-hour period for Swapo withdrawal with the South African security forces confined to base ends at 8am. ~~but no security on the plan has been worked out~~ will be available right away. There are verification processes to be followed after that.

Mr Neil van Heerden, leader of the South African delegation, said today good progress had been made and that the talks could end at lunchtime.

A brief meeting may be held again tomorrow to review the end of the 60-hour deadline, if this was practical.

Such a meeting appeared to depend

on information on the Swapo withdrawal that may be available at that stage.

There was only one plenary session of the talks yesterday.

During the day Mr van Heerden also held separate talks with the leaders of the Cuban and Angolan delegations and the leaders of the Russian and American observers.

The delegation leaders also visited President Botha at Tuynhuys in the afternoon.

The talks have concentrated on a general review of how UN Resolution 435 can be revived after the recent problems.

Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the UN special representative in Namibia, has arrived in Cape Town and had talks with Mr van Heerden yesterday. Mr Ahtisaari was accompanied by Mr Marrack Goulding, a UN "trouble-shooter" in Namibia.

The question of the timetable for Cuban troop withdrawals from Angola has also become an issue as this could be affected by the other delays in the implementation of Resolution 435.

Impartiality of UN forces in Namibia has also become an issue. There are South African misgivings about this.

Smiles all round as PW greets envoys

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THERE were smiles all round and general talk about the weather when President Botha met Russian, Angolan, Cuban and American leaders at Tuynhuys.

The leaders of the delegations to the Namibian peace talks paid Mr Botha what was described as a courtesy visit yesterday.

The Russian envoy, Mr Vyacheslav Ustinov, the leader of the Cuban delegation, Mr Carlos Aldana, and the Angolan leader, Lieutenant-General Antonio dos Santos Franca Ndalu, arrived at Tuynhuys first along with two interpreters.

DINNER PARTY

The Russian, Cuban and Angolan delegates sat in the Cabinet Room for a few minutes facing a large number of photographers and journalists.

Also present were Mr Neil van Heerden, leader of the South African delegation at the talks, General Jannie Geldenhuys, head of the SA Defence

Force, and Dr Niel Barnard, head of the National Intelligence Service.

A smiling Mr Botha came in and while the photographers snapped away, he talked to the visitors about Cape Town's weather.

"It has been said that Cape Town is like a baby — either wet or full of wind," he told them.

After the journalists were sent out, the meeting continued for a further 40 minutes. There was no statement afterwards.

The Joint Commission monitoring the Namibian peace plan had two meetings yesterday, one of 2¼ hours in the morning and another of an hour in the afternoon.

Last night the visitors were the guests of Mr Van Heerden at a wine-tasting and dinner on the Buitenverwachting wine estate.

South Africans, Russians, Cubans and Angolans met each other on two occasions last night — at the Buitenverwachting wine estate and at another party in Constantia.

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THE peace plan for Namibia is delicately poised once again this week as South African troops and paramilitary police are confined to base to enable the surviving Swapo guerrillas who came over the border on April 1 to return in safety to Angola.

We may hope that the Swapo withdrawal and the Cape Town talks are going smoothly.

And we may be grateful, presumably, that the militarist obsession with the total communist onslaught is at last laid to rest. With the United States and Mrs Thatcher, the Soviet Union is in fact a significant force for peace in the region.

There is much at stake in the next few days. If things go wrong and the war is resumed in earnest, the Thatcher diplomacy of regional reconciliation will collapse.

So will the reviving confidence that South Africa can yet resolve its problems without dragging the sub-continent into a bloodbath.

No one doubts that the SADF would win a resumed battle with the Cubans but the price of victory would be even more costly than the price of defeat.

So it is in this country's interest that the peace plan should work.

Terrible price

Where is the sticking-point? Apart from Swapo's ill-starred breach of the settlement plan on its very first day, which brought the whole scheme to the brink of collapse, the other troubling factor, as noted last week, has been the tendency of some sections of the South African security forces to go for overkill.

When Swapo, instead of remaining in Angola north of the 16th parallel, came into Namibia in strength on April 1, with the SADF confined to base, the infiltrators paid a terrible price — being shot down in droves by waiting squads of counter-insurgency police, formerly known as Koevoet.

This unit is a ruthlessly efficient killing machine which likes to drive round Ovambo villages with the bodies of its victims on display for all to see, a procedure which has made them cordially loathed from one end of Ovamboland to the other.

It is reassuring that this time the Koevoet squads will also be con-

Namibian peace vital: why not get on with it?

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Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

fined to base, temporarily at least, along with the SADF.

It is likewise heartening to note that no one doubts any longer that Messrs Pik Botha and Neil van Heerden are in charge of the Namibia operation, rather than the security forces. Their credibility in the region is currently standing high.

Yet there are worries. Apart from Koevoet's tendency to over-react, it is probable that there are more than a few SADF officers who are not wildly enthusiastic about the UN peace plan. It would be surprising if it were otherwise, considering how many military careers have been built on the long-drawn-out occupation of Namibia and southern Angola.

Information scandal

The colonels on the spot, who may now have to take early retirement if there is peace, have been rather like colonial pro-consuls, monarchs of all they survey — and they are reluctant to give way.

Yet Namibia would have been independent long ago if Mr P W Botha had not succeeded in ousting Mr B J Vorster during the Information scandal, giving the military their head in regional policy-making.

It was Mr B J Vorster — not the hawkish Mr Botha — who committed South Africa to Resolution 435 way back in 1978, promising South Afri-

can support for UN-sponsored elections and independence in Namibia. The Botha Government, on the other hand, wanted to hang on to Namibia for a decade at least — and they did. The military saw southern Angola as a valuable strategic buffer and killing ground and so drew out the negotiations interminably, until the cost of further stalling eventually became prohibitive, both in casualties and cash.

The UN peace plan will ultimately succeed because the major powers are insistent that it should. Yet the worries persist.

Embarrassed

Raymond Louw's respected Southern Africa Report, citing UN representatives, has drawn attention to disquieting complaints of electoral intimidation of civilians by both sides in northern Namibia. Blacks wearing Swapo colours have been beaten up. The Swapo colours have all but disappeared from the area. Swapo supporters have been beaten up by police, some of them wearing the T-shirts of Swapo's DTA rivals.

The DTA, embarrassed and acutely aware of the baleful effect such activities are having on their electoral prospects, are pleading with the army and the police to stop it.

It seems that on the ground the SADF has hardly bothered to conceal its antagonism to Swapo's electoral prospects. Yet Southern Africa Report notes a widespread belief that Swapo is going to win the election by an overwhelming majority anyway.

So isn't all the by-play by the belligerents on all sides pretty futile? Why not withdraw in good grace and leave the long-suffering people of Namibia in peace to make their own choice.

Shelve Namibia, it's chow time!

By ANDRE KOOPMAN
INTERNATIONAL cuisine overtook the thorny Namibian issue when visiting delegates of the Joint Commission sat down to lunch at the Cape Sun Hotel yesterday.

The meal ranged from Central American tacos for the Cubans to coulibiac, a traditional Russian dish of fish baked in puff pastry.

Mr Norbert Kettner, executive sous chef, said yesterday that he had tried to cater to the tastes of the different nationalities.

"That's why we prepared coulibiac. The Americans would have been familiar with the corn and the mussel chowder.

"We also had Cape Malay curry to give them a choice of South African fare," he added.

The delegates were at Brittenverwachting wine estate in Constantia last night for an informal evening of traditional South African food and wines.

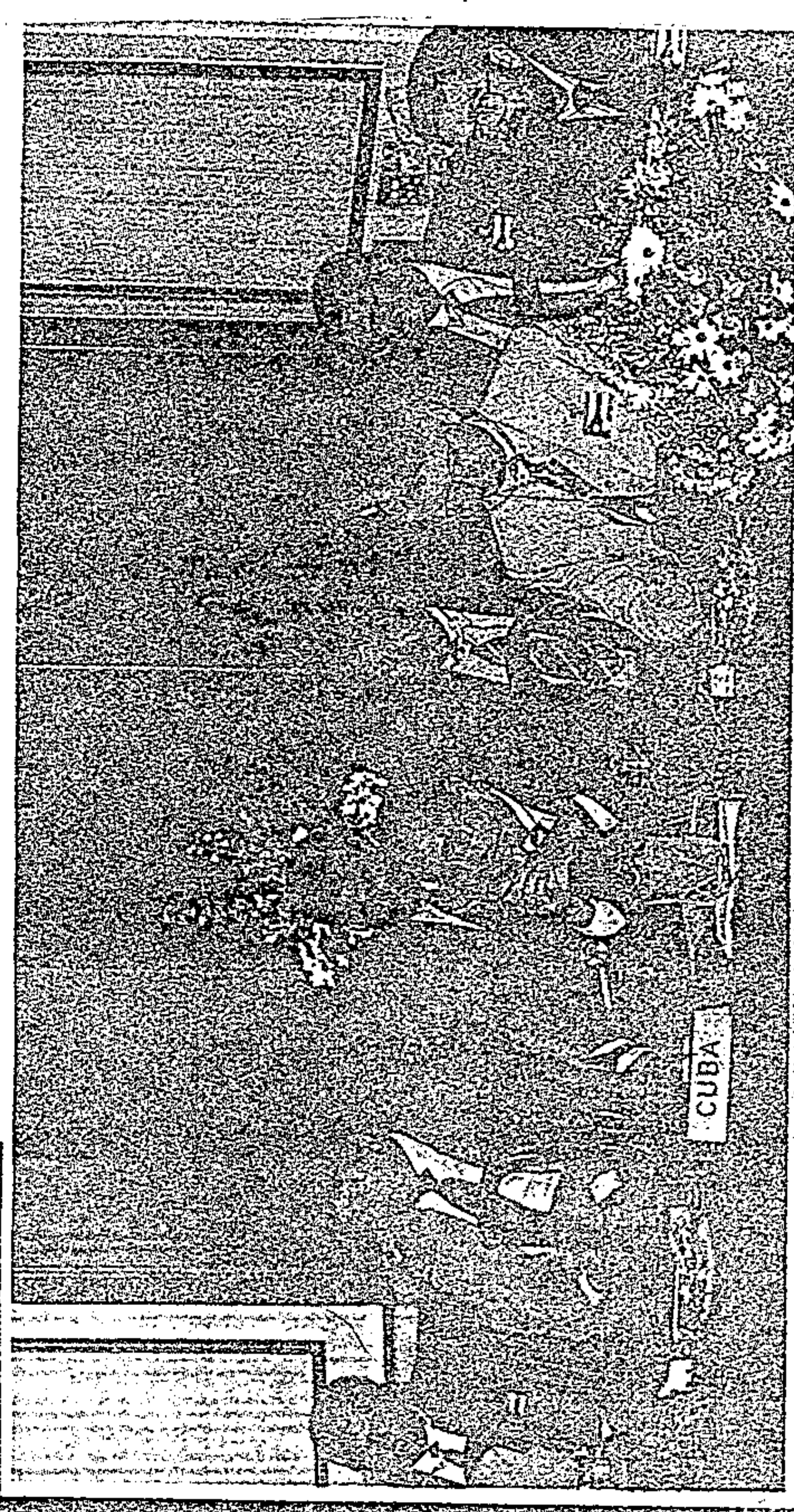
They had a special preview tasting of the estate's still unreleased red wines.

On the menu was fresh musse bisque, venison pie, bobotie and gesmoorde snoek — with Cape brandy pudding, milk tart and koekeisters for dessert.



Cape Times 28/4/89 (221)
LEFT: Executive sous chef of the Cape Sun Hotel Mr Norbert Kettner with tacos, a dish he specially prepared for the Cuban delegation attending the talks in Cape Town.
BELOW: Before lunch — the Cuban delegation, headed by Mr Carlos Aldana Escalante (centre).

Picture: RICHARD BELL



Peace talks on track — delegates visit PW

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Joint Commission talks on Namibian peace appeared to be well on track last night. However, a successful outcome to the talks remains largely dependent on the situation in Namibia, where Swapo guerrillas have been granted a 60-hour period of "free passage" back to Angola with security forces confined to bases.

The first day of deliberations among the South African, Cuban and Angolan delegations — with the Soviets and Americans as observers — was de-

● PW meets Soviets
● Children cheer Swapo

— PAGE 2

scribed as "gruelling" and "very intense" by participants.

But the head of the SA delegation, Mr Neil van Heerden, said at the end of the day that the talks had proceeded "satisfactorily".

Late yesterday afternoon the heads

The Page 2

Basters are ready for election pact with Swapo

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Argus Africa News Service

REHOBOTH. — The leader of Namibia's 45 000 Basters, Captain Hans Diergaart, says he is prepared to enter into an election pact with Swapo on condition that his group is given a representative in the post-independence Cabinet.

The Baster offer of a pact could be vital for Swapo in its drive to win a two-thirds majority of constituent assembly seats in November and so be able to impose its own constitution.

"I am prepared to negotiate with Swapo on those terms," Captain Diergaart said in an interview here, "but I want to deal with someone reliable.

"People in Swapo have let us down before.

"However, if Swapo gives an undertaking and if we are guaranteed Cabinet representation, we will go into a pact with them."

There are strong suggestions that Swapo's leaders may be planning to enter into a similar arrangement with Chief Justus Garoeb's Damara Council, which represents most of the country's 97 000 Damaras.

SWAPO LINKS

The council has had links with Swapo over a number of years, and broke away from the Multi-Party Conference in 1984 to announce its support for the organisation.

With the backing of both the Damara and Baster main parties, Swapo's aim for a constitution-writing majority could come within reach.

Captain Diergaart, president of the Free Democrats Party, said: "I believe firmly in a government of national unity.

"We in this country are very different people, whether we like it or not.

"The need for South West Africa is not only independence and recognition. The absolute first need is peace.

"If we can achieve that in a central government, with everybody having an equal voice, that will be tremendous."

However, the Baster leader also expressed fears of what Swapo might try to achieve in Namibia if it fought and won the elections on its own.

'Make contact with Swapo'

Argus Africa News Service

THE Soviet Union is of the opinion that direct contacts between Swapo and South Africa could prevent the outbreak of new clashes in Namibia.

A Soviet political analyst, Mr Vladimir Astavyev, said in an article

that the possibility of clashes between Swapo and South African troops existed from the very beginning of the Namibian peace process because of Resolution 435 itself.

In an article written for the Africa News Organisation, ANO, Mr Astavyev, recalled that when Resolution 435 was put to vote in 1978 in the United Nations Security Council, the Soviet Union had abstained.

"Only at the request of its friends did the Soviet Union



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refuse to exercise its right to veto," he wrote. "Already then, a certain imperfection of the resolution was on the surface. This applies to major issues of the settlement process: the concentration of wide ranging powers during Namibia's transition to independence in the hands of the South African-appointed administrator general, and entrusting the duties of maintaining law and order in the country to the Namibian police, which are fully controlled by South Africa," Mr Astavyev said.

The Soviet political analyst noted that there had been persistent reports that the South African military intelligence knew about the concentration of Swapo's forces at the Angolan Namibian border on the eve of April 1.

"However, neither the government of South Africa nor its military command made this knowledge public. I think

that was done deliberately," he said.

The clashes could have been prevented if South Africa had disclosed the information it had, but everybody understood why South Africa had not informed anybody about the concentration of Swapo forces.

South Africa had waited for Swapo to infiltrate the territory in order to achieve "certain tactical advantages".

"South Africa made use of the penetration of northern Namibia by Swapo forces not only for killing its fighters, but also for intimidating and even terrorising its supporters in northern Namibia," he said.

Mr Astavyev added that both Swapo and South Africa had been at fault in the events that led to the clashes but added that "the main task today is to return into the channel of peace again".

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White farmers start their campaign against Swapo

By JOHN RYAN of The Argus Africa News Service in Windhoek

WHITE farmers in Namibia have begun holding regular meetings with their workers to try to dissuade them from voting for Swapo in the November elections, according to black trade union leaders. They say these meetings are particularly well co-ordinated immediately below the "red line" in the northern area of the country, where Swapo insurgents and security forces clashed bloodily on and after April 1.

NAMIBIA

Swapo's leaders in exile are reported to be concerned that intimidation of Swapo supporters by farmers may seriously affect their chances of getting the two-thirds majority in the election which would allow them to dictate the course of Namibia's future after independence.

Trade union heads are due to meet the Swapo leadership in Harare this week to discuss means of countering such pressure from white bosses in all the sectors of the economy. Mr Ben Ulenga, president of the Namibian Miners' Union, the largest union in the country, said yesterday reports from farm workers indicated that farmers had begun their campaign of dissuasion before April 1 but had intensified it since.

"They are holding regular meetings," Mr Ulenga said, "telling their workers to vote for the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and not Swapo, because Swapo is

communist. The problem is that many of these farmers, particularly those below the borders of Ovamboland and Kavangoland, are themselves involved with the security forces.

"A large number were part of area commando activities against Swapo at the height of the previous fighting, and they still regard themselves as commandos."

Although farm workers are considered to represent the majority of Namibia's formal work force, they do not yet have a union of their own. Black unions did not exist in Namibia three years ago. But recently labourers around Grootfontein and Otavi in the north have begun establishing workers' committees.

However, as a voting force, farm workers and their families could make a considerable impression on the election. There are more than 5 000 white commercial farmers in Namibia. Even if they employ on average as few as 10 farm and domestic workers of voting age, that would amount to 50 000 people in a potential electorate of 700 000.

Taking into account dependants who may be qualified to vote in November, the potential impact of the black farming sector vote could be much greater. Next month, a National Union of Namibian Workers is due to be launched. Mr Ulenga is strongly tipped to be its first leader.

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BRENDAN BOYLE

to mobilise again

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CABER TOWN — Cuba, Angola and South Africa failed yesterday to restart an international plan for Namibian independence and Pretoria said it will mobilise up to 4 500 soldiers in Namibia when the 60-hour truce expires today.

South African officials said they could not guarantee the safety of up to 400 South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) rebels still in Namibia following an illegal incursion from Angola on April 1.

A Cuban Angolan and South African commission said after two days of talks here they would meet again on May 15 to assess the Swapo pullout.

The United Nations Transition Monitoring Group for Namibia (Trinag) would be asked to verify by then the final pullout of Swapo forces to points at least 150 km inside Angola.

The 12-month timetable for Namibian independence from South Africa would be revived after the May 15 meeting if the Swapo withdrawal was verified, the commission said in a statement.

The confinement of all Swapo forces in Angola to bases north of the 16th parallel under United Nations monitoring will be completed during this period, the commission said.

South African chief negotiator Mr Neil van Heerden said Pretoria would not extend the 60-hour confinement of its forces to bases in Namibia, but would urge them to act with restraint.

"There will be no ceasefire after tomorrow," he said, but added: "There has been a general appeal to all concerned to avoid any action that can lead to injury or loss of life."

We hope to avoid a disruption of the timetable. We are making every effort to meet the (independence) schedule," Mr van Heerden said.

But asked what would happen if South African troops encountered armed rebels not obviously heading for Angola, he said: "Then there will be shooting. I certainly would not want to be a Swapo man heading south at this time."

At least 305 Swapo guerrillas died in clashes with the South African-led soldiers between April 1 and the start of the 60-hour truce on Wednesday.

South African forces in Namibia had been confined to base by April 1 under the terms of the independence plan, but they were released with UN approval to counter the Swapo incursion.

Mr van Heerden said military commanders in northern Namibia would decide today whether to unleash all six military battalions of about 4 500 men and four police counter-insurgency units.

The confinement of South African troops to bases in Namibia would be reimposed once Swapo's full withdrawal was verified by UN peacekeepers.

Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Yvanhoê da Silva Moura said South Africa estimated there were about 400 rebels still in Namibia yesterday.

UN intelligence reports indicated that 1 300 guerrillas had left Namibia in compliance with a withdrawal plan designed to get Namibian independence back in track.

South African officials said up to 1 000 guerrillas had left Namibia and a total of over 4 000 rebels had moved to bases 150 km inside Angola, where they should have been at the start of the Namibian independence programme on April 1.



BACK TO ANGOLA. Twenty-eight Swapo insurgents would cross the border into Angola on Thursday, escorted by an Angolan soldier. They were loaded into an Angolan truck accompanied by three UN vehicles for transportation, says the 16th parallel.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A HUGE question mark remains over the fate of the estimated 200-400 Swapo guerillas still in Namibia when the 60-hour "free passage" period expires at six o'clock this morning.

Participants at the third regular Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) meeting yesterday agreed that efforts should be made to "avoid any action which could lead to injury or loss of life" when the SA security force's confinement to base ended today.

However, when the head of the SA negotiating team, Mr Neil van Heerden, was asked what would happen if Swapo forces still remaining in the territory were fired on by security forces, he replied grimly: "Well, then there will be shooting. If I was a Swapo fighter I would definitely not be heading south."

As the JMC on Namibia wrapped up its deliberations in

Cape Town yesterday, delegates were optimistic that the peace plan was still holding together.

But there remained significant differences between South Africa on the one hand and Angola and Cuba on the other on just how many of the original invading force of Swapo insurgents remained in the territory.

Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venacio da Silva Moura

told the Cape Times that Untag-verified Angolan intelligence said that 1 300 Swapo insurgents had returned to Angola, leaving only 200 fighters in Namibia.

However, Mr Van Heerden said that SA intelligence reports indicated that between 850 and 1 000 Swapo fighters had returned.

● More Swapo cross border —
Page 3

How many Swapo still in Namibia?

Cape Times 29/4/89
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Space shuttle launch postponed

CAPE CANAVERAL. — The launch of the space shuttle Atlantis was postponed just before liftoff for at least 24 hours yesterday because of technical problems, Nasa officials said.

Atlantis, carrying a crew of five, had been scheduled for a four-day flight during which it would launch a craft towards Venus.

"We can't launch today," Nasa's offi-

cial commentator, Mr Hugh Harris, said. "We have not had an explanation of what happened."

The crew had been strapped in their flight seats for more than two hours when the launch was scrubbed.

Nasa officials said the agency's top managers would study the problem and decide whether to re-schedule the flight for today. — Sapa-Reuter

Syfyets Cape Times

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More Swapo fighters cross back into Angola

WINDHOEK — Substantial numbers of Swapo guerrillas were reported to have crossed the Namibian border back into Angola, a senior United Nations spokesman, Mr Cedric Thornberry, said in Windhoek yesterday.

"There are reports of people moving across the border in substantial numbers in the past 48 hours," he told a media briefing.

Asked about the joint commission talks in Cape Town between South Africa, Cuba and Angola on the current situation in Southern Africa, Mr Thornberry said he had been given the impression the talks so far had been "substantive".

"Of course we all have great hopes the talks will lead to effectively getting this process fully back on track again," he said. — Sapa

Swapo ordered to answer to court

WINDHOEK. — Swapo has been ordered by the Supreme Court here to give reasons within 30 days why it should not be ordered to ensure that its members refrain from intimidating or murdering five 101 Battalion soldiers or their families.

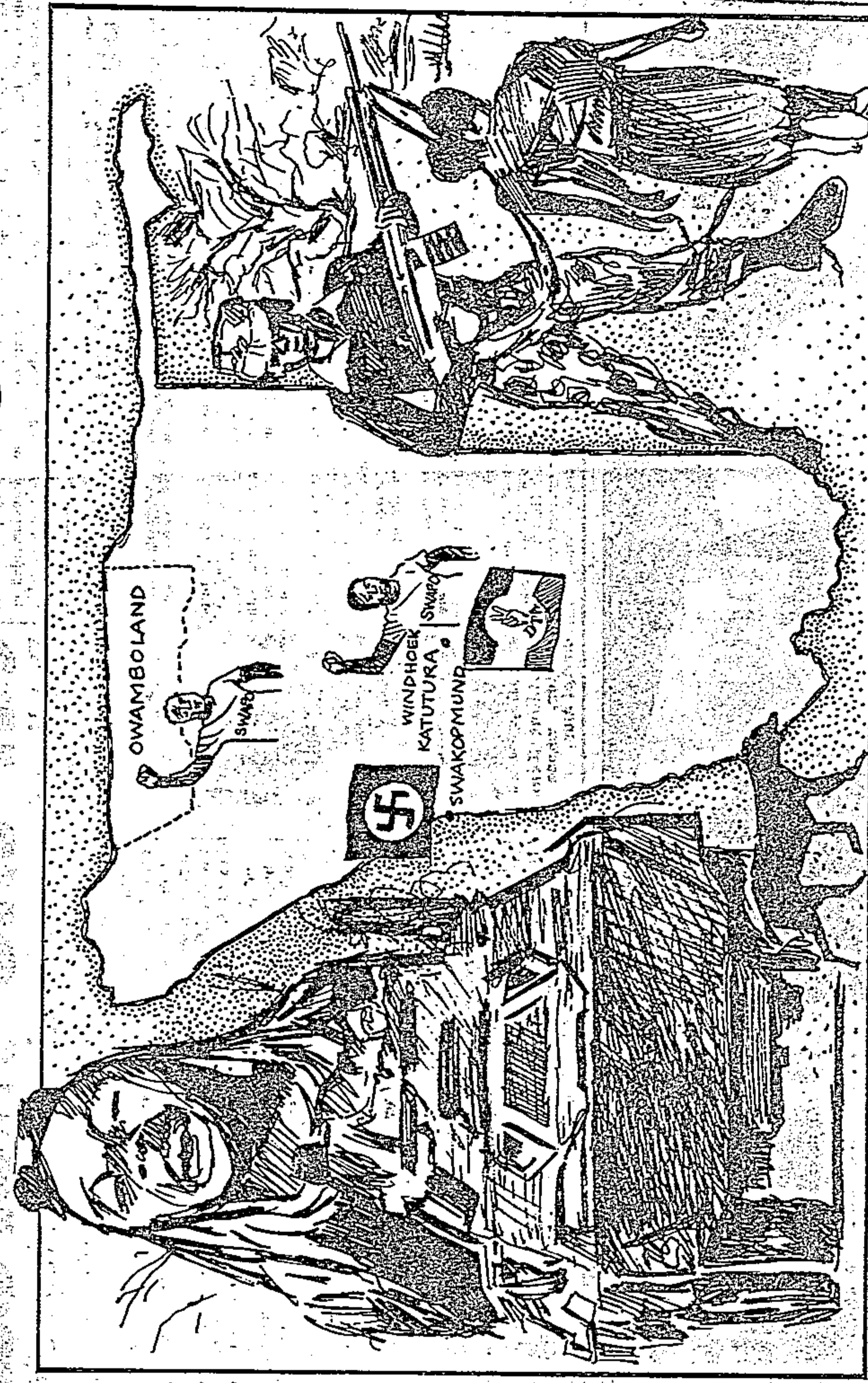
Mr Justice Herbert Hendler ordered Swapo to inform its members of the order as soon as possible. — Sapa

Braced for majority rule

But at Swakop, Swastika flag flies

By FERNANDO LIMA
THE impalas and kudus of the Etosha Pan flee, stunned by the roar of the old DC-3 aeroplane just 13 metres above the ground.
 Ahead lies Owamboland and the aeroplane continues its reckless flight, just missing the tops of trees. The young lieutenant at the controls explains that the low flying is a precaution against Swapo Sam-7s.
 He was born in Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, but says: "I'm a South West African now."
 He sees his future as uncertain but recognises from a distance that "the case of Zimbabwe is better than Mozambique".
 The predicted electoral victory of Swapo is being brought into contact with the anti-communist convictions of the Southern African white "bunker" that is masochistically prepared for the "black apocalypse" of majority independence.

The fact of a country 800 000 square kilometres in area with only 1.2 million inhabitants doesn't take away the fear of post-independent "Marxist Leninist" expropriation. The white community shrugs its shoulders with the arrival of Untag and goes on babbling its hopes that the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), which has dominated the political scene of the former German colony for the last 11 years, will win.
 The political options are extremely polarised in a society where people recognise each other by their ethnic, tribal and linguistic bonds. The less sophisticated sector's fear of Swapo is a result of the enormous support for the liberation movement in Owamboland, where half of Namibia's population lives.
 These overwhelmingly poor people are looked down on for their poverty and their traditional opposition to institutionalised power. The "privileged minority" are incorporated as soldiers into the police counter-insurgency unit or 101 Battalion, both of which have bad reputations in



the north of Namibia.
 The Swapo stereotypes are Owambo and Katutura, a suburb of Windhoek where the green, blue and red colours of the movement have come out of hiding to decorate its modest houses.
 The above-the-wrist handshake and the clenched-fist greeting distinguish themselves from the two-fingered sign of the DTA supporters in their blue, red and white colours.
 During this transitional period, Katutura is synonymous with militant fervour and is an international platform - for Swapo, the trade unions, the Namibia Council of Churches, black labour, the German "greens" and the United Democratic Front of South Africa.
 "Democratic Katutura" was also the scene of a DTA rally, complete with buses in district representatives, tribal chiefs and bare-breasted "himbos" (local women), music, free food and drink.

The United Nations, trying to build up its lost confidence, established in Katutura the first police post to supervise the activities of the "agents of law and order" of the South West African Police (Swapo) and to register complaints of police intimidation.
 Three months earlier, mechanic David Swartz had called his new daughter "Untag", demonstrating his hopes for the coming independence.
 The April clashes in the north left him somewhat confused about this choice but he is certain that "things are changing".
 From the Safari Hotel in Windhoek, the improvised headquarters of the UN next to the Eros airport, it is announced that the number of Untag troops has risen to 4 000, the police force is now more than 200 and Untag offices with flags have been established outside Owamboland for the first time.
 At Runcana Falls, Angola, Cuba and

South Africa, with the help of the US and the USSR, agreed to extend the deadline for the appearance of Swapo guerrillas at Untag posts, following the poor results of the first 11 days of the implementation of the declaration of Mount Etjo.
 Accepting criticism about the intimidating presence of South African units close to Untag posts, the South African troops will be confined to their bases for a period of 60 hours starting yesterday.
 The new deadline was established by the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan), Swapo's military wing. The guerrillas appeared, however, to prefer to march into Angola from Namibia on their own, avoiding the "good offices" of the UN.
 Criticism of Pretoria also came from the United States, where the TV programme *South Africa Now* caused a furor among senators and congressmen.

The coverage focused on the death of Swapo guerrillas at the hands of the South African forces.
 In a television-oriented society profoundly influenced by the "holocaust syndrome", the images of nude and serwny corpses hurled out the backs of military trucks on the way to communal graves brought back many memories.
 In Swakopmund, a small town on the Namibian coast, a Nazi flag with a Swastika in the centre flew for several hours at the town hall, marking the hundredth anniversary of Adolf Hitler's birth.
 In Katutura, a journalist from the *Namibian* brought journalists from the frontline together for a drink to celebrate the 29th anniversary of the founding of Swapo.
 And from a tape deck's distorted speakers could be heard the resonating voice of Tracy Chupman *Talking About Revolution*. - Aro

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SADF returns to base before 6pm deadline



Cheney
30/4/89

REPORTERS monitoring the SADF 60-hour return to base in Namibia this week said columns of dusty South African military vehicles rumbled into bases well ahead of the 6pm start of the truce.

The withdrawal is planned to reverse a Swapo incursion from Angola on April 1, which was to have marked the start of Namibia's transition to independence under UN supervision.

At least 332 men died in fierce fighting after 1 600 Swapo men entered Namibia, in an apparent effort to hand themselves over to UN peacekeepers.

Government officials in Namibia said this week 13 more bodies of Swapo fighters had been found, bringing the guerrilla death toll to 305.

● Meanwhile Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano said this week that SA forces in Namibia should withdraw from their bases and leave space for Untag.

He said this would enable Swapo guerrillas to return to Angola.

Chissano noted the efforts made by UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar to regularise the situation in Namibia.

"We call on all parties involved to facilitate these efforts and to abstain from any provocative or intimidating positions," he said.

He also asked that "the Namibian process should proceed without interruption and without any more violence". - Anon

New SADF violence alleged by civilians

MORE than 100 complaints of assault, intimidation and destruction of property have been filed against South African security forces by Namibian civilians since April 1.

A spokesman for the Legal Assistance Centre in Namibia - which also runs a human rights office in Oshakati - said most complaints were lodged by people from northern Namibia, where SA soldiers in civilian clothes apparently harassed residents.

He said they were also investigating a report in which six civilians lay among the bodies of Swapo combatants in Oshakati morgue. They were labelled "terrorists".

He said some people were shot in the legs but it was uncertain whether they were injured in cross-fire.

Meanwhile, *The Namibian* newspaper reports that intimidation allegedly continues in northern Namibia despite SADF denials and promises to refrain from any harassment of civilians. - Sapa

worker

ette.
iqwana showed the court in-
s he sustained. He had a big
on the left side of his pelvis
another on his neck.
quitting King, the magis-
e said there was no medical
of that the injuries he sus-
ed happened during the inci-
t. He said Baqwana also
ight the case months after the
ged incident happened.
le said that on the other hand,
g denied all allegations, and
e was no proof that Baqwana