

NAMIBIA - GENERAL

1989

~~NOVEMBER~~

OCT — NOV,

Lubowski laid to rest as Nujoma claims cover-up

By Jon Qwelane,
The Star's
Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Anton Lubowski, the first white Namibian to make public his membership of Swapo, at the weekend became the first white man to be buried in the cemetery in Katatura township just outside the town.

Mr Lubowski's body was cremated last week and his ashes were interred on Saturday.

The guest speaker, Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma, wanted to know "whose interest was served by the deliberate delay and conspiracy of silence surrounding the investigation" into Mr Lubowski's death.

The "contrived situation by the colonial administration smacks of a cover-up", Mr Nujoma said.

He said the promise he was making to "comrade Anton" and others like him was a Swapo landslide at the November polls.

Mr Lubowski's former wife, Mrs Gaby Lubowski, turned out for the funeral in a dress in Swapo colours of blue, red and green and on which was painted a portrait of Mr Nujoma with the words "Long Live Nujoma".

Her two young children wore Swapo T-shirts.

Conspiracy

A number of foreign diplomats attended the funeral, which was conducted by Dr Zeph Kameeta of the Lutheran Church.

And, while the police appear to be still a long way from solving the Lubowski murder, a Windhoek newspaper on Saturday said "he was shot by ordinary people".

In an editorial, the *Windhoek Observer* dismissed all suggestions that Mr Lubowski was shot by a hit-man, that there was a conspiracy involving Swapo, that he had wanted to resign

from Swapo, and that he was the victim of a love tangle.

"And we know what we are saying ... he was shot by ordinary people, and we suspect that there were two of them.

"These men, outraged and embittered by events such as happened to Constable Nel, committed an unspeakable and monstrous crime while in the grip of their emotion. In their colossal stupidity they never realised the harm they were doing the country, and in particular the white man."

Constable Willie Nel was stoned to death in Otjiwarongo two days before Mr Lubowski was gunned down.

Windhoek police are still holding a 50-year-old Irish passport holder, Mr Donald Acheson, whom they arrested the day after Mr Lubowski's death.

Police have been careful not to link Mr Acheson to the killing.

SAR
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2/10/81

fewer than eight editions, day and night, to cater for sales that have recently risen above quarter of a million on certain weekdays.

As a guide to readers, here is a list of the changes, and the names of all editions, plus details of where and when they are available.

1. *Morning Final*. 2. *Morning Africa*: Both these editions are available in the early morning in country districts and towns beyond a radius of about 150 km of Johannesburg.

3. *Late Africa*. 4. *Late*: Both available through the morning on East and West Rand, Pretoria, Vereeniging, Heidelberg, Carletonville and other neighbouring towns.

5. *City*. 6. *City Africa*: Both afternoon editions delivered to regular subscribers and at street corners on East and West Rand, and available before lunch in Greater Johannesburg, including Soweto.

7. *City Late*: Afternoon edition delivered to subscribers and street corners in the Greater Johannesburg area, including Randburg, Sandton, Midrand and Bedfordview.

8. *Late Final*: Afternoon share-price edition for CBD.

2 dead, many injured as gangs rampage

DTA, Swapo supporters in fierce clashes

221 Star 2/10/89

By Jon Qwelane,
The Star's Africa News Service
Windhoek

Fierce fighting continued last night after violence broke out in the northern Namibian district of Owambo at the weekend. At least two people have died and many others were injured.

The fighting involved supporters of the country's two main political parties contesting the November elections, Swapo and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA).

The violence began in the village of Ndola on Saturday and by yesterday had spread to Oshakati, the principal town of Owambo.

Some sources said the United Nations police were attacked during the violence, but no confirmation was available today.

Last night, in the village of Okatana, a woman said to be married to a member of Swapo was seriously injured when an explosive device was lobbed at her house, and many people were still receiving treatment in the casualty section of Oshakati Hospital.

The fighting coincided with the demobilisation in Owambo on Saturday of 1 200 former members of the controversial "Koevoet" paramilitary unit.

According to sources in northern Namibia last night, the violence in Oshakati began very early in the morning with gangs of DTA supporters attacking the houses of Swapo supporters with stones, smashing their rivals' cars, and taking down Swapo flags from the roofs and trees and burning them.

A number of "cuca shops" (informal small businesses) belonging to Swapo members were also attacked, sources said.

'Very tense'

During the fighting in Oshakati, a Swapo supporter was beaten to death, and threats were made to burn down houses during the night.

"It is very, very tense here. We are waiting to see what happens next," said a family man at midnight last night, adding he would "not be going to sleep just yet".

In Ndola a DTA supporter was beaten to death on Saturday after the group he was with arrived at a "cuca shop" and found Swapo supporters whom they allegedly ordered to give DTA salutes. Sources said the Swapo members refused and fighting broke out.

The clashes started three days after DTA supporters went on the rampage in Katutura township, Windhoek, smashing windows of Swapo supporters' homes and their cars during an illegal march at night.

Both the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, and the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, rebuked the DTA for staging a political march without permission.

Owambo, the country's most populous zone, is the traditional Swapo stronghold and political analysts agree the party's best performance in the elections could be in the district.

A police spokesman would not comment on the violence in Owambo because he had not yet received a report on the situation.

The UN could not be reached early today to comment.

Leisure-firm spokesman



Centre of the storm ... Summer Leisure's investors at a weekend meeting in Johannesburg

By June Bearzi,
Star Line

Johannesburg's Milpark Holiday Inn was turned into a battlefield on Saturday when hundreds of angry Summer Leisure and Flexi-Club investors flocked there to attend a meeting to express their gross dissatisfaction with the leisure companies and holiday tycoon, Mr Larry Botes.

In a heated two-session confrontation investors called for a total shake-up and demanded more control in the management of their investments, worth almost R30 million.

Investors nominated a five-man committee to investigate the financial position of the holiday scheme, which they said took their cash in return for flexible holidays locally and overseas. They maintained these prom-

Demand for control of investment

ises had not materialised. Former Durban mayor and architect, Mr Ron Williams, a points owner voted on to the committee, said he felt very sad about the present state of affairs and wanted to help set matters right for investors.

The committee was also given a mandate to arrange for investors' participation in the management of Summer Leisure and the Flexi-Club.

A former Summer Leisure director, who severed links with the company several months ago, undertook to supply the committee with informa-

Holiday-scheme boss cl

By June Bearzi,
Star Line

Bloody clashes between DTA and Swapo

From JON QWELANE

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — Fierce fighting in Namibia has claimed the lives of at least two people and left many injured.

Violence broke out in Owambo on Saturday, and was still raging last night.

The fighting involved supporters of Swapo and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA).

The violence began in the village of Ndola on Saturday, and by yesterday had spread to Owambo's main town, Oshakati.

KOEVOET

The fighting coincided with the demobilisation in Owambo on Saturday of 1 200 former members of the controversial Koevoet paramilitary unit.

According to sources, the violence at Oshakati began early yesterday with gangs of DTA supporters attacking the houses of Swapo supporters with stones, smashing cars, and burning Swapo flags.

A number of cuca shops (informal small businesses) belonging to Swapo members were also attacked, sources said.

DTA SALUTES

In Ndola a DTA supporter was beaten to death on Saturday after a group arrived at a cuca shop and found Swapo supporters whom they allegedly ordered to give DTA salutes. The Swapo members refused, and fighting broke out.

Saturday's clashes began three days after DTA supporters went on the rampage in Katutura in Windhoek, smashing windows of Swapo supporters' homes and cars during an illegal night march.

Both Administrator-General Louis Pienaar, and UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari, rebuked the DTA for staging a political march without permission.

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Day October 2 1989 3

Big cache of arms found in Namibia

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — Investigations into the machine-gun and grenade attack on a regional headquarters of the United Nations in Namibia, in which the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has been implicated, have led to the discovery of a large arms cache.

Police in Otjiwarongo said today the cache contained hand-grenades and R-4 and R-1 automatic rifles.

The UN headquarters in Outjo, near Otjiwarongo, was blasted with R-1 rifle fire and hand-grenades. A security official on guard duty, Mr Michael Hoaseb, was killed in the attack.

SOUTH AFRICAN

Police said they were holding another South African, Mr Johan Coetzee, in connection with the raid which was allegedly carried out by a number of men who later sped off in a white Opel Monza car.

They would not say where Mr Coetzee was arrested, nor where the arms cache was found because investigations were still continuing and more arrests could be expected.

Three other South Africans, Mr Darrel Stopforth of Rosettenville, Johannesburg, Mr Arthur Archer of no fixed address in Cape Town, and Mr Leonard Veenendal of Johannesburg, are in Namibian police cells after being arrested in connection with the raid.

Mr Craig Barker of Cape Town, who was arrested with the men, was released last week after a request by the State prosecutor to an Outjo magistrate.

"SWIM IN"

Also in custody is West German Mr Horst Klenz, whose address is given as "care of Vermaak in Duiwelskloof".

Mr Veenendal is the leader of the AWB in Johannesburg, and in July this year led an AWB group to the Hillbrow swimming pool to break up an apartheid-busting "swim-in".

He had often been seen near AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche at rallies.

Police now holding four South Africans

Probe into UN attack leads to arms cache

By Jon Qwelane,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Investigations into the machinegun and grenade attack on a regional headquarters of the United Nations in Namibia, in which the AWB has been implicated, have led to the discovery of a large arms cache in the country.

Police in Otjiwarongo said today the cache contained hand grenades and R-4 and R-1 automatic rifles.

The UN headquarters in Outjo, near Otjiwarongo, was blasted with many rounds of R-1 rifle fire and pelted with hand grenades. A security official on guard duty, Mr Michael Hoaseb, was killed in the attack.

The police said they were holding yet another South African national, Mr Johan Coetzee, in con-

nection with the raid, which was allegedly carried out by a number of men who later sped off in a white Opel Monza Sedan.

They would not say where Mr Coetzee was arrested in South Africa, or where the arms cache was found hidden in Namibia because investigations were still continuing and more arrests could be expected.

Three other South Africans — Mr Darrel Stopforth of Rosettenville, Mr Arthur Archer of no fixed address in Cape Town and Mr Leonard Veenendal of Southdale, are in Namibian police cells after being arrested in connection with the raid.

Mr Craig Barker of Cape Town, who was arrested with the men, was released last week after a request by the state prosecutor to an Outjo magistrate.

Also in custody is West German Mr Horst Klenz, whose address is given as "care of Vermaak in Duiwelskloof".

Mr Veenendal is the leader of the AWB in Johannesburg and in July this year led a posse of AWB men to the Hillbrow municipal pool to break up an apartheid-busting "swim-in".

He has often been seen at AWB rallies near the movement's leader, Mr Eugene Terreblanche.

Unrest: Swapo, DTA blame each other

By Jon Qwelane,
The Star's Africa News Service
WINDHOEK — As Namibia's restless northern district of Owambo began mopping up after a weekend of bloody fighting involving members of Swapo and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), leaders of the parties yesterday blamed each other's supporters for the mayhem.

Sources in the northern town of Oshakati claimed a Swapo supporter was killed on Sunday,

while a DTA member died after allegedly being beaten up by Swapo members in Ndola.

Swapo blamed the DTA for the violence and called on Namibia's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, and law enforcement authorities to intervene and restore peace.

Mr Hage Geingob, Swapo's director of elections, said his party stood for peace, and its leaders had signed a code of conduct in which they distanced themselves from acts of vio-

lence and intimidation.

DTA chairman Mr Dirk Mudge and the party's senior vice-president, Mr Mishake Muyongo, flew to Owambo yesterday and said their party organisers were attacked by Swapo while carrying out their normal duties.

The violence in Ndola broke out when a number of DTA supporters entered a shop where they found a group of Swapo members.

The DTA men allegedly

forced the Swapo members to shout DTA slogans, but the order was refused.

A teargas canister was allegedly thrown at the Swapo men but failed to go off. Fighting then started and one of the DTA men was killed.

Yesterday, police were investigating various charges arising from the violence in Owambo.

The UN and the Administrator-General will issue statements later today.

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DTA apologises

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — DTA leaders have apologised to UN officials for an outbreak of DTA-linked political violence in volatile Ovambo that left at least one person dead and 33 injured.

Last night eight people were listed as seriously hurt in Oshakati hospital, with one of them in critical condition after the clashes between rival DTA and Swapo supporters.

Untag personnel were also threatened in the weekend violence and the supervisory force's regional headquarters in Oshakati was stoned by a horde of DTA followers.

While official reports do not link the events, Saturday's violence broke out one day after Namibian administration officials disbanded the notorious Koevoet police unit and returned them to commu-

Weekend of violence: 1 dead, 33 hurt

nities in the politically sensitive region.

Riot-control units of the SWA Police patrolled the main Oshakati-Ondangwa road for most of the weekend, but last night residents and witnesses in the region said it was superficially calm.

Sporadic gunfire sounded over the populous area on Saturday and Sunday night.

Police reports tracing the events said five DTA supporters were attacked at a general store and bar — known as a cuca

shop — and one was beaten to death by the predominantly Swapo-supporting customers. Sapa reports that the dead man was identified as Mr Lukas Pedro, 27, of Oshakati.

DTA chairman Mr Dirk Mudge and vice-president Mr Mishake Muyongo flew to the northern region yesterday and apologised to Untag regional director John Rwambuye, Untag officials said.

● Meanwhile, Sapa reports that police found one R1 rifle, one R4 rifle, two rifle grenades and ammunition following investigations into a gun and grenade attack on United Nations regional offices at Outjo in northern Namibia in August.

Police earlier arrested five men in connection with the attack in which a private security guard, Mr David Hoaseb, died.

A police spokesman said police had arrested another man, Mr Johan Coetzee, for questioning on the attacks.

05 000 Call 210107

Pro

Fighting over in Owambo

AFTER heavy fighting involving rival supporters of Swapo and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) in Owambo over the weekend, the regional director of the United Nations was yesterday making efforts to restore peace.

Mr John Rumbuya, UN head in Owambo, was in contact with both Swapo and DTA leaders in the district yesterday to arrange a meeting with them.

The office of the Administrator-General said a statement on the violence would be released today when all communique had been received.

The UN head office in Windhoek was still piecing together the events, and did not have a statement ready by the time of going to press.

It has also emerged from private sources that journalists who were recording the violence on film were chased by angry DTA supporters into

SOWETAN Africa
News Service

the offices of the UN in Oshakati on Sunday. The pursuers apparently followed the newsmen into the building, and UN personnel intervened.

One of the pursuers allegedly pulled out a gun and demanded that all the cameras be surrendered. They were handed over, and the photographic equipment, thought to be minus the films, was recovered from SWA police much later.

By mid-morning yesterday, the situation in Oshakati was described as calm.

Both Swapo and the DTA are signatories to a code of conduct which expressly outlaws violence and intimidation as means to political ends, and also forbids the carrying of any weapons during political marches or gatherings.

Another S. African citizen detained

Large arms cache found in Namibia

3/12/89

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STAR

By Jon Qwelane,
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They would not say where Mr Coetzee was arrested in SA, or where the arms cache was found hidden in Namibia, because investigations were continuing and more arrests could be expected.

Three other South Africans — Mr Darrel Stopforth of Rosettenville, Johannesburg, Mr Arthur Archer of no fixed address in Cape Town and Mr Leonard Veenendal of Southdale, Johannesburg, are in Namibian police cells after being arrested in connection with the raid.

Led posse to pool

Mr Craig Barker of Cape Town, arrested with the men, was released last week after a request by the State prosecutor to an Outjo magistrate.

Mr Veenendal is the leader of the AWB in Johannesburg and in July this year led a posse of AWB men to the Hillbrow municipal pool to break up an apartheid-busting "swim-in".

He has often been seen at AWB rallies near the movement's leader, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche.

3-9/11/89 (Humbag)

Here's my bet: Swapo's going to walk it

Conventional wisdom is that

Swapo won't get their
two-thirds majority in next
week's elections.

Conventional wisdom has
never appealed to

correspondent **TONY**

WEAVER, who hereby
places his bet: Swapo will
sweep to a landslide victory

SIX months ago, every despatch from Namibia introduced Swapo by describing it as "the movement which will almost certainly sweep to an overwhelming victory in the independence elections".

Today, the same report may be prefaced with the cautionary "Swapo, badly hurt by allegations of torture and murder, with an intellectually immature leader and the history of the disastrous April 1 incursion, may struggle to gain even 50 percent of the vote, let alone the 66 percent needed to draw up its own constitution."

Humbag.

Here's my bet: Swapo will sweep to a landslide victory, gaining anything between 67 and 80 percent of the



Sam Nujoma, accompanied by his mother, visits the grave of his father in Ongandjara Picture: Afrapix

vote, albeit not the 90 percent so confidently predicted by Hage Geingob on his return home from exile.

There's little science and few statistics in this prediction, just pure gut feeling.

Has everyone forgotten Zimbabwe? And that insignificant man called Mugabe, who was never tipped to win much more than a handful of seats?

Analyses so far have been based on largely racist numbers: there are X number of Ovambos who will mostly vote Swapo; then there are Y number of Hereros, who like the DTA and Swanu; and Z number of Damaras, who have never been able to make up their minds about anything, and will probably vote for the United Democratic Front.

That's like saying the African Na-

tional Congress is a Xhosa-based movement, the Mass Democratic Movement draws its support from Indian intellectuals, and Inkatha represents all the Zulu-speaking people of South Africa.

Namibia is emerging from over 100 years of colonial rule and oppression. Namibians don't have to have elephant memories to remember what this means: the memories and scars of war are all too recent, the trauma of torture, dispossession, death and destruction all too fresh.

Of the parties contesting the election — like the DTA, Swanu, Aksie Christelike Nasionaal, the Reheboth Liberation Front, Swapo Democrats — only a few, like the Damara Council and Swapo, have never collaborated with the South African authorities.

Swapo's main opponent, the DTA, has been an active part of that colonial rule and oppression. And that's what this election is all about: getting rid of the South Africans and their collaborators.

Collaborators will get short thrift in this election. Those who took up arms to fight against South African rule, and that means Swapo, and only Swapo, will be swept to power.

All the publicity surrounding allegations of torture in Swapo camps in Angola may have been well-founded, but this means very little in a country where two-thirds of the adults are illiterate and can't read all those newspapers.

So lay your bets. This unscientific hack predicts a Swapo landslide. Sixty-six percent will be child's play.

ON PARADE

Willem Steenkamp

4/10/89
Capricorn
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Public should know of Angola buildup

WHENEVER I think about the alleged build-up of insurgents in the Angolan "shallow area" I am reminded of what might be called the Shilongo incident.

Shilongo was an insurgent who was captured in 1984, when (as is at present the case) most of southern Angola was supposed to be free of Swapo presence. Under questioning he revealed in great detail a Swapo build-up in the vicinity of Peu Peu and elsewhere. This information was duly taken to a government-level South African-Angolan meeting ... and was never heard of again.

Question: Is the government doing anything about the reported build-up, given what happened on April 1? And if so, why has the public not been informed? This is no time for secrecy, given the fragility of the situation north of the Orange.

B/Day 4/1989 (221)

Pienaar extends appeal to DTA, Swapo leaders

WINDHOEK — Namibia Administrator-General Louis Pienaar expressed his abhorrence at the violence between Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and Swapo supporters in northern Namibia last weekend and separately met leaders of both parties yesterday, official spokesman Gerhard Roux said in Windhoek.

An Oshakati resident Lukas Pedro, 27, was clubbed to death and 33 people injured after clashes between the two political groups.

Roux said the meeting with DTA and Swapo leaders was to appeal to them to plead for restraint from their members.

Asked whether the Namibian police had not been slow in responding to the unrest incidents, Roux said Pienaar was satisfied police had done what they could.

Roux said charges had been laid against the DTA for holding a political gathering last week without giving police and other authorities three days prior notice as required by law.

UN spokesman Fred Eckhard said yesterday DTA chairman Dirk Mudge had apologised to the Untag regional director at Oshakati, John Rwambuya, for an incident where two men entered the UN premises brandishing a knife and gun on Sunday. — Sapa.

UN questions 'slow' riot police action in Namibia

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6/Day 4/10/89

KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — UN officials are demanding explanations from police commanders for apparent tardiness in confronting violent mobs supporting the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), Swapo's main electoral opponent.

In the face of official refusal, disgruntled Untag administrators also want police to reschedule a formal demobilisation ceremony for 1 200 members of the notorious Koevoet counter-insurgency unit in the wake of a disorganised weekend disbanding.

"There will be no more parades," administration spokesman Gerhard Roux said yesterday.

Untag head Martti Ahtisaari says police commanders provided no list of demobilised Koevoet members, who are wandering in their volatile Owambo communities unchecked.

Weapons used by the unit in anti-guerrilla operations have not officially been accounted for.

Riot-control police alerted to weekend clashes in Oshakati between rival DTA and Swapo supporters were unnecessarily slow in arriving, witnesses and Untag officials said.

A DTA supporter was killed, 33 people were hurt and Untag civilian personnel were threatened by armed DTA followers in the outbreak of vio-

lence on Saturday.

The clashes coincided with the Koevoet demobilisation — although officials could not link the events.

The Oshakati incident, that spilled over into Sunday, and clashes in Windhoek's Katutura township late last week, violated the spirit of an inter-party pact requiring political groups' leaders to discipline their followers.

Witnesses to a DTA supporters' march in Katutura that turned to violence said police responded slowly and ineffectually.

Demobilisation

"In the Oshakati incident, as with the Katutura incident, the Special Representative (Ahtisaari) is as concerned with the performance of the police as with the code of conduct and adherence by the political parties," Untag spokesman Fred Eckhard said yesterday.

"He is looking closely at both issues."

Administrator-General Louis Pienaar last Friday announced demobilisation of the 1 200-member Koevoet unit, after months of skirting the obligation under UN Security Council resolutions.

"It appears that the Administrator-General's instructions did not reach the officers carrying out the demobilisation, because the procedures followed were not at all satisfactory," Eckhard said.

"It will have to be done again."

He said a rough head count showed about 900 Koevoet policemen were at the Okavi gathering. No list of numbers or identification was provided and the unit's weapons were not properly accounted for, he said.

"Until more responsible procedures can be carried out, we cannot say that we are in a position to verify the demobilisation."

Roux, Pienaar's chief spokesman, said about 300 members absent without leave from the parade would be sought out and served with demobilisation papers.

Koevoet — made up of mostly black members under command of white section leaders — was not trained for civilian policing.

As the vanguard unit in South Africa's years-long battle against Swapo insurgents, it gained notoriety for viciousness.

The territory's return to peace under Untag supervision did not mute civilian complaints against the unit of brutality and intimidation, sources said.

UN prepares to process the vote

BTDW 4/10/89
WINDHOEK — The registration of voters in Namibia successfully completed, the UN was now preparing itself for the voting process, Untag said on SWABC radio.

"This is a fairly massive job because from our current calculations it looks as if we will have people from every continent in the world except Antarctica," said Untag's chief of planning and training Mike Maley.

About 1500 Untag election officials were expected to arrive in Namibia late this month for the November 7-11 elections in the territory.

"We will have only about one week in which to tell them all they need to know about what they will be doing in the polling stations during the elections and making sure that they are competent and well prepared for whatever might happen at that time."

Maley said the duties of UN officials would be to supervise and control the con-

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duct of the polling and the counting of votes for a constituent assembly.

Every procedure and action a voter took in the casting of a ballot would be closely monitored by an Untag supervisor.

"The people who will be coming here will be chosen on the basis of their being experienced public servants, either in government or in positions of responsibility outside government," he said.

"We are looking for people who are used to dealing with peoples from different cultures ... and finally we are looking for people who will be able to cope with the physical environment applying at that time of the year ... extreme heat, great dryness, an awful lot of dust and having to sleep in tents."

Additional qualifications for the Untag election personnel were a high degree of political impartiality and sensitivity, and sound common sense, Maley added. — Sapa.

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Apology to UN over knife incident

Pienaar appeals for restraint after clashes

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STAK 4/10/89

WINDHOEK — Namibia's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, yesterday expressed his abhorrence and distress at the violence between Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and Swapo supporters in northern Namibia last weekend and separately met leaders of both parties, said spokesman Mr Gerhard Roux.

An Oshakati resident, Mr Lukas Pedro (27), was reportedly clubbed to death and 30 people injured after a series of violent clashes between the two political groups last weekend. One of the injured, in a critical condition, was apparently transferred to a Windhoek hospital yesterday.

Mr Roux said two people

were arrested after allegedly assaulting an American television cameraman, Mr Walter McGill, at the United Nations offices at Oshakati.

UN spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said yesterday the DTA chairman, Mr Dirk Mudge, had apologised to the Untag regional director at Oshakati, Mr John Rwambuya, for an incident in which two men forced their way into the UN premises brandishing a knife and gun on Sunday.

Appeals

Mr Roux said appeals were made to DTA and Swapo leaders for restraint and disciplined behaviour from their members to create an atmosphere conducive to free and fair elections.

Asked whether the SWA

Police had not been slow in responding to the unrest incidents, Mr Roux said the Administrator-General was satisfied the police had done their duty.

He repeated Mr Pienaar's view that it was "asking too much" to expect the SWA Police to be solely responsible for the election campaign atmosphere.

He said charges had been laid against the DTA for holding a political gathering last week without giving police and other authorities three days prior notice as required by law.

The march in Katutura township outside Windhoek erupted in violence between the DTA and Swapo last Tuesday night. A man and a child were admitted to hospital and 15 people were treated for minor injuries and discharged.

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Mr Roux said two people

Asked whether the SWA

were treated for minor injuries and discharged. — Sapa.

Row looms over 'disbanding' of Koevoet

By Jon Qwelane, The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The Administrator-General of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, and the United Nations Special Representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, could be heading for a confrontation over the "demobilisation" of the Koevoet paramilitary unit.

Officially, the outfit was demobilised on Saturday in response to a UN Security Council resolution calling for it to disband by September 30.

Yesterday Mr Ahtisaari said procedures followed on Saturday were "not at all satisfactory and it appeared that the Administrator-General's

instructions did not reach the officers carrying out the demobilisation".

Mr Ahtisaari's objections were that Mr Pienaar had announced 1 200 Koevoet men would be leaving the unit, but only 900 turned up for the headcount when UN military and civilian police arrived to monitor the process.

The UN representative was also unhappy that there was no evidence the retiring men's uniforms and weapons were handed in.

Yesterday UN representatives met SWA Police "to work out appropriate procedures for the demobilisation process". Mr Ahtisaari's spokesman indicated there had to be another head count.

But Mr Pienaar's office said there would be no repeat of the demobilisation.

The office said 300 Koevoet men had gone awol. Efforts would be made to find them within 48 hours to serve them with demobilisation forms.

Spokesman Mr Gerhard Roux said as far as the Administrator-General was concerned, there was no link between the demobilisation of Koevoet and the outbreak on the same day of fierce fighting between Swapo and DTA supporters.

Asked if the DTA and the police did not have close links since some members of the SWA Police had been seen wearing DTA T-shirts, Mr Roux said if evidence was supplied it would be investigated.

The UN said DTA supporters stormed its Oshakati offices on Saturday and demanded an American television crew's cameras and film. The cameras were later found in the possession of the SWA Police.

5 000 Sasol miners vote to strike

About 5 000 miners have voted to strike at collieries feeding Sasol's coal-to-oil plants in Secunda. The ballot centred on demands for a food allowance for workers not housed in company hostels.

Morning tea party for Marike

Mrs Mignon Hough, wife of the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Danie Hough, is to hold a morning tea party in honour of Mrs Marike de Klerk, wife of the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, on October 17.

Drivers' licence needed in Bop

South African motorists driving through Bophuthatswana can be fined if they are unable to produce their drivers' licences when requested to do so. In order to prevent inconvenience and embarrassment, South Africans travelling in Bophuthatswana should at all times have their drivers' licences handy.

Model in stolen vehicle sought

Car thieves who last week made off with a custom-built minibus in the centre of Johannesburg are being asked to return a R150 000 model of the Mondi Board Mill which was in the rear of the vehicle. Information can contact Intermodel at (012) 411-1111.

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Koevoet - UN annoyed

WINDHOEK.- The United Nations special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, was not

satisfied with the way in which the former police counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet, was disbanded on Saturday.

Senior UN and SWA Police officials met yesterday to discuss the issue. a UN spokesman, Mr Fred Eckhard, said in Windhoek.

"It appears that the Administrator-General's (Mr Louis Pienaar) instructions did not reach the officers carrying out the demobilisation because the procedures followed were not at all satis-

factory to the special representative," Eckhard said.

Following an announcement by Pienaar on Friday, about 900 members of Koevoet were demobilised at the Okave base near Oshakati on Saturday morning, Eckhard said.

"It was demobilised in a way that did not provide for identification of those being demobilised or an adequate accounting of 1200 individuals whom the Administrator-General said were being demobil-

ised, and until more responsible procedures can be agreed upon and carried out we cannot say we are in a position to verify the demobilisation," Eckhard stressed.

"It will have to be done again."

The highly controversial police unit was established about 10 years ago to counter Swapo's liberation war in northern Namibia.

Koevoet members were confined to base near Oshakati in August this year.

Police will trace 300 absentee Koevoeters

Huge demob row

WINDHOEK. — SWA Police will trace members of the former police counter-insurgency unit Koevoet who were absent from the official demobilisation parade on Saturday and serve their demobilisation forms on them, official spokesman Mr Gerhard Roux said yesterday.

He also said administrator-general Mr Louis Pienaar had expressed his abhorrence and distress at the violence between Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and Swapo supporters in northern Namibia at the weekend

and separately met leaders of both parties yesterday. Mr Roux told a media briefing here that Mr Pienaar had instructed Swapo to demobilise Koevoet in terms of a recent United Nations resolution. About 300 members of the 1 200-strong paramilitary unit, confined to base near Oshakati in northern Namibia, were not present when the unit was demobilised on Saturday.

The police had been instructed to find them and serve their demob forms on them within the next two days, Mr Roux said. "The procedures followed" were not at all satisfactory, Untag spokesman Mr Fred Eck-

hard said yesterday. "It will have to be done again." He said a rough head count showed some 900 Koevoet policemen were at the Okavi gathering. No list of numbers or identification was provided and the unit's weapons were not properly accounted for.

"Until more responsible procedures can be carried out, we cannot say that we are in a position to verify the demobilisation."

Mr Roux, however, said there would be no more demobilisation parades. He said Mr Pienaar's meeting with DTA and Swapo leaders was to appeal to them to plead

for restraint and discipline from their members. In a series of violent weekend clashes between the two political groups, Oshakati resident Mr Lukas Pedro, 27, was reportedly clubbed to death and 30 people were injured.

Asked whether Swapo had not been slow in responding to the unrest incidents, Mr Roux said the administrator-general was satisfied the police had done what they could.

He repeated Mr Pienaar's view that if Swapo alone were expected to be solely responsible for the atmosphere during the election campaign, "we are asking too much". — Sapa

WINDHOEK. — With the registration of voters in Namibia successfully completed, the United Nations was now preparing itself for the voting process, Untag said in its latest radio broadcast through the SWABC.

"This is a fairly massive job because from our current calculations it looks as if we will have people from every continent in the world except Antarctica," said Untag's chief of planning and training, Mr Mike Maley of Australia.

About 1 500 Untag election officials were expected to arrive in Namibia late this month for the November 7-11 elections.

"The people who will be coming here will be chosen on the basis of their being experienced public servants, either in government or in positions of responsibility

Untag readies for voting

outside government," Mr Maley said. "We are looking for people who are used to dealing with peoples from different cultures, and finally we are looking for people who will be able to cope with the physical environment."

Additional qualifications for the Untag election personnel were a high degree of political impartiality and sensitivity, and sound common sense. — Sapa

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Showdown looms over Koevoet demobilisation

ARGUS 4/10/89 (221)

Argus Africa News Service WINDHOEK. — The Administrator-General of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, and the United Nations special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, could be heading for a confrontation over the "demobilisation" of the former Koevoet paramilitary unit.

Officially, the outfit was demobilised on Saturday in response to a demand by the UN Security Council, which was embodied in a resolution, that Koevoet must disband by September 30.

But yesterday Mr Ahtisaari made it plain that procedures which were followed on Saturday were "not at all satisfactory and it appeared that the Administrator-General's instructions did not reach the officers carrying out the demobilisation".

Mr Ahtisaari's objections were that Mr Pienaar had announced 1 200 Koevoet men would be leaving the unit and getting back into civvy street, but only 900 turned up for the head count when UN military and civilian police arrived to monitor the process.

No weapons

The UN representative was also unhappy that there was no evidence of the retiring men's uniforms and weapons.

Yesterday UN representatives met SWA police top brass "to work out appropriate procedures for the demobilisation process" and Mr Ahtisaari's

spokesman indicated that there had to be another head count.

Mr Pienaar's office saw the matter differently, and said there would be no repeat of the demobilisation.

About 300 Koevoet men had gone Awol and efforts were being made to trace them within the next 48 hours to serve them official forms stamped by SWA police, confirming the men had been demobilised.

Mr Pienaar's senior spokesman, Mr Gerhard Roux, said as far as the Administrator-General was concerned there was no link between the demobilisation of Koevoet and the outbreak on the same day of fierce fighting between Swapo and Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) supporters.

Asked if the DTA and the police had close links since some members of SWA police had been spotted wearing DTA T-shirts, Mr Roux said if evidence was supplied it would be investigated.

Yesterday afternoon Mr Pienaar was meeting the leadership of Swapo and the DTA to discuss the violence between the two parties. The meetings were separate and no further details were disclosed.

The UN said DTA supporters who stormed its regional offices in Oshakati on Saturday and demanded at gunpoint the surrender of an American television crew's cameras apparently removed the film from the cameras.

The cameras were later found in the possession of the SWA police.

Controversy over Koevoet resolved

5/10/89 ^{STAR}
By Jon Qwelane, (22)
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Differences between UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari and Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar over the demobilisation of the controversial Koevoet paramilitary unit have been resolved and new procedures mutually agreed.

The demobilisation of the unit last Saturday gave rise to opposite interpretations by the UN mission and the administration.

Because only 900 of the 1 200 Koevoet men who Mr Pienaar said would be discharged had turned up for a head-count — the other 300 had gone "absent without leave" — Mr Ahtisaari found the procedures "not at all satisfactory" and asked that more appropriate steps be worked out.

Mr Pienaar's office replied that all the UN requirements for the demobilisation of the unit had been followed.

A meeting had been arranged between the Commissioner of SWA Police, General Dolf Gouws, UN force commander, General Prem Chand, and UN police commissioner, Inspector Steven Fanning.

After that meeting, the UN said "complete agreement had been reached, and it included detailed proposals for the modalities of demobilisation, provision for the identification of those demobilised, and the returning of weapons, vehicles and other equipment".

Jurists query fairness of Namibian poll

The Argus Foreign Service

GENEVA. — An international commission of jurists report has questioned whether the Namibian election on November 7 will be "free and fair".

It said the main problem was "the failure of the South African authorities to end the hostilities between the police, security forces and Swapo".

The report was drawn up for the commission by Mr Geoffrey Bindman, an English lawyer, and cited "intimidation and violence by the police against potential Swapo voters".

The report also cited high numbers of the former Koevoet counter-insurgency police who are now members of the regular police.

"In the northern area, where more than half the population live, there is not a single lawyer in regular private practice to take up complaints of torture, brutality, unlawful arrests and wanton destruction of property by the army and the police," Mr Bindman's report continued.

Complaints included charges that Koevoet officers transported Unita members across the border from Angola to register to vote in Namibia, it went on. There was "powerful evidence" that South African controlled police were "still using illegal means to deter Swapo voters".

An organisation of leading jurists throughout the world, the International Commission of Jurists is independent with consultative status at the United Nations and the Council of Europe. Its essential task is to uphold the rule of law.

Untag ^{CAT} defends ^{7/15} behaviour ^{5/10/87} pact ²²¹

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — In efforts to lessen the threat of political violence, Untag officials are encouraging the tightest possible adherence to the agreed code of behaviour endorsed by 10 parties contesting November's poll.

Two outbreaks of violence in the past week tested the commitment of the two major parties — Swapo and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) — to the rules of discipline and crowd behaviour they endorsed a month ago.

Each party accuses the other of triggering the violence, and Untag police monitors have been unable to ascertain which side provided the spark.

Untag spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard yesterday defended efforts to uphold the pact, noting "disturbing departures" from the code, but stressing that many political rallies had been held without violent incidents.

Koevoet ^{CAT} demobilisation ^{7/15} row settled ^{5/10/87} ²²¹

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — Officials in Untag and Namibia's administration have settled a row over demobilisation of the Koevoet police unit and agreed on steps to keep track of its 1 200 members.

Untag chief Mr Martti Ahtisaari earlier in the week objected to a disorganised demobilisation parade in Oshakati last Saturday at which only 900 of the counter-insurgency fighters showed up.

Mr Ahtisaari complained that he had no official record of the policemen sent home nor any accounting of their weapons.

Security Council resolutions had insisted on demobilisation of the unit that led the military war against Swapo insurgents for a decade.

Critics said Koevoet's tactics, behaviour and reputation for brutality made its members unsuitable for redeployment in normal police work, carried out by the SWA Police under Resolution 435 that laid out the territory's independence programme.

Untag spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said yesterday that further talks between Mr Ahtisaari and Administrator-General Louis Pienaar had precipitated "complete agreement . . . on detailed proposals for the modality of demobilisation".

Agreement included police commanders providing identification of all demobbed Koevoet members, and an inventory of Koevoet weapons and vehicles, he said.

Yesterday, Untag's police commissioner, retired Irish police chief Mr Stephen Fanning, travelled to Oshakati with Brigadier Daniel Opani, deputy military head of the Untag force, to discuss the steps with SWA police chief General Dolf Gouws.

Mr Eckhard declined to disclose the steps agreed on to keep track of former Koevoet members.

UN and police meet to discuss Koevoet

WINDHOEK — Senior UN and Namibian police officials met in Oshakati yesterday to discuss the procedural aspects of the demobilisation of the former SWA Police counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet, UN spokesman Fred Eckhard said here.

He told a media briefing proposals by the UN were agreed on at a meeting between UN and Swapol personnel on Tuesday.

These concerned procedures for identifying demobbed Koevoet members and an inventory of the unit's weapons, vehicles and other equipment. (221)

The UN special representative, Martti Ahtisaari, on Tuesday expressed dissatisfaction with last Saturday's demobilisation of the unit as about 300 of the 1 200 members were found to be absent without leave.

Administrator-General Louis Pienaar instructed Swapol to trace the missing men.

— Sapa. B/Day 5/10/89

Canadian Mounties

to join Untag force ^{6/16/89} (221)

STAR

PRETORIA — Up to 100 officers of the legendary Canadian Mounties are to join the UN's peace keeping force in Namibia for a six-month tour of duty, a statement from the Canadian Embassy in Pretoria said yesterday.

The statement said Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs Mr Joe Clark and Solicitor-General Mr Pierre Blais had announced that Canada had agreed to a formal request made by UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Chief Superintendent Larry Proke of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police has been named commander of the contingent.

The officers will serve up to six months, mostly in northern Namibia. Their duties will include monitoring the law-enforcement activities of the local South African-controlled police and protecting election facilities and personnel.

Support by Canada for UN Security Council Resolution 435 included 255 Canadian Forces personnel deployed as part of Untag's military component.

About R5,6 million in aid has been provided for the refugee repatriation operation. — Sapa.

STAR SCHOOLS

'Swapo win conceded by SA'

CAF 71475

6/10/89

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From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, ranked second favourite in next month's independence election, claims that Pretoria has conceded a Swapo victory and is seeking a working relationship with the former guerilla movement.

DTA chairman Mr Dirk Mudge yesterday also accused Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha of siding against the DTA and favouring other, unnamed parties as alternatives to Swapo.

Mr Mudge told reporters the mainly white Action Christian National, a campaign umbrella for the National Party of SWA and a group of German-speaking Namibians, had decided not to oppose Swapo but to work instead for a pact that would underwrite minority white rights under Swapo rulers.

Mr Mudge said South African diplomats in Windhoek had been conducting negotiations with Swapo leaders to prepare the ground for an amicable relationship between Pretoria and a Swapo government.

"Remarks (by South African officials) suggest that South Africa has accepted that it will live with a Swapo government," he said.

"Swapo has said that once they come into power they will be more tolerant as far as South Africa is concerned."

An official spokesman for the Attorney-General's office, Mr Eberhard Hofmann, said yesterday, according to Sapa, that the standing commission of inquiry into election malpractices and intimidation in Namibia will meet soon to investigate the violent confrontations between political party supporters in Katutura and northern Namibia.

Mounties head for Namibia

PRETORIA. — Up to 100 officers of the Canadian Mounties are to join the UN's peace-keeping force in Namibia for a six-month tour of duty, the Canadian embassy said yesterday.

Their duties will include monitoring the law-enforcement activities of the local South African-controlled police and protecting election facilities and personnel. — Sapa

SA demands guerilla numbers from UN

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — A new row over an old issue has arisen amid final demobilisation of Koevoet under United Nations pressure.

In response to UN insistence to keep track of members of the disbanded counter-insurgency outfit, South African officials are again demanding an accounting of all members of Swapo's guerilla force north of the frontier with Angola and in Namibia.

Untag officials have consistently declined to make public the number of People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) fighters ostensibly kept under UN monitoring in southern Angola.

DTA claims
SA accepts
Swapo will
win election

22) KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), ranked second-favourite in next month's independence election, claims SA has conceded a Swapo victory and is seeking a working relationship with the movement.

DTA chairman Dirk Mudge yesterday also accused Foreign Minister Pik Botha of siding against the DTA and favouring other, unnamed parties as alternatives to Swapo. Mudge told reporters the mainly white Action Christian National (ACN), a campaign umbrella for the National Party of SWA, and a group of German-speaking Namibians, had decided not to oppose Swapo but to work instead for a pact that would underwrite minority white rights under Swapo rule.

Concessions

"I don't have any problems if they want to talk," Mudge said yesterday. "But I want to know what concessions Swapo has made during those talks as far as privileges for white people are concerned, and concessions to SA in the post-independence period."

"The ACN has accepted as a fact that Swapo is going to win and are not campaigning against Swapo."

"All they are trying to do is to get as much white support as possible to put them in a position to negotiate a deal on behalf of whites," he said.

"Remarks (by South African officials) suggest that SA has accepted that it will live with a Swapo government."

"Swapo has said that once they come to power they will be more tolerant as far as SA is concerned."

Mudge said the DTA did not accept that Swapo would sweep the poll. "Swapo is losing support, and we are gaining," he said.

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Namibia on tenterhooks on the eve of elections

WINDHOEK — A "very fragile peace" was reported yesterday in Namibia as political parties made final preparations for the election leading to independence after a century of German and SA rule.

Today marks the start of a five-day, UN-supervised election for 72 seats in an assembly that will draft a constitution for an independent Namibia. UN spokesman Fred Eckhard said officials were nervous because "there is a deep-seated mutual distrust on the part of the different parties."

Posters and TV advertisements financed by UN and territorial officials have been stressing that ballots will be secret, and urge the 701 453 registered voters to "vote without fear".

The UN force will remain in the territory until independence. But Eckhard said other UN agencies would take over the task of tracking down more than 300 missing Namibians allegedly detained by Swapo in Angola and Zambia.

Eckhard also said UN officials had asked territorial police for a response to media reports that officers were providing arms to white civilians.

The OAU yesterday urged the people of Namibia to rid themselves of SA colonialism in today's elections, Zimbabwe's national news agency Ziana reports.

"The OAU, on this occasion, calls on all Namibian patriots to seize this unique opportunity and come out in thousands to vote decisively in a free and democratic and peaceful manner to rid this country and its people of the agony of colonialism, degradation and servitude," it said. — Sapa-AP.

Sam — the man they love or hate

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W/E Argus 7/10/89

By JON QWELANE
Weekend Argus Africa News
Service ■ Windhoek

REPORTERS on the editorial staff of Namibia's largest circulation Afrikaans newspaper call him, simply, Sam.

There may be other people mentioned in the paper's news reports, but only he will be denied a respectful title and referred to only by his first name or surname.

Sam Shafiishuna Nujoma means many things to many people. He is loved and hated in almost equal measure by a large number of those he usually calls "my compatriots".

To most whites in Namibia he is a communist-inspired terrorist intent on imposing an atheistic Marxist dictatorship in "South West".

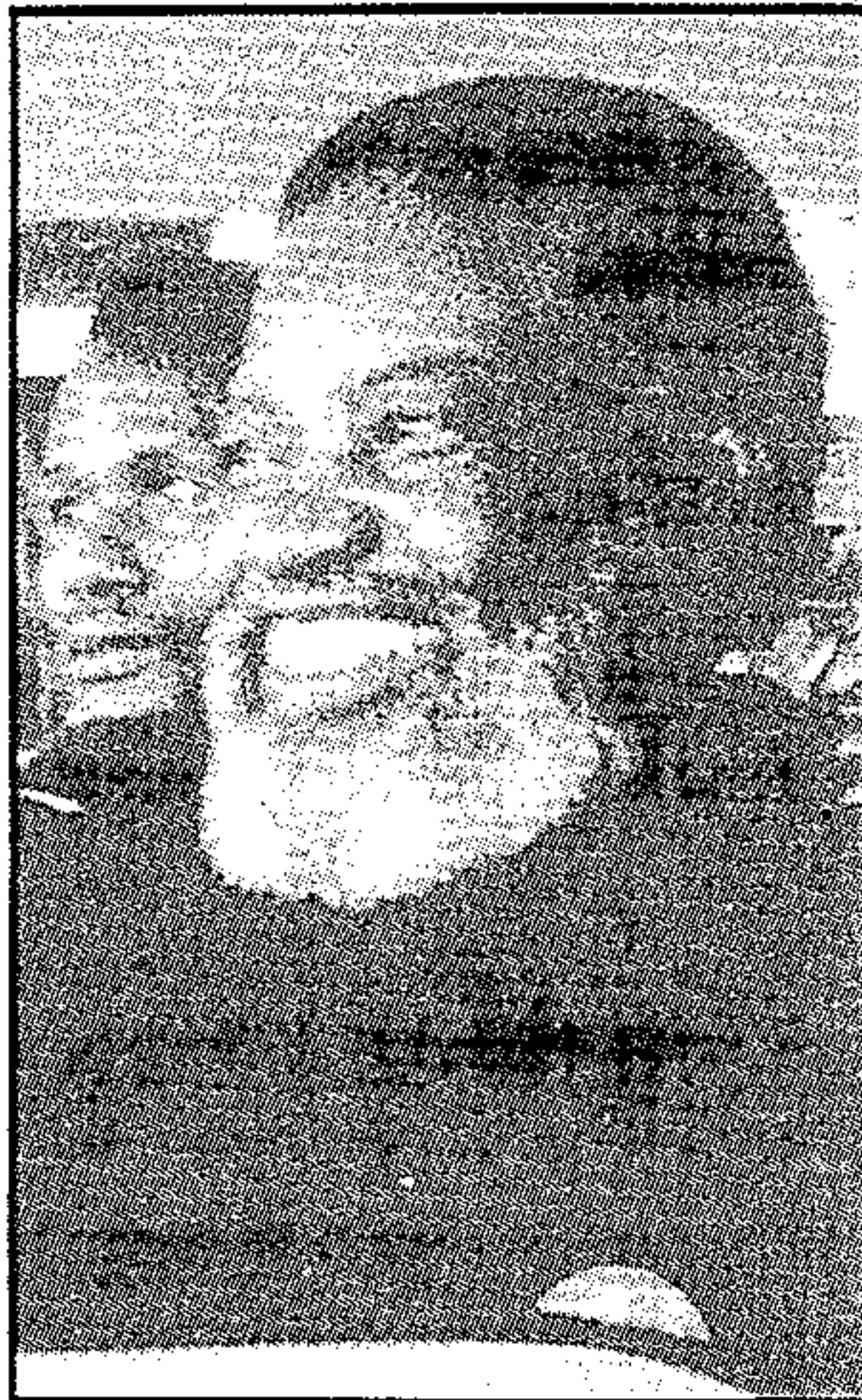
To many black supporters of Swapo in the townships and particularly in the rural north where he was born, Mr Nujoma almost hovers somewhere up there nearer the angels.

Yet to others still, such as Swapo's first secretary-general, Mr Ishmael Fortune, he is an "unreliable opportunist who has broken his promises before — and will do so again".

MR Nujoma has been back in the country for 22 days, after almost 30 years in exile.

He remains an enigma to most of his countrymen and supporters, perhaps the only constant feature of his being an almost permanent smile revealing a strong set of white teeth through an overgrown hedge of grey beard.

Even after his first public appearance — he was the star performer last weekend at the biggest public gathering yet seen in Namibia — very few people really know him.



Sam Nujoma ... An enigma behind a smile and a beard

Since his return he has kept a very low profile, with the rest of the leadership taking the lead in spelling out party policy and objectives.

His personal safety is certainly among the paramount reasons for his seclusion: When news of his imminent arrival spread, so did death threats by the allegedly non-existent "wit wolwe".

A CONCRETE wall facing Windhoek's biggest parking lot screamed in bold black paint on the morning of his arrival: "We are waiting ... for murderer Nujoma."

The writing is still on the wall.

But some observers here say the oth-

er principal reason the party is keeping the 60-year-old Mr Nujoma under wraps may be to protect him from himself.

He is reputed to have an incredible talent for shooting himself — and Swapo — painfully in the foot, and carrying merrily on with his pronouncements, unless checked.

But whichever way you look at him, there can be little doubt that he has a magnetic pull, perhaps born out of the mystique which years of exile certainly did create.

THE 1966 exploit of the man born to a peasant family in the northern village of Ongandjera amounted to bearding the lion in its den. He flew into Windhoek to test a United Nations motion declaring South African control of Namibia illegal.

He was never allowed out of the airport. He was immediately detained, locked up overnight, and formally deported as a prohibited immigrant the following day.

That had been his second brush with the law, the first being in December 1959 when he led protests against the forced removal of Old Location to present-day Katutura.

After police shot and killed 13 people and wounded more than 50 others, Mr Nujoma was locked up for a week before being released and warned to appear in court. Instead, he fled the country.

A touch of irony about his return home was his decision to stay in Katutura, whose beginnings he so firmly opposed.

The man born Samuel Tshombe — an explanation of his change of surname is very difficult to come by — and destined to be his country's first executive head of state has come a long way.

For the former railway worker, the end of the long campaign may be nearer.

Defeated ACN bargaining for whites — Dirk

STAKE (221) **JON QWELANE** 7/10/89

WINDHOEK — Aksie Christelike Nasionaal (ACN), the front organisation of the National Party of South West Africa, had "accepted as a fact" that Swapo would win the elections next month and was not campaigning against it, an opposition political leader said this week.

Former NP leader Mr Dirk Mudge, now chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), said the ACN was mobilising white support for itself in the elections to be able to bargain on their behalf with Swapo after the polls.

Mr Mudge said it also appeared Pretoria, through the Department of Foreign Affairs, had concluded that Swapo would win the elections and he wanted to know what concessions it had made to South Africa regarding the lot of the white population in the post election period.

He said: "Rumours have been going around and I just cannot ignore them. ACN is trying to get itself as much white support as possible to put it in a position to be able to negotiate for the whites. So it has lost the elections already."

He named a senior foreign affairs official based in Windhoek as one with whom Swapo had regular contacts, and wanted to know what Swapo had been talking to him about.

Conclusion

"As a result of remarks by foreign affairs officials I have come to the conclusion that South Africa would live with a Swapo government and this is so because Swapo had indicated, in spite of its remarks during the campaign, that once it comes to power — which I do not believe — it will be more tolerant as far as South Africa is concerned," he said.

He claimed Swapo was "losing support because of their violent and undemocratic methods", and his own party's chances were "very good" and the DTA could win the elections.

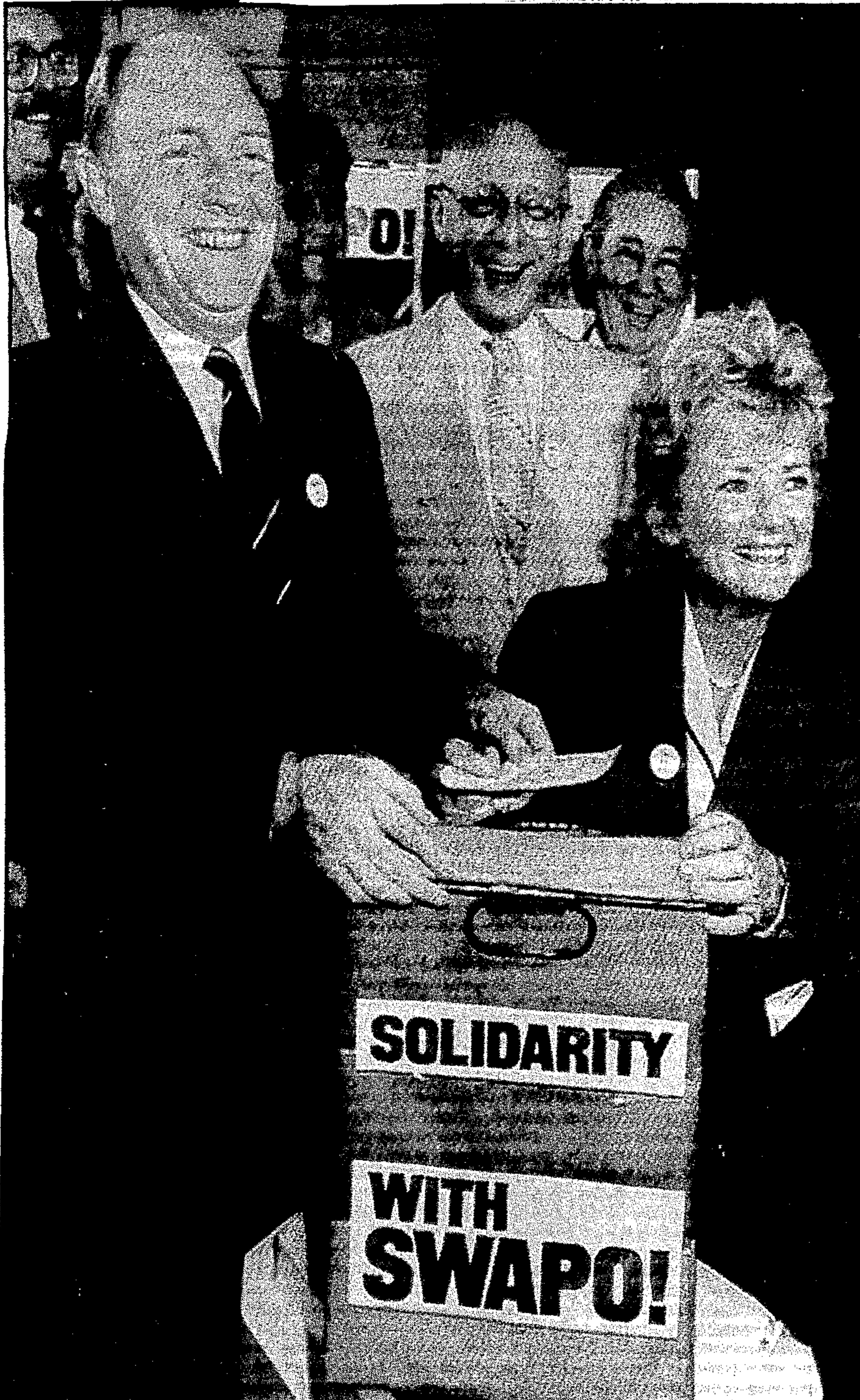
Apparently trouble had once more flared between Swapo and the DTA on Wednesday night in Luderitz where a DTA leader allegedly spoke disparagingly of Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma. Swapo members present had taken umbrage and in the ensuing fracas three of its supporters were arrested.

Mr Mudge said political leaders must accept they would be held responsible for their past actions.

"What is sauce for the goose must be sauce for the gander. If it is wrong for DTA supporters to react when one of their members is murdered, it is also wrong for Swapo to react when a speaker says anything they do not like," Mr Mudge said.

He denied charges by the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, that the DTA had no permission to stage last Tuesday night's march in Katutura township, when violence broke out between DTA and Swapo members.

Mr Mudge claimed the municipality and the police had given permission.



SOLIDARITY: Britain's Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock and his wife Gladys hand over a cheque for R100 000 raised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement for Swapo's election campaign. Mr Kinnock, a sponsor of the fund-raising drive, was in Brighton for the annual conference of his party.

Mystery as Info staffer ^{STAR} flies out ⁽²¹⁾ after 'bid to defect' ^{7/10/89}

SPECULATION is rife in Namibia that a member of South Africa's Bureau for Information attached to the Administrator-General's office may have tried to defect to the Soviet Union after just two weeks in the territory.

The staffer, Mrs Sue Dobson, has left behind a trail of mystery that has been exacerbated by the reticence of the bureau to comment on her last 72-hours in Namibia.

Mrs Dobson was fired by the bureau after her disappearance on September 24.

Sources told Sapa yesterday that the mystery surrounding Mrs Dobson, who was seconded to the Administrator-General's office from Pretoria, began on September 20 when she travelled with a foreign television crew to Oshakati in northern Namibia, ostensibly to film the peace process there.

On her return to Windhoek three days later — Saturday, September 23 — she apparently shunned colleagues and wished to be alone.

In the evening she turned up alone at the Swawek offices, which is the national electricity supplier, but left on finding the building closed.

She then left for Untag's Suiderhof military base where senior United Nations officials held discussions with her. According to the sources, she spent the night at the military base.

The following day she was taken by Untag to the Soviet observer mission in Windhoek where she held further discussions with Soviet officials.

She left the Soviet mission after two hours, rented a vehicle at the airport, telephoned her husband in Pretoria and returned to Windhoek.

Families seek Swapo prisoners

WINDHOEK. — The Parents' Committee of Namibia yesterday said three more Ovambo families had asked for the release of people allegedly held by Swapo in detention camps in neighbouring countries.

An Ongwediva man, Mr Conrad Ashiyana, 28, had left Namibia in 1976 to join Swapo in southern Angola where he worked as a political instructor.

In 1980, Swapo accused Mr Ashiyana of being a South African agent and he was never seen again.

A pressure group to secure the release of Swapo-held prisoners, the PC said in a statement that also missing while in Swapo detention were an Ovambo family Mr Stefanus Niinkoti, his wife and their son who had lived in the Omaalala village.

Another Omaalala resident, Mr Philemon Amunwe, left Namibia in the early seventies and joined Swapo in Zambia.

Mr Amunwe was hospitalised with a broken leg after torture by the Zambian police, the PC said. — Sapa

SA cops to stop Namibia unrest?

JOHANNESBURG. — South African police reinforcements may be sent to Namibia soon to help curb any increase in intimidation and violence in the last five weeks before the general election in the territory.

The Commissioner of Police in Namibia, Lt-General Dolf Gouws, said it would depend ultimately on the supporters of the various political parties whether meaningless violence, in which a number of people had already died, could be ended.

Under the settlement plan for the territory Un-tag police monitors are responsible for preventing intimidation, but during the implementation of Resolution 435 Swapol are responsible for law and order.

Meanwhile DTA chairman, Mr Dirk Mudge, said yesterday that Swapo had had political contact with high ranking SA officials and Action Christian National.

Mr Mudge said he had "no final proof but there are rumours going around" that Swapo had met the SA Department of Foreign Affairs through its head in Namibia, Mr Willem Retief, and ACN. — Sapa

AFRICA



Voters queue in Katutura

Picture: REUTERS

Voting in Namibia gets off to a peaceful start

WINDHOEK — Swapo leader Sam Nujoma and other top party officials yesterday opened polling at the Katutura community centre here as thousands of people swamped the three polling stations.

"Today, we are finally burying apartheid colonialism," Nujoma said as he was ushered in after waiting for about 15 minutes outside the incomplete building.

Wearing a dark pin-striped, double-breasted suit, the Swapo leader raised a clenched fist at the crowd which stretched for more than 2km along the perimeter of the polling station.

A queue numbering several thousands wound its way around the fence of the station, up across several hills and down into small valleys.

The atmosphere was one of joy. As vehicles passed the queue, hundreds of clenched fists punched the air. Untag monitors and civilian police kept an eye on the huge crowd before them.

In the Windhoek city centre at 9.45am,

more than 1500 Namibians formed a queue from the Talstrasse polling booth, up Bahnhofstrasse down to the main street, Kaiserstrasse. Voters read newspapers, chatted to friends and ate snacks as they waited for their turn.

A total of 358 polling booths, of which 157 are mobile, opened yesterday for the internationally supervised national ballot.

Windhoek publishers worked flat out late on Monday to include last-minute lists of all polling stations in their Tuesday editions. A spokesman for the Administrator-General's office, Gerhard Roux, said the delay had been caused by the addition of extra polling stations.

Untag's deputy election-director, John Lee Truman, said if there were long queues when the polls were scheduled to close at 7pm on Saturday, the possibility of extending voting by one day would be considered.

On Monday Untag reported the atmosphere throughout the country to be calm and peaceful — and this was borne out by voters at the polls where no antagonism was evident. — Sapa.

221 S.M. 9/10/89
**Report on UN search
for detainees held up**
WINDHOEK — Release of a report on the United Nations mission into Angola and Zambia to look for detainees allegedly still being held by Swapo has been postponed until Wednesday. The UN mission has been strongly criticised here for not having among its members former detainees of Swapo. — The Star's Africa News Service. 221 x

After battling to find parking
in side streets, on pavements

out on streets.

Despite having to jostle

from China to Czechoslovakia,
from Greece to Germany, and

Man dies in Namibia violence

By Jon Qwelane,
The Star's Africa

News Service 9/10/89

OSHAKATI — A policeman was killed in a suspected grenade explosion and a number of other people were injured by the blast as violence ripped through northern Namibia for the second successive weekend.

At least six hand grenades and a mortar exploded around here and in Ongwediva in a wave of unrest this weekend.

Although two people are believed to have died in the violence only one of the deaths — that of a policeman — could be confirmed.

Officers of the United Nations stationed in northern Namibia refused yesterday to say anything about the latest outbreak of violence. Their colleagues were attacked and fired on when they were called to an enclave of "cuca shops" (informal small busin-

esses) known to be a DTA stronghold in Ongwediva, just off the B1 highway.

Witnesses said the trouble broke out when two female students of Moshipandeka Secondary School were attacked "by a group of DTA people" as the girls returned from a rally in Oshakati addressed by Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma on Saturday.

The boys at the school's hostels saw the attack and went to their assistance. The DTA group ran across the road to the cuca shops.

Some UN officers went to the cuca shop complex but were attacked and shots were allegedly fired at them.

After the UN men retreated, an all-out attack was launched on the school. Windows in the students' hostels, classrooms and the assembly hall were broken.

Chaos erupted in Oshakati as people were beaten up.

Later, at a braai, a police-

man, known only as Aaron, died when a grenade was thrown at some revellers. Another person is thought to have died.

In the past 13 days violence has broken out several times between DTA and Swapo supporters.

In last weekend's violence, DTA supporters chased a team of American television reporters into the UN offices in Oshakati and, using a gun and a knife, demanded their cameras. The DTA has since apologised to the UN mission.

Both the DTA and Swapo are signatories to a code of conduct which forbids violence and intimidation as political methods. It also forbids the carrying of weapons by party supporters.

● More than 100 other people were injured in accidents in the traffic chaos which followed Saturday's mass rally addressed by Mr Nujoma.

...with goodwill?

Dead fish

ay, October 9, 1989.

221

Night of clashes near Oshakati

OSHAKATI. — More than 20 people were injured in a night of clashes between rival political groups following a huge Swapo rally on Saturday.

Police said last night that fighting broke out when supporters of the rival Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) attacked Swapo supporters near the northern town of Oshakati.

A series of grenade explosions and sporadic gunfire occurred after the initial clashes. It was not immediately clear how most injuries happened.

"DTA supporters attacked a school where there were some Swapo supporters at Ongwediva near here, and they (DTA supporters) were shooting at everybody, including the police," police spokesman Chief Inspector Derek Brune said.

He said one of the injured was in a critical condition and a policeman was wounded when a hand grenade was lobbed at him by DTA supporters.

The two parties are the main contestants in United Nations-supervised elections scheduled for November, due to pave the way for the territory's independence from South Africa.

Just hours before the clashes, Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma had called for reconciliation with his former enemies in the territory's South African-led security forces.

Mr Nujoma was addressing a crowd of about 70 000 people on a dusty plain in Swapo's heartland, the Ovambo region, which bore the brunt of his movement's 23-year war against South Africa.

"We welcome our brothers in the South West Africa Territory Force and the South West Africa Police who were our enemies, with open arms, to join us in building a prosperous new Namibia," he said.

Tensions have been running high around Oshakati, once a South African military centre, following rioting last Sun-

day by DTA supporters avenging the death of one of their organisers who was hacked to pieces the day before by Swapo supporters.

Yesterday the DTA leader, Mr Dirk Mudge, called for discipline from supporters of his party.

Mr Mudge said: "You have leaders, political leaders, I ask you to work with them."

The final disbanding of the police counter-insurgency group Koevoet is due to be completed by the UN and local police (Swapol) tomorrow.

Diplomats have expressed fears that members of the disbanded unit would be more of a danger to civilians outside the command structure of the police.

● At least 100 people attending a mass Swapo rally at Oshakati were injured in motor accidents on Saturday.

Oshakati hospital spokesman Dr Chris Frey said 90 people were injured in the first three accidents. — Sapa-Reuter

Swapol 'keeping officials in dark'

Police are not ⁽²²⁾ co-operating with Untag - UN chief

NEW YORK — Namibia's police are not fully co-operating with UN officials and are withholding security information and denying them the right to visit detainees, the head of the United Nations said yesterday.

In a report to the Security Council, Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar also said the South African-trained South West African Police Force (Swapol) was dragging its feet on investigating cases.

"In many cases they have proceeded very slowly and there is a risk that some of them will not be completed within the transition period, with the result that important and crucial evidence may thus be lost," said the UN chief.

About 1500 UN police monitors are in Namibia to supervise the conduct of Swapol during a one-year period in which the territory is to gain independence from South Africa.

Dr Perez de Cuellar's report notes that there is no arrangement under which the UN monitors may visit detainees at Swapol stations and says the monitors are not present when Swapol members accused of offences are questioned.

Swapol had also "on occasion" failed to inform the UN monitors of its schedule of patrols, making it difficult for the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) supervisors to accompany them, he said.

"Nor has Swapol always shared with Untag information relevant to the security situation in Namibia, though it has often made unsubstantiated allegations of imminent infiltration by Swapo combatants from southern Angola," Dr Perez de Cuellar said.

"It is clearly important that security information should be shared with Untag, in order to prevent any recurrence of disturbing terrorist incidents which have taken place in recent weeks, including a murderous attack on Untag locations at Outjo on August 10 and the assassination of a leading official of Swapo in Windhoek on September 12."

The UN chief also noted that he has had to increase the number of police monitors from 500 to 1500 since April "in order to deal with complaints received from Namibians who do not wish to address themselves directly to Swapol".

Namibians are reluctant to complain to Swapol about its officers, about the former South African-led military personnel in Namibia or about political parties allied with Pretoria.

Dr Perez de Cuellar's report reviewed conditions in Namibia since Untag began operations there in April. — Sapa-AP.

STAK 10/10/89 (221)

Accusation against SWA police 'unfounded'

By Jon Qwelane,

WINDHOEK — The Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, yesterday sprung to the defence of the SWA police, charging the United Nations Secretary-General with "bias" in his assertion that UN police encountered lack of co-operation from their Namibian counterparts.

Mr Pienaar said Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar's claim created the impression that only SWA police were at fault when, in

truth, communication between the two police units had "occasionally" been inadequate. This had caused misunderstanding on both sides, which was now being incorrectly construed as unwillingness to co-operate.

He said the claim that UN police could still not visit detainees held by SWA police was "totally unfounded".

Mr Pienaar said he seriously questioned the Secretary-General's insistence on the demobilisation of the remaining Koevoet

members still attached to SWA police.

He said: "Already my police resources are stretched beyond their limits and any further insistence that other members of the police force be demobilised could leave me with no option but to request assistance from elsewhere."

"With the elections less than four weeks away, it will not be possible to train new police recruits."

● See Page 13.

2 servicemen killed in car

ARGUS 10/10/89 (221)

New Namibia violence disturbs Pienaar

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — Namibia's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, says a situation could be building up which might derail the country's independence process.

With the end of the 22-year bush war people must realise that "erstwhile enemies are now confronting one another across the political stage, rather than across the border and from behind a gun," he said yesterday.

He was "very disturbed" by weekend violence in the north of the country in which a man and a woman were killed and many were injured.

Recent outbreaks of violence did not mean the situation was

out of hand and although the Commissioner of the SWA Police, General Dolf Gouws, had said the South African police would be called in to bring matters under control, Mr Pienaar did not "at this stage" contemplate approaching the South African government and the SAP for reinforcements.

Mr Pienaar called on political parties in Namibia, in particular the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and Swapo, to keep their supporters on a tight leash.

The violence was at least the fourth time in two weeks DTA and Swapo supporters had crossed swords.

Police in Owambo blamed the DTA for starting the trou-

ble, which erupted shortly after Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma had addressed an estimated 70 000 supporters in Oshakati.

In his speech Mr Nujoma thanked the police for maintaining law and order and extended a hand of friendship to them and to former members of the armed forces who had fought against Swapo.

The United Nations police based in Owambo blamed the DTA for the violence of the preceding weekend.

At the weekend in Oshakati, Ongwediva and surrounding villages, hand-grenades, live ammunition, knives, pangas and stones were used in the political violence.

Attempt to calm Namibia violence

CAPL 7/12/89 10/10/89 221

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — United Nations officials and rival Namibian political leaders meet today to thrash out a worsening problem of inter-party violence that could wreck the UN-managed independence programme within weeks of the elections.

Political managers and Untag peace-makers have scheduled a meeting here today in an all-party forum set up as a safety valve on political pressure.

But so far the inter-party group and a voluntary campaign code of conduct have failed to contain violent conflict between supporters mainly of Swapo and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), the leading rivals for power.

"With the evidence at our disposal we realise a situation could be building up that could lead to

the ultimate defeat of the aims and objectives of resolution 435," government spokesman Mr Gerhard Roux said yesterday.

In the third serious outbreak of clashes at the weekend, two people died in a hand-grenade explosion and at least 30 were hurt in fights in volatile Ovambo.

The violence spilled into shanty villages in the populous northern region at the weekend after Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma addressed a huge rally near Oshakati — his first appearance in 30 years on home territory — and nearby, DTA followers buried a supporter killed in a clash a week earlier.

DTA chairman Mr Dirk Mudge yesterday held Untag and administration officials responsible for some of the violence, claiming their agreed demobilisation 10 days ago of the notorious Koevoet police unit had been

a serious miscalculation.

Police in Ovambo at the weekend blamed DTA supporters for touching off some of the clashes and for shooting at Swapo followers, civilians and police.

Administrator-general Mr Louis Pienaar announced the demobilisation — required by UN resolutions governing the independence programme — in a decision Untag officials deemed long overdue.

Mr Mudge, acknowledging that most former Koevoet members were DTA backers, said the disbanded counter-insurgency fighters should be left under control of their former commanders rather than political party leaders.

Untag boss Mr Martti Ahtisaari yesterday said he would discuss the growing violence "with the utmost concern". He said he was "dismayed at the vicious mob behaviour" after the large political rallies.

UN chief slams SWA police force

CAPL 7/12/89 10/10/89 221

NEW YORK. — The UN secretary-general has accused Namibia's police of not co-operating fully with UN officials, of withholding security information and denying them the right to visit detainees.

In a report to the Security Council, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar also said the SA-trained South West African Police Force (Swapol) is dragging its feet on investigating cases.

"In many cases they have proceeded very slowly and there is a risk that some of them, including some serious cases of homicide, will not be completed within the transition period, with the result that important and crucial evidence may thus be lost," said the UN chief.

Mr Perez de Cuellar's report notes there is no arrangement under which UN monitors may visit detainees at Swapol stations, and monitors are not allowed to be present when Swapol members accused of offences are questioned.

Swapol has also, "on occasion",

failed to inform the UN monitors of its schedule of patrols, making it difficult for Untag supervisors to accompany them, he said.

"Nor has Swapol always shared with Untag information relevant to the security situation in Namibia, though it has often made unsubstantiated allegations of imminent infiltration by Swapo combatants from southern Angola," Mr Perez de Cuellar said.

"It is clearly important that security information should be shared with Untag, to prevent any recurrence of disturbing terrorist incidents which have taken place in recent weeks, including a murderous attack on Untag locations at Outjo on August 10 and the assassination of a leading official of Swapo in Windhoek on September 12," the UN chief said.

He also said he has had to increase the number of police monitors from 500 to 1 500 since April "to deal with complaints received from Namibians who do not wish to address themselves directly to Swapol". — Sapa-AP

Strife upsets

Ahtisaari

5/10/80
The Star's
Africa News Service

(221)

OSHAKATI — United Nations special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari, in Namibia to supervise and control the country's progress towards independence, yesterday reacted with "dismay" to the violence which broke out in northern Namibia at the weekend.

Mr Ahtisaari's office confirmed that two people died in the upheavals, but did not supply names or details of how they were killed.

The UN also said its personnel had been "attacked by the DTA" (Democratic Turnhalle Alliance) in Ongwediva and Oshakati when mobs rampaged after a Swapo rally addressed by Mr Sam Nujoma.

A UN vehicle was stoned and one of its tyres slashed, but its driver was not injured. In Oshakati, a UN policeman was attacked by people wearing DTA T-shirts and caps, the UN said yesterday.

in blaze crash

VN — Six people
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nd other motor-
be injured.

Pienaar warns on Namibian violence

By Jon Qwelane, The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Namibia's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, said yesterday he realised, with the evidence at his disposal, that a situation which might derail the country's independence process could well be building up.

With the end of the 22-year bush war people must realise "erst-while enemies are now confronting one another across the political stage, rather than across the border and from behind a gun".

He was "very disturbed" by the violence in the north of the country over the weekend in which two people, a man and a woman both middle-aged, were killed and many other people injured.

The outbreak of violence last weekend and the one before did not

mean the situation was out of hand and although the commissioner of SWA Police, General Dolf Gouws, had said the South African Police would be called in to control matters, Mr Pienaar did not "at this stage" contemplate approaching the South African Government and the SAP for reinforcements.

He would be watching very closely how the coming weekend unfolded, and would not hesitate to take the necessary action if the situation warranted it.

Up to 14 people who were seriously injured at the weekend were flown to Windhoek State Hospital yesterday for emergency treatment.

Mr Pienaar called on political parties in Namibia, in particular the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and Swapo, to keep their supporters on a tight leash.

The violence was at the least the fourth time in two weeks that DTA and Swapo supporters had crossed swords.

● See Page 2.

Dobsons never came to us, say Soviets

STAR (221) Staff Reporters 10/10/89.

The mystery surrounding the disappearance of former Bureau for Information employee, Mrs Sue Dobson (27), deepens after the Soviet Embassy in London denied that Mrs Dobson and her husband, Peter, were seeking asylum at their embassy.

An embassy spokesman said no-one had sought asylum at the London embassy "although I cannot speak for other embassies".

Meanwhile in Windhoek a United Nations spokesman said that Mrs Dobson called on the UN security and military personnel in the early hours of the last Sunday of September before leaving the Untag building.

No details were given about what she discussed with the security and military personnel of the UN.

After her meeting with the two contingents Mrs Dobson, according to the UN, asked to be driven to a destination in Windhoek — which turned out to be a street corner in the city.

It has also been reported that Mrs Dobson told the people with whom she was sharing a house in Windhoek that an officer of the South West Africa Police tried to recruit her as an informer.

Restrictions

The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations.

Swapo more confident

WINDHOEK — For the first time, a senior Swapo official has acknowledged a concern that the movement may not secure two-thirds of the national vote in next month's election.

"At one stage I was a little bit worried," Swapo campaign manager Mr Hage Geingob told reporters yesterday.

But it was a passing worry, he said, and confidence had been restored since the return of Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma.

Swapo would get 80% of the vote, he said.



Pienaar hits back at UN criticism of SWA police

10 221
 PR66J
 11/10/89

Argus Africa News Service WINDHOEK. — The Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, has sprung to the defence of the SWA police, charging the United Nations Secretary General with "bias" in his assertion that UN police encountered a lack of co-operation from their SWA counterparts.

Mr Pienaar said Dr Javier Perez De Cuellar's claim created the impression that only the SWA police were at fault when, in truth, communication between the two police units had "occasionally" been inadequate, causing misunderstanding on both sides, which was now being incorrectly construed as unwillingness to co-operate.

Dr De Cuellar's claim that it was still not possible for UN police to visit detainees held by the SWA police was "totally unfounded".

Mr Pienaar said he seriously questioned the Secretary-General's insistence on the demobilisation of remaining Koevoet members still attached to the SWA police.

He said: "Already my police resources are stretched beyond their limits and any further insistence that other members of the police force be demobilised could leave me with no option but to request assistance from elsewhere."

"With the elections less than four weeks away it will not be possible to train new police recruits."

However, Mr Pienaar said Dr De Cuellar's report to the Security Council augured well for the final stage of the implementation of the Namibian peace process, and he perceived a spirit of recognition and goodwill and assured the UN of his administration's dedication to the holding of free and fair elections.

● In his report to the Security Council, Dr De Cuellar also referred to the SWA Broadcasting Corporation, against which "many allegations of bias in the choice and presentation of news and current events" had been levelled.

The UN special representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, had emphasised the particular need for SWABC, given its monopoly position and the high degree of dependence on it by the majority of the population, to achieve "total impartiality and even-handedness".

Dr De Cuellar said substantial reform in the content of the corporation's programmes was especially necessitated by the rapid and dynamic process of social change.

Mr Ahtisaari had, accordingly, requested that the SWABC board be replaced by a management or editorial committee which would ensure the full adaptation of a vital medium of information to the current changes in Namibian society and the transformation in its political circumstances.

Namibian election law agreement

Argus Africa News Service WINDHOEK. — The United Nations special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, and the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, have exchanged letters accepting the provisions of the legislation relating to next month's elections.

President F W de Klerk and Mr Pienaar have already signed the law, and minor differences with the United Nations over the legislation have now been sorted out.

Namibia's chief electoral officer expects the law to be gazetted on Friday.

In a report released here yesterday, the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, spelled out in general terms the contents of the legislation.

One of the significant changes made to the original draft proclamation was that numbered envelopes in which voters would deposit their ballots would no longer be used.

Ballots would instead be put directly into sealed ballot boxes.

The initial draft also provided that illiterate voters be helped solely by electoral officials appointed by an administration "which many of them would not be inclined to trust".

According to Dr De Cuellar's report, this provision has been scrapped and the new law requires a United Nations supervisor to be present to help voters who cannot read.

The voter will then cast his ballot alone in the voting booth.

11/12/87
STAR
New warning on poaching in Namibia

By Dawn Barkhuizen

The Democratic Party spokesman on the Environment, Mr Rupert Lorimer, has warned of a massive escalation in poaching in Namibia after the recent disbanding of the controversial

South West African Police unit Koevoet.

He said the future of the area was in the balance, and if destroyed, it would be virtually impossible to restore to its original state.

Koevoet members stepped in earlier this year when poachers ran riot as the South African Defence Forces withdrew from the area as part of the implementation of Resolution 435.

At least 13 black rhino and numerous elephant were slaughtered.

Mr Lorimer said whatever their political reputation, the Koevoet units were ideally qualified as a game protection team with outstanding tracking abilities and mobility in the bush.

"If the Koevoet men are withdrawn the understaffed Department of Nature Conservation which has relied so long on the SADF will not be able to cope with a huge influx of poachers and increased smuggling of ivory and rhino horn," he said.

"Conservation authorities have insufficient money and no time to train additional game guards to deal with a crisis situation as the poachers move in."

Namibian poll procedures accepted

STAR 11/10/89

By Jon Qwelane, The Star's
Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — United Nations Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari and Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar have exchanged letters in which they accepted the provisions of the legislation relating to next month's elections.

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and Mr Pienaar have already signed the law, and minor differences with the UN over the legislation have now been sorted out.

Namibia's chief electoral officer expects the law to be gazetted on Friday.

In a report released here yesterday, UN secretary-general, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, spelt out in general terms the contents of the legislation.

Among the significant changes made to the original

draft proclamation was that numbered envelopes in which voters would deposit their ballots would no longer be used. Ballots would instead be put directly into sealed ballot boxes.

The initial draft also provided that illiterate voters be assisted solely by electoral officials appointed by an administration "which many of them would not be inclined to trust".

According to Dr de Cuellar's report, the provision had been done away with and the new law required that a UN supervisor would "always be present when voters who are not able to read and who require assistance receive the necessary instructions regarding the manner of voting from the presiding officer".

The voter would then cast his ballot alone in the voting booth.

Political parties would be able to observe all proceedings

at polling stations without being able to influence or intimidate voters or breaching the secrecy of the voting. They would also attend the verification and counting of votes, which the initial draft denied them.

No voter would be denied the right to cast a ballot, but those whose identification or registration was in doubt would use "tendered ballots", a double envelope system which would facilitate the resolution of the doubt before the ballots were counted or rejected.

Mr Ahtisaari met Mr Pienaar yesterday to initiate discussions on the next major piece of legislation relating to the independence process, the draft proclamation on the 72-member Constituent Assembly.

It is only four weeks now to the elections — polling will be held from November 7 to 11.

UN irked by Koevoet, SWABC

By Jon Qwelane, The Star's
Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — While United Nations Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar appeared in the main satisfied with Namibia's progress towards independence, a few irksome points were contained in his report to the UN Security Council which was released here yesterday.

Dr de Cuellar is still unhappy about the continued presence of former Koevoet paramilitary elements in the regular SWA Police and called for their complete removal.

Since Monday, the administration, closely monitored by the UN, has been carrying out the demobilisation of 1200 former members of Koevoet in northern Namibia who will continue to receive their pay until after the election.

(22) 11/10/89
"I consider (the demobilisation) as a step in the right direction, though I have told the authorities there should be no further payments other than termination payments.

"I am now pressing for the demobilisation of the remaining ex-Koevoet personnel who are still serving with SWA Police elsewhere than in the Oshakati (northern Namibia) district," said Dr de Cuellar.

'NEWS BIAS'

He also commented on the SWA Broadcasting Corporation, against which "many allegations of bias in the choice and presentation of news and current events" had been levelled.

UN Special Representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, had emphasised the need for SWABC, given its monopoly position and the high degree of dependence upon it by the majori-

ty of the population, to achieve "total impartiality and even-handedness".

Dr de Cuellar said "substantial reform" in the content of the corporation's programmes was necessary because of the rapid and dynamic process of social change now taking place in Namibia.

Dr de Cuellar was also critical of problems created by the lack of co-operation experienced by UN police monitors when dealing with SWA Police.

And, despite some recent "ugly incidents" of political violence in the country, he hoped that the parties which had signed a code of conduct banning violence and intimidation would ensure their supporters endorsed it and that "they will all accept the outcome of the elections".

● See Page 19.

UN should do more monitoring

CHE TWP 11/10/89
221

UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar has much to say about the SWA Police falling down on the job, but one wonders why he does not do something about it instead of merely complaining.

To be precise, why don't his Untag policemen do a bit more "monitoring" at the sharp end?

When I was in Windhoek a few weeks ago, a complaint I kept hearing was that the Untag police monitors were mainly deployed around the larger centres and did not accompany SWA Police patrols as a matter of routine.

One wonders why the Secretary-General and Mr Martti Ahtisaari have not insisted that this be the case — just as one wonders why there are so many Untag soldiers hanging around in Windhoek when they should be up north, and just about every one of them tooling around *alone* in a white UN vehicle.

As it is, the UN force is very small for its alleged task; all the more reason why it should be where the action is likely to be. But I gather the UN declines to post its men to danger-spots, which rather negates their purpose.

On this subject, the fuss about the way in which members of the former Koevoet counter-insurgency unit were demobilised is rather peculiar. Why did the UN not monitor and supervise the process, instead of simply letting it happen? There was a distressing slackness and lack of professionalism about the whole thing — as, indeed, there has been about the whole Untag operation.

One assumes that not all Koevoet members were summarily dismissed — some were regular policemen on secondment, while others were special constables who had volunteered for selection and advanced training, and one assumes that only the latter were demobilised, the regulars being transferred to other posts.

Be that as it may, the results of this demobbing illustrate the perils of crowd-pleasing gestures which have not been thought through. As an embodied force, Koevoet was under control and constrained by regulation; depending on circumstances, it could be monitored, given other duties or simply confined to base, to constitute a deterrent for as long as might be considered necessary.

Instead of this the Koevoet men were simply thrown out, presumably without gratuities or other recognition, and in distinct danger from Swapo vengeance; and it is almost inevitable that some of them will be caught up in the pre-election violence, which seems to have surprised everyone except people who understand the situation up there, and the deadly nature of the power struggle.

Swapo looks set to win

By JON QWELANE of The Argus Africa News Service in Windhoek

AK66S
12/10/89
221

IN four weeks the Namibian peace plan will reach its climax with the elections for a constituent assembly, and the battle for political supremacy has already begun among the 10 competing parties.

ELECTIONS

To most observers, though,

the battle seems to be a straight one between the two most prominent parties, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and Swapo.

Campaigning has been so intense, particularly in the past fortnight, that robust and unorthodox politicking in the form of violence and intimidation have surfaced at least four times in encounters of supporters of the two parties.

Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, is sufficiently worried by the escalating violence between supporters of the DTA and Swapo — at least four people have died in clashes involving the two parties in the last two weeks — to state that evidence at his disposal suggests a situation which could defeat the aims and objectives of the settlement plan could be building up.

United Nations Special Representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, on the other hand, is required by Resolution 435 to be satisfied that a climate conducive to the holding of free and fair elections exists before ballots can be cast.

To that extent he initiated discussions with all the parties registered to contest the elections, and a code of conduct was mutually adopted and signed under his chairmanship.

The code bans outright the use of violence and intimidation as political means to an end, and also forbids the carrying of weapons by the supporters of the parties during campaign meetings.

Parties must let both the SWA police and the

UN police know at least three days in advance of any gatherings that will be held, and must endeavour to conduct their meetings well away from each other.

Events of the past fortnight would suggest that to at least one of the signatories of the code, its intentions are not worth the paper they are written on.

As the campaigning intensifies, the numbers game begins to assume a significance which cannot be totally ignored.

In terms of Resolution 435 any one party which gains a two-thirds majority of the votes will be able to dictate the future state's constitution, and therein lies the rub.

If all that were required for a party to be declared outright winner at the polls was a simple majority of 51 percent of the votes, there appears little doubt that Swapo would easily emerge victorious.

Record crowds have been turning up at the party's rallies since its top leadership returned from exile and its president, Mr Sam Nujoma, has been attracting unprecedented numbers at each of his public appearances.

The DTA has been pulling in its supporters by the thousand at some of its rallies, too, but most of them were brought in from other areas by specially hired trains, buses, lorries and minibus taxis.

It is generally expected that Swapo should do very well in its traditional stronghold, Owambo, where at least half the country's population resides.

The urban areas also seem a safe bet for Swapo, if the numbers be any yardstick — impressive crowds have been turning up regularly to hear the party's leaders preaching the gospel of love and peace and reconciliation.

DTA leader, Mr Dirk Mudge, says even the South African government, through its Department of Foreign Affairs, appears reconciled to a Swapo victory and "living with a Swapo government".

While saying he does not believe Swapo will win the elections, Mr Mudge says the all-white Aksie Christelike Nasionaal — a front organisation of the National Party (SWA) — also appears to have given up the fight.

The numbers game assumes a new dimension if the total number of registered voters is taken into the reckoning — about 698 000, of whom 34,9 percent registered in Owambo.

Assuming that not every one of the voters in Owambo will cast their ballots for Swapo, it would mean that at best the party could hope to score one-third of the total voters' roll in its stronghold and look for the other third elsewhere around the country.

That could just give the DTA and perhaps even the smaller parties such as the United Democratic Front — no relation of its South African namesake — a chance to erode Swapo's hopes of emerging outright winner.

The DTA, too, is not oblivious of the fact that it got a resounding 80 percent of the 83 percent poll which put it in power as the interim government. But Swapo did not take part in the poll, which was supervised by South Africa.

There are four weeks left before Namibians go to the polls and, barring extreme acts of provocation and intimidation which could alter the political scenario — even some die-hard rightwingers are privately admitting Swapo cannot be accused of intimidation — it appears probable that the result will be a victory for Swapo.

10 000 Aids cases in Nam

CAP-INT 12/10/89

221

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — Independent Namibia's health and education services will have to come to terms with an inherited problem of Africa: Some 10 000 of its people may have Aids.

War disruption, inadequate education, traditional and church-led resistance to information programmes and preventive measures and health systems divided by apartheid have collectively camouflaged the extent of a problem which could be doubling every six months.

Two decades of war and tightening security control on the northern region abutting Angola and Zambia disrupted and curtailed many community-health programmes. But now with hostilities ended, health managers face the potential threat of widespread Aids infection among some 41 000 Namibians who came home from exile in the two northern neighbours, both high-risk nations.

National Health Department secretary Dr Lourens Erasmus acknowledges an effect on the spread of Aids, from war disruption, to northern bor-

der communities. "People are far more likely to follow a promiscuous lifestyle.

"We have not quite seen the effect of this but we will in the next few years."

Statistics disclosed recently by his department show 131 reported cases of HIV virus carriers since 1986. But the figure jumped by 18 between July and August this year.

But officials in the field agree that the problem is far wider than officially reported cases. Dr Erasmus estimates possibly 100 cases of Aids carriers for every one reported, translating into at least 10 000.

"We are facing rapidly increasing figures without even doing screening tests," said Dr Karen Burkhardt, a member of the Aids Advisory Committee. "Tests are done only on clinically suspicious cases. This is the tip of the iceberg."

Dr Andreas Obholzer, another committee member, said: "Information and education are our only defence against Aids. Ignorance is not bliss, it's death."

221

2 Cape Times, Thursday, October 12, 1989

Grenade attack: Six men in court

WINDHOEK. — A sixth man arrested in connection with the grenade and machinegun attack on the United Nations Outjo office, in which a man died, appeared in court at the town in northern Namibia on Wednesday.

He is Mr Johan Coetzee, 23, of 2 Frelon Street, Bob Rogers Park, Bloemfontein.

Other suspects, Mr Horst Klenz, 52, a West German citizen, and South Africans Mr Arthur Archer, 28, Mr Darryl Stopforth, 22, and Mr Leonard Veenendal, 23, appeared with Mr Coetzee and were not asked to plead.

The court adjourned till October 25.
A private security guard employed by the UN, Mr David Hoaseb, 22, was killed in the attack on August 10. — Sapa

Cape Times 12/10/89

221

315 still missing, says UN

WINDHOEK. — A United Nations mission has determined the whereabouts of a substantial number of the more than 1,100 Namibians originally reported missing or detained by Swapo, the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, said yesterday.

But 315 people could not be accounted for as yet, and he assured a media briefing in Windhoek: "For my part the search is not over. I will not disband this mission on detainees."

Mr Ahtisaari said there had been no detainees present in any of the alleged detention centres which the UN mission visited in Angola and Zambia. The UN mission carried out the investigation from September 2 to September 21.

Mr Ahtisaari said a laborious process of checking and rechecking the lists of names of missing people had turned up 110 duplications. A further 484 people had been identified as released from detention and repatriated. A total of 71 people were never detained. Another 115 people were believed to have died, while 52 people could not be traced because of insufficient information about their identities. That left 315 people who could not be accounted for and for whom the search would continue.

"At the alleged places of detention the facilities were found to have been stripped of all valuable materials and not to have been inhabited for several weeks at least," he said. — Sapa

CAPL Times 12/10/89 (221)

Chiefs form council to protect tradition

WINDHOEK. — A total of 150 tribal chiefs and headmen in Namibia have formed a Chiefs Council to represent their traditional authority.

According to a statement published yesterday, the first president of the Namibian Chiefs Council (NCC) would be Mr Kuaima Riruako of the Herero.

Mr Riruako is also president of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

A main objective of the NCC would be to ensure close liaison among chiefs and headmen.

The statement also said the NCC would form a pressure group against any future government in Namibia to protect traditional authority. — Sapa

Koevoet plight upsets DTA

CAPL Times 12/10/89
221
WINDHOEK. — The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance said yesterday that the United Nations had applied double standards in its approach to the recently demobilised paramilitary unit Koevoet, and to former Swapo soldiers.

DTA chairman Mr Dirk Mudge asked the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, to note Koevoet's "unfortunate plight" and to ease their transformation to civilian life.

"Koevoet was disbanded at very short notice," Mr Mudge said. "Understandably they have become the victims of uncertainty and frustration." — Sapa

Lubowski killing: No charge against suspect

CAP T14 B 13/10/89 (221)

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — Police investigators holding an Irish national under indefinite detention provisions as a suspect in the murder of lawyer and Swapo official Mr Anton Lubowski are still unable to press charges a month after the killing.

It was not clear yesterday whether the Irish government has arranged for diplomatic access or legal representation for the suspect.

Within 24 hours of the killing of Mr Lubowski on September 12 police arrested a 50-year-old Irish citizen iden-

tified as Mr Donald Acheson, a native of Belfast, who apparently has spent the past 20 years in Southern Africa, some of them in the former Rhodesian military.

But the suspect clammed up under interrogation — monitored by Untag policemen — and with a case based only on circumstantial evidence, police were unable to arraign him on a murder charge.

Investigators have still not found the murder weapon, believed to be a Soviet-made AK-47, nor have they traced a suspected accomplice.

Pienaar criticises UN search effort

CPA - Truis 13/10/87 221

WINDHOEK. — Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar and anti-Swapo political groups have hammered United Nations efforts to probe the disappearance of Swapo dissidents, accusing an Untag search mission of whitewashing the issue.

Mr Pienaar said the mission to Angola and Zambia, which reported finding no detainees, had kicked off three months too late.

He also criticised the absence of Namibian government

officials or former detainees from the UN delegation that was assigned to the search by Untag chief Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

"I am profoundly concerned that the findings of the mission are inconclusive," Mr Pienaar said yesterday.

Mr Phil Ya Nangoloh, head of the Parents' Committee activist group and a former Swapo detainee, charged: "The United Nations is doing its best to cover up for Swapo."



SALUTATIONS . . . Lieutenant-Colonel Kienzle, officer commanding the East German border guard contingent, salutes on their arrival at Windhoek airport in Namibia yesterday. It is the first time East Germans have been used in foreign service.

AP/WIDE WORLD
PHOTO: REUTERS

Demobbed Koevoet raises fears of violence in Namibia

Members of the feared counter-insurgency force Koevoet feel they have won the war, but lost the peace — and now their jobs
SUE BROWN reports on a destabiliser's dream

POLITICAL clashes, riots and violence in northern Namibia are becoming a real danger to the independence process, raising the prospect of post-election fighting even if the country does still go to the polls next month.

Violence has erupted in Ovambo-land on the last two weekends, before calming down during the past week.

On the weekend of September 30, the violence coincided with the demobilisation of the 1 200 members of the Koevoet counter-insurgency force who had still not been "absorbed" in Swapo, the police force.

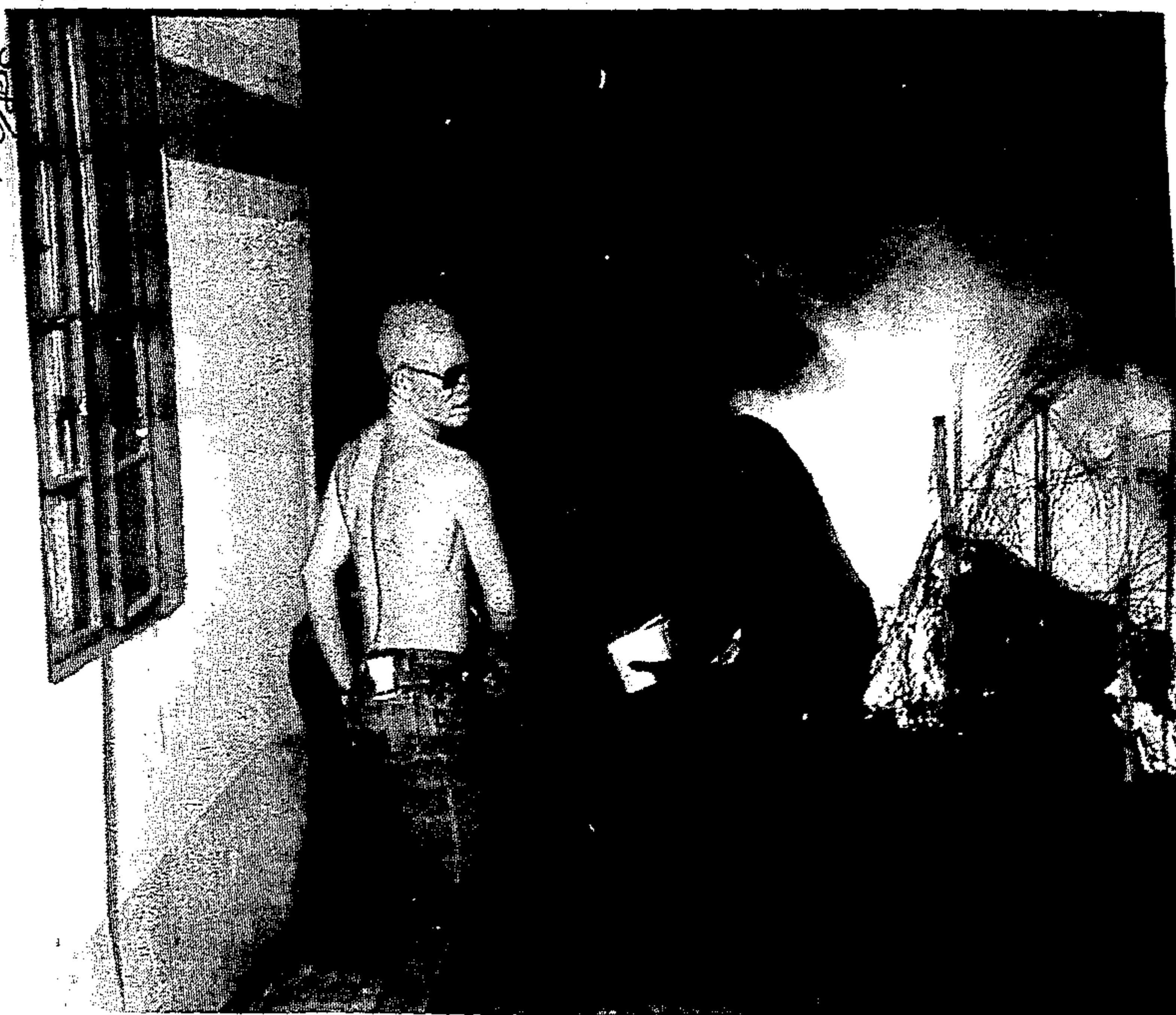
The demobilisation was sudden and rushed. According to an Untag member in Oshakati, the men had no idea until the previous day that they would be demobilised. Nor for that matter had Untag, and the process was scrambled through.

By the end of the head count some 300 Koevoet members were awol with the rest increasingly restless.

It's a destabiliser's dream. Koevoet feel they won the war and lost the peace — and now they are losing their jobs.

A second incident leading to the September 30 violence was the murder of a DTA supporter on the same day as the demobilisation.

According to a UN report, five DTA supporters stopped at a shop full of Swapo supporters and started shouting "Viva DTA". The two groups clashed, the DTA men fled. Four escaped "but the Swapo supporters grabbed the fifth and allegedly beat him to death with sticks and other weapons."



Neighbours fight the fire after a grenade attack by alleged DTA supporters on the home of a Swapo stalwart in Okatana as political violence soars with the demobilisation of Koevoet

Next day, a crowd of some 200 "very aggressive" DTA supporters — identifiable by colours and T-shirts and armed with sticks, bows, arrows and spears — started stoning Swapo supporters in the Oshakati marketplace. They were later dispersed by Swapo's riot squad, and two former Koevoet members were arrested.

A camera crew was chased into the Untag police base by DTA supporters, who beat them, pulled a gun on the Untag police monitors, and roughed them up as well. Later a truck load of Swapo supporters was surrounded and stoned outside Untag's regional HQ by a 200-strong crowd. Altogether 33 people were injured, six seriously.

Last weekend saw a triumphal Swapo rally in the north, where more than 50 000 people — a huge crowd for Namibia — came to Swapo president Sam Nujoma's first public appearance in the area. Nujoma's

speech was conciliatory, urging Namibians to "forgive and forget", inviting former Koevoet members to join Swapo and praising Swapo, who together with his own men were guarding him.

But though the meeting ended peacefully, that afternoon six hand-grenades were thrown by a DTA mob into a school near Ongwediva, injuring a security guard and about 20 pupils.

An Untag civilian team which happened to be on the scene was attacked, their vehicle stoned and slashed. A flare was launched from the crowd, which according to an Untag official "by the grace of God did not penetrate the vehicle — an inch one way or the other would have sent it through the window, and they both would have been dead."

According to the same source, "These people were wearing DTA T-shirts and DTA colours, and they had

Picture: J LIEBENBERG, Afrapix
Koevoet equipment. You can't discriminate at the moment between DTA and Koevoet."

Both UN and DTA sources agree that the main trigger for this worst wave of violence was the demobilisation of Koevoet — or at least the way it was handled.

According to a senior Untag official in Oshakati, "There's an awful lot of guns, rockets, flares and grenades going off. The Koevoet people are extremely angry. And they are turning their hostility against the traditional enemy, Swapo, and now against Untag."

Koevoet's second demobilisation was completed this week "in a more normal and orderly fashion, with Civpol (Untag police) monitors and military observers comparing the personnel records with ID cards — and trying to collect weapons," an Untag official said.

Dealing with Oshakati Koevoet's weapons stock is an eye-opener for the monitors, who say "there is enough to keep a war going for a year." The arms storage sheds appear to be easy to break into.

"We're hoping that this stuff hasn't been taken out of them," said a UN monitor. "Saturday night was like the fourth of July: non-stop flares, automatic machine-gun fire, explosions which could have been mortars or rockets."

Arms are everywhere. In late April, General Hans Dreyer told Untag that he had opened an armoury and anybody (in the security forces) could take what they wanted during the Swapo incursion earlier that month.

Info runaway had met cops

S/Times 15/10/87

By PETER KENNY
Windhoek

INTRIGUE around runaway Info girl Sue Dobson has deepened after it came to light that she spoke to a senior police officer in northern Namibia shortly before she fled the country.

Mrs Dobson, whose family link with the ANC was revealed after she mysteriously fled Namibia last month, met Chief Inspector Derek Brune, liaison officer for the South West Africa Police.

Inspector Brune, a police spy at Wits University from where Mrs Dobson graduated in 1982, refused to comment when asked when he had met her, but did not deny the meeting.

When asked whether he had tried to recruit Mrs Dobson as a spy at Wits, he replied: "That is something I cannot discuss."

But he dismissed the suggestion that Mrs Dobson might be a Swapol spy, and another government official

said it seemed ludicrous to get her to "spy" when she was already working for the Government.

Mrs Dobson, 27, worked as a journalist for the South African Bureau for Information since last October before being seconded recently to the office of the Administrator-General in Windhoek.

She left her home in Windhoek, where she stayed with three colleagues, in the early hours of Sunday, September 24, and fled the territory after calling on the Untag HQ and the Soviet observer mission in Windhoek.

She and her husband Peter are now believed to be staying in London with Mr Dobson's brother-in-law, Mr Jeremy Brickhill, and his wife Joan, an ex-Durban journalist.

CAT Tiefs 18/10/89 (221)

New harbour for Namibia, says Nujoma

Own Correspondent

SWAKOPMUND. — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma made his first visit to Namibia's west coast at the weekend since his homecoming, promising the nation a new harbour for the desert region and a pocket of land for every Namibian.

Appealing to regional sentiments, Mr Nujoma told a party rally that a Swapo-led government would set up a crash programme of agricultural reform and development, and design a fishery-protection policy to rehabilitate a natural resource plundered for years by foreign fleets.

Some 5 000 Swapo followers gathered on a Swakopmund rugby field to hear the 60-year-old leader.

No clashes with rivals were reported — in contrast to fighting that marred Mr Nujoma's appearance in northern Owambo the previous weekend — but party marshals removed dozens of weapons from Swapo supporters, including guns, knives and clubs.

Mr Nujoma avoided references to

potential dispute with South Africa over ownership of the Walvis Bay harbour enclave, but for the first time indicated publicly Swapo's interest in building a new harbour on the inhospitable desert coast.

"It is important for us to build more ports in addition to Walvis Bay, Luderitz and Swakopmund," he said.

"Perhaps north of Henties Bay, also to serve other countries such as Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia, and the countries beyond."

Mr Nujoma denied accusations by opponents that Swapo planned to nationalise privately owned farms, but said it was "no crime" to propose land-ownership reforms "while we have millions of indigenous Namibians, including whites, who are landless".

The party's proposed reforms would "ensure that every Namibian has land".

He also denied he planned to fire teachers currently working in the administration's racially divided education system. "We are so small that we will probably need technical assistance from other countries."



CAMPAIGN TRAIL: Swapo leader Sam Nujoma prepares to release a white dove of peace at a rally in Swakopmund

Argus 16/10/87 221

Nujoma promises reforms under Swapo

Argus Africa News Service
SWAKOPMUND. — Swapo's election campaign trail has led to this coastal town with Mr Sam Nujoma continuing his promises of socio-economic and land reforms under a Swapo government.

In Tamariskia township Mr Nujoma spoke to a crowd packing the sports field. Many who attended came from Walvis Bay.

Among his listeners were whites of German extraction, who, he said, were Namibian citizens no less than himself and must remain in the country.

Security was tight and each person entering the stadium was body-searched. Parcels and women's handbags were inspected.

Security officials confiscated several guns, knives, pangas and knobkerries.

Unlike the previous weekend's rally which Mr Nujoma addressed in the restive north of the country — at least four people died and many were in-

jured when bombs, hand-grenades and guns exploded after the gathering — the coastal meeting ended peacefully.

Mr Nujoma told the Swakopmund gathering he knew there were "poor whites" who, like most black Namibians, were denied the right to own land under the present system.

Under Swapo's programme of land reform every citizen would be benefit.

Farmers would receive State subsidies and free vaccines to encourage more and better production and the fishing industry would be expanded to provide more jobs.

The "plundering" by foreign trawlers, at present unchecked, would cease under a Swapo government.

SA, Cuba, Angola agree to keep an eye on Swapo

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The joint commission between South Africa, Cuba and Angola, which met here to discuss obstacles to the peace plan for Southern Africa, agreed on a mechanism to monitor the movement of Swapo forces across the Namibian/Angolan border.

This was disclosed yesterday by the chairman of the commission, Mr Neil van Heerden, after the all-day talks which will resume today.

Mr Van Heerden, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, said the mechanism would enable them to monitor the situation on the spot.

Further details would be released at a Press conference after today's session.

The extraordinary meeting between the three countries and two observer countries, Russia and the United States, is

the second to be held in South Africa.

Also present were the Namibian Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, and the United Nations special representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

The leader of the Cuban delegation, Mr Carlos Aldana, said there had been a "candid and frank exchange of views" at the meeting, expected to be the last before the UN-monitored elections in Namibia next month. However, certain aspects concerning the "unfulfilment of Resolution 435" still had to be thrashed out.

CUBANS HERE

Asked whether he was satisfied with the progress made since the adoption of the peace plan, Mr Aldana said: "Two years ago we were still firing canons at each other. Today the Cubans are in Johannesburg.

"The process is irreversible. However, we should not dramatise or idealise the situation."

Mr Van Heerden said he was satisfied with the tone and contents of the discussions.

The leader of the Angolan delegation, Vice-Minister of Defence, Mr Venancio Moura, expressed the wish that the pending elections would be free and fair.

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from Paris that France and Portugal have agreed to join the wide-ranging Angolan peace talks which on Monday focused on the Pik Botha-President Mobutu talks on the French Riviera.

Over the weekend, President Mitterrand was briefed on the South African standpoint by visiting Portuguese President Mario Soares who came there directly from Pretoria where he met President De Klerk.

Cape Times 17/10/89
221

Swapo faces court action over 'missing' detainees

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — Swapo defends itself in court today against accusations that it is still holding hundreds of dissidents captive, amid a resurgence of criticism that the United Nations (UN) reacted meekly to the controversial issue.

Lawyers for Swapo will oppose a Supreme Court action by an activist group seeking a court order to compel Swapo to free hundreds of apparently untraceable detainees.

UN officials who led a mission to southern Angola and Zambia last month in belated response to accusations by freed prisoners yesterday faced renewed charges that they act-

ed too late and ineffectively.

Swapo freed about 200 detainees in May and denies it is still holding dissidents. Leaders of the movement in August challenged human-rights agencies to find the detainees that Namibia's Parents Committee activist group claimed were still imprisoned.

The nine-member UN mission sent by Untag boss Mr Martti Ahtisaari reported last week that they had found no further prisoners at some three dozen locations, and said fewer than 300 people identified in a 1 100-name list were unaccounted for.

No former detainees were included in the mission.



HEADS TOGETHER . . . Mr Louis Pienaar, South Africa's top official in Namibia, confers with General Prem Chand, the head of the UN force in the territory, at the start of a meeting in Johannesburg involving South Africa, Cuba and Angola to monitor Namibia's progress towards independence from Pretoria.

Picture: REUTER

Cape Times 17/10/81 221

Cuba says Koevoet standing in way of 435

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Demobilisation of Koevoet and its incorporation into the SWA police force was a problem which still stood in the way of the full implementation of Resolution 435, Cuban Communist Party ideological department chief Mr Carlos Aldana said here yesterday.

Joint Commission on Namibian Independence delegates from South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Cuba, Untag, United States and the USSR are to conclude their talks today.

Mr Aldana said the committee believed Angolan Bushmen combat units should have refugee status.

Although these units were said to be disarmed, the Angolan government remained concerned about those groups of Bushmen who had co-operated with Unita, Mr Aldana said.

Under committee discussion, these issues were still to be resolved.

SA Foreign Affairs Director-General Mr Neil van Heerden said he was satisfied with the tone and content of the meeting which had agreed on a mechanism to solve remaining problems.

DTA organisers guilty of intimidating students

WINDHOEK — The O'Linn Commission for the combat-
ing of intimidation and election malpractices in Namibia
has found eight Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA)
organisers guilty of intimidating students and teachers in
Caprivi on September 1.

The finding, published yesterday, arises from a com-
plaint by headmasters Simasiku Samuel, David Ndana
Mwinda and Christopher Kwenani.

According to evidence before the commission, the
eight DTA men, one armed with a shotgun, arrived at the
three schools in Bukalo and tried to put up DTA posters,
threatened teachers they called Swapo supporters and
disrupted classes. Some teachers were threatened with
death, and derogatory remarks were made about women
teachers. The men also drove their minibus recklessly
around the schoolgrounds. Teacher Matongela Crispin
later laid an assault charge against the DTA organisers.

Although there was contradictory evidence, the com-
mission found on a balance of probabilities that "the
clear pattern that emerges from all the facts . . . was one
of a group of supporters and even organisers of a politi-
cal party who were intentionally out to harass teachers
and probably students at schools".

The commission ordered DTA organisers MacDonald
Mwilima, Vasco Mutelembi, Ernest Tubazumbe, Matani-
miye Tubazumbe, Michael Sikambwa, Alfred Mukenani,
Andrew Mwala and Richard Poniso "to cease forthwith
any intimidation of teachers and/or students at schools
in the Caprivi". — Sapa.

ON PARADE

By WILLEM STEENKAMP

Violations^{CAP 717A 18/10/89} in 435 do⁽²²⁾ still need attention

I AM delighted to hear, from the lips of Foreign Affairs Director-General Neil van Heerden, that the joint commission overseeing implementation of Resolution 435 has formed a sub-committee to give urgent attention to such matters as alleged violations of the 1988 Geneva Protocol and the reported build-up of Swapo insurgents in the "shallow area" just north of the Ovamboland border.

However, this is not to say that much will actually happen. During the Joint Monitoring Commission operation in 1984 and the Joint Military Monitoring Commission's life in late 1988 and early 1989, a similar situation developed and similar promises were made, then dishonoured; South African complaints were blandly denied in spite of indisputable evidence, the Angolans and Cubans refused to conduct inspections *in loco* and protests were sidelined.

What makes it even more unlikely that anything will happen is that less than three weeks remain before the Namibian election; if the matter is not resolved by then it will not matter any more — which might be literally a matter of life or death.

It seems strange that the South African government has not been more adamant about this and about the other main outstanding matter, namely, the rather perfunctory way in which the United Nations looked into the alleged disappearance of up to 1 400 people detained by Swapo.

It is certainly odd that *not one former detainee* was in the UN group sent to Angola to seek detention camps, although many were able and willing to go.

Some people might accuse me of carping, but these are important matters which affect the health of the entire process. Swapo supporters are already saying the election will not be "fair and free"; now, I notice, the anti-Swapo groups are beginning to say the same thing.

Which prompts one to ask: What chance has the process got of truly succeeding if *everyone* ends up distrusting the outcome of the election?

Namibia indaba

THE three-nation joint commission monitoring the Namibian/Angola peace accords was still meeting in Pretoria last night to thrash out remaining obstacles to the Namibian independence elections scheduled for the first week of November.

However, South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said in a Press conference during a break in the meeting that there seemed to be no "insurmountable" problems to be overcome.

If these were overcome, Namibian independence elections would remain on track, he said.

The joint commission of South Africa, Cuba and Angola - with the United States and the Soviet Union as observers - is holding its last meeting before the elections.

The meeting was scheduled to end yesterday afternoon but overshot its timetable by hours.

South Africa 18/11/89

Business Days 18/10/89

Namibia: 4 issues remain (2)

JOINT Monitoring Commission (JMC) Namibian peace talks snagged in Johannesburg yesterday after a UN draft resolution, drawn up by the African bloc, accused SA of not complying with its commitments in the region.

The JMC — consisting of Cuba, SA and Angola, with US and Soviets observers — later adjourned to Pretoria and continued deliberations at the State guest house.

At a Press conference later, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said the JMC had decided not to involve itself in the draft resolution circulating in the UN Security Council.

Botha told journalists that remaining problems in the Namibian peace process included:

- The position of ex-Koevoet members who had been integrated into the SWA Police, and the psychological impact this may pose;
- The resolution of the UN Security Council on Monday which accused SA of not having complied with its commitments;
- Aspects of the position of Bushmen battalions in camps;
- A number of prisoners detained by

DANIEL SIMON

Swapo and unaccounted for.

"After discussions with members of the JMC and after having listened to statements from the Russian and US observers, it would seem we should not involve ourselves with that draft resolution. This is a development which I welcome."

Botha said it was decided the JMC would rather concentrate on those issues that it could manage and address.

● Picture: Page 3

The issues the JMC would discuss were both the position of the Bushman battalion — which as far as he was concerned had already been demobilised — and the question of the additional ex-Koevoet members which were integrated into the SWA police force.

"There is concern about the ex-Koevoet members. It is not about what they have done but the psychological impact that their continued presence in the police

□ To Page 2

Namibian talks

could have or pose. We will have to deal with this issue and I believe they can be satisfactorily resolved."

Botha said on the South African side there were also a number of matters which existed like a number of people unaccounted for, people held by Swapo or those declared dead or considered missing.

"I believe that with the discussion this afternoon, there is a readiness of all the parties represented to resolve these issues as we have done in the past."

Asked about the position of Unita leader, Jonas Savimbi, Botha said that he had an encouraging meeting with Zairean President, Mobutu Seso Seko in France.

"I also met Savimbi and it would seem that both Angolan President Dos Santos and Savimbi accepted Mobutu as the sole mediator in this important matter to bring about peace in Angola.

"It would also further seem that the issue of a ceasefire at the earliest possible opportunity is the main issue exercising the minds of Savimbi, Dos Santos and Mobutu."

Asked to what extent SA influenced the situation, Botha said he went to France mainly to listen and to give the South

(22) From Page 3 18/10/89 B/DAY 18/10/89

African government's point of view.

"What it boils down to is to encourage every genuine move to creating peace and stability in the southern African region.

Botha said he believed that if all the parties could terminate their "war of words" and bring about a psychological atmosphere of calm, then this would be conducive towards finding an agreement on a ceasefire.

Asked if the Commonwealth Prime Ministers were softening on their sanctions line by not recommending new sanctions, but rather intensifying present ones after reading a report by Dr Allan Boesak, Botha said this was not necessarily so.

"If you hang the sword of pressure over the head of the government it is not softening but postponing a possible further confrontation. This is the wrong road to take."

Botha said the Commonwealth conference could not write a constitution for SA.

"I want to assure you that the majority of the Commonwealth members will not assist the economic situation in SA as they themselves are retrogressing economically at a very, very dangerous rate."

There was no reason for the Commonwealth members to concern themselves with the situation in SA, Botha said.

Swapo in court over missing detainees

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — Swapo's lawyers have accused a dissidents' pressure group of seeking to undermine the former guerillas' election campaign by launching a court action that claims Swapo still holds scores of detainees.

But the Parents Committee (PC) activist group says Swapo is more interested in electioneering than in ensuring freedom for imprisoned dissidents.

High-powered legal teams on both sides go into a second day of Supreme Court hearings today in a legal action demanding Swapo frees detainees it allegedly still holds, and produces records of all dissident members it has imprisoned in Angola and Zambia since 1980.

A three-judge bench headed by Judge-President Hans Berker is hearing the application, with three advocates leading the PC case and

two defending Swapo.

Swapo yesterday gave administrator-general Mr Louis Pienaar a list of 60 missing Namibians allegedly last seen under arrest by police, military or other authorities.

"As it is his deepest concern that every Namibian be given the opportunity to participate in the forthcoming election, he will do everything possible to investigate the whereabouts of these persons," administration spokesman Mr Gerhard Roux said.

Mr Peter Hodes, SC, leading the action by the Parents Committee against Swapo, said "this is not an exercise in blacking Swapo. It is an exercise in showing that there are still detainees".

Mr Dennis Kuny, SC, representing Swapo, accused the Parents Committee of timing the court action to undermine Swapo's election campaign.

The hearing continues today.

8 DTA men 'guilty'

WINDHOEK. — The O'Linn Commission for the combating of intimidation and election malpractices in Namibia has found eight Democratic Turnhalle Alliance organisers guilty of intimidating pupils and teachers in Caprivi in September.

The finding, published yesterday, arises from a complaint against the DTA organisers by the headmasters of three schools at Bukalo in Caprivi.

According to evidence before the commission, the eight DTA men arrived at the schools on September 1 dressed in DTA colours. One was armed with a shotgun.

They tried to put up DTA posters at the schools, threatened teachers they accused of being Swapo supporters and disrupted classes. Some teachers were threatened with death. — Sapa

Ex-detainees meet UN team

WINDHOEK. — The head of the United Nations mission to Angola and Zambia to trace alleged Swapo-held detainees, Mr B A Clark, on Monday met a group of seven former detainees here, UN spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said yesterday.

Criticism was levelled at the UN from several quarters for not including former Swapo-held detainees in the mission to Angola and Zambia which made public its findings last week.

Mr Eckhard said the two-hour meeting was held at the request of the group's lawyer, who was also present.

He said the former detainees sought clarification on several aspects of the report and agreed to meet Mr Clark on a regular basis. — Sapa

Windhoek march on UN

WINDHOEK. — Placard-bearing United Democratic Front supporters marched to the United Nations headquarters yesterday protesting against what they view as UN bias in favour of Swapo.

"Swapo digs holes, Untag buries facts," one of the posters stated, referring to Swapo detention camps in Angola and a subsequent UN report on the subject.

The UDF is one of the political fronts contesting the coming UN-supervised elections. — Sapa

Ex-Koevoet killer warned

WINDHOEK. — A warrant would be issued for the arrest of a former senior Koevoet officer convicted of murder, on his release from a hospital in South Africa where he was being treated, SWA Police spokesman Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said on Monday.

He said Dirk Calitz, whose appeal against a 10-year prison term was dismissed by the Bloemfontein Appeal Court a few weeks ago, was receiving treatment in a hospital, which he declined to identify. — Sapa



FAREWELL, DAD... Royal Canadian Mounted Police Officer Richard Sauve says goodbye to his son Francois after a farewell ceremony for a contingent of officers on their way to Namibia where they will perform peace-keeping duties.

Picture: REUTERS

JOHANNESBURG. — The Joint Commission on Namibia's independence moved to Pretoria yesterday after a hitch in the talks over a proposed United Nations Security Council resolution condemning South Africa's role in the territory.

The Joint Commission, which was due to complete its deliberations at lunchtime yesterday, has had to extend its meeting after the South African delegation objected to the contents of a draft resolution which was being proposed by the African bloc at the United Nations.

The draft resolution refers to the disbanding of Koevoet and the use of Bushmen units in support of Unita, issues that have both been the subject of the talks by the Joint Commission.

Last night, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said that although certain problems had arisen, there was a readiness among delegates to the Joint Commission to resolve the issues.

Answering questions from a large contingent of local and international journalists at the State Guest House in Pretoria, Mr Botha said he remained convinced the Namibian peace process remained on track "if we can resolve the issues".

The Joint Commission — consisting of Cuba, South Africa and Angola, and whose sessions are also attended by observers from the United States and the Soviet Union — met in Johannesburg yesterday and on Monday and continued deliberations at the State Guest House in Pretoria after a call on State President F.W. de Klerk at his Union Buildings offices.

Mr Botha told journalists last night that

Hitch in talks on Namibia

Cape Times 18/10/89
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Savimbi goes back to the bush

PARIS. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi yesterday left Europe amid expectation that he will declare a ceasefire and begin peace talks with the Angolan government.

Unita sources said he was returning to his headquarters at Jamba to prepare his guerillas

for a possible ceasefire.

Diplomatic sources said optimism in the Unita camp could only suggest that Dr Savimbi had received some form of assurances of direct talks with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. — Sapa-
Reuter

remaining problems in the Namibian peace process included:

- A draft resolution of the UN Security Council on Monday which accused South Africa of not having complied with its commitments;
- Aspects of the position of Bushmen battalions in camps;
- The position of ex-Koevoet members who had been integrated into the SWA Police, and the psychological impact this may pose, and
- A number of prisoners detained by Swapo and unaccounted for.

But Mr Botha said he was confident these issues would be resolved, as "there is a readiness among those here (for this)".

He added: "I do not see insurmountable problems." — Sapa



FW MEETS COMMISSION . . . President F.W. de Klerk meets Cuban and Angolan members of the joint commission monitoring Namibia's independence at the Union Buildings yesterday.

Namibian police reject spy claims

Argus Africa News Service *19/10/87*
WINDHOEK. — Namibian police today pooh-pooed claims that Susan Dobson had infiltrated the force as an African National Congress agent "for more than a year" and had gained "free access" to its bases.

Chief Inspector Kierie du Randt said Mrs Dobson had no contact with the police except on only one occasion when she was shown what was shown all other journalists.

"Frankly, she's not much of a spy," he said. "What we showed her we showed other people, and one of them was a Yugoslavian journalist.

"Her claims that she infiltrated us are ridiculous."

A diplomat said even if Mrs Dobson had successfully infiltrated South African operations here they could not publicly confirm it for the obvious embarrassment it would create.

UNEXPECTED VISIT

The United Nations mission, the last place Mrs Dobson visited shortly before she slipped out of the country to Britain, was also silent on what she had discussed when she paid an unexpected visit to its headquarters at 2am on the last Sunday in September.

According to the UN, Mrs Dobson arrived at its offices in Leutwein Street and asked to speak to security and military chiefs.

She spent several hours with them, and afterwards asked to be taken to a city address which turned out to be a street corner.

A source close to the UN said, however, that it was most unlikely the military and security personnel with whom Mrs Dobson conferred took her seriously — "they would not touch her even with a 10-foot pole" — and most certainly believed the visit and her statements to be a "set-up".



Veil of silence over Lubowski killing

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — A veil of silence has descended on the assassination of a leading member of Swapo, advocate Anton Lubowski, who was shot dead outside his home five weeks ago.

A day after his death police arrested an Irish passport holder, 50-year-old Mr Donald Acheson, who has been in custody ever since.

Police have been careful not to link Mr Acheson — it has still not been ascertained whether he comes from Eire or from Ulster — with Mr Lubowski's death, though a senior source said they might be on the right track in holding him.

Officially Mr Acheson is in detention for allegedly entering the country illegally. It is alleged he is a prohibited immigrant who may also be wanted by police elsewhere.

South African police have said Mr Acheson is awaiting

sentence for two convictions of theft.

Mr Lubowski, the first white Namibian to announce publicly his membership of Swapo — at the time of his death he was deputy head of the election directorate and administration — was killed by at least eight AK-47 bullets fired at him from close range.

"PROFESSIONALS"

Police said the killer or killers were "professionals" and did a clean job.

The murder weapon, which could possibly hold important clues, has still not been found and police earlier hinted that Mr Acheson was not responding to questions.

A red car allegedly seen speeding away from the scene of the murder was seized on the day of Mr Acheson's arrest. It was hired from an agency at Windhoek airport.

Another top source said though Mr Acheson was wanted in South Africa, it was un-

likely authorities would press for his extradition "at this stage" and hoped the eventual-ity did not arise as it might jeopardise investigations in Namibia.

The continued detention of Mr Acheson is raising questions about the legality of holding him, with some observers here saying all laws allowing for detention without trial were abolished in June.

But police obtained a magisterial warrant permitting them to hold Mr Acheson beyond the normal 48-hour period allowed for in terms of the Criminal Procedures Act.

A top Windhoek lawyer said police had the law on their side "this time" in continuing to hold Mr Acheson.

The lawyer said all countries had laws relating to aliens and immigration and empowered the authorities to hold an alleged illegal immigrant until he was tried or booted out of the country.

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UN, Pienaar 'at odds over majority'

Row over Namibia poll requirement

227 Star 19/10/89

WINDHOEK — Indications emerged yesterday of serious differences between South Africa's Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar and United Nations special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari on Namibia's Constituent Assembly, to be elected in three weeks' time.

The differences centre on the two-thirds-majority requirement internationally agreed upon in 1982.

"Mr Ahtisaari has already indicated that he does not want the two-thirds-majority clause contained in the Constituent Assembly Proclamation," a source said in Windhoek.

South Africa was insisting on the incorporation of the 1982 document which constituted an international agreement and was ratified by the UN Security Council this year, he said.

It was understood that Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha had written a letter to UN Secre-

tary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar emphasising the need for all to adhere to the agreement.

Agreed to by all Namibian political parties, the 1982 guidelines stipulate a Western-type multi-party democracy in Namibia and the protection of fundamental human rights.

Swapo pressure

The National Patriotic Front (NPF) said in a statement in Windhoek yesterday that tampering with the 1982 principles would amount to renegotiation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 and subsequent resolutions concerning Namibian independence.

An NPF spokesman, Mr Ben Mabuku, said the front had learnt that Swapo was pressuring the UN to drop the two-thirds majority needed in the 72-member Constituent Assembly to approve constitutional de-

tails.

"Swapo, after having realised how difficult it is to win a two-thirds majority (in the elections) ... has now resorted to behind-the-scenes lobbying for Mr Ahtisaari to seek changes in Resolution 435.

"Swapo wants to be declared the winner without necessarily meeting the two-thirds-majority requirement and to be given the authority to draw up a constitution or simply to start governing an independent Namibia."

Any attempt to change the independence process unilaterally would have serious consequences for the UN operation in Namibia and the country's independence process.

He urged the African group and the Non-Aligned Movement at the UN in New York "to stop advancing a one-party solution to the complex question of Namibian independence" — Sapa.

Swapol's got to jack up

WINDHOEK - The O'Linn Commission for the Prevention and Combatting of Intimidation and Election Malpractices has called on the SWA Police to take the necessary steps to improve their competence and effectiveness, SWABC radio news reported yesterday.

After investigating complaints arising from a demonstration by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance at Katima Mulilo on June 3 this year, Acting Judge Bryan O'Linn found the ineffective manner in which police monitored the march was not because of partiality to the DTA.

After the demonstration five complaints of intimidation, assault and damage to property were brought before the commission.

The commission found DTA leaders neglected to control the actions of their supporters during the demonstration and therefore allowed the march to dis-

SOWETAN Foreign Service

rupt traffic on a public road.

The commission did not have proof that conscious acts of intimidation and assault were carried out by the DTA supporters.

It also called on the DTA to ensure in future that political marches were organised and controlled according to the applicable motor vehicle ordinances and Proclamation AG23 of 1989.

Meetings

The proclamation stipulates the procedure for holding public meetings.

The commission's finding also stated that the DTA newspaper, *Die Republikain*, should correct a report published on June 4 which alleged that a Swapo supporter had wanted to drive his vehicle into a group of DTA marchers. - Sapa:

Australian youngsters watch anything

SOWETAN Foreign Service

PERTH - Many Australian children bully and bribe their parents into being allowed to watch violence on television and most times there is no parental guidance over what they see.

That was the finding of a new study, which went on to note that fewer than half the children surveyed - aged between 13 and 16 - had parents who commented on their viewing habits.

Less than 30 percent were prevented from watching programmes with violent or sexual content.

The study was carried out for the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal, which has been conducting an inquiry into violence on TV.

"Some children bribe their parents into allowing them to watch videos or TV shows with an adult classification," said Mr John Dickie, chief censor of the Film Censorship Board.

"Children will often argue with their parents that all their friends at school have watched a show and they should also be allowed to."

Another tribunal spokesman said that violence on Australian television seemed to be increasing.

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(100)

Swapo 'is not responsible' for the missing Namibians

By SUE BROWN
in Windhoek

A FULL bench of the Windhoek Supreme Court yesterday reserved judgement on an urgent application to secure the release by Swapo of six Namibians last seen in May this year and allegedly still held by the organisation.

Judgement is expected soon in the case brought by the Parents Committee (PC) of Namibia and four individuals.

At the outset of the hearing yesterday, Judge-President Hans Berker interrupted the PC's counsel, Peter Hodes SC of Cape Town, to warn that he wanted "facts and only facts".

The respondents in the hearing were Swapo, its politburo, president Sam Nujoma, secretary general Herman Toivo ja Toivo, Foreign Affairs secretary Theo Ben Guirab, Plan deputy commander and security chief Solomon "Jesus" Huala and information

secretary Hidipo Hamutenya.

None was present in court.

They were represented by Denis Kuny SC, instructed by Hartmuth Ruppel.

They argued that Swapo issued instructions in May that all prisoners and detainees were to be released, and that it is thus not responsible for the non-return of any of them. At the same time, the organisation said it did not defend any "tortures or abrogation of rights" that took place while they were in its keeping.

The PC also asked that Swapo release a list of people detained outside Namibia since 1980, plus the registers of seven prison camps, plus videotapes and recordings of detainees' confessions.

Kuny argued that the PC application was based largely on hearsay, irrelevancy and a matter of opinion. He said that the urgency of the case was contrived for political reasons, that the PC had no *locus standi* to bring the cases and that the court had no jurisdiction over acts in Angola or Zambia.

He also said that the PC was not entitled to apply to Swapo for the evidence that the PC wanted to use against the organisation in court.

Berker slapped down Hodes when he was arguing that 58 people who could not accede to Swapo's conditions for release had "probably" been badly tortured and could not be released with the other detainees on May 22 as a consequence.

Berker remarked that Hodes' argument sounded like "political engineering". But he also narrowly questioned Kuny on the human rights jurisdiction of the court.

The issue of the Swapo detainees is now a political shuttlecock. This is probably inevitable in the last weeks of the election campaign, but it is also fuelled by Swapo's present official line, which, as stated by Nujoma, is that there will be no investigation into alleged excesses by Swapo security.

The PC alleges that at least 32 people the UN checked off as repatriated by the UNHCR, or as registered on the voters' roll, are still missing.

W. Mail 20-26/10/89

AFRICA

UN attempts to stem 'disinformation' on constitution moves

WINDHOEK — UN officials seeking to stem "disinformation" have emphasised their commitment to a set of democratic principles designed by Western powers to underpin Namibia's first constitution.

Concern is being targeted at one of the so-called 1982 Principles, requiring two-thirds of the proposed 72-seat Constituent Assembly to enact the territory's founding law, and the same majority to pass future constitutional amendments.

Reports denounced by Untag officials and diplomats have hinted that Swapo — the most likely majority victor in next month's election — might try to dodge the obligation.

Administrator-General Louis Pienaar wrote the majority voting requirement into a

draft law structuring the assembly that will be precipitated by the November election.

Diplomatic sources say the provision may not survive current discussions between Pienaar and Untag boss Martil Ahtisaari to streamline the draft before it is promulgated.

But officials say the requirement will not be abandoned, and that UN negotiators are pursuing legalistic argument that Pienaar would be powerless to enforce it even if it were included in the final proclamation.

Untag spokesman Fred Eckhard yesterday declined to comment on the discussions.

"However, it must be emphasised that the

principles concerning the Constituent Assembly, as laid out in Security Council document S/15 287 of 12 July 1982, have been accepted by all parties and form an integral part of the settlement," he said.

He said UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar reported to the Security Council in New York that the Independence plan "includes agreements and understandings reached by the parties ... including the text of the principles concerning the Constituent Assembly, and these remain binding on the parties".

Diplomatic sources said the statement sought to erase suggestions that the UN was proposing to abandon the underpinning principles.

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Namibia 'disinformation plan'

— Ex-Info girl accuses SA

From MIKE SILUMA of the Argus Foreign Service in London

FORMER Bureau for Information employee Mrs Sue Dobson, disclosing her membership of the African National Congress (ANC), has accused South Africa of maintaining a secret disinformation unit in Namibia to undermine Swapo and "smear" United Nations officials, in direct contravention of the UN independence plan.

In a statement through the ANC office here, both Mrs Dobson and her computer expert husband, Peter, said they had been ANC operatives for the past 10 years.

During that time Mrs Dobson worked as a journalist on various newspapers and the SABC.

At the time of her flight to London she worked for the Bureau for Information and was posted in Windhoek as part of a covert SA unit, she said.

Image

Among the unit's tasks were to "undermine Swapo, harry Untag (the UN Transitional Assistance Group) and promote (the image of the Namibian) Administrator General and the (pro-South African) Democratic Turnhalle Alliance".

In the course of her duties she interviewed people such as the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, the Administrator General, and the heads of the South West African Police and Koevoet.

Mr Dobson, a computer expert, rose to the rank of lieutenant in the SA Defence Force's Military Psychology Institute during his two-year conscription period, according to the Dobsons.

Specific information he had access to related to South Africa's sanctions-busting strategies and the development of a new command-and-control system for the SADF.

'Many tasks'

In addition, the Dobsons said they had "carried out many tasks" for the ANC, concerning "gaining access to institutions of the Pretoria re-

gime including the National Intelligence Service and the SA Defence Force".

"During September 1989 it became clear that we were in danger and were instructed by the ANC to leave South Africa.

"This was a conscious decision and certainly not the result of some brainstorm or breakdown as the South African Press have tried to convey," added the Dobsons, rejecting media reports that they were mentally unstable or that either or them had had a nervous breakdown.

Before leaving hurriedly for London, Mrs Dobson had tried unsuccessfully to get assistance from the Soviet mission in Windhoek.

Sue and Peter Dobson also denied that they acted in concert with Mr and Mrs Jeremy Brickhill, said to be longstanding ANC members.

'Horrified'

"Our only connection to the Brickhills is a family relationship. We both joined the ANC as responsible adults who were horrified by the repression of the 1976 uprising, and by the continued repression of our fellow (black) citizens."

According to the Guardian newspaper, ANC officials said Mrs Dobson had supplied them with "valuable material".

Last month Mrs Dobson reportedly joined a delegation to Namibia to promote South Africa's image.

The delegation is said to have been led by Mr David Venter of the Bureau for Information, and included two members of South African Defence Force, as well as an unnamed person from the National Intelligence Service.

"We were there with the full knowledge and support of the Administrator General. The Bureau for Information said we were to supply newspaper copy for the Namibian, South African and international Press, including some of the biggest newspapers in

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HOURS



South Africa," said Mrs Dobson.

Instructions

Mrs Dobson told the Guardian that while working in Namibia, it had become "clear that South Africa was trying, on a consistent basis, to subvert the electoral process".

Specific instructions to the unit included:

- Promoting South Africa as a peacemaker in Namibia.
- Exploiting alleged splits in the Swapo leadership.
- Spreading a rumour that assassinated top Swapo official Mr Anton Lubowski was killed by a splinter group within the organisation.
- Smearing United Nations officials in Namibia.

The unit had also been told to publicise parties other than Swapo in the run-up to the elections and to exploit allegations that Swapo had tortured people.

● Last night the Soviet Embassy in London "categorically" denied having been in contact with Mrs Dobson.

● The Argus Correspondent, Pretoria, reports that Mr Peter Dobson, claimed to be a spy for the African National Congress, was said to be playing a key role in the installation of a new computer system at Iscor before his sudden flight to London.



Mrs Sue Dobson, who said in a statement in London that she and her husband Peter had been ANC operatives for 10 years

But Iscor has ruled out any possibility that security was breached.

The ANC claims Mr Peter Dobson operated "undetected and with great success", gaining access to the plans and strategies of security organisations in Pretoria, such as the National Intelligence Service and the SA Defence Force.

Sources in the computer industry say Mr Dobson, an employee of Comcon (Pty) Ltd of

Johannesburg, was heavily involved in the Iscor project, which was considered a major contract.

They said his departure had affected the installation, severely embarrassed Comcon and angered Iscor.

But Iscor's computer network, believed to be one of its most sensitive areas, was not compromised, according to the corporation's public relations manager, Mr Piet du Plessis.

Info Bureau denies Dobson allegations

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

ALLEGATIONS by a former Bureau of Information employee, Mrs Sue Dobson, that she had been involved in a "dirty tricks" unit against Swapo in Namibia and had obtained sensitive secret information for the ANC were rejected today by a Bureau of Information spokesman.

He said she had not been involved in any secret operation in SWA/Namibia but had been sent there as a team to help the Administrator with communications.

Allegations about a so-called secret fund was a ref-

erence to money that had been set aside for advertising to do with the election and independence process in the territory.

As a member of the staff of a bureau publication *RSA Policy Review*, she could have interviewed top people such as Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha for articles in the magazine.

He said she was "romanticising" the role she was supposed to have played. As a junior official she did not have access to sensitive

Swapo, UDF conclude secret electoral pact

CAPL Times 20/10/89
721

UN stresses democratic commitment

LONDON. — Swapo has concluded a secret electoral pact with Namibia's third-largest political grouping, the United Democratic Front, in a bid to boost its chances of victory in the November elections. This was disclosed yesterday by 435 Watch, the London-based publication of the International Freedom Foundation, which said disenchanted sources close to the leadership of the left-of-centre UDF attribute the pact to an offer of a prominent position in any future Swapo-led government to UDF leader Chief Justus Garoeb — brother of Mr Moses Garoeb, administrative secretary of Swapo's politburo.

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — UN officials seeking to stem "disinformation" have emphasised their commitment to a set of democratic principles designed to underpin Namibia's constitution. One of the so-called 1982 Principles, enshrined in a Security Council document and accepted by all parties to the Namibian settlement, requires two-thirds of the proposed 72-seat Constituent Assembly to enact Namibia's new constitution, and the same majority to pass amendments. Reports denounced by Untag officials and diplomats have hinted that Swapo, the most likely victor in next month's election, might try to dodge the obligation.

'SWABC still anti-Swapo'

WINDHOEK. — The South West African Broadcasting Corporation (SWABC) is still fundamentally biased in favour of the status quo, the SWA Police and free enterprise — and against Swapo, Untag and socialism, according to a report on the electronic media released here yesterday. The report — the second in a series of three studies by the Namibia Peace Plan Study and Contact Group (called NPP435) — said there had been little change since its first report on SWABC bias. It recommended sweeping changes in the corporation's hierarchy to correct the built-in bias. NPP435 said the corporation's bias came through clearest in its radio and TV news bulletins. — Sapa

Pik urges party 'restraint' in SWA elections

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Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, confident that pre-election hurdles will be cleared within three weeks, insists that Pretoria will recognise a UN-endorsed government in Namibia, no matter its ideology or colour.

In day-long talks yesterday with leaders of the 10 parties lined up on next month's ballot paper, he urged restraint and discipline to prevent a last-lap explosion of inter-party violence.

Swapo's election director Mr Hage Geingob, who met Mr Botha with Mr Sam Nujoma, told reporters: "The talks were conducted as neighbours starting to talk about a common destiny."

But Mr Botha left no doubt that South Africa was ready to send police and even military units to the territory under a pre-independence breakdown of law and order or to block any effort to hijack the poll.

Asked about Pretoria's attitude to its next sovereign neighbour, Mr Botha said the government was committed to accepting election results as free and fair under provisions of the Resolution 435 plan.

● More reports — Page 7

African states demand meeting on Namibia

NEW YORK. — African nations on Wednesday asked for an urgent UN Security Council session on Namibia, a meeting that is expected to unleash harsh criticism of South Africa for allegedly not complying with UN independence plans for the territory.

A toughly worded working paper threatening sanctions against South Africa has been circulated by non-aligned nations, but a Western member of the council said it was a "non-starter" as the basis for a resolution.

African and other non-aligned countries are demanding that the council make sure South African-controlled police fully co-operate with the UN before next month's elections.

UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar recently accused the territory's police of ignoring UN requests.

He said on Wednesday, meeting some African complaints that UN forces are too small to ensure a fair election, that UN election monitors would be increased by 353 to a total of 1 395 monitors. — Sapa-Reuter

Swapo outlines its economic plans

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WINDHOEK — Namibia's Finance Department officials, flying to Pretoria soon, may not have heard a Swapo official outlining his party's economic plans at a Windhoek seminar earlier this week.

The government planners will be discussing how to forge future links between an independent Namibia and SA.

Swapo's representative Tsudao Gurirab said under his party's rule it would be a diminishing economic relationship.

"A Swapo government will work towards establishing economic and commercial links with neighbouring countries.

Catalyst

"At the same time we will gradually reduce our country's contrived dependence on SA," he told a seminar arranged by the German business-interest group Interessen Gemeinschaft.

Other parties listed on the election ballot-paper were there, among them the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA).

But Swapo believes the low level of Namibia's development demands direct government involvement in "the role of an economic catalyst".

"To redress a legacy of dispossession, exclusion and exploitation, a Swapo government will bring about change in the ownership pattern, broaden the productive base of the economy with a view to creating more jobs and wealth, and thus to work towards a fair distribution of the national income," Gurirab told his audience.

"The two cardinal principles of Swapo's economic policy are increased productivity and social justice for all Namibians.

"We will inherit a colonial legacy characterised by great inequalities and historical injustices.

KEVIN JACOBS

"For a Swapo-led government... this will be a totally unacceptable state of affairs which will demand immediate and drastic change. We believe that we must collectively build a compassionate society which cares for its weak and underprivileged members," Gurirab said.

Swapo's planners propose no sudden disconnection of the economic umbilical with SA, but a phased reduction coinciding with gradual exploitation of wider markets that globally recognised independence will open.

"We recognise that in a world increasingly becoming aware of our common fate as inhabitants of the same global village, no single nation can afford to live the life of an economic hermit," Gurirab said.

"But, at the same time, it is also true that no nation will accept the indecency of living at the whims of its neighbours or from an international charity bowl."

Few hardliners committed to believing Swapo is run by Marxist ideologues will take any comfort from the party's public assurances.

Goodwill

But for those who are prepared to listen, and perhaps to believe, Swapo does extend a hand.

"In any newly independent country the foundations of democracy are still uncertain and fragile," Gurirab said.

"It calls for collective goodwill and equal responsibility from all the citizens to make it work.

"No party, even with a two-thirds majority in the November elections will be able to rule this country alone."

Report by K Jacobs, 94 Kleinwindhoek Rd, Windhoek.

Sue's smear claims calling up a storm

W/E ARGUS 7/10/89 221
By BRENDAN SEERY
Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — Relations between South African and UN officials here look headed for stormy waters following allegations by Mrs Sue Dobson.

Mrs Dobson, a former Bureau for Information journalist who fled Namibia this month, claimed in an interview published here that South Africa was running a R3,5 million covert operation aimed at smearing Swapo and the United Nations.

Official UN spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard told reporters at the regular Untag Press briefing here that Mrs Dobson's story "did not take us entirely by surprise."

Strong statement

South African Administrator-General Louis Pienaar issued a statement categorically denying such an operation was being run by the "communications" section of his office, as alleged by Mrs Dobson.

Mr Pienaar added: "I give an absolute assurance that no covert activities of any nature have been or are being conducted by any branch of my administration."

Mrs Dobson claimed the R3,5 million was being spent to smear and undermine Swapo and the UN while promoting the image of South Africa, Mr Pienaar and the DTA party of Mr Dirk Mudge.

At a media conference to present Mr Pienaar's reaction to Mrs Dobson's allegations, official spokesman Mr Gerhard Roux said the R3,5 million referred to by Mrs Dobson was "only part" of the overall budget and that the figure which had "stuck in her mind" was probably the cost of the extensive multimedia advertising campaign run by the Administrator-General's office to educate voters about the elections.

Verbal salvos

Mr Roux said he would not comment on the remarks by Mr Eckhard and any official UN comment should come direct to Mr Pienaar from the office of special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari. Mr Roux remarked, however, that he was refraining from comment because he did not want to spark another situation where he and Mr Eckhard would be trading verbal salvos, as they often did in the first weeks of the implementation of the UN plan.

Mr Roux repeated earlier South African statements that Mrs Dobson was a junior government employee and did not have the access to classified information that she claimed to have.

The ANC said Mrs Dobson had provided it with valuable intelligence information, including some on matters of a military nature.

PIK: PRETORIA UMBILICAL WILL BE HARD TO SEVER

From BRENDAN SEERY
and JON QWELANE
Weekend Argus Africa
News Service ■ Windhoek

SOUTH AFRICAN Foreign Minister Pik Botha paid what will probably be his last pre-election flying visit to Namibia this week, against the background of pressure from non-aligned countries at the UN for an emergency Security Council meeting to discuss Pretoria's role in the Namibian independence process.

Mr Botha spoke jointly and individually to all parties contesting the November elections and had what he termed "cordial and constructive" discussions with Swapo officials, including the organisation's leader, Mr Sam Nujoma.

Earlier this month DTA leader Dirk Mudge had accused South Africa of coming to terms with "living with a Swapo government".

Ironically, yesterday newly-exposed ANC "spy" Mrs Sue Dobson told a Windhoek newspaper that Pretoria had allegedly established a R3,5 million covert disinformation operation in Windhoek aimed at discrediting and undermining both Swapo and the UN.

One of the beneficiaries of the alleged "spook" scheme was the DTA, according to Mrs Dobson, as operatives had orders to promote that party.

Mrs Dobson also claimed the covert South African operation aimed at playing up alleged differences in Swapo ranks, particularly through intimating that white Swapo stalwart Anton Lubowski was assassinated by someone from within the movement.

AT his meetings with the Namibian parties Mr Botha made it plain that whoever took power, the umbilical links with South Africa would be difficult to sever.

He said he asked parties to think about future arrangements about currency (Namibia still uses the rand), membership of the South Afri-

can-controlled Southern African Customs Union, the judiciary (the Namibian Supreme Court still goes for appeal judgments to the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein) and telecommunications (all such traffic presently goes through South Africa).

Earlier in the week there was intense speculation among political observers in Windhoek about the possibility that UN Special Representative Marti Ahtisaari was considering backing down on the "1982 Principles" of Resolution 435 which provides, among other things, that a constituent assembly decide on constitutional provisions only by a two-thirds majority vote.

The subject of Swapo's detainees also remained in the news here with the action group, the Parents' Committee, bringing a habeas corpus action in the Supreme Court in Windhoek against Swapo, calling on the organisation to produce 54 people allegedly still held in camps in Angola or Zambia.

The Parents Committee and some of the parties contesting the election, are, however, claiming that as many as 1 400 Namibian exiles are still unaccounted for.

The United Democratic Front of Namibia staged a vigorous and colourful anti-Swapo demonstration, attacking it on the detainee issue. The UDF stance seemed to give the lie to reports in right-wing publications overseas that the UDF had negotiated an election pact with Swapo.

SWAPO presented its own list of 60 people it says are missing, having allegedly last been seen being taken away by security forces during the war.

Administrator-General Louis Pienaar accepted the list and said he would look into the matter.

While the 10 parties contesting the election this week again agreed on a condemnation of political violence, the O'Linn Commission on intimidation and election malpractices was continuing with its often arduous task.

Chairman Mr Acting Justice Bryan O'Linn released during the week the findings of a commission investigation which ruled the DTA guilty of intimidation in the Caprivi.

The commission continued its probe into the DTA/Swapo violence earlier this month in the Katutura township of Windhoek.

During the week the commission's only black member, Pastor Lapindja Nghole, resigned, claiming dissatisfaction with the commission's work and alleged lack of response from the authorities when security force members were cited by the commission as being guilty of intimidation.

Mr O'Linn dismissed the pastor's allegations against the commission, claiming Mr Nghole had difficulty in understanding legal procedures and was "not thinking clearly".

SADF taking no chances with Swapo in Angola

Star 22/9/81



Unita's chief of military intelligence, General Wambu Chindondo, said in an interview with Argus Africa News Service in Angola recently that nearly 2 000 Swapo combatants were stationed north of the Namibian border, some as close as 15 km.

Other sources, military and diplomatic, have supported the Unita claim, although there are differences over the number.

The presence of any members of Swapo's armed forces, Plan, deep in southern Angola would be in contravention of understandings and agreements on which the Namibian independence process is founded.

If the Swapo fighters are lurking near the border in substantial numbers it is difficult to see how their purpose could be anything other than nefarious in relation to the democratic processes agreed on for bringing independence to Namibia.

And if this is so, it would threaten the independence exercise itself.

Under agreements signed last year by South Africa, Angola and Cuba, and accepted by Swapo, the organisation is supposed to keep its armed forces north of the 16th parallel until they return, unarmed, to Namibia through designated

BY GERALD L'ANGE

Editor of The Star's Africa News Service

A sinister shadow will be cast over the Namibian independence exercise if there is truth in claims that a strong Swapo force is hiding in southern Angola. Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha appears unworried but the SADF is taking no chances.

entry points for the elections. In military circles there is speculation that Swapo has stationed combatants in southern Angola with the intention of trying to seize power in Namibia should Swapo not win the controlling two-thirds majority in November's election.

Alternatively, it has been suggested that the intention might be to suppress opposition in the event of Swapo winning control.

In the South African Parliament on September 14, CP member Mr Tom Langley asked about reports that heavily-armed Swapo men were 5 km north of the border.

In response, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said the Government was aware of the presence of Swapo elements in Angola, south of the 16th parallel.

Ready

They did not appear at present to pose a significant threat, he said. However, the authorities were ready for any attacks such as that launched on April 1 (when about 1 500 Plan combatants crossed the border and were repulsed in the bloodiest fighting of the entire Namibian war).

Mr Botha said he had been told by the United Nations Special Representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, that there were fewer than 500 Swapo men remaining in Angola — not enough to pose a military threat.

Mr Botha said while he did not necessarily accept Mr Ahtisaari's information, he considered that the UN representative was recognising that if "something goes wrong" South Africa reserved the right to take steps, as in the past, to prevent intimidation of voters.

South African military commanders are understood to be confident that even with only 1 500 troops left in Namibia in terms of Security Council Resolution 435 they could repulse any Swapo incursion. Other forces, including 32 Battalion, now based in the northern Cape, could probably be brought speedily into Namibia.

During the Swapo incursion in April, the Windhoek administration's first line of defence was the SWA Police, especially the former members of the counter insurgency unit, Koevoet. Although nominally disbanded, Koevoet, whose members were all regular policemen, had been merged with the rest of the police force and could quickly be redeployed.

After the failure of the April incursion, Swapo and its external supporters mounted a campaign for the police force to be purged of the former Koevoet members and deprived of its Casspirs on the grounds that both were being employed in anti-Swapo intimidation.

Administrator-General Dr Louis Pienaar refused to dismiss the ex-Koevoeters but eventually confined them all to base.

If Pretoria is worried about the presence of Swapo forces north of the border, it is not showing it. It appears to be concentrating on diplomatic means to get international pressure exerted on Swapo to withdraw the forces.

Dr Neil Barnard, chief of the National Intelligence Service, is reported to have had talks with his Angolan and Cuban counterparts on the issue.

Mr Neil van Heerden, Director General of Foreign Affairs and leader of the South African delegation, was quoted as saying there

were "rumours in Owamboland" that Swapo might use military force if it did not do well in the election.

Commandant Robbie Blake, intelligence officer for the SADF forces remaining in Namibia, suggested at a briefing for military correspondents on July 31 that Swapo was keeping an intervention force in Angola.

He said there were several possible scenarios. One was that in the event of Swapo winning the election the intervention force would move quickly into Namibia to consolidate the organisation's mandate and assume the duties of a national defence force.

Another was that after a victory in the election Swapo might use the intervention force to set itself up in power without bothering with the constituent assembly required by the UN independence plan.

Comply

South Africa's efforts to get Swapo to comply with the Namibian independence arrangements have been channelled mainly through the Joint Military Monitoring Commission which was set up to monitor the agreements.

Mr van Heerden said in Havana that "people have tended to deal with this in an offhand manner."

Dr Pienaar has obtained the approval of the Cubans and Angolans for the inclusion of the United Nations monitoring force, Untag, and the SWA Police, in the JMMC's monitoring efforts. He hopes the monitoring can now be extended right up to the 16th parallel instead of being confined to the border.

Efforts to establish from his office whether this new monitoring system has started operating have been unsuccessful.

The South Africans may be more worried about another Swapo incursion after the election than before it. In that case Pretoria might decide to intervene militarily and that would open up a frightening political "can of worms".

CP Correspondent.

THE South African government has gone to extraordinary lengths to convince the world of a split in the South West African People's Organisation and of the fairness of the independence election in Namibia next month, it was claimed in London yesterday.

The measures were described by Susan Dobson, who fled to London recently after nine years undercover work for the ANC in Pretoria and the Namibian capital, Windhoek.

Dobson was employed for some time by the SA Bureau of Information.

An ANC official, now in London, said she fed them with valuable material. Her husband, Peter, a computer specialist, said he was able to pass on the details of command and control systems being devised by the SADF.

She said: "It became clear that South Africa was trying, on a consistent basis, to subvert the electoral processes."

Dobson said the Bureau of Information's instructions were: to pro-

Trickery in poll claim by Dobson

City Press 22/10/89

...mote South Africa's image as a peacemaker in Namibia; to "exploit" alleged splits in the Swapo leadership; to "smear" UN officials in Namibia; to publicise parties other than Swapo in the election; to exploit allegations that Swapo had tortured people and to promote the image of the South Africa's administrator general as "fair and in control of the situation"

Dobson said that all the time she was passing on information to the ANC. Three weeks ago, while still in Namibia, she was told by the ANC to leave immediately, as there were signs that her role as an agent, had been uncovered.

■ Meanwhile a Solidar-

ity Committee in the Transvaal will be hosting a concert for a free Namibia in conjunction with Swapo.

This will be held today from 10.00 at the Flower Hall, West Campus, Wits University.

John Pandeni, General Secretary of the Namibia Food and Allied Workers Union, will be the guest speaker. Albertina Sisulu and Eliza Barayi will also address the concert.

The performers will include Sipho 'Hotstix' Mabusu, Sakhile and Bayete, Blondie and his African Youth Band.

All are welcome. A R5 entrance fee will be charged which will be donated to Swapo.

Rally turnout shows large Swapo win imminent

RUNDU. — The strongest indication yet that Swapo is going to sweep the Namibian election in November emerged on Saturday as the liberation movement and its main opponent, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), both held rallies in Rundu, the administrative centre of the Kavango region.

Kavango — the third-largest electoral district in the country with more than 60 000 registered voters — is regarded by observers as a key area which could determine the outcome of the election.

The DTA maintains the area is one of its strongholds.

Four of the five traditional leaders of the predominantly rural region are DTA supporters, while one supports Swapo.

Nevertheless, Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma managed to draw a crowd at least twice as large as the one which came to hear DTA leaders Mr Dirk Mudge and Mr Mishake Muyongo. Mr Muyongo has been promoted as the DTA answer to accusations that it has been dominated by white leaders.

The contrast between the two crowds were stark. While more than 10 000 Swapo supporters remained disciplined throughout Mr Nujoma's speech, only moving away to get a drink of water in the heat, the DTA crowd proved singularly inattentive.

By the time Mr Muyongo spoke, there were at least as many people outside the beer tent as at the front of the stage. The DTA provided free food and people were queuing up for their portion of pap and meat before the speeches had ended.

Mr Nujomo shared the stage with local traditional leaders, businessmen, clerics and Swapo officials.

He denied allegations that Swapo was still holding detainees in Angola and Zambia.

The movement, he said, had suffered terrible losses as a result of South African spies, including the Cassinga massacre in 1978, when almost 1 000 people — mostly women and children — were killed in a combined chemical weapons and paratroop attack on a Swapo refugee camp. — Sapa

Shots from Angola just miss campers

WINDHOEK. — Gunmen from southern Angola, believed to be Unita members, sprayed the Namibian bank of the Kavango River at Rundu with automatic gunfire yesterday morning, narrowly missing two Swapo election workers and an employee of the Council of Churches of Namibia.

Mr Lindsay Scott, Mr Dudley Viall and his wife Nina, who were camping near the Okavango safari lodge, were later escorted back to Rundu by police.

A police spokesman confirmed the incident, saying there were shooting incidents across the border "every two or three months". — Sapa

Swapo is assured of a full MDM backing

68/10/89
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 10/10/89

BY VICTOR
 METSOAMERE

SWAPO was assured of the unqualified support of the Mass Democratic Movement during the Concert For a Free Namibia at the Wits Flower Hall in Braamfontein yesterday.

The Namibian Food and Allied Workers Union general secretary, Mr John Pandeni, and MDM officials Mr Elijah Barayi, Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mr Peter Mokaba addressed the large crowd which turned up for the function.

It was hosted by the Namibia Solidarity Committee with the

proceeds going to Swapo. Performers at the concert included the Alexandra Art Centre Jazz Band, led by Ntomi Piliso, the Cosatu Cultural Group, Sipho "Hostix" Mabuse, the African Youth Band, Mzwakhe Mbuli, Bayete, Sakhile, Victor Shingwenyane and the K-Team. Pandeni, a Swapo

"A bloody war was fought in Namibia. Many lives were lost," Pandeni said.

He said the release of top ANC members and one PAC member was a result of the immense local and international pressure. The same applied to the implementation of the UN Resolution 435 in Namibia.

Pandeni said the illusion that South Africa was willingly conceding to Resolution 435 should be dispelled.

Mrs Sisulu said the struggle for liberation in Namibia was the same as that in South Africa because they both fought the same oppressor.

"The release of the eight leaders is not enough. All political prisoners should be released unconditionally," Mrs Sisulu said.

* An official welcome home rally for the seven newly released ANC political prisoners will be held at Soccer City (FNB Stadium) in Crown Mines on Sunday.

The Government has announced its approval of the rally.



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Fourteen days to go

Namibia prepares for the crucial November poll

By JOHN RYAN of the Argus Africa News Service in Windhoek

A light plane circles over Windhoek, dragging a banner.

It is election time. The Namibian elections take place in two weeks' time, from November 7 to 11.

Below, in the central business district, hoardings of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance predominate.

Whose interests is this aerial exercise serving? The Lord's. "Jesus says come unto me," the banner proclaims.

North in Katutura, Windhoek's little Soweto, DTA posters hang in nearly equal number to Swapo's. The offices of the two main parties are almost back to back along a dusty alley.

The proximity seems to bother neither side, though frequently at night posters are torn down in a fairly even contest of retaliation. But it is schoolboy-type mischief.

Two weekends ago, in Ovamboland, Swapo and DTA supporters were killing one another.

Around Kaiser Strasse, the city's main street, it looks as though somebody has granted independence to the construction business. The street itself is in the last stages of a R6m facelift. Three major development schemes are rising behind the thoroughfare, insurance and general shopping complexes.

The hope, many locals believe, is to jump-start public confidence in Namibia's future economy before Swapo takes over.

In the event, the boarded sites offer themselves as a vehicle for some incongruous graffiti. "Eet weer kreef!" ("Eat crayfish again!") says one slogan. "Where are the Yanks?" asks another.

More pertinent to the political climate is a sign on a condom-dispensing machine in the toilet of a nearby restaurant. "Anti-Aids" has been scratched out and "Anti-Saari" substituted.

The Ahtisaari men are as ubiquitous as an occupation force around the city. Pakistanis in turbans, ebony Nigerians and ivory Finns, Canadians, New Zealanders, Fijians, Kenyans, Australians and the rest. Uniformed ambassadors of the world.

Mr Martii Ahtisaari himself may be held in suspicion by whites cynical of UN neutrality in the present monitoring process, but overall the Untag troops in the field



Windhoek ... centre of the election campaign



seem to have been accepted with little resentment.

There was an outcry in Mariental when the first Kenyans arrived and were perceived to be wearing belts of red, green and dark blue — the colours of Swapo. But then it was explained to the right-wing farmers that the dark blue was in fact black, and that those regimental colours predated the Second World War.

The Fijians assigned to monitor Karibib, one of the most closeted white communities, had difficulty socialising before it was discovered they played rugby. Thereafter, they transformed the local team to a force not seen before in the area. And later some of them became a band rendering Polynesian music on Wednesday and Saturday nights at the highly uniraical hotel.

Now the Fijians have been transferred to Windhoek, to the great regret of Karibibians who had hoped they would perform a similar miracle with the cricket side.

Untag Aussies have found the Cuca shebeens of the north a home from home. The Kenyans posted to Outjo have set up their own pub in the township and invited the neighbours in.

The New Zealand police contingent are probably having the most outlandish experience, spread variously between Rundu on the border with Angola and the western Namib.

New Zealand being like a large, well-manicured golf course, the bleak wilderness is a considerable culture shock to them. "And there are bloody snakes," says Sergeant Dick Harries. "We don't allow those things in Kiwiland."

Sergeant Harries heads a team of five based in Swakopmund, the resort oasis on the coast. Not that they have much opportunity to savour its cold Atlantic pleasures. The policemen work ten hours on, ten hours off, monitoring SWA Police activities, covering an area of nearly 7 000sq km in their white Land Cruisers.

Untag vehicles are a popular target with souvenir hunters. The theft of registration plates in the past six months has exceeded the speed of replacement. Now the numbers are painted on instead.

This aspect, along with the lesser ability of Untag drivers to cope with rural roads, has diminished the resale value of the fleet. Some will have to be scrapped after all this.

October in Namibia is festival time, a tradition transplanted from the great Munich Oktoberfest. Windhoek used to be at the eye of such celebrations. The capital gained a reputation for lascivious pursuits like wife-swapping during the frenetic week.

Much of the legend, though not all, was apocryphal.

Other centres, towns and villages with a history of German occupation, took on the tradition. Omaruru is one such place.

The Oktoberfest in Omaruru is a one-day event, held on a Saturday at the high school. This year the mood is morose. There is a tactile feeling that this could be the last.

Families sit at trestle tables, toying with wurst and kartoffel. Males are in a clutch near the bar, vying to see who can drive a four-inch nail deepest into a tree stump.

A man in lederhosen is alone at the end of the counter, head down over his beer. At once, he looks up bleakly. "Why don't they go away?" the man shouts.

Whom he means is hard to say.

Namibian war 'cost 12 715 lives'²²¹

Staff Reporter

Cape Times 26/10/89

A TOTAL of 715 South African soldiers and almost 12 000 Swapo insurgents died in the Namibian border war, according to the first book to tell the full story of the 23-year-long conflict, which is being launched in Windhoek today.

This is the first time that casualty figures for the war have ever been made known.

The book "South Africa's Border War, 1966-1989", by Cape Times defence correspondent and well-known Cape Town author Willem Steenkamp, is the result of nine months of intensive research, writing and production which began before the war had officially ended.

In spite of the title, it starts with the formation of the Swapo in 1957 and ends with the final implementation of the Mount Etjo agreement in May.

The book draws on a variety of official and non-official sources and reveals several hitherto unknown episodes in Southern Africa's longest war.

Acheson hunger striking, says ^{Aku} mystery caller ^{25/10/89} ²²¹

Argus Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK. — Irish national Mr Donald Acheson is still in a police cell six weeks after he was picked up for questioning in connection with the assassination of white Swapo stalwart Mr Anton Lubowski, but police have vigorously denied they are deliberately ignoring clues and anonymous tip-offs.

Police liaison officer Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand has also denied reports in a Windhoek newspaper that Mr Acheson is on a hunger strike to protest his innocence.

The Windhoek Observer reported that it had received an anonymous phone call from a man claiming to have spent time with Mr Acheson in a cell in Windhoek central prison.

The caller claimed he believed Mr Acheson was innocent of allegations that he was involved in the killing of Mr Lubowski.

DENIED ACCESS

The newspaper reported its informant as saying that Mr Acheson had been denied access to either a doctor or a lawyer since he was held, under immigration regulations, a few days after Mr Lubowski's killing on September 13.

Mr Acheson had been on a hunger strike for more than nine days, the caller told the newspaper.

The informant claimed Mr Acheson had told him he had been taken by detectives of the SWA Police to Johannesburg, where he was interrogated by the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad and the United States' FBI and CIA.

The caller told the Windhoek Observer that Mr Acheson had further claimed that police had taken him to the Osiri interrogation centre near Otjiwarongo and left him alone in a police vehicle in which the keys were left in the ignition. The caller said Mr Acheson told him he believed the incident was a trap for him.

The Windhoek Observer also quoted its informant as claiming that he personally knew who was involved in the killing of Mr Lubowski and he "alluded" to the killing of South African political activist Dr David Webster.

The man said he was leaving for South Africa and promised to inform the paper in writing who killed Mr Lubowski.

Police in Windhoek have so far not reacted to the allegations.

Poor DTA rally shows cause for alarm

By KEN VERNIN,
The Star's Act
News Service

One rally does not an election make — a coin a phrase.

But the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) rally at Rundu in the far north of Namibia last weekend may well come to be seen as a vital pointer of things to come in next month's Namibian independence election.

Alarm bells must be ringing in the DTA headquarters after the rally, the first in which the DTA met with Swapo in a head-to-head competition for attendance in the same town, at the same time.

Reports of actual numbers at the two rallies, mostly from people who were not present, have been wildly inaccurate.

After rival marches through the dusty streets of Rundu both parties initially attracted about 1 000 supporters each to hear their leaders Sam Nujoma for Swapo and Dirk Mudge and Mishah Muyongo for the DTA. Botswana and the DTA transpired in about half their supporters from the country side. But while at least 4 000 peo-

ple braved a three-hour wait in blistering 40 deg C temperatures to listen to Sam Nujoma deliver a vitriolic speech, fewer than 1 500 stayed around to listen to Messrs Mudge and Muyongo.

After sampling the free food and drink, they seemingly wandered off to sleep it off.

Organised

Even allowing for the fact that many of those at the Swapo rally were obviously far too young to vote in the coming election, Swapo won the day.

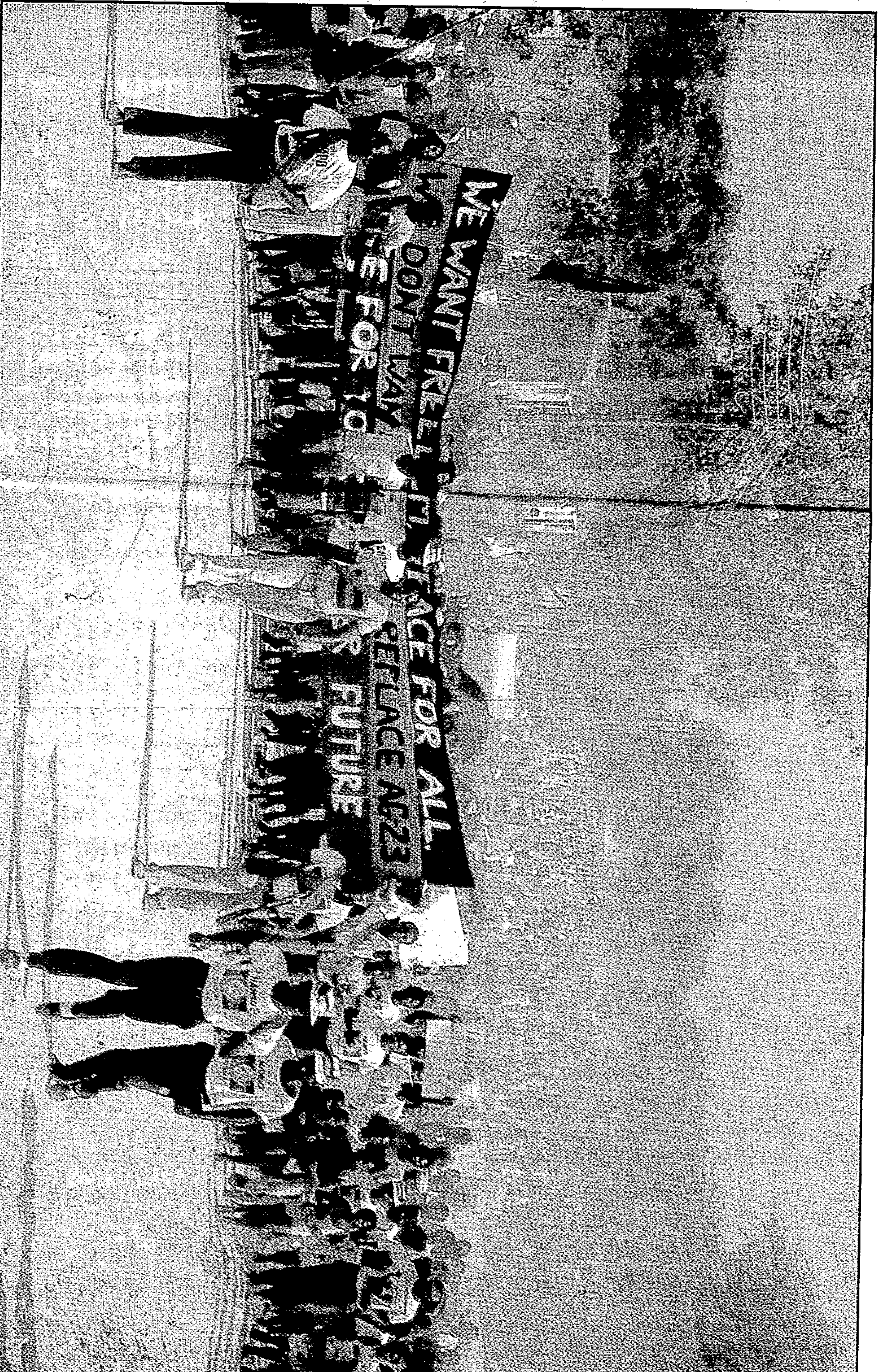
Yet this was an event that the DTA should easily have won. Depicted as the only "organised" party in the country, they have been operating in Kavango for several years, whereas the Swapo campaign really got off the ground only in July.

A visit to the regional Swapo election office the day before the rally was a trip to Bedlam.

Bright young graduates of Lusaka's United Nations Institute for Namibia scurried about trying unsuccessfully to minimise the confusion, whereas the DTA officers were a study in modern management techniques.



The northern Namibian town of Rundu was a sea of colour on Saturday when the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and Swapo held mass marches, followed by competing rallies. Here the main streets gush in the DTA colours of red, white and blue



The dusty back streets of Rundu vibrated to the beat of thousands of feet as the Swapo march pounded to the nearby football stadium to hear Sam Nujoma deliver a vitriolic speech attacking rival parties.

'Acheson on hunger strike'

221 By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa News Service

Star with Mr Acheson in Windhoek
Central prison.

WINDHOEK — Irish national Mr Donald Acheson is still in a Namibian police cell six weeks after he was picked up for questioning in connection with the assassination of Swapo stalwart Mr Anton Lubowski, but police have vigorously denied they are deliberately ignoring clues and anonymous tip-offs.

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The newspaper reported its informant as saying that Mr Acheson had been denied access to a doctor or a lawyer since his detention and that he had been on hunger strike for nine days.

Mr Acheson had told him he had been interrogated by members of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad.

The caller claimed he knew who was involved in Mr Lubowski's murder.

The man said he was leaving for South Africa and promised to inform the newspaper in writing who was responsible for the Lubowski killing.

25/10/89

UN Outjo attack: two to be freed

WINDHOEK — The Attorney-General of Namibia, Mr E Pretorius, has decided to withdraw charges against two of the five men held in connection with a rifle and grenade attack on the UN's Outjo office earlier this year, in which a black security guard was killed.

Mr Pretorius told a local newspaper that charges would be withdrawn against Mr Arthur Archer (28) of Cape Town and Mr Johan Coetzee (23) when the five men made an appearance in the Windhoek Magistrates' Court this morning.

Charges had been formulated against West German citizen Mr Horst Klenz (52), Mr Darryl Stopforth of Rosettenville, Johannesburg, and Mr Leonard Veenendal of Southdale, Johannesburg, who has links with the
AWB

(82)

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25/1/89

Shock Swapo, ^{ZZ} DTA candidates

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — The lists of candidates for the Constituent Assembly presented by the two main opponents in Namibia's November election battle — Swapo and the DTA — have produced some surprises and look like generating intense political debate.

Swapo's list of 72 nominations includes the names of six whites, and some surprisingly lowly places in the ranking for people hitherto considered to be party high flyers.

The DTA list has caused a flurry of speculation, because of the absence of the name of the alliance's President, Herero paramount Chief Kuaima Rirauko.

An anti-DTA newspaper, the Namibian, claimed yesterday that Chief Rirauko withdrew his name from the party's list because he was dissatisfied with his position as number three, below that of Caprivian politician Mr Mishake Muyongo and the DTA's real chief, Mr Dirk Mudge.

According to the Namibian, the DTA is in shock and disarray after the sudden withdrawal of candidature by Chief Rirauko, and his nomination in his place of former Transitional Government Justice Minister Fanuel Kozonguizi — who had previously been only 26th on the DTA list.

The DTA mouthpiece newspaper, Die Republikein, claimed the allegations by the Namibian were a smear campaign on the part of Swapo, and quoted Chief Rirauko as saying that he never intended to offer himself as a candidate for the Constituent Assembly, because his position as DTA president required all his time and attention.

Swapo's candidate list provides some surprises.

The six whites nominated are: Mr Siegfried Wohler, Mr Hartmut Ruppel, Mr Anton von Wietersheim, Mr Buddy Wentworth, Mr Danie Botha and Ms Michaela Huebscle. Mr Ruppel is a well-known Windhoek lawyer who has appeared as a defence counsel for Swapo members on a number of occasions.

Mr Von Wietersheim is well-known in local farming circles, while Mr Botha lectures in theology at Windhoek's Academy for Tertiary Education and is a nephew of former South African Cabinet Minister Fanie Botha.

All of the whites nominated are in the first 33 names, giving them a good chance of being elected, even if Swapo gains less than 50 percent of the votes, which many political observers consider unlikely.

Mr Botha and Mr Von Wietersheim made trips to Lusaka last year to meet the Swapo leadership, including the organisation's President, Mr Sam Nujoma.

Mr Nujoma is, as expected, at the top of his party's list of candidates, but there are a number of surprises lower down the pecking order.

Number two to Mr Nujoma is Vice-President Pastor Hendrik Witbooi, while former Robben Island prisoner Andimba Toivo ja Toivo is in fourth place. The Swapo Secretary of Defence, Peter Mweshihange, is in sixth position, just below administrative secretary Moses Garoeb, but the guerrilla commander Dino Amaambo is in lowly 63rd place.

From AMEEN AKHALWAYA
JOHANNESBURG. —

Nelson Mandela does not want to come out of jail "next year, next month, next week, tomorrow — he wants to come out now!"

But he will not ask the government because that would be seen as "pleading" for his release.

So say Willton Mkwayi and Ahmed Kathrada, two of his ANC colleagues who were released from prison on October 15.

Said Kathrada: "We can say without fear of contradiction the government is distorting the facts when it says his release is not on the agenda, trying to give the impression that he himself does not want to be released. "On the day we said goodbye to him, he repeated this: he wants to be released today. But if you ask him to tell (Minister of Justice and Prisons)

Mandela wants freedom now!

Kobie Coetsee that, he will say no"

Said Mkwayi: "My feeling, our comrades' feeling is that if he asks about himself, he will not be demanding his release, he will be pleading.

"But he demanded our release. Therefore it is our duty now to de-

mand his release. We are not going to plead, we are going to demand his release. So it is understandable that he doesn't include himself in this discussion.

"He does not want to come out next year, next month, next week, tomorrow. He wants to come out now.

"They (the authorities) are the ones who have the key, they can open the door."

Mkwayi said Mandela reported "everything as he was reporting to the people outside".

"But he is unhappy because he feels that people outside may think he is

negotiating, whereas he is facilitating for negotiations.

"He is unhappy that he is doing this alone, because in the end when he makes a mistake somewhere, people will say ja, he was negotiating alone."

But the two men were emphatic that no deal was struck between Mandela and the authorities.

Mkwayi said the government feared violence would be accelerated when they were released. "On this we said they were really talking nonsense.

"We will have meetings and the people themselves will restrain those few who will want to cause violence.

"Nelson said release them and you'll see there will not be violence. So no conditions were made."

Mkwayi and Kathrada said they could only speculate why the government continued to hold Mandela.

"Perhaps they think that he may not, when he is out, want to discuss with them," said Mkwayi. "He may somehow want to get out of the country and call for violence.

"There is this question that people like to use the word 'seizing power', just call for violence.

"Seizing power does not only mean using an AK-47, it can mean seizing power on a round table. The MPLA did it in Angola.

"By the way they (the authorities)

ANC leaders meet MDM

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. —

Nine African National Congress leaders, including the seven recently released from prison, held a private

18/11-11-10/26/89
South



the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) in Soweto this week.

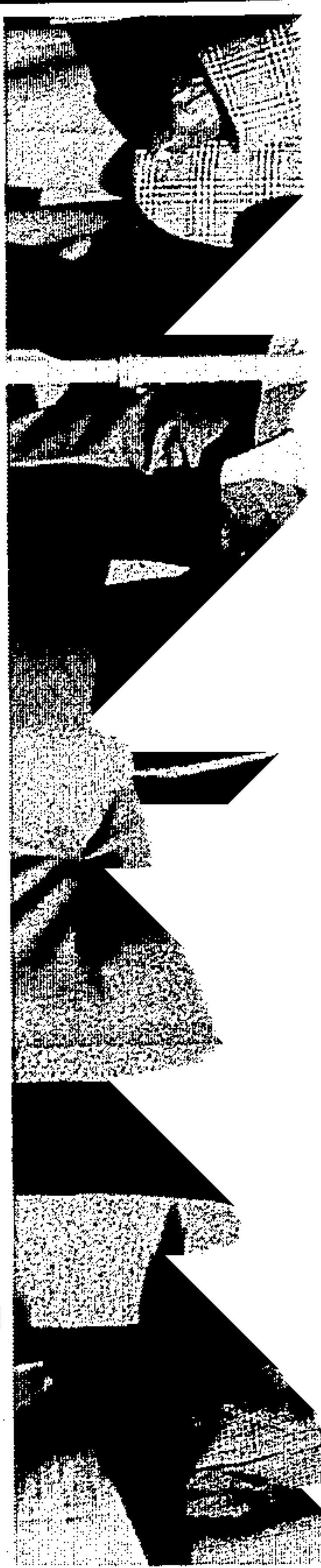
A statement from the organisers of the meeting, the National Reception Committee (NRC), said the leadership had decided "to continue consultations with a broad range of forces including, and in particular, the African National Congress".

One of the significant features of the meeting was the attendance of Govan Mbeki, who was reunited with other members of the ANC leadership whom he left behind in jail in November 1987.

Murphy Morobe, MDM's publicity spokesperson, said the meeting shared "current perspectives" and explored the "way forward".

Other issues discussed included sanctions and statements made by state president FW de Klerk at the National Party's Transvaal Congress at the weekend.

Morobe said major policy issues would be addressed at the rally on Sunday.



REUNION: Govan Mbeki welcomes home Oscar Mpetha, watched by Walter Sisulu, left, Ahmed Kathrada and Raymond Mhlaba.

New bid to lift Mbeki curbs

From MONO BADELA

SOWETO. — Lawyers acting for senior ANC member Govan Mbeki have confirmed that an application will be made to have restrictions imposed on him soon after his release in November 1987, revoked.

The authorities confirmed this week that restrictions on Mbeki had been relaxed to allow him to travel to Johannesburg for Sunday's ANC rally at Soccer City.

An application has also been made for him to address the rally. Mbeki was released on humanitarian grounds in 1987 after serv-

ing 23 years on Robben Island. His enthusiastic reception in the community led to the government considering him to be a "security risk".

He was slapped with restrictions which confined him to his New Brighton home after hours and prevented him from speaking to journalists or addressing or attending gatherings.

Former ANC secretary-general, Walter Sisulu, is expected to be the main speaker at Saturday's rally.

His 30-minute address is expected to touch on major policy

issues such as negotiations with the government.

Two other leaders, former Commander-in-Chief of the ANC's Umkhonto WeSizwe (military wing), Raymond Mhlaba, and Ahmed Kathrada, will address the rally.

Mbeki visited the offices of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) this week and was due to hold consultations with members of the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ).

Mbeki is a patron of several anti-apartheid organisations, including ADJ.

Education's a priority, students told

JOHANNESBURG. — ~~Parents~~ ^{Parents} are urging students for their courage and their spirit, two ANC leaders have told them they should make education a priority.

Former Umkhonto we Sizwe leader Wilton Mkwayi has told students: "At this stage, your own AK-47 is education. Your shield is education."

He added: "We want you to be educated."

Ahmed Kathrada told a large crowd of students at Nirvana High School in Lenasia he was impressed by the "tremendous spirit" among the youth.

He urged them not to neglect their education.

Before he was jailed 26 years ago, he believed in the slogan "liberation before education", of which he was a pioneer, he said.

However, after giving it much thought while on Robben Island, he realised the slogan was wrong and that "liberation and education worked together".

"I want to appeal to you not to neglect your education. It should be your priority."

He told students: "I am not saying you must not demonstrate, but once you have done so and shown your

solidarity, go back to school.

"Liberation without education is going to be no liberation."

Although the media had described him and the others as heroes, Kathrada said "the real heroes are you, the young people who stood your ground and suffered tears and baton charges".

"We've been getting newspapers while we were in jail and we even had a TV. We expected a certain amount of enthusiasm, but what we have seen since our release has encouraged and inspired us beyond description."

Kathrada appealed to the students

not to be provoked by police.

In Soweto, he said, he realised how disciplined and co-ordinated students were, and he urged the Lenasia students to follow that example.

"It will be my pleasure to address you again and again," he told the slogan-chanting, cheering students.

Mkwayi told the students: "Go out of the streets, go to the classroom. We want you to be educated, so you can negotiate, go into certain areas, into the government field, outside the government field. The streets will not help you."

"We see you are ready to be out of school. We say back to school."

South Africa. He will say the people of South Africa.

Bargaining chip

Kathrada said: "We should recognise that these chaps (the government) have got some genuine fears about Nelson's safety. Not necessarily because they like him, but they also know if anything happens to him — even if the rightwing does it — the backlash will be against not only the rightwing, but also against all the authorities of South Africa."

Kathrada also speculated that the government might want to use Mandela "as a bargaining chip towards negotiations".

He gave the background to their release.

"It has been customary for ministers of justice and prisons such as Jimmy Kruger and Louis le Grange to visit prisoners, and they have from time to time visited us."

"Over the years, we have written letters of demand to them. The question of releases has always been high on the agenda."

"So when Nelson is now seeing Kobie Coetsee, it started off as part of the routine visits of the Minister of Justice. This was part of a continuing process."

"It is not as if suddenly this has started that Coetsee has taken the initiative. He is in a better position because like other ministers, other important visitors, they invariably come to see Nelson."

"They brought in more and more people, more and more demands were made, and that eventually led to our release," said Kathrada.

"But it must be stressed there is no deal."

"One must look at the calibre of the man himself. Throughout the years that he has been making representations on our behalf, Nelson has never put his name forward as the person who should possibly be getting whatever benefits there are."

Wrangling can delay Namibian freedom



From DAVID LUSH

WINDHOEK. — Namibia's independence could be delayed by as much as two years.

This prediction was made by leading anti-apartheid campaigner and former Namibian church worker David de Beer on his first visit to Namibia since he was deported by the authorities 17 years ago.

Should Swapo not win a two-thirds majority in next month's elections, the political parties would be thrown into lengthy arguments over the drafting of a constitution which could take years to resolve, said De Beer.

"South Africa wants to humiliate Swapo and this would be best done by delaying independence," said De Beer.

The South African administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, has been quoted as saying he foresaw two years lapsing between the elections and independence day.

It took 18 months to write the constitution for the now defunct interim government despite compliance from all the parties involved.

In the transition period, South Africa would continue to rule Namibia through the still valid ethnic government system, while the South African security forces would continue to be responsible for law and order, De Beer said.

The United Nations' mandate to stay in Namibia expires in April.

Both the UN and the South African administration would dispute De Beer's contentions.

The UN would say its mandate could be extended if necessary while the South African government would want Namibia independent as soon as possible as long as the elections were "free and fair".

However, the numerous observer missions monitoring the independence process all seem to agree that conditions for free and fair elections, as required by Resolution 435, do not exist at the moment.

Members of Koevoet continue to serve in the police while the UN peace keeping force is struggling to maintain an uneasy peace which exists in the country after weeks of bloody violence.

Adding to the tensions are reports of Unita bandits crossing into northern Namibia while former members of the South African security forces appear to be armed and ready to fight should Swapo come to power.

As the influential US observer mission concluded at the end of its third trip to Namibia recently:

"We believe the building blocks for free and fair elections have been put in place. But much vigorous work remains to be done in the little time that remains."



Swapo president Sam Nujoma registers to vote in the independence poll

THE election process in Namibia is a "recipe for disaster" and South Africans have to increase their support to ensure that the elections were free and fair.

This is the view of the Namibian Solidarity Committee formed in Cape Town in March this year to provide material and political support for the people of Namibia.

The organisation, consisting of churches, trade unions, service organisations, professional groupings and community organisations, unambiguously supports the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo).

"We were hamstrung at first by a lack of funds. We had all kinds of ambitious plans, like rallies in rural towns, which never came about. But now we are on our way," said Laurie Nathan, solidarity committee member.

Nathan recently spent two weeks in Namibia, gathering information on the election process.

The solidarity committee asked Swapo to provide a list of resources needed to make the election as "free and fair" as possible.

"Namibian independence is real. There is a tremendous air of excitement in the country and we're starting to feel the excitement here in South Africa," Nathan said.

"Before Namibia used to be known as Africa's last colony. Now South Africa is the last colony. We need to inspire people here, to tell them that the Namibian elections are a victory for the people, it was not a change of heart by South Africa."

Nathan said South Africa was continuing attempts to prevent Swapo from attaining a majority in the elections on November 6.

South African security forces were still active in the north and the South African Administrator General Louis Pienaar was ultimately responsible and in control of the election process.

Turned away

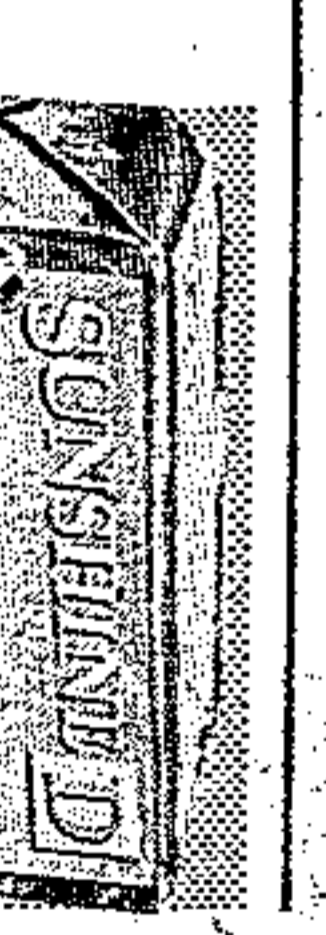
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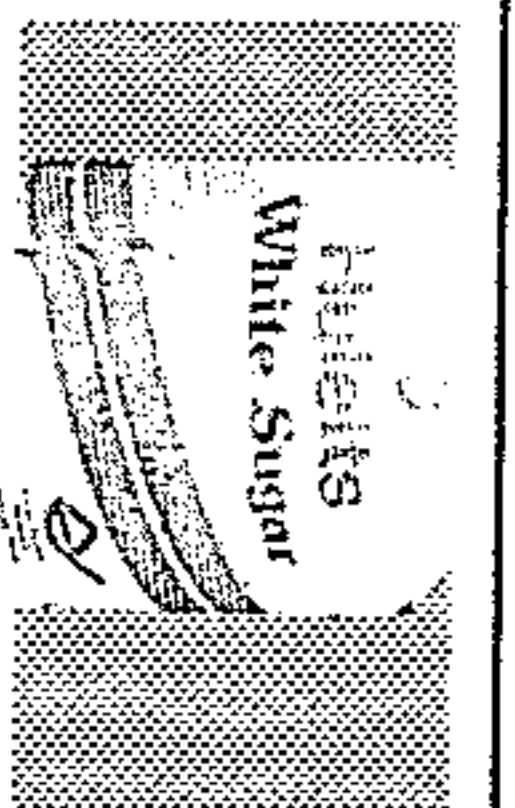
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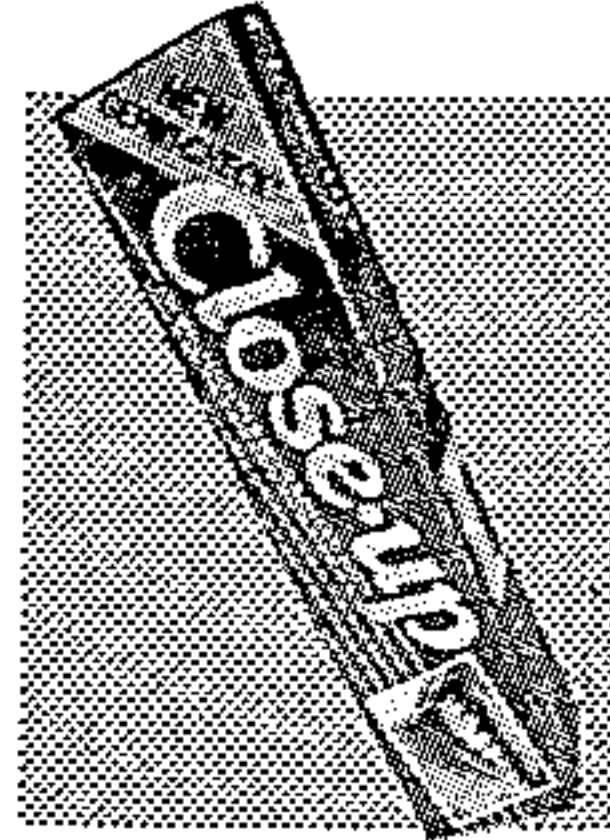
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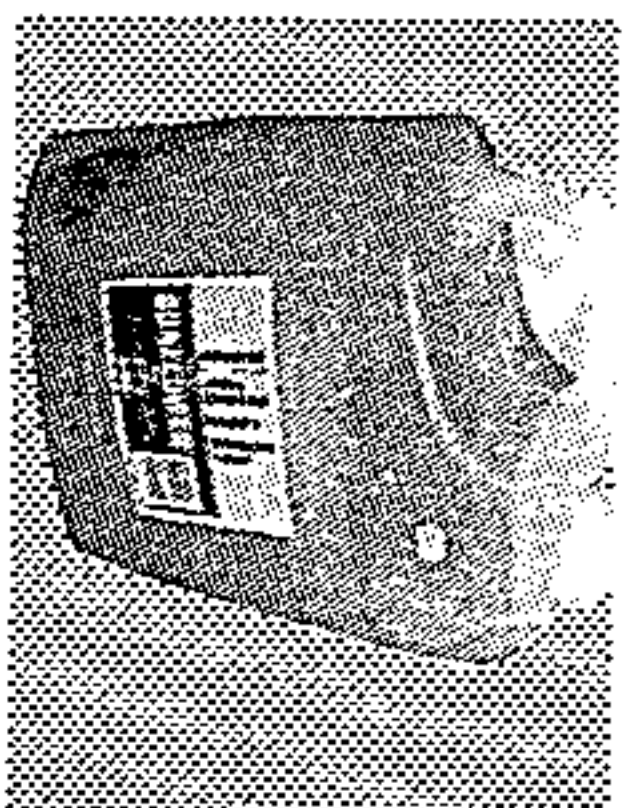
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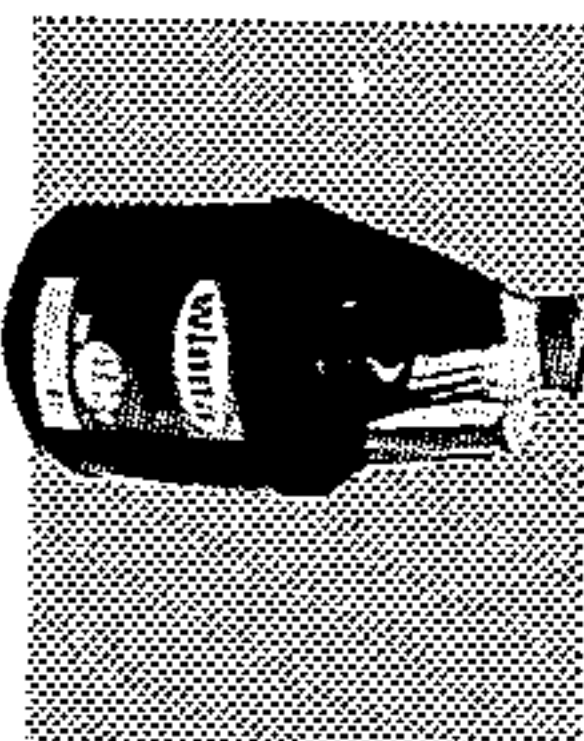
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R1.49



EDIB PURE SUNFLOWER OIL 5lt
R12.99



WINNNA DISHWASHER
2lt
R1.99



NESTLE CONDENSED MILK
397gr
R1.59



Sasko Cake Flour
12kg **R9.99**

Willards Chips
150gr **R1.49**

Sasko Bread Flour
12kg **R9.99**

Pepsi
2lt **R1.99**

Elite Parboiled Rice
2kg (tax free) **R2.99**

Glen Teabags
100's **R2.59**

Big 'M' Peanut Butter
410gr **R1.59**

Koo Baked Beans
410gr **69c**

Nola Mayonnaise 750gr **R2.99**

The solidarity committee found numerous discrepancies in the run-up to the elections. They claim census figures inaccurately portray the number of people eligible to vote, particularly in the north — Swapo's stronghold.

"There were many mistakes made during the registration period. Namibians eligible to vote were turned away, yet over 12 000 South Africans of Namibian parentage were allowed to register, regardless of place of residence now or in the future," Nathan said.

"Bus trips were organised by the DTA for whites to register in Namibia, but in Walvis Bay, the South African enclave, nothing was organised to help black voters who earn low wages to register in Swakopmund.

"Namibians are saying that their people in Angola, who left the country to fight for the right to vote, cannot return to make their crosses."

Nathan said the officials responsible for the elections were all South Africans whose bias was not being questioned. While he was in the country, the pro-Swapo newspaper, The Namibian, exposed secret minutes of a National Security Council held in March where people discussed ways of preventing Swapo from coming to power.

Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) was present, as well as officials in charge of the elections, including the chief electoral officer.

"Sixty-six percent of the voting population is illiterate. The polling booths will be staffed by South African officials, ostensibly there to prevent double voting," said Nathan.

"The peasants will be going into the booths with officials whom they fear. It is a recipe for disaster. Elections are supposed to be secret."

Of major concern in Namibia is the process of counting votes. Pienaar has decided that the votes would be counted centrally, in Windhoek.

Ballot boxes will be transported from all over the country and checked at every stage.

"This raises the question. It could take a while before the results are in," Nathan said.

"People are asking for a referendum (United Nations Transition Arrangements) to be held in favour of Swapo. It is ineffective and it is on holiday."

"Namibian people are not happy about Untag. They are not happy about the way they use the money. I saw it myself in the way the soldiers would come and leave with up to 1000 rands."

Nathan said the election was that it was kept for the election but was not to monitor the election.

Any abuses by South West African soldiers were simply drafted into the Untag soldiers.

"The Untag force is dominant of police."



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elections 'disaster'

Africa's last colony goes to the polls next month in elections monitored by the United Nations. But there are many signs that the elections will not be "fair and free", says Namibian Solidarity Committee member Laurie Nathan, who recently returned from a fact-finding mission to the area. He spoke to REHANA ROSSOUW:

UN alert as poll campaign heats up

By MARK VERBAAN

WITH independence elections only weeks away, the 5 000-strong United Nations force in Namibia has been issued with emergency evacuation instructions.

The orders, issued on September 21 to all members of the UN Transitional Assistance Group (Untag), came from UN chief Javier Perez de Cuellar in New York and are a response to the possible rapid deterioration in the security situation.

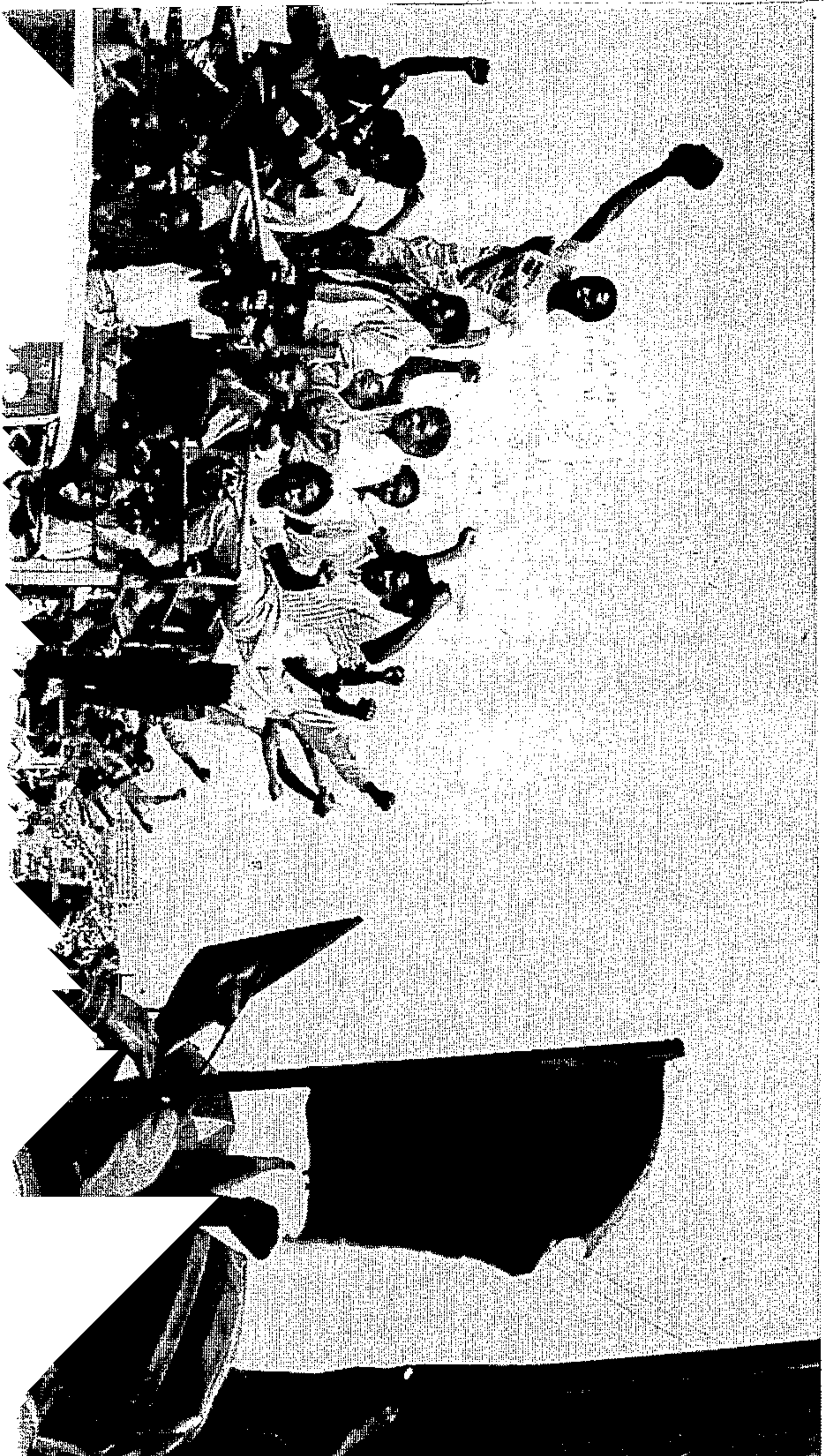
The UN sponsored peace plan has inspired one assassination, several violent killings, an outbreak of vandalism and a spate of death threats in the last six months.

The instructions for evacuation, leaked to a local newspaper, state: "In the event of internal disorder, all personnel should remain in their homes and await further instruction. Should the situation deteriorate to the point where the secretary-general considers the evacuation to a safe haven as necessary, the security plan provides for an orderly move to evacuation areas."

According to UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari, all Untag personnel should immediately take measures such as to "check that at least one week's supply of food is in your home; check that privately-owned and UN vehicles are constantly refuelled and that the spare wheel and tool kit are in order; maintain in reserve finance approximately \$200 (about R500) in travellers' cheques".

The document also stresses that the initiation of an alert should not be discussed with anyone other than UN personnel.

An Untag spokesperson in Windhoek, Fred Eckhard, was unable to explain why these orders were issued only recently and not with the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on April 1.





Stastic Swapo supporters line the streets: A regular scene in Namibia as election fever heats up

Their publication confirms fears about heightening political tension as the territory's first democratic elections draw near.

Rightwing death list

During this month several people died when groups representing different political parties went on the rampage.

In the north of the country the climate is ripe for an outbreak of civil violence.

The notorious police paramilitary unit, Koevoet, has been disbanded but its former members are now engaged in an often brutal election campaign on behalf of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) which is widely believed to be backed by Pretoria.

Many of the former security force members are apparently still armed, and frequent reports from northern Namibia indicate that the local police are reluctant to take action against their former colleagues.

Fear is also playing a role in generating violence with the white rightwing beginning to panic at the prospect of a Swapo victory at the polls.

The assassination last month of Anton Lubowski, a lawyer and prominent Swapo member, shocked the nation. He was gunned down outside his Windhoek home as he stepped from his car.

Anonymous callers to journalists claimed that the extreme rightwing group, the Wit Wolwe (White Wolves), was responsible.

The killing fuelled reports of a rightwing death list against whites and several journalists and lawyers have hired private security firms to guard their homes at night.

Police have offered 24-hour armed protection for whites who have been receiving death threats almost daily since Lubowski's death.

Six whites have already been arrested in connection with an attack on an Untag office in the conservative stronghold of Oujjo in August.

One man died in the machine gun and grenade attack. The accused are all from the far-right South African group, the Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging (AWB).

Swapo's leader Sam Nujoma, living in Katutura township on the outskirts of Windhoek, is constantly guarded by former members of Swapo's armed wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia.

Elections are suddenly becoming a reality, with several of the 10 participating parties only now sending workers out to cover lamp-posts with placards exhorting voters to place their crosses in the right place on November 7.

Windhoek is already bursting at the seams following a steady influx of dozens of diplomatic missions and foreign observer groups.

A multitude of flags fly from rooftops in every township, proclaiming the political allegiance of the occupants. — GEMINI NEWS

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Koevoet or the police (Swapol) into reports by men made up pre- men who have a

natural affinity towards each other. Some talk about how terrible it is to have to monitor their colleagues. The Irish monitors I spoke to thought Koevoet was brilliant."

Nathan said many Untag soldiers, particularly those from Scandinavian countries, were disillusioned. They wrote countless reports on incidents they witnessed but never got feedback on action taken.

"I saw Swapol in Casspirs on duty in DTA T-shirts. They drive down the main streets giving DTA salutes. I interviewed Koevoet soldiers in pubs who said they were going to vote DTA — even though it was multiracial, with 'kaffirs' — because it was the best way of defeating Swapo."

Nathan said Swapo's election campaign was primarily based on door-to-door work. They have been holding large rallies, attracting as many as 70 000 people.

Printing presses, indispensable to an election campaign, were impounded by authorities when Swapo attempted to bring them into the country from

Angola.

The detainees' scandal did enormous damage to Swapo, who lost international support as a result.

"The stories are true. People were detained on spurious grounds, tortured, held in pits and died of starvation. They are horror stories."

Nathan said Swapo's best response to the issue was an admission that people were detained. Some were hardcore spies and others were innocent. There was an acceptance that Swapo security officers were responsible for the brutal treatment meted out to detainees.

"In due course action will be taken against those responsible. The actions are very much regretted," Nathan said.

"People say they have to deal with the issue after the election. I met Swapo officials whose families have disappeared. They say that until they are sure what happened to them, they will continue to support Swapo."

Nathan said the "saga" of Namibia's independence would not end with the voting.

There remained the issue of the constituent assembly which would draft a new constitution.

Pienaar has given himself the power to veto any decision taken by the constituent assembly. He will preside over it and decide when it will commence.

"He has the space to do so because resolution 435 is vague and provides no details on the work of the constituent assembly," Nathan said.

"There is still no clarity on the date of the constituent assembly even though the elections are little more than two weeks away."

Nathan said the Namibian Solidarity Committee would increase its pace and activities because the Namibian struggle was "our struggle".

"For far too long we have been paying lip service to slogans. Over the past months, especially now, the Mass Democratic Movement has accepted the critical urgency of putting these slogans into practice.

"The government of this country is the oppressor and obstacle to real independence in Namibia."

Mhlabo: I'll do it all again

South Africa
26/10-1/11/89

NEW BRIGHTON (Port Elizabeth). — The struggle for the liberation of his people would go on and he would work even harder than before to achieve this, ANC stalwart Raymond Mhlabo said this week.

"I'm excited to be back with my people. But I can't sit back now after spending 26 years in jail for my convictions.

"I'm going to continue to do my work in the struggle for the liberation of my people and country and work harder than ever to achieve this."

The man who in 1952 led the first batch of 33 volunteers to defy the country's apartheid laws, said he would lead another defiance campaign if asked to do so.

"But we have so many young chaps today who will volunteer first."

Mhlabo said pressure by the people and organisations at home and abroad brought about their release.

Influenced

"We are aware that the government took some knocks in the Angolan war where they supported Jonas Savimbi and in the Namibian situation," he said.

"I think these and the bad economic situation in the country were some of the factors which influenced the state's decision to release us."

He said the political consciousness of black people was "encouraging".

"I laughed the other day when a child of five sitting at my supper table said: 'I will release Mandela, I'll release Mandela one day'. Can

The ANC has always been in favour of a political solution to South Africa's problems, says Raymond Mhlabo.

In the second part of an exclusive interview Mhlabo, released with other Rivonia trialists last week after 26 years imprisonment, says the South African government would scrap all discriminatory legislation if it realised the depth of political consciousness in the black community. MONO BADELA reports:

you imagine that?" Mhlabo asked. He said he was optimistic about the future.

"As a matter of fact, I wonder if the government's aware of the black man's level of political consciousness.

"If they are aware, I have no doubt they would see that discriminatory legislation is scrapped."

On negotiation with the government for the political future of the country, Mhlabo said: "The ANC has never been a problem because we want to settle. We always wanted a political solution.

"But the negotiation terms of the South African government are not serious.



Raymond Mhlabo: Prepared to lead defiance

If they are serious and there is a good atmosphere for negotiation then we will sit down and consider it. The right climate is simple: meet our preconditions."

Mhlabo said the ANC was a "living organism".

"The ANC is growing, it's not static," he added. He also said the ANC had no need to open offices in South Africa.

The 69-year-old ANC leader said he supported the demand for prison-cr-of-war status by people accused of ANC activities.

"South Africa will only be free once apartheid and its unjust laws are scrapped. Freedom means that all South Africans should be able to make laws and elect whoever they want to represent them in parliament."

Unite to save ecosystem

YOU may be among those who are witnessing the deterioration of our natural surroundings, concerned about the toxic content of the food we eat, questioning the logistics of poverty and exploitation, wondering where exactly the "Consumer Society" is progressing to, and shaking your heads, saying, "but what can we do?"

Not much, if we choose to avoid the problem. By the same token, we could change the world if we chose.

Certain individuals have performed "miracles" through their stubborn hard work, writing persistent letters, researching, lobbying, educating and pressuring the public.

To these extraordinary individuals credit is due. For the rest we recognise that our effectiveness in the public arena, as individuals, is limited.

The Cape Town Ecology Group is a democratic organisation aimed at promoting individual and public awareness on ecological issues and at discovering new ways in which to understand our relationship with nature.

The group was formed as a "child" of Koebert Alert, when members felt the need to view ecological issues on a broader spectrum. One of our long-term goals is to find a place for ecology on the agenda of democratic and community organisations, recognising that the environmental crisis is rooted in social relations.

To assist in our own education and development we hold workshops and make an effort to keep in touch with other environmental and community organisations, supporting and aiding their initiatives where applicable.

At intervals we hold "open evenings" where members of the public are invited to view resources and participate in discussions. This is where individuals who feel that they would like to take a more active part in the group's activities have an opportunity to find out more about the group and introduce themselves to us.

KAREN ROLFES, CAPE TOWN ECOLOGY GROUP, PO BOX 16499, VLAEBERG 8018

Candidates cause a flurry of speculation

WINDHOEK — The lists of candidates for the Constituent Assembly presented by the two main opponents in Namibia's November election battle, Swapo and the DTA, have produced some surprises.

Swapo's list of 72 nominations includes the names of six whites, and some surprisingly lowly places in the ranking for people hitherto considered to be party high flyers.

The DTA list has caused a flurry of speculation because of the absence of the name of the Alliance's president, Herero Chief Kuama Rirauko.

All the whites nominated by Swapo are in the first 33 names, giving them a good chance of being elected, even if Swapo gains less than 50 percent of the votes, which is considered unlikely. — The Star's Africa News Service.

Shy white is Swapo nominee

Ex-Minister's nephew wants a free Namibia



By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Danie Botha is nervous. The shy, mild-mannered theologian, a nephew of former South African Cabinet Minister Mr Fanie Botha, doesn't feel comfortable giving interviews.

He says he is not a publicity seeker or a political animal, despite having been nominated as one of Swapo's six white candidates for the Constituent Assembly that will be elected in November.

His position, at number 26 on the list, means he will probably get elected to the Constituent Assembly, even if Swapo polls less than half the votes (which a good many political analysts here consider unlikely).

He is not even a member of Swapo, and sees his role in the Constituent Assembly as one of a draughtsman of the new constitution.

There has been no suggestion, he adds, that he should serve as a Swapo MP.

He believes his inclusion, and that of the other whites, in the list of candidates shows that Swapo is genuinely committed to a democratic policy of non-racialism and to reconciliation.

In the middle of a sentence the telephone rings. Mr Botha answers. Gravely he tells his caller: "Ja, ja, I know. But I can't live with armed guards around me all the time."

Pot shots

He explains later that someone has just taken a pot shot at the home of one of the other whites on the Swapo candidate list, and that friends of his are concerned for his safety.

"That's just what I mean, about people who are still prisoners of their own beliefs, people who are locked up in their own fears, and who will harass, or spread disinformation or even kill people because they believe it is right."

Danie Botha has seen such people in these "mental prisons".

The 35-year-old Mr Botha has been in Namibia only since 1984, but believes that the country has a future, and in the justice of the struggle of its people.

Cape Town-born and educated (at the Jan van Riebeeck High School — "the oldest Afrikaans school in the country"), Mr Botha came here originally on a one-year contract to lecture in Biblical Studies at the University of Transkei.



Mr Danie Botha ... nominated as one of Swapo's six white candidates for the Constituent Assembly that will be elected in November.

lines for a free Namibia, a free Namibia that can serve as an example for those on the other side of the Orange River.

He is reluctant to talk too much about his family, save to say they do have their differences of opinion about matters political.

STANT RESALE RESIDENCE IN AFRICAN PAINTINGS AL WORKS OF ART



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Shy white is Swapo nominee

Ex-Minister's nephew wants a free Namibia

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In the middle of a sentence the telephone rings. Mr Botha answers. Gravely he tells his caller: "Ja, ja, I know. But I can't live with armed guards around me all the time."

Pot shots

He explains later that someone has just taken a pot shot at the home of one of the other whites on the Swapo candidate list, and that friends of his are concerned for his safety.

"That's just what I mean, about people who are still prisoners of their own beliefs, people who are locked up in their own fears, and who will harass, or spread disinformation or even kill people because they believe it is right."

Danie Botha has seen such people in these "mental prisons".

The 35-year-old Mr Botha has been in Namibia only since 1984, but believes that the country has a future, and in the justice of the struggle of its people.

Cape Town-born and educated (at the Jan van Riebeeck High School — "the oldest Afrikaans school in the country"), Mr Botha came here originally on a one-year contract to lecture in Biblical Studies at the Academy for Tertiary Education.

The Stellenbosch-trained theologian quickly realised — through contact with his students — that all was not rosy in the Namibian garden.

Sitting in his cluttered and busy-looking Academy office, he says he identified with the struggle of the Namibian people against apartheid and colonialism and, in particular, found the bush war to be ruinous and pointless.

His acceptance of selection to the Swapo candidate list was not without agonising. He says he believes he can make a contribution to the formulation of guide-



Mr Danie Botha ... nominated as one of Swapo's six white candidates for the Constituent Assembly that will be elected in November.

lines for a free Namibia, a free Namibia that can serve as an example for those on the other side of the Orange River.

He rejects suggestions that the whites nominated by Swapo will be the organisation's "puppets" and are mere window-dressing. He believes that even if Swapo does win the two-thirds majority there will still be vigorous debate among its Constituent Assembly members, and that Swapo does not have a ready-prepared constitution awaiting a "rubber stamp".

Swapo does, he admits, have its "skeletons in the cupboard", as is to be expected of an organisation which has just emerged from a long and bitter war.

But he believes forgiveness and not recrimination are what Namibia desperately needs now.

He is reluctant to talk too much about his family, save to say they do have their differences of opinion about matters political.

He says, though, that his way of looking at the world through a Christian, biblical perspective, is largely a reflection of the values learnt from his parents who met when doing missionary work.

"I was privileged to have been exposed, in my family, to the broader South African reality which many of my fellow white countrymen have not had."

He adds: "It is time that whites in the southern part of Africa begin to accept that they are living in Africa and that they can break out of their isolation."

"The so-called enemies are just fellow South Africans who share such a lot with us."

Untag reacts to claims of repatriation bias

WINDHOEK — Untag spokesman Mr Fred Eckhardt said yesterday that the United Nations had no comment on allegations that the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) operation on repatriation of exiled Namibians was biased in favour of Swapo. He said the man who made the allegations, Mr Michael Day-Thompson, was not an employee of UNHCR, but had worked for the organisation as a logistics consultant for 10 years in various

parts of the world.

Mr Day-Thompson's appointment had been at junior-to-mid-professional level.

"He left Namibia in early June before the beginning of the repatriation exercise. If he was dissatisfied with the operation he worked for he did not communicate this to UNHCR officials here nor in Geneva.

"As a final observation, I would just say that every organisation has its disgruntled employees.

"I don't think we will have any comment on his various observations and allegations, except to repeat (UN observer) Mr Ahtisaari's assessment of the repatriation exercise as an outstanding success ... universally recognised as such." — Sapa.

Alleged UN attackers in court

WINDHOEK — The State has opposed bail applications by three men and withdrawn charges against two others who appeared in the Outjo Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with an attack on the United Nations office at the town.

Bail applications by Mr Horst Klentz (52), a West German citizen, Mr Darryl Stopforth (22) and Mr Leonard Veenendal (23), from South Africa, were refused, and charges were withdrawn against Mr Arthur Archer (28) and Mr Johan Coetzee (23), also South Africans.

The men were not ready to plead and the hearing was postponed to November 8.

The men were arrested during a police investigation of an attack on the Untag Outjo office in which a private security guard was killed on August 10. — Sapa.

Namibians refused visas

By James Tonlins, The Star's Foreign News Service
PARIS — France has refused entry visas to two anti-Swapo Namibians, according to reports in Paris yesterday.

Mr LP Hardley and Mr RA Kaskunga were due to attend a conference next week to give evidence of alleged Swapo brutality.

Mr Kaskunga, a former member of Swapo's political bureau, and Mr Hardley planned to describe how they were jailed and tortured on the orders of Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma.

They claim that 532 other detainees died in the detention camps.

They were invited by a French Institute of war studies to address its conference next week.

Reliable sources in Paris said: "We understand that the French embassy in Pretoria and the Consulate-General in Johannesburg gave favourable answers to the visa requests. But they were turned down by the Foreign Ministry on the advice of Mr Alain Dementon, France's envoy in Windhoek.

"Mr Dementon is known to favour Swapo as winning the forthcoming elections," they said.

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DTA playing down crisis at the top

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — Officials of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) are playing down reports of a leadership crisis that could alienate party president Mr Kuaima Riruako, paramount chief of the 90 000 Hereros.

Loss of Herero ethnic support in next month's independence election could undercut the DTA's chances of a strong opposition performance against Swapo.

In contrast to Swapo and other prominent political parties contesting the poll, the DTA has not nominated its top leader for membership of the projected constituent assembly.

Pro-Swapo reports and party sources said Mr Riruako withdrew his candidacy after party managers placed him third on a draft list of nominees drawn up under electoral requirements.

Top three nominees on the DTA list are vice-president Mr Mishake Muyongo, chairman Mr Dirk Mudge and Mr Fanuel Kozonguizi, surprisingly highly placed in the light of his position as legal adviser on the fringe of the senior leadership.

Mr Riruako, elected paramount chief of the Hereros in 1978 after the assassination of Clemens Kapuuo, and other senior DTA officials could not be contacted yesterday.

But the DTA mouthpiece the Republicain quoted him as saying his duties as party president would prevent him serving in the constituent assembly.

The Namibian, a Swapo mouthpiece, alleged that Mr Riruako had angered other DTA leaders by meeting Swapo president Sam Nujoma in an unpublicised recent appointment.

tions. And the meaning of free and fair elections means just that — if the elections are fair and free, it is the people of Namibia who will decide who are the people they are going to elect to the constituent assembly," Mr Salim said.

"But it is the conviction of the OAU that if elections are held in free and fair conditions we believe that Swapo will win.

"This is a belief — the belief may be proved to be right, or the belief may be proved to be wrong. It is a belief based on the long association which we have had in support of the freedom struggle in Namibia."

OAU will respect UN decision on Namibian result

The OAU, individual governments and various organisations had observer missions in place who would make their own independent assessments, analyses and recommendations.

"But this is not to imply that there will be some other body to verify what has already been verified by the Special Representative.

"We support the holding of free and fair elec-

the verification of the fairness or otherwise of the election is the responsibility of the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General."

Mr Salim said a UN-drafted code of conduct, endorsed by all contesting parties as campaign principles, committed them to accepting Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari's judgment of the polling.

Swapo nominates six whites

Among them are theologian Mr Danie Botha, a nephew of former South African cabinet minister Mr Fanie Botha. Mr Botha was educated at Cape Town's Afrikaans-medium Jan van Riebeeck High.

WINDHOEK. — Six white Namibians, among them a nephew of a former South African cabinet minister, have been nominated by Swapo in the 72 party candidates for independent Namibia's first legislature.

Bushman battalions 'demobbed'

PRETORIA. — Bushmen battalions in Namibia have been demobilised, disarmed and their command structures dismantled, according to the Department of Foreign Affairs.

In a statement issued here yesterday, the department said concern about the Bushmen units had been expressed by the United Nations in New York and at a recent meeting of the

Joint Commission in Johannesburg. Meanwhile in Windhoek, Untag spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said a total of 1 191 of the 1 205 members of the Koevoet counter-insurgency unit had been properly processed for demobilisation.

He said details of the demobilisation would be released only once the exercise had been completed. — Sapa

WINDHOEK. — The secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity, Mr Salim Ahmed Salim, says the 51-member group will respect UN endorsement of Namibia's election result, but insists that Swapo will win a free and fair poll.

Mr Salim sought yesterday to clarify comments he made at the start of a three-day visit on Sunday, which appeared to reserve the option to challenge election results that did not give Swapo a majority victory.

"There is no such declaration, no such resolution by the OAU," the former Tanzanian prime minister said.

"The responsibility for

UN 'biased': Man quits

WINDHOEK. — A former United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) employee, Mr Michael Day Thomson, has resigned from the organisation because of its alleged bias towards Swapo.

According to SWABC radio news, Mr Day Thomson said he could no longer work for the UN because of the detached manner in which the organisation handled the Swapo detainee issue. — Sapa

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History has been unkind to the desert hunters whom the settlers enslaved



Poisoning arrows ... Preserved in a plastic stone age



Women in a Tshumkwe bar ... Among squatters, social problems like alcoholism are rife

A wretched people whom heaven forgot

W. Mail 27/10-27/11/89

Hunted for sport, forced into serfdom, chased off their land ... no other southern African people have been as brutalised and debased as the Bushmen of northern Namibia. Which is why the best test of a post-independence Namibia is the kind of future it offers to the people of the Kalahari
BY PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK



JOSEPH KOMAGA lay crying with pain in the sparse shade of a thorn tree somewhere between Gobabis and Orimopsis. His toes were worn down and his skin so creased that he could have been more than 90 years old.

Komaga, a N/aron Bushman, did not know his age, but he could remember "*die tyd voordat die wit man die wêreld gevat het*" — the time before the white man stole the world, when he lived off the wild fruits of the veld.

Komaga had three generations of his family with him. His daughter, Martha Afrikaner, was herself already old. They had pulled their donkey carts off to the side of the road, out of the noonday sun, while the grandchildren went to fetch water from a nearby farm.

He was on his way back from receiving medical treatment in Gobabis for the pain in his abdomen, a journey of several days by cart from their home. The grandchildren were scouring the farms for jobs in the same Kalahari veld where their ancestors had searched for melons and kudu.

In his lifetime, Komaga had witnessed an entire cycle. His people had gone from being nomads to slaves to wage labourers to nomads. When he was young it was a "*Nemelse lewe*". It was a hard life but heaven saw to the food, you did not need to maintain gardens.

Far from the romanticised and mythologised picture of the Bushman people as noble hunters with bow and poisoned arrow living in harmony with nature, most of Namibia's 32 000 Bushmen are today impoverished farmworkers or squatters. As Namibia moves towards independence the Bushmen people face new challenges to their survival.

When the Germans arrived in Namibia they rode around on horseback, shooting Bushmen on sight. People were roasted on bonfires or hung in rows from trees like bilong. As late as the 1930s, the Bushmen of Namibia were actively shot as ver-



In //Gautcha ... A hunter brings home a hare



Dancing, in uniform ... 'What can we say? The world is not really ours.'

min.

Successive laws by both German and South African colonial administrations, culminating in the Bow and Arrows Act of 1927, sanctioned the slaughter and drove the Bushmen into forced labour on the estates.

Komaga remembers being told to leave the veld. If you went on shooting wild animals, you were thrown into jail or shot, he said. So he went to work for the "*baas*" for no wage — just a few handfuls of mielie meal a day.

Colonialism in Namibia stopped just short of the total genocide that befell the Bushman of South Africa.

For hundreds of years, random massacre of Bushmen was the norm. It was not only a white man's pastime — black people also contributed to the elimination of the country's oldest indigenous inhabitants.

By the 1950s, the Bushman lived only on the margins far from other human settlements, in the inhospitable Kalahari Desert of Angola, Botswana and Namibia.

American anthropologist John Marshall toured the Kalahari basin in 1950 with his father in search of the hunter gatherers of legend. He found the Ju/Wasi — "the one single group in the entire sub-continent living as hunter-gatherers" and a few in the north of Namibia who had retained access to land and water while hunting on the side.

In the past four decades the position of the Bushmen has gone steadily downhill, while paradoxically the stereotype of cute little people has been made popular by such films as *The Gods Must Be Crazy*.

This image hides the real tale of the Bushmen — of cruelty and debasement of humanity, and of the theft of their land that never stopped.

The West Caprivi — between the waters of the Kunene and the Okavango — was turned into a game reserve in 1968, and its 6 000 Bushmen inhabitants fled into Angola, before being driven south of the border again by the war.

Vast tracts of former Bushman land

was handed over to the Herero and the Kavango "homelands" as Pretoria pursued its homelands policy into Namibia in the wake of the Odendaal Commission. Bushmanland itself was proclaimed a "homeland" in 1970 with its capital at the waterhole of Tshumkwe.

Several thousand Bushmen today live in abject poverty around Tshumkwe and the South African Defence Force bases of the two Bushmen battalions in western Bushmanland. Here Bushmen, renowned for their skill in tracking animals, were trained as bloodhounds to hunt down Swapo guerrillas. Among the squatters are those driven from Western Caprivi. Social problems such as alcoholism and prostitution are rife.

Now the soldiers have been demobilised under the Namibian independence plan, leaving those who depend on the bases in an even more desperate situation.

The SADF wants to retain the services of the battle-hardened 1 500 former Angolan (Kung Bushmen

mercenaries of 201 Battalion at Omenga camp, who are regarded as the toughest of the tough. These men will be able to choose whether or not to continue their careers with the SADF in South Africa.

However, their tenuous status as Namibians is causing consternation among African states at the United Nations and at the Joint Monitoring Commission which last week raised the fact that they are registered to vote, while it is likely they will move on to South Africa after the elections.

The more than 1 000 Namibian Bushman in 203 Battalion and their relatives will not be able to choose to move to South Africa, an SADF representative confirmed last week.

Marshall said the former soldiers and their squatter dependents on the bases would be welcome to be included into the co-operatives in Eastern Bushmanland, where he is establishing settlements around springs and boreholes, and where the Bushmen are learning to manage a largely farming economy.

But the success of this project depends on whether a future Namibian government allows the development of the Bushmen to take precedence over the conservation of the rich va-

Into the Bushmen went on hunting, they were thrown into jail or shot. So they went to work for the baas ...

November 26 1989 *

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S. SIMMS 26/11/89

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

SWAPO has drastically toned down its pre-election rhetoric in drafting a proposed constitution for Namibia.

The 90-page document, which will be presented to the Constituent Assembly in Windhoek this week, shows a marked absence of the revolutionary jargon that characterised the movement's statements during its years in exile. The main features of the proposed constitution are:

- Provision for general elections every five years;
- Power vested in the Supreme Court to repudiate laws deemed to be in conflict with the constitution;

- Election by popular vote of a President;
- Appointment of an ombudsman to act as watchdog over government action;
- Recognition of private property rights.

The presentation of Swapo's draft constitution may push the date of independence for Namibia forward considerably.

It now seems conceivable that Independence Day may be earlier than the proposed April 1 deadline.

DTA vice-president Mr Meshacke Muyongo said earlier this year his party expected to agree with Swapo on "80

SWAPO TONES DOWN THE RHETORIC IN DRAFTING ITS PROPOSED CONSTITUTION

percent of the constitution".

"The real differences may only come to the fore once a new government starts implementing its policy," he said.

In the election, Swapo won 42 of the 72 seats in the Constituent Assembly — seven short of the two-thirds majority needed to impose its constitution unilaterally.

It will need the support of either the DTA which won 21 seats — or some of the other minority parties which won the remaining nine seats — to approve each clause.

However, the draft constitution seems to be sufficiently vague and inclusive to gain the support of the vast majority of the members of the Constituent Assembly.

The economic system of a future Namibia is expected to be the main bone of contention between opposing parties.

Over the years, Swapo talk about the possible nationalisation of mines and industries, expropriation of white-owned farms and private property has raised fears about the consequences of a Swapo takeover.

The Swapo draft seems to be deliberately vague on all these issues.

It avoids designating specific economic policies except to state that "every person has a right to property" which may be expropriated only by the State "if required in the public interest and on the payment of just compensation".

In contrast to other drafts published earlier this year, Swapo is also no longer specific about particular socio-economic policies to be followed in a future Namibia.

It no longer promises "housing for

all" or "free social and health services".

In the first article of the draft it states that Namibia is "an independent, sovereign, unitary, democratic and secular state founded upon the principles of democracy, the rule of law and social justice".

A major issue of dispute is expected to be article 3, which states that English will be the official language, although schools may use other languages as a medium of instruction.

The language issue may be one on which joint action by the minority parties in the Assembly will force Swapo to back down.

From the draft, it is apparent that an independent Namibia will seek admission to the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement, although it states clearly that it will not "in the context of power blocs, join or

conclude military pacts or alliances or allow the establishment of foreign military bases on her territory".

No mention is made of an independent Namibia joining the Commonwealth, as has been mooted by senior Swapo members in recent months.

An interesting aspect of the draft is that it does not include a bill of rights.

However, the constitution itself contains provisions usually found in bills of rights — including the rights to work, social welfare, education, freedom of movement, travel, speech and association, a fair trial, freedom from discrimination and trade union membership.

Article 33 provides for the retention of the death sentence imposed by "a competent court in respect of a criminal offence under the law".

The closest indication that Swapo

may act against multinational companies exploiting the territory's vast mineral resources comes in Article 53, which stipulates that "the land, water, natural resources on earth, below the surface, in the continental shelf and territorial waters belong to the State". The draft provides for a 72-member National Assembly elected by secret ballot on a constituency basis for a period of five years.

The President will be elected by countrywide popular vote. His term of office will be limited to three five-year periods.

The ombudsman will have the power to investigate complaints about violations of laws, discrimination "or rude treatment of a citizen" by an official. He will also investigate corruption and refer matters to the Attorney-General for prosecution.

An important part of the draft deals with the administration of justice. The Supreme Court will be responsible for the interpretation of the constitution and for "ensuring its supremacy and the authority of the law".

No mention is made of the legal system envisaged for an independent Namibia other than stipulations that judges must be thoroughly grounded in either Roman-Dutch or English law.

Namibians at JC meeting

Political Correspondent

Members of the newly elected Namibian constituent assembly — including Swapo's defence and foreign secretaries — have joined the tripartite Joint Commission monitoring the Namibian/Angolan peace accords, which is meeting in Hazyview, Eastern Transvaal, today.

The members of the constituent assembly are attending this meeting as observers, but are likely to be confirmed as full members for further meetings, SA Department of Foreign Affairs sources said today.

Provision is made in the peace accords for an independent Namibian government to be represented on the Joint Commission, which will continue meeting until all the peace agreements have been carried out.

Swapo's foreign secretary, Mr Theo Ben Gurirab, Swapo defence secretary Mr Peter Mueshahange and the DTA's deputy chairman, Mr Andrew Matjila, are attending the meeting.

STW 2/11/89

Koevoet men accused of intimidation

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Swapo has accused a number of "disgruntled" white South African commanders of Koevoet and SWATF battalions of organising terror activities against Swapo members and supporters in northern Namibia.

In press releases issued internationally last night, the party claims officers had shot at and bombed houses and businesses and had conducted a number of illegal searches in the Okavango, Ovambo and Kaoko regions. It named the officers.

Swapo claims these men have also been urging ex-Koevoet and SWATF soldiers to leave for the "safety" of South Africa, claiming Swapo would execute them.

The Swapo statements urged an end to the activities and appealed to all residents of Namibia, black and white, to "remain and contribute to the challenging task of national reconciliation, reconstruction and development".

In a separate statement, Swapo accused DTA supporters of intimidating Swapo supporters in eastern Namibia.

It claims a secret meeting was held on November 17 between senior DTA officials and its less well-known military wing, Kopano ya Tou, at which DTA members were encouraged not to be afraid of carrying out intimidation since they would all be "protected by law".

ELECTIONS supervised by the United Nations, considered a mirage one year ago, are only 10 days away for 701 483 Namibians who have faced seven months of political battering.

Election fever is as blistering as the summer heat as Namibia prepares for its first universal-suffrage poll in which all the main parties are participating.

Yesterday, for the second successive week in the heavily populated north, the two main parties — the South West African People's Organisation and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — held back-to-back mass rallies in the same town.

ASSEMBLY

Thousands of supporters from both parties turned up at the quaint little border town of Katima Mulilo, bordering Zambia on the banks of the Zambezi, to listen to Swapo leader Sam Nujoma at one rally and former Swapo vice-president Misake Muyongo, who is now the top election candidate of the DTA, at the other.

The polls open on November 7 and close on November 11, the day that a defiant Ian Smith announced his unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) in Rhodesia 23 years ago.

It is also 23 years since Swapo launched its armed struggle that ended only with a ceasefire in April after a bout of the war's most bitter fighting that almost derailed the UN plan.

One week after the polls have been certified by Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the special representative of the UN Secretary-General, a constituent assembly will begin sitting to map out a constitution for an independent Namibia.

SURPRISES

At this stage it is not certain if the constituent assembly will become the parliament or government of an independent Namibia, or if another election will be held before independence.

This will be decided by the Assembly, as will the date for independence, which UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar has said he hopes will be April 1 next year.

This week the 10 political parties contesting the election announced their candidates for the 72-seat constituent assembly — and there were some surprises in both Swapo's list and that of its main rival, the DTA.

Nearly all the 10 political groups contesting the elec-

After the bloody BATTLE of the BULLETS Swapo faces the BATTLE of the BALLOTS



SAM NUJOMA
The likely winner

tion are alliances of different parties, with more than 40 parties involved.

Swapo remains the party most favoured to win, with the DTA expected to be runner-up.

But whether Swapo can sweep in with a two-thirds majority, pass its own constitution and vote itself in as the government of an independent Namibia is the key question.

Some political analysts who would unwaveringly have given Swapo 70 percent support a year ago, are now talking about the organisation battling to pull in 60 percent of the vote. Others say it might not even top 50 percent.

When you put this scenario to Swapo stalwarts they intimate that journalists postulating such theories are being backed by some covert South African body to influence the campaign.

But the South African newspapers and the Namibian Press, which reaches a combined daily circulation of barely 40 000, will have a minimal effect on the voting of a 60 percent illiterate electorate.

That will depend not only on party popularity but on voter organisation and education.

Observers from African countries say: Watch Swapo.

They will come storming in with well over 70 percent of the votes because all Namibians, except for a small minority, want to get rid of the shackles of Pretoria's colonialism.

One of Swapo's surprises was its nomination of four white candidates, three of whom are German-speakers; another was the lack of members of its armed wing on the list.

Virtually assured of a seat as candidate No 22 is Hartmut Ruppel, a Stellenbosch University graduate. Known as an experienced and able lawyer, he is in his mid-30s and has successfully fought many cases for Swapo and its supporters.

After Mr Ruppel as candidate No 23 is Anton von Wietersheim, a game farmer from Namibia's south.

ASSURED

As candidate No 26 is another Matie graduate, Danie Botha, a 35-year-old lecturer in Bible studies at the Academy in Windhoek. He is a nephew of former South African Cabinet Minister Fanie Botha.

As Swapo's only Afrikaner he also seems assured of a seat provided Swapo get 36 percent of the votes. Mr Botha is a surprise candidate, known for his long-time support for the movement, but a new member.

He is far ahead of Swapo candidate No 63, Dimo Amaambo, the former commander of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) who seems certain to fail to get a seat in the assembly.

And missing from the list is Swapo chief of security Solomon Auala, the man said to be responsible for Swapo's biggest election problem, the detainees. Mr Auala's nom du guerre was "Jesus".

Detainees who managed to



DIRK MUDGE
A low profile

return to Namibia have dubbed Auala the "Butcher of Lubango", a town where some of the detention camps were located.

Among the surprise exclusions from the DTA list of candidates is its president, Chief Kuaima Riruako, the Herero leader, a man considered something of a loose cannon in some DTA quarters.

DTA opponents say this could alienate Herero voters,

a bulwark of DTA support, and could lead to their supporting other parties, apart from Swapo.

Included in the DTA list is veteran campaigner Dirk Mudge, the man chiefly responsible for the break-up of white politics when he left the National Party a decade ago, but now taking a back seat in the multiracial alliance.

Third place in the election is likely to be taken by the United Democratic Front (no relation to South Africa's UDF) of Justus Garoeb.

His alliance contains a wide variety of disparate parties, including his own tribally based Damara Council, the Trotskyite Workers' Revolutionary Party, the Communist Party of Namibia, which claims to be the only truly Marxist-Leninist group in the country, and the Patriotic Unity Movement, a party formed by former Swapo detainees.

Other alliances likely to be hot on the heels of the UDF



MARTTI AHTISAARI
The UN 'referee'

are the National Patriotic Front of Namibia, which has strong Herero support, and the Namibia National Front.

One factor which could sway the choices of a significant number of the illiterate voters is voting for the wrong party by marking their crosses next to a symbol rather than a party name.

Every party except one has a hand as part of its symbol in some form or other.

The Swapo breakaway

party, the Swapo-Democrats, has the old Swapo symbol, a torch-bearing hand — and its position on the ballot paper is above that of Swapo.

And for voters who do not know which party to vote for there is Action Christian National at the top of the ballot paper.

CONFUSING

Its symbol is a map of Africa with an inner map of Namibia and a cross.

ACN is a front for the whites-only segregationist National Party of South West Africa. It could gain many black votes from an electorate that is overwhelmingly Christian.

Some voters believe that the pro-Swapo Council of Churches in Namibia should be taking part in the election because of the high political profile it has taken.

But voters supporting the CCN might just place their crosses next to the ACN by mistake.

SWA police seek recruits

Sunday Times Reporter
Windhoek

THE SWA Police force is to recruit an additional 2 000 members.

And any experienced law enforcement officers who join will immediately be used to alleviate the manpower shortage caused by the disbandment of the Koevoet counter-insurgency unit.

SWA Police acting commissioner Maj-Gen Piet Fouche says no one will be refused entry into the force on the basis of previous political affiliations.

This applied equally to former security force members and Swapo's PLAN fighters.

New recruits would be required to swear allegiance to Namibia and its people, and those judged adequately trained for active duty would be used immediately to free more experienced policemen for the monitoring of the election, he said.

Maj-Gen Fouche said the recruitment drive — which would be advertised in the local media — was meant to give the Attorney General, Mr Louis Pienaar, the manpower he needed to maintain law and order during the transition to independence.

Final countdown to elections

BY ZB MOLEFFE

NAMIBIA goes to the polls eight days from tomorrow and the battle lines have been drawn by the rival parties.

First it was the battle of the rallies. Last week Swapo and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance were at each other's throat with claims of mass support.

This week it was the battle of election surveys.

On Wednesday the two parties clashed over the accuracy of a September opinion poll conducted by the Namibian Research Services. The poll, among the territory's six largest population groups, gave the DTA 47,3 percent and Swapo 34 percent for the elections, which start on November 7. Swapo's Daniel Tjongarero dismissed the results as "rubbish."

While the DTA's Mishake Myungo seemed satisfied.

But what is certain is that Swapo and the DTA are the main contenders.

The million dollar question now is - who will win?

The November issue of news magazine *New African* says Swapo will undoubtedly win - but by what margin?

Will the damaging evidence of the terrible Swapo camps have any effect, or has the organisation's bandwagon swept all before it? asks journalist Alan Rake.

Meanwhile, the South African media has also indicated Swapo will make a clean sweep.

Last week Swapo and the DTA held rallies in Rundu, the administrative centre of the Kavango region, the third-largest electoral area with 60 000 registered voters.

Many observers regarded it as a key area. The rallies brought face-to-face competition between the parties for the first time.

Though both claimed massive support, estimates of numbers differed widely.

But the smaller parties have the potential to swing the result. Registered white South African voters and the United Nations will also play their part.

Many of the 9 000 registered South African white voters will travel by chartered plane, bus and train to cast their votes.

Though these voters' influence is minimal in a election involving 690 000 voters, many Windhoek residents who spoke to *City Press* last month when Swapo leader Sam Nujoma returned to the territory, said they were a barometer of simmering anti-Swapo feelings.

However, since his arrival Nujoma has been at pains to reassure all that he is for nation-building and reconciliation.

Another disturbing factor which has emerged in the past two weeks are reports saying Swapo will re-

sort to violence if it does not win the elections.

Other reports said failure by Swapo to secure a two-thirds majority - ensuring its version of a constitution in an independent Namibia next year - would embarrass two major Third World movements: the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organisation of African Unity.

"Worse," said a Johannesburg business newspaper, "it would finally dissolve the appointment of Swapo by the UN General Assembly, numerically dominated by NAM and OAU nations, as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people."

At a Press conference last month, the National Patriotic Front's Eben van Zyl said no party would win the required two-thirds majority.

In another development, Administrator General Louis Pienaar and UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari, agreed on Thursday that the two-thirds

majority principle to approve a constitution be included in legislation currently under discussion, reported SAPA.

Spokesman for the Administrator-General's office, Gerhard Roux, said the matter could be finalised within the next two weeks.

Roux said the 1982 principles included in UN Resolution 435, calling for, among other things, a Bill of fundamental rights, were still on the table.

Last week there were fears in diplomatic circles that efforts were being made at the UN to sidetrack parts of the independence plan.

This would be done by bypassing key provisions of Resolution 435. These provisions were added as a set of principles by Western powers in 1982 with the acceptance of all parties in Namibia independence negotiations, including Swapo.

Last week the DTA's Myungo summed it up: "Let the people decide which party they want to govern."

Press 29/10/89



Sam Nujoma wants national reconciliation.

'Walvis Bay - colonial legacy

NOTHER POINT OF VIEW: Walvis Bay, a geographical anomaly resulting from colonial rule in Africa, is one issue that has not yet received the attention it deserves, says a letter to the editor.

Walvis Bay was annexed by the British-ruled Cape Colony in 1878 to counter Germany's colonial ambitions.

South Africa claimed full control over the enclave in September 1977, a year before the adoption of Resolution 435.

Though the enclave lies some 800 kilometres north of the nearest South African territory, it is still regarded as part of South Africa.

Swapo, however, asserts that the question of Walvis Bay has "already been settled" through Resolution 435.

Swapo stated that it is committed to the liberation of Walvis Bay, although South Africa may contravene the Resolution.

But on August 29, 1988, Wynand Breytenbach, South African Deputy-Minister of Defence, clearly remarked that even with an independent Namibia, South Africa would continue to use Walvis Bay as its naval facility.

It should therefore be evident to everyone, that SA disregards Resolution 435 on the Walvis Bay issue. South Africa strongly argues that on Walvis Bay being under threat of seizure, it would be compelled to take action which might cause heavy in Southern Africa.

Thus in a post colonial independent Namibia, the part cord plan for Namibia, (S Africa, Cuba and Angola), replicate in Portuguese, Spanish English on December 22, urged to guarantee that it refrain from threat or use of force. It will ensure that their territories are not used by any nation, or person in connection with acts of war, aggression, or against the territorial integrity of borders, or inability of South-West any state of South-West Walvis Bay thus, ipso part of this inalienable un To lessen Namibia's dependence on South Africa must be abandoned and lasting peace in Namibia must forsake her insistent troling Walvis Bay, even dence, as this indicates I ness to live in peace with hours.

South Africa's obstinacy of the enclave as a matter ated with a friendly Namernment is strongly commerges as a vestige of The geographical location vis Bay shows that it is of Namibia, thus justify claim to the bay. Maxwell Zakhwele Shammase, United

Swapo's political surprise



Special Correspondent

SWAPO has appointed the nephew of former Manpower Minister, Fanie Botha, as one of its candidates to assist in formulating a new constitution for Namibia after the elections next month.

Danie Botha, 35, is an ordained minister in the Dutch Reformed Church and presently a lecturer in biblical studies at the Academy in Windhoek.

He said he is an Afrikaner who grew up in a National Party supporting home, matriculated at the Jan van Riebeeck High School in Cape Town and studied theology at the University of Stellenbosch.

His appointment by Swapo has caused one of the biggest political surprises.

He has been ranked 26th on Swapo's priority list of 72 candidates.

This means that he will be a member of Swapo's delegation in the constitutional assembly which will formulate a constitution for Namibia.

In an interview this week, Botha said he has never been an active Swapo member, but is generally regarded in Windhoek as a sympathiser.

His political connections derive from his Christian convictions, he said.

He said he was never really interested in a political career as such and was very surprised when Swapo approached him to make himself available as

a candidate.

How does he reconcile his Christian convictions with an organisation that has had strong links with Moscow?

The ghost of Communism and everything it entails, has been exploited for too long in Namibia and South Africa.

There are Christians in Moscow and non-believers in South Africa and the National Party, he added.

He says he is very impressed by the openness of the Swapo leaders who are also Christians.

He has no problems with Swapo's policy in general and would like to assist in refining the policy in some respects, but the general guidelines are sound, he said.

Dominee is constitution talks aide

He reacted somewhat uncomfortably on the issue of Swapo's detention camps saying no party is perfect.

During the long and unnecessary war there were many tragic incidents on both sides. It is also presumptuous of Foreign Minister Pik Botha, "whose own country has a bad history in respect of human rights", to come to Namibia and fulminate over the detention camps.

When asked if he was not included in Swapo's list of candidates as part of a political manoeuvre or because Swapo wants to boast about having a "token white," he pointed out that he is one of five whites on the list.

If Swapo wants to prove this is how it wants to accommodate whites as well, he cannot fault it, he said.

See page 10.

By JOHN RYAN,
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — The depth of Swapo's determination to win a two-thirds majority in next month's constituent assembly elections, and so be able to dictate the terms of Namibia's independence constitution, may be overstated.

Obviously, its leaders would be delighted if the results showed so much support for an organisation only recently come out of the wilderness.

But the funds Swapo is spending (or not spending) on the present campaign suggest it may be planning to skin the power cat in a different way.

Swapo undoubtedly has considerable finances at its disposal. Since the agreement on UN Resolution 435 signalled it would be taking control in Namibia, several Western countries have made fat donations to its cause.

More recently, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) chipped in \$445 000 — about R1,25 million — for Swapo's campaign.

Certain officials of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) might claim Swapo needs no foreign support at all if it has been canny with the excess money the high commission has channelled to it over the years.

When the 435 ceasefire first came into effect, it was generally expected that between 70 000 and 80 000 Namibian refugees would begin returning home.

That was the number the UNHCR had aided through Swapo.

But later estimates showed fewer than 33 000 refugees in

Swapo keeping a card up its sleeve?

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Star 30/10/89



Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma . . . money for Africa.

Angola, Zambia and other neighbouring states.

The exact amount of aid given by the UNHCR has not been publicly disclosed. But it must have run into many millions.

In some ways, Swapo has appeared to be profligate with whatever money it may have.

The multi-storey building in Windhoek's Goethe Strasse, which now houses the party headquarters, cost it R5,5 million.

The organisation also bought 39 houses, although it will get revenue by way of rent from many of those.

But in the election campaign proper, there is little evidence of the UNHCR millions.

And this leads one to believe that the Swapo leaders may tactically be saving their best sprint for another race.

No doubt Swapo will win the November polls comfortably. It could do so on Owambo support alone.

So, ahead by a healthy number of seats in the 72-member constituent assembly, the organisation will go to the negotiating table to thrash out with other party representatives a constitution to take Namibia to independence.

Obviously Swapo would like to win a two-thirds majority next month to be able to write a constitution of its own now.

But what would happen if it failed to gain that majority?

A constitution would then be drawn up which certainly would provide for a full-scale general election as soon as possible after independence.

By winning just a straight majority of seats in that election, Swapo thereafter would be in a position to reshape the constitution as it wanted to shape it.

That is the way change has come in most of the other 51 independent states of Africa.

Perhaps this is how the Swapo leaders see the future, perhaps this is why they are conserving their resources at this stage.

There could be another advantage for them if events turned out that way.

By being seen to be sharing the initial decision-making process with other parties, and not dominating matters from the outset, Swapo may be able to attract more foreign investment.

News in Brief

CAPE TOWN 20/10/87
Dutch halt aid to Swapo *221*

JOHANNESBURG. — Holland's Organisation for Development Aid has ended all financial support for Swapo, SABC TV news reports. The director of the organisation, Mr Max van den Berg, said the decision followed Swapo's refusal to allow an independent inquiry to be conducted into the alleged torture and murder of people in Swapo camps.

High fluoride is the cause of poor tusks, say scientists

By Dawn Barkhuizen

The quality of ivory in arid areas of Namibia is deteriorating as a result of high levels of fluoride in the water and elephants suffering from vitamin C deficiency,

scientists have learnt.

It was initially thought that ivory was deteriorating as poachers shot out large tuskers and caused the genetic pool to degenerate, Professor Eric Raubenheimer of the Department of Oral and Biological Pathology

at the Medical University of Southern Africa, said.

As a result of the new information plans to transfer healthy elephant from the Kruger National Park to sections of Etosha and Ovamboland to bolster the genetic pool have been dropped.

"The environment is having a far greater influence than genetics. If we were to transfer elephant from the Kruger National Park to Caprivi, their tusks would begin to degenerate," he said.

Pinpoint

The department, a world leader in its field, is also working on new material which will enable it to pinpoint the exact origins of ivory by collating the chemical composition of tusks and relating it to geographical areas.

"Through measuring the fluoride levels were are already able to exclude certain localities," Prof Raubenheimer said.

One of the greatest problems facing conservationists fighting against poaching and the illegal ivory trade was the inability to determine the sources of tusks.

Police arming reservists in Namibia

CME Tents
31/10/89
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From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — Police are arming reservists in northern Namibia amid persistent fears of looming violence and white civilian efforts to move women and children out of the volatile region.

Officials deny any formal planning to evacuate white civilians and dismiss reports of a widespread issue of automatic rifles to police reservists.

Untag spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said yesterday that UN officials would investigate reports that police reservists were being armed throughout the territory. Witnesses say they have seen civilians entering police stations unarmed and emerging with weapons.

"It is entirely within the right and powers of the administrator-general, if necessary, to arm police reservists," government spokesman Mr Gerhard Roux said yesterday. "Police reservists can be called upon at all times to do police duty. In the few instances we are aware of, where these arms have been issued, it has only been done in particular circumstances.

"There is no truth in the assumption that there is a widespread process of arming the whites of Namibia. This is completely untrue.

"We have complete faith in the SWA Police, understaffed as it is, to maintain law and order."

White fear in northern regions is anchored in mistrust of former Swapo guerillas, suspected of preparing to unearth weapons caches if the election result is anything but a Swapo landslide.

Fighters of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) have largely not complied with Resolution 435 requirements to stay in bases north of the 16th parallel in Angola, under Angolan and Untag monitoring.

Many returned to Namibia as civilians under a refugee repatriation airlift.

Under its withdrawal agreement, Pretoria's military has kept a strike force of some 1 500 soldiers in two bases, Grootfontein and Oshivello.

Three top aides to UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar visiting Windhoek a week before the crucial election are expected to fly to South Africa today, possibly to meet Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, but such a visit could not be confirmed. They are UN chief of staff Mr Virendra Dayal, under-secretary-general Mr Abdulrahim Farah and legal adviser Mr Carl-August Fleischhauer.

up, and he left. But he only got as far as the door when there was a downpour. The guy asked him

whose members are now the Lockerbie team's prime suspects.

state M

Swapo, DTA look north in run-up to poll

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Star 3/1/92

In the final run-up to the Namibian election the focus of the major political parties has shifted to the northern ethnic homelands of the country where more than half of the registered voters will cast their votes.

Both Swapo and its main rival, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), have selected the north as a target for their main efforts in the last two weeks before polling day.

Head-to-head rallies have been held in the Kavango capital of Rundu and in the Caprivi capital of Katima Mulilo.

The four northern homelands of Kaokoland (13 546 voters), Owambo (248 272), Kavangoland (64 156) and Caprivi (28 096) between them contain more than half the 70 1483 registered voters.

Heavily politicised

A tour through Caprivi and Kavango has revealed that the population, even in remote rural areas, is heavily politicised. Virtually every kraal sports a flag fluttering atop a spindly flagpole — and often rival flags fly from adjacent huts.

In spite of intense politicking, there seems to be none of the animosity, intimidation or violence between parties that has characterised campaigning in Owambo or Windhoek, where clashes between rival supporters resulted in several deaths.

"We have no need to fight here" says Caprivi's DTA electoral organiser Mr Dunbar Mushweni. "Everyone knows everyone else. We greet each other and discuss politics peaceably, after all, we are all Caprivians".

In the Caprivi, the electoral campaign is a two-horse race between the DTA and Swapo, with other parties expected to receive miniscule support.

Throughout the north it is apparent that the DTA and Swapo are adopting entirely different campaign strategies. While Swapo is aiming its pitch at trade unions, teacher and student organisations and the churches, the DTA is concentrating on lining up the support of traditional leadership structures.

In the Caprivi political alliances are split along tribal lines, and tribal leaders historically have tremendous influence in the area. The Subia tribe in the east largely support Swapo while the Mafawe in the west support the DTA.

About 10 000 of the 28 000 registered Caprivan voters live in the capital Katima Mulilo, and in this partially de-tribalised area the DTA and Swapo seem to be running neck and neck.

The DTA has an advantage in that its national vice-president, Mr Mishake Muyongo, is a Caprivian and he has a large personal following in the region. His party, the United Democratic Party, has been organising in the area since 1985, while the Swapo campaign has got off the ground only since the return of exiles in June and August this year.

Mr Mushweni says the DTA is pointing at the plight of "other communist countries" such as Angola, Zambia and Mozambique and telling voters that that is what they can expect if Swapo comes to

Both the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and Swapo have focused their main efforts on the northern regions of Namibia in the final run-up to the elections next month. More than half the registered Namibian voters live in this area. **KEN VERNON** of The Star's Africa News Service reports.

power. "We want a Botswanan-type democracy. We think the people can learn from others mistakes.

The head of voter mobilisation for Swapo in the Caprivi, Mr Brian Simataa, agrees that Swapo had a lot of catching up to do in the region, but says this had been achieved through a concerted effort, especially by the more than 1 000 Swapo supporting exiles that have returned to Caprivi since last June.

In neighbouring Kavango the picture changes, with tribal affiliations playing a lesser role in political preference.

As in the Caprivi, the DTA has concentrated on garnering the approval of traditional leaders and enjoys the support of four of the five Kavango tribal chiefs. Most Kavango voters are rural dwellers.

Organisational capability, being able to transport supporters to the polls during election week, will seemingly play a major role in Kavango.

The DTA has usually been cast as the "organised" party in Namibia, but in Kavango a large influx of Swapo graduates from the United Nations Institute for Namibia in Lusaka seems to have partially redressed the imbalance.

"If Swapo fail to get 80 percent of the vote it will mean the election was not free and fair," says Swapo's Kavango political advisor, Mr Alvis Katiti.

The DTA electoral organiser, Mr Alois Gente, sees the battle for Kavango being won or lost in the rural areas, where he believes the support of traditional leaders will give the DTA a decisive edge.

He also points to the difference in ages between Swapo and DTA supporters, saying that a majority of Swapo supporters are not actually voters.

The outcome in Kavango is complicated, however, by a degree of support for minor parties, especially the Federal Convention of Namibia (FCN), which proposed a federal system for an independent Namibia, and for the United Democratic Front (UDF) which has support from coloured people in the area.

In Owambo the issue is more clear-cut. For decades the area has been the traditional base of Swapo, and the movement should easily collect 70-80 percent of votes cast, and this was reflected in a poll conducted in the area earlier this year.

Some traditional leaders do support the DTA, such as the senior Owambo headman, Chief Gabriel Kautima, and this, along with the vote of ex-soldiers, policemen and their extended families, could get the DTA between 15 percent and 20 percent of the vote.

The desert wastes of Kaokoland are said to be traditional DTA territory, and the party should get the majority of votes cast.

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Poll may proceed with ground rules unclear

Jan 21/10/89

(2)

By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Namibia's one-man-one-vote polls may go ahead next week without agreement having been reached between Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar and UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

The two differ on the rules for the constituent assembly to be chosen by the country's 700 000 voters.

A spokesman for Mr Pienaar, Mr Gerhard Roux, told reporters in Windhoek yesterday that the Administrator-General was hopeful that he and Mr Ahtisaari would reach agreement by the end of this week on outstanding points of difference on the constituent assembly legislation.

However, Mr Roux said Mr Pienaar believed there was a possibility that agreement would not be reached within that time.

Mr Roux stressed that the possibility was a "worst-case scenario" and would in any event not delay the elections which are due to start on November 7.

Mr Pienaar's office last week distributed its draft proposals for comment to the 10 political parties contesting the election.

The UN team, in turn, has drawn up its own "discussion paper" on the proposed legislation.

The proclamation on the Constituent Assembly will, once it is agreed by both sides, be signed into law by South African State President, Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Pienaar.

Although Mr Roux would not divulge the nature of the differences between Mr Pienaar and Mr Ahtisaari, it is understood there has been considerable discussion between the two sides about the right of appeal over decisions of the constituent assembly.

The UN is arguing that these should go through international judicial bodies rather than to the Supreme Court in this country, which, until independence, remains officially part of the South African judicial system.

TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY

Both sides have said, however, they agree that the "1982 Principles" — an agreement between all parties brokered by the West five contact group — would be applied in the constituent assembly.

The 1982 principles provide that the constitution drawn up by the assembly be agreed by a two-thirds majority and in addition that fundamental human rights guarantees be included in the final document.

● See Pages 13, 15 and 23.

Concern over 'return of Koevoet'

Police enrolment angers the UN

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Star 3/10/89

By Jon Qwelane,
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — United Nations Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari and the Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar yesterday seemed headed for a confrontation over a decision to recruit immediately 2 000 men into the police force.

Mr Ahtisaari said he was not consulted about the matter.

The decision to recruit extra personnel into the police came after the disbanding of 1 200 members of the controversial Koevoet paramilitary unit, all of whom had been absorbed into the regular police force, but whose immediate dismissal was demanded by the UN Security Council through Resolution 640.

Yesterday Mr Ahtisaari's office said: "The Special Representative was not consulted by the Administrator-General concerning a proposed recruitment

and training programme for civilian police.

"Obviously a proposal of this nature has to be studied and agreed upon through the normal consultative process between the Administrator-General and the Special Representative in accordance with the provisions of the settlement proposal.

Paramilitary units

"Acting Commissioner of Police Major-General Piet Fouche opened the way back into the security forces for disbanded members of Koevoet and those of the former SWA Territory Force when he disclosed that members of former military and paramilitary units are also welcome to apply".

A Western envoy in Windhoek said yesterday that the invitation to former Koevoet members to apply for jobs in the police could be viewed as reinstating Koevoet into the police by other methods.

General Fouche indicated

that the recruitment applied equally to former members of the security forces, as it did to former guerillas fighting under the banner of Swapo's military wing, and no one could be denied acceptance on grounds of former political affiliation.

The UN also expressed disquiet about "the arming of civilians by the police", which it said had been going on for some time.

SWA police, according to the UN, was arming civilians into "a kind of police auxiliary".

This apparently referred to police reservists.

The UN also said it had been receiving reports of border violations by Unita along a wide area of northern Namibia.

The purposes of the crossings, according to the UN, were to steal cattle and get other provisions.

"But there have also been reports of assaults and even murder" by Unita members during such crossings, a spokesman said.

Untag gears up for big day next month

WINDHOEK — The number of Untag members involved in the Namibia election early next month will be about 7 400, said UN spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard on Friday.

This included about 4 330 military personnel, 1 494 police monitors, 440 international UN staff members and 400 junior staff recruited in Namibia.

The rest are election monitors seconded from UN member governments around the world. These monitors will be arriving in Namibia as follows.

On Thursday: 40 from Finland, 31 from Poland, 35 from East Germany and 30 from the Soviet Union.

On Friday: 27 from Japan, 40 from Thailand, 31 from Australia, 20 from China, 18 from India, 20 from Singapore, 40 from Pakistan, and 40 from Kenya.

On Saturday: 35 from Norway, 25 from the Congo, 40 from Sweden, 40 from Denmark, 33 from West Germany, 41 from Switzerland and 40 from Nigeria.

On Sunday: 50 From Canada, 13 from Costa Rica, 50 from the UK, 45 from Ghana, 24 from Portugal, 39 from France and 40 from Trinidad and Tobago.

Namibians facing a legislative vacuum

WINDHOEK — Namibians go to the polls in less than a week's time, but they face the prospect that there will be no legislation governing the Constituent Assembly they are electing.

Spokesmen for both Administrator-General Louis Pienaar and UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari said negotiations on the Constituent Assembly Proclamation were likely to continue after the elections had begun next Tuesday.

Failure to reach agreement before the time should not impede voting, they said.

DTA chairman Dirk Mudge disagrees, however. He said in a statement that Namibian voters should know where they stood with the Con-

stituent Assembly before polling began.

"It may even — at that late stage — influence the options of the voters," he said.

Political leaders reported earlier that delays in the protracted negotiations on a Constituent Assembly law had been caused by differences between Pienaar and Ahtisaari on how best to entrench internationally agreed constitutional guidelines for Namibia.

The principles negotiated in 1982 were ratified by the UN Security Council. They provide for a Western-style, multi-party democracy with a bill of fundamental rights.

In terms of a draft law proposed by

Pienaar, the constitution-making assembly should adhere at all times to UN Security Council resolutions concerning Namibia, including the constitutional principles adopted by the world body in February.

To approve constitutional details, a two-thirds majority would be required in the 72-member Constituent Assembly, and the assembly would be able to set a date for Namibia's independence provided it left the administrator-general reasonable time to terminate his administration of the country.

Ahtisaari's proposal does not mention the constitutional principles, and neither does it express itself on Pienaar's tenure of office. — Sapa.

Strafkampe a factor in Namib poll?

WITH just five days to go before the historic constituent assembly elections in Namibia, a war of nerves appears to be the order of the day in Windhoek, with threats and counter-threats rumbling about beneath the official surface.

What sort of talk? Well, according to one of my reliable sources some Swapo members are turning the now-notorious "strafkampe" or detention camps to their advantage; one man, a long-time Swapo foe, was told to his face by a grinning official: "Mr X, we've already booked your place in the strafkamp."

Mr X's reaction was to see to his firearms, and he in turn is openly prophesying civil war, regardless of the outcome of the elections, claiming that Swapo has caches of weapons hidden in Katatura township.

How much of it is talk and how much is not? No one knows. A worrying factor is that apparently several thousand insurgents are still concentrated in the Angolan shallow area just north of Ovamboland, in spite of all the fine undertakings given at the recent Joint Commission meeting in Johannesburg.

Meanwhile, the outcome of the election is as much in doubt as ever. Sources who say they have been keeping an ear close to the ground claim that support stands at 40% for Swapo, 40% for the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and 20% for all the rest lumped together.

221 B. Day 2/11/89
Swapo detainees 'still held'

THE exact location of between 1 400 and 2 500 detainees currently in Swapo camps in Zambia, Angola, Tanzania and possibly Cuba is to be revealed at a Press conference in Windhoek today, two former Swapo prisoners said.

Leeva Hardley and Phil ya Nangoloh, who addressed journalists in Johannesburg yesterday, said by today they would have information on the exact whereabouts of people "languishing" in Swapo camps.

They said releases of Swapo detainees until now were a fraction of the total and demanded all detainees be released to enable them to take part in the electoral process.

If not, they would demand a full account of what had happened to them.

ADELE BALETA

UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari has said previously he could not verify reports Swapo had imprisoned, tortured and killed hundreds from its own ranks since 1977.

Ahtisaari has also said he could not find a single Swapo detainee among over 1 000 cases investigated in Zambia and Angola.

Nangoloh, president of the detainee pressure group Parents' Committee of Namibia said Ahtisaari was responsible for endangering the lives of people currently held in Swapo "hell holes" and accused him of collaborating with Swapo.

He claimed his brother was executed in 1977 by Swapo, which claimed the latter was living even now with his family in Namibia.

Hardley, a UDF candidate said she

was one of 153 detainees released in July.

Swapo had never told the truth about the number of people in detention, she added.

Hardley appealed to journalists to help secure the detainees' release as "Swapo, to avoid embarrassment, would do anything to eliminate these people".

She could not say why she had been refused a visa by the French government to attend a two-day conference on urban terrorism in Paris.

Hardley was to have pressured the conference to help secure the release of all detainees.

Also at the conference was Nico Spies, Windhoek-based author of the soon-to-be-released book Call Them Spies about events surrounding Swapo since 1964.

221 B. Day 2/11/89
Discriminatory laws revoked — Pienaar

WINDHOEK — Administrator-General Louis Pienaar says all discriminatory legislation that could interfere with free and fair elections in Namibia has been revoked.

Pienaar was responding to a UN Security Council request to repeal all racially discriminatory laws which could undermine the election.

Spokesman for Pienaar's office, Gerhard Roux, said the section of the proclamation concerning ethnic administrations which had not been repealed provided only for administra-

tive structures controlled by the Administrator-General.

Roux said this could have no influence on the election and that Pienaar was satisfied no discriminatory legislation existed in terms of the stipulations of the settlement plan.

Meanwhile, Untag military and police monitors have confirmed the successful demobilisation of the Koevoet counter-insurgency unit in Namibia.

Untag would, however, keep a close eye on moves to re-recruit for-

mer members back into the SWA Police, UN spokesman Fred Eckhard said yesterday.

Eckhard said UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari maintained that, in terms of Resolution 435, he had to be consulted before additional police could be recruited.

Ahtisaari and his deputy, Legwaila Joseph Legwaila, were touring rural areas yesterday to observe training of the election supervisors who are to ensure the election for a Constituent Assembly next week is free and fair. — Sapa.

Swapo 'invasion' messages faked - Untag

Frantic moves to save Namibia polls

2/11/89

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Full election guide in The Star today

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The Star's Africa News Service
As many as 700 000 voters will start going to the polls on Tuesday in Namibia for an election that has major implications for Southern Africa.

The election, which ends a struggle of more than 40 years for independence for the territory, will result in Namibia taking its place in the international community as a sovereign nation.

The constituent assembly that will be chosen in the United Nations-supervised election will shape the country's political future, certainly in the short term and probably also in the long term, by drawing up the constitution

that will dictate the form of government and its orientation towards socialist or free enterprise policies.

This in turn will determine the relations that the new nation will have with South Africa, with other African countries and with the major international political blocs.

And it could have a strong influence on attitudes in South Africa in the budding negotiations between the ruling white minority and the black majority.

Although there has so far been relatively little violence in the election campaign, tension is growing amid reports of whites being armed and continuing uncertainty about the intentions of the Swapo force.

That the South African authorities claim is still stationed in southern Angola within striking distance of the Namibia border.

Voting is due to take place from Tuesday November 7 to Saturday November 11. It may be extended, however, if it seems that not all voters, who are widely scattered over a country nearly as large as SA, have been able to vote.

The results are expected to be announced on November 14 unless the voting time is extended.

To help readers understand the complexities of the election, The Star today publishes on Page 19 a table compiled by its Africa News Service showing the stance of the 10 contesting parties on key issues, including democratic principles and economic and social policies.

The Star's Africa News Service will have a strong team covering the election. The two staff members of the service's bureau in Windhoek, Brendan Seery and Jon Gwelan, will be joined by reporters Ken Verron and John Ryan and photographers John Woodroff and Jacobo Fyrliff. Africa News Service editor Gerald L'Ange will go to Windhoek later to direct the reporting of the election results and their interpretation.

Reporter Joao Santa Rita in Johannesburg will liaise between the team in Namibia and The Star.

The team will provide a daily file of news, colour and interpretive reports and pictures from Monday.

Some of the team will be based in Windhoek, some in Owanjo in the north and some in Keetmanshoop in the south to put them in a position to cover the story wherever it develops in the territory.

Frantic diplomatic efforts were being made today to prevent a clash between Swapo and South African forces which would wreck the Namibian independence process.

This followed South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's surprise announcement yesterday that South African security forces in Namibia and South Africa had been put on full alert after South Africa intercepted Untag signals which indicated a large Swapo force had built up on the border and had begun crossing.

Mr Botha said he had urged UN Secretary-General Dr Perez de Cuellar and the governments of Britain, United States, West Germany, France and Canada to give reassurances that there would not be a recurrence of the Swapo incursion of April 1.

If it did not receive reassurances, South Africa reserved the right to take whatever steps were necessary to ensure all parties complied with the peace accords. Today Mr Botha made it clear in a radio interview that South Africa would have to consider military intervention if all else failed.

Swapo last night emphatically denied Mr Botha's claims and accused him of lying. The People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan), Swapo's military wing, did not exist any more, and all its former members were back in Namibia as civilians, Swapo said.

The UN mission stationed in Namibia to supervise and control next week's elections today dismissed as fakes the documents purporting to have been claimed to have.

At the same time Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, asked for an on-site inspection of the border with Angola today requesting that joint Commission members be present during the tour.

Mr Marotti Ahtisaari, UN special representative, said today senior



Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, holds what he says is a secret United Nations cable revealing Swapo incursions into Namibia.

communications experts attached to his military force, and civilian police, examined texts of messages Mr Botha alleged had been intercepted and their conclusion was that they did not emanate from any Untag source.

The South African Defence Force has released what it called top-level intelligence information yesterday on the presence of thousands of Swapo fighters, equipped with tanks, artillery and vehicles south of the 16th parallel in Angola - in direct contravention of the Namibian peace process.

Transcripts of intercepted messages from Untag bases were shown to media military correspondents at

Swartkops air base outside Pretoria by General Jannie Geldenhuis last night.

According to General Geldenhuis, Chief of the Defence Force, Swapo units are concentrated close to the Namibian border on a 1 200 km-wide front from western Owanjo to Caprivi right up to the Zambian border. Swapo troops are also stationed in Zambia near the Caprivi border.

General Geldenhuis said no South African troops had yet been moved to Namibia.

Commandant Theo Borslap said Swapo units, some equipped with missiles, were concentrated at places including Xangongo, Cumnato, Ondiva,

Melunga, Namacunde, near Livingstone in Zambia; and at Kazangula near the Zambian border; and at Kaitima Mulilo.

He said there was a large Swapo fighter presence inside Namibia including places in the far south where Swapo had never penetrated during the bush war.

Commandant Borslap said Swapo troops in southern Angola were equipped with Soviet PT76 tanks and T54 tanks.

General Geldenhuis said: "We are not looking for a scrap - we want to avoid one."

Western diplomatic sources today said the reports might have been exaggerated through bad intelligence.

However, they said South Africa had a right to be concerned about what was clearly a large build-up of Swapo forces inside Angola and south of the 16th parallel in contravention of the peace accords.

Efforts were being made by several different parties today to verify the alleged Untag signals which SA claimed it had intercepted including "specific crossings" of the border, as Mr Botha put it. - Political Correspondent-Military Correspondent-The Star's Africa News Service.

WINDHOEK. — Swapo has vehemently denied allegations by South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, that its troops are massing on Namibia's northern border.

"This is another concoction by the South African government in a bid to sabotage the election," Swapo's secretary-general, Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, said here on Wednesday.

He said Swapo troops had in accordance with Resolution 435 been disbanded and suggested anyone found in Swapo uniform would not be Swapo troops.

"It is well-known that the South African army sends its own troops dressed in other army's clothing when it wishes to fabricate an offensive manoeuvre by an army that has laid down its arms."

Botha told a press conference in Pretoria on Wednesday that unless Swapo "military activity" on and over the Namibian border was curbed, the election "may have to be postponed as they would not be free and fair elections".

Botha said United Nations personnel themselves were "concerned" about the

Pik's 'cry wolf' rejected

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alleged Swapo build-up.

A UN spokesperson at Oshakati in the north, however, said no Swapo military build-up had been reported to Untag peace-keeping forces.

DAVID LUSH reports that in spite of the latest "sabre-rattling", an eerie calm prevails in the territory as it edges towards its historic elections due to start on Monday.

Telephone poles and lamposts along routes in and out of Namibia's major towns are barely distinguishable underneath the mass of billboards while each night parties try to outdo each other with party television broadcasts.

But this is just the superficial gloss on an election campaign which really has been fought at the countless rallies which have been held throughout the country.

The turnout at the rallies were the only real indicators of the parties' chances at

Since his return to Namibia in September after nearly 30 years in exile, Swapo president Sam Nujoma has surpassed all expectations by attracting huge crowds throughout his nationwide speaking tour.

Yet, despite the good attendance at rallies, Swapo headquarters remains apprehensive.

With laws governing the elections passed less than a month ago, parties have had precious little time to educate the electorate in what is to many the still unknown concept of voting.

Swapo has held mock ballots which initially showed some alarming results.

In Windhoek, 30 percent of the largely educated "test" electorate Swapo supporters spoilt their ballot papers, while others confused the party symbols printed on the ballot papers and placed their crosses against Swapo's opponents.



Toivo Ja Toivo

wapo

build-up

jitters

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FRANTIC diplomatic efforts were being made today by the major powers to avert a crisis caused by claims of a build-up of Swapo forces on the Angolan border.

Although tinged with scepticism, diplomatic lines were humming after the allegations by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

South African military intelligence and Untag are meeting in Windhoek today to evaluate the allegations.

There was some scepticism in Western diplomatic circles about the allegations. South Africa would have to produce firmer evidence, sources said.

The allegations centred on Untag messages "monitored" by South African intelligence. Untag said the messages were not theirs.

Western diplomats in Windhoek said there was no information to corroborate the allegations made by Mr Botha.

Taken seriously

The head of one of the Western missions said that although Mr Botha's claims were being taken seriously he had sent messages to his country's police monitors and election supervisors attached to Untag that there was "no reason to panic".

The diplomat said his mission's assessment was that Untag personnel were "not in any danger, immediate or otherwise."

Diplomats in Pretoria were surprised yesterday when Mr Botha sprang the news about the alleged Swapo troop build-up. During discussions, Mr Botha broke off to speak on the phone to UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari, who was in Oshakati to brief election supervisors.

According to some of the diplomats, Mr Botha put on a "very emotional performance" during his angry talk with Mr Ahtisaari.

Diplomats in Windhoek said they could not understand the motivation behind the claims by Mr Botha.

They said the allegations would have made more sense if they had been aired earlier this week, in a possible attempt to sway opinion during a UN Security Council debate on Namibia.

UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, has ordered an investigation into the charges.

He said that Mr Marrack Goulding, the UN under secretary-general in charge of peacekeeping operations had alerted Untag to institute an immediate inquiry.

Impose restraint

Diplomats said the big powers would do their utmost to impose restraint on South Africa as well as Swapo to keep the independence process on track less than a week before the elections start on Tuesday.

Namibian Administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar has asked for an inspection of the border today with joint commission members.

Mr Ahtisaari said today that senior communications experts attached to his military and civilian police examined texts of messages Mr Botha alleged had been intercepted and their conclusion was that the missives "do not emanate from Untag sources."

Untag was unable to confirm the alleged build-up or presence of elements of Swapo's military wing, Plan, in southern Angola.

Swapo denied that 2 000 of its members were massing on the Angolan border, saying that all its troops were inside the country, and South Africa knew it.

The allegations about a build-up of Swapo forces in contravention of earlier agreements and a possible incursion were made yesterday at a press conference by Mr Botha who said he was doing so to save the independence process. He said he was hopeful this could still be done.

There would be no purpose in holding the election if it was not free and fair, he said. — Political Correspondent and Argus Africa News Service.

● Threat to elections — page 4.

Koevoet veterans get jobs with DTA

From WESSEL DE KOCK

WINDHOEK. — In the final days of the Namibian election campaign the DTA, main opposition to Swapo, has employed an entire Koevoet unit of several hundred men as paid field workers.

In a strong-arm policy move which is sure to create an uproar, DTA organisers on Monday co-opted the Kavango unit of the controversial counter-insurgency fighters moments after they had been demobbed by Untag officers at their base, Arendsnes, about 16km from Rundu.

The Koevoet men had apparently voted to give their support to the DTA. In their new role the ex-Koevoete paraded through Rundu, the only town in the huge kraal-dotted territory of Kavango, chanting battle cries and sporting the DTA blue, white and red colours and caps with their Koevoet T-shirts.

They advanced on the town's Swapo election office, and

Swapo officials were seen jumping through windows to get away while at the Untag headquarters nervous officials shut doors to the demonstrators.

The men, superbly fit and trained Kavangos, most in their mid-twenties, will be employed as crowd marshals and to guard DTA buildings and officials, according to organisers.

Earlier there had been amazing scenes at the demobilisation of this, the last of the three regional Koevoet units, the other two having been at the main base at Oshakati in Ovambo and at Opowo in Kaokoland, closing the chapter on the 10-year saga of Koevoet.

In front of an assembled phalanx of top Untag military and police officers come to verify the demo-

bilisation, the 277 Koevoet men with their 12 white officers trotted on to the dusty parade ground. When Major Joos Engelbrecht stepped off the podium to join them they hoisted him on to their shoulders.

Then the men of the eight combat teams, codename Zulu 4, and who fought under emblems like that of Sizasa, the snake, and Nyime, the lion, queued to accept demobilisation from Untag.

The two top Untag men in Kavango, Finnish Lt-Col Risto Hurme and Major Jan van der Weerd, Untag police chief, seemed relieved that the day had gone without incident, commiserating with the unit on "this sad day" with Major Van der Weerd praising the unit for their standard of discipline. In 10 years Koevoet units killed

3 590 Swapo guerrillas for the loss of 70 men.

The Koevoet men looked little like the psychologically scarred, untrained killers they are made out to be. The oldest, 73-year-old Sergeant Petrus Ribebe, also angrily rejected the idea that any Koevoet fighter would accept resettlement in South Africa, like 32 Battalion. "We are from this place, our families, fathers, mothers, children. We fought people who shot at us first."

The DTA decision to deploy ex-Koevoet men politically in Kavango and in Ovambo may be a shrewd tactical move in areas where the reality is different from Windhoek. The vast majority of voters live there and are largely unsophisticated, illiterate kraal-dwellers. The election

campaign is getting fiercer as next week's election approaches. Rumours of the thousands of unaccounted Swapo fighters being activated from Angola are getting stronger.

In the northern white farming areas of Tsumeb and Grootfontein farmers have been moving their families south.

Some white policemen have evacuated their families to South Africa and it is known that the South African authorities have made a plane available to wives and children in Ovambo and Kavango on Wednesday, one day after the start of the elections, if violence should flare.

● SADF could be in action within hours — Page 4

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Namibia poll: The choice

| KEY: | South West Africa Peoples Organisation | Democratic Turnhalle Alliance | Namibia National Front | United Democratic Front | Federal Convention of Namibia | Action Christian National | National Patriotic Front | SWAPO Democrats | Namibia National Democratic Party | Christian Democratic Action |
|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Yes | | | | | | | | | | |
| No | | | | | | | | | | |
| Indefinite | | | | | | | | | | |
| CONSTITUTION | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bill of Rights | | | | | | | | | | |
| Independent Judiciary | | | | | | | | | | |
| Freedom of Speech | | | | | | | | | | |
| Periodic Elections | | | | | | | | | | |
| Multi-Party Structure | | | | | | | | | | |
| GOVERNMENT | | | | | | | | | | |
| Executive President | | | | | | | | | | |
| Two Chamber Parliament | | | | | | | | | | |
| Unitary State | | | | | | | | | | |
| Separation of Powers | | | | | | | | | | |
| ECONOMY | | | | | | | | | | |
| Limited State Control | | | | | | | | | | |
| Land Redistribution | | | | | | | | | | |
| Free Enterprise | | | | | | | | | | |
| Private Ownership | | | | | | | | | | |
| Namibianisation | | | | | | | | | | |
| FOREIGN POLICY | | | | | | | | | | |
| Diplomatic Ties with SA | | | | | | | | | | |
| Incorporation of Walvis Bay | | | | | | | | | | |
| SOCIAL POLICIES | | | | | | | | | | |
| Subsidised Housing | | | | | | | | | | |
| Subsidised Health Services | | | | | | | | | | |
| EDUCATION | | | | | | | | | | |
| Free Education | | | | | | | | | | |
| Partly Free Education | | | | | | | | | | |
| Instruction in English | | | | | | | | | | |
| Multilingual | | | | | | | | | | |

Voters face confusing policies as 10 parties fight election

Argus 2/11

With 10 parties contesting the independence election in Namibia next week, voters in the territory are faced with a confusing plethora of policies.

The situation is even more confusing for South Africans who are geographically further away but whose own interests will be affected by the outcome of the election.

In the interests of bringing some clarity to the situation, the Argus Africa News Service has compiled this table.

The table attempts to show the stance of the parties on various key issues but is not fully comprehensive simply because the policy of some parties on several of these points is unclear.

The table was compiled mainly from the election manifestoes put out by the parties.

As indicated in the graphic, some of the manifestoes are silent on what might be considered issues of vital interest to the voters. In some cases, they are so vague as to make it impossible to define party policy precisely.

For instance, Swapo, while favouring a bill of rights and periodic elections, gives no clear guidance to the voter on its attitude to other aspects considered fundamental to western concepts of democracy, such as an independent judiciary, freedom of speech and of the Press and a multi-party system.

And the DTA, while it plainly favours free enterprise and private ownership, leaves it unclear whether it opposes the redistribution of land.

In some cases the stance of a party has been adduced from its known position on certain issues even if its manifesto is unclear or silent on the point.

Where a party's attitude is vague or unstated it is shown in the table as "indefinite."

The table was framed partly in consideration of the fact that the election is for a constituent as-

The Argus Africa News Service reports from Windhoek

sembly which will draw up the constitution for independent Namibia and therefore decide the form of government.

Security Council Resolution 435, which sets out the terms of the election, says the constitution must be approved by at least two-thirds of the assembly's members.

Swapo is widely expected to win the most votes in the election, which will be on a proportional representation or party-list basis. But if it does not get two-thirds of the seats it will have to seek the co-operation of one or more of the other parties in getting a constitution it can accept.

The tabulation gives some indication of the course this "horse-trading" might follow but only a vague one because of the imprecision of the parties' campaign statements.

Since the great majority of the vote is expected to be shared between Swapo and the DTA, the other parties are significant mainly in terms of the influence they can bring to bear on the shaping of the constitution.

The smaller parties could exercise this influence indirectly through having some of their candidates elected to the constituent assembly or directly — and in this case obviously with much greater effect — by having their elected candidates enter into a coalition with the party winning the most votes.

Namibians have shown intense interest in the election that will take their country into independence and a large number of the 701 000 who registered as voters are expected to vote.

If all registered voters cast ballots a party will have to win more than 467 000 of them to gain control of the 72-seat constituent assembly and dictate the shape of the constitution.

In a lower poll, say 650 000, more than 433 000 votes will be

needed to control the assembly.

For some voters the situation may be complicated by the fact that some of the contestants in the election are not single parties but coalitions or alliances representing several parties.

The FCN, for instance, provides an umbrella for 13 parties.

To assist illiterate voters, the parties will be distinguishable on the ballot paper by symbols (shown in the graphic).

Voting in the United Nations-supervised election will open on Tuesday and close on Saturday, with the results being announced three days later.

Following are the parties contesting the election, with a synopsis of their composition, leadership and support base.

● **SWAPO.** One of the oldest of the parties, founded in the late fifties.

Led by founder member Sam Nujoma, it is fighting the election alone and its major support base is among the majority Owambo tribe, most of whom live in the north, with significant support from workers, teachers, students, church leaders and intellectuals elsewhere in the country.

● **DEMOCRATIC TURNHALLE ALLIANCE (DTA).** Founded in 1977, it is a broad-based alliance of 11 ethnic-based parties covering the entire spectrum of Namibian peoples, led by Mr Dirk Mudge.

The member parties are largely based on traditional leaderships and its policies are conservative.

● **NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT (NNF).** A coalition of four essentially liberal-minded, non-ethnic offshoot parties who subscribe to the Council of Churches policies opposing South Africa and the USA.

Reactivated in 1989 after becoming inactive in 1980. Chair-

man is Reinhardt Rukoro.

● **UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF).** Not connected with the South African UDF in any way.

A coalition of four ethnic-based parties with strong support from the Damara people and the Coloured people and some support from Trotskyites.

Formed in 1989, led by Justus Garoeb of the Damara Council.

● **FEDERAL CONVENTION OF NAMIBIA (FCN).** A coalition of 13 parties who subscribe to a federal form of government for Namibia.

Formed in 1988 as the Namibia Federal Convention, with support from ethnic nationalists throughout Namibia.

● **ACTION CHRISTIAN NATIONAL (ACN).** Reported as being the National party of SWA in disguise. It is fighting the election alone, campaigning among whites only.

● **NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT (NPF).** Formed in 1989 as an alliance of four parties with main support among Hereros and in the Caprivi.

Led by Moses Katjuongua.

● **SWAPO DEMOCRATS.** An off-shoot party formed by Swapo dissidents opposed to Swapo's Marxist policies, alleged Owambo dominance and authoritarian actions.

Led by former Swapo politburo member Andreas Shipanga. Support among Owambos and some whites.

● **NAMIBIA NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (NNDP).** Merger between two Owambo traditionalist parties.

Favours free-enterprise system and ethnic rights. Some support among Owambos.

Led by Tara Imbili.

● **CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC ACTION (CDA).** Non-traditionalist Owambo party led by the former head of the ethnic second-tier Owambo government, Peter Kalangula.



Two-thirds majority will apply — SA is assured

Sapa reports from Pretoria

THE South African government had received the assurance of two permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations — the United States and Britain — that the future constitution of Namibia should be passed with a two-thirds majority, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said here yesterday.

Mr Botha said at a news conference in Pretoria that the two countries made it clear they would not accept a constitution that was not passed by a two-thirds majority — a term of UN Resolution 435.

He trusted this re-assurance would allay the fears of some parties in Namibia that a two-thirds majority would not be applied.

It was not yet known whether the two-thirds requirement would be incorporated in the proclamation establishing the constituent assembly of Namibia, but the South African government thought it would be a good idea, Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha also welcomed the statement of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, confirming South Africa's and South African appointed Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar's continued role until independence in the territory.

Dr Perez de Cuellar said Mr Pienaar's primary responsibility was the maintenance of law and order and the facilitation of the work of the legislative assembly.

Dr Perez de Cuellar said at the UN

on Tuesday that South Africa's role under the settlement plan did not terminate with the elections, but would continue administrating the territory until independence.

● Meanwhile, the chairman of the Frontline States observer mission in Windhoek, Lieutenant-General Benjamin Mibenge said yesterday that the transitional process to Namibian independence had made major progress but there were still areas of concern, such as security and the timing of the electoral proclamation.

He said five teams from the six-nation observer mission would be dispatched to several parts of Namibia to observe the election from November 7 to 11.

He said the Frontline States were still concerned with 315 detainees whom the authorities in Windhoek had not accounted for.

On the other hand, he said, inquiries into the possibility that some detainees were left in Angola by Swapo established there were none.

General Mibenge said the timing of the electoral proclamation by Mr Pienaar left little time between those announcements and the election date.

With most black Namibians illiterate, the use of election symbols could lead to confusion, he said.

He said the Frontline States were still concerned with the incomplete demobilisation of the para-military counter insurgent unit Koevoet.

SA clues in Lubowski killing

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The Argus Correspondent

WALVIS BAY. — Namibian police are following up leads in South Africa in connection with the assassination of white Swapo leader Mr Anton Lubowski outside his Windhoek home, said Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar.

And detectives still suspected that Irishman Mr Donald Acheson was linked to Mr Lubowski's killing and that police were still holding him, Mr Pienaar said after a briefing for military correspondents in Walvis Bay.

Mr Lubowski, one of the first whites to join Swapo, was gunned down on September 12 outside his Klein Windhoek home.

Police said his killers planned the assassination well and professionally and shot him in the head to make sure he was dead. Up to 20 shots were fired at him with an AK-47 rifle.

Mr Donald Acheson, 50, was arrested soon afterwards but has up till now apparently refused to speak to police or tell them anything.

"We still suspect this Irishman was involved in the Lubowski killing and he is still in custody. He is being held as a prohibited immigrant at the moment.

"We are following up leads in South Africa and Namibia on the Lubowski killing," said Mr Pienaar, who declined to comment further.



Swapo build-up 'threat to elections'

The Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. — Next week's Namibian elections have been plunged into jeopardy as security forces were put on alert against another threatened Swapo incursion across the border.

South Africa yesterday warned United Nations Secretary General Dr Perez de Cuellar and the West that a "grave situation had developed," said Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

South Africa would "take the necessary steps to ensure all parties complied with their obligations" if assurances were not received from the UN "within days and certainly be-

fore the elections."
 The elections begin on Tuesday.

Intercepted messages between Untag monitoring stations near the border had revealed Swapo forces — including vehicles and convoys — were massed on the border and had already started crossing, Mr Botha said at a Press conference yesterday.

Security forces in Namibia and South Africa had been placed on alert.

If the incursion continued there could not be free and fair elections Mr Botha said and accused Untag of not doing its job of monitoring Swapo.

He said he had disclosed the Swapo build-up "to try and save the elections. We are within days of resolving this conflict which has plagued us for so many years."

He said he thought there might be a "responsible reaction from responsible governments."

"I hope it can be resolved. I have told the public that we would not sit back and allow Namibian independence to take place at the barrel of a gun."

"We will not allow that to happen, however much we would like this matter to be resolved peacefully," he said.

Diplomatic sources among the major Western powers said

last night they were trying to evaluate the intelligence and to ensure proper Untag monitoring.

Mr Botha brandished a sheaf of intercepted Untag messages. "How I got them is my business," he replied to questions.

They revealed that Swapo had warned Untag monitoring patrols not to interfere with the build-up or they would be shot.

"There is a lot of nervousness in Untag. Some messages show a tendency to run."

He said he could not disclose the size of the Swapo forces but the Untag signals indicated that they "were large enough to cause concern."

According to one message, 600 Swapo troops were gathered in one spot.

Other messages talked of vehicles and convoys and "more to come."

Mr Botha contacted Dr Perez De Cuellar yesterday about the reports.

"I reported a grave situation had developed and appealed to him to act quickly and firmly to prevent a recurrence of the events of April 1 (when Swapo forces crossed the border at the start of the independence process).

He said he had also called in the ambassadors of Britain, the United States, West Germany,

France and Canada and warned them that unless South Africa received assurances that the crisis was resolved within days "the government would take whatever steps were required to ensure that all parties complied with their obligations."

He said he had also contacted UN Special Representative in Namibia Mr Martti Ahtisaari and was sending him the Untag messages.

He was sure that Mr Ahtisaari would give the matter his urgent attention.

The Angolan, Cuban and Soviet governments and Swapo were also being contacted, Mr Botha said.



INTERCEPTED MESSAGE: Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha shows reporters one of several intercepted messages that suggests there is a build-up of Swapo forces on the Namibia border.

Swapo 'invasion' messages faked - Untag

Frantic moves to save Namibia polls

Star 2/11/89

Full election guide in The Star today

The Star's Africa News Service
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The team will provide a daily file of news, colour and interpretive reports and pictures from Monday. Some of the team will be based in Windhoek, some in Owarua in the north and some in Keetmanshoop in the south to put them in a position to cover the story wherever it develops in the territory.



Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, holds what he says is a secret United Nations cable revealing Swapo incursions into Namibia.

Frantic diplomatic efforts were being made today to prevent a clash between Swapo and South African forces which would wreck the Namibian independence process.

This followed South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's surprise announcement yesterday that South African security forces in Namibia and South Africa had been put on full alert after South Africa intercepted Untag signals which indicated a large Swapo force had built up on the border and had begun crossing.

Mr Botha said he had urged UN Secretary-General Dr Perez de Cuellar and the governments of Britain, United States, West Germany, France and Canada to give reassurances that there would not be a recurrence of the Swapo incursion of April 1.

If it did not receive reassurances, South Africa reserved the right to take whatever steps were necessary to ensure all parties complied with the peace accords. Today Mr Botha made it clear in a radio interview that South Africa would have to consider military intervention if all else failed.

Swapo last night emphatically denied Mr Botha's claims and accused the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan), Swapo's military wing, did not exist any more, and all its former members were back in Namibia as civilians, Swapo said.

The UN mission stationed in Namibia to supervise and control next week's elections today dismissed as fakes the diplomatic protest Mr Botha claimed to have received from the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Louis Pleadar, asked for an on-site inspection of the border with Angola, today requesting that joint Commission members be present during the tour.

Mr Mariti Ahtisaari, UN special representative, said today senior

Western diplomatic sources today said the reports might have been exaggerated through bad intelligence.

However, they said South Africa had a right to be concerned about what was clearly a large build-up of Swapo forces inside Angola and south of the 16th parallel in contravention of the peace accords.

Efforts were being made by several different parties today to verify the alleged Untag signals which SA claimed it had intercepted including "specific crossings" of the border as Mr Botha put it.

Political Correspondent-The Star's Africa News Service.

Melunga, Namacunde, near Livingstone in Zambia; and at Kazungula near the Zambian border; and at Katima Mulilo.

He said there was a large Swapo fighter presence inside Namibia including places in the far south where Swapo had never penetrated during the bush war.

Commandant Borstlap said Swapo troops in southern Angola were equipped with Soviet PT76 tanks and T54 tanks.

General Geldenhuys said: "We are not looking for a scrap - we want to avoid one."

Swartkops air base outside Pretoria by General Janne Geldenhuys last night.

According to General Geldenhuys, units are concentrated close to the Namibian border on a 1200 km-wide front from western Owambo to Caprivi right up to the Zambian border. Swapo troops are also stationed in Zambia near the Caprivi border.

General Geldenhuys said no South African troops had yet been moved to Namibia.

Commandant Theo Borstlap said Swapo units, some equipped with missiles, were concentrated at places including Xangongo, Cumato, Ondiva,

communications experts attached to his military force, and civilian police, examined texts of messages Mr Botha alleged had been intercepted and their conclusion was that they did not emanate from any Untag source.

The South African Defence Force has released what it called top-level intelligence information yesterday on the presence of thousands of Swapo fighters, equipped with tanks, artillery and vehicles south of the 16th parallel in Angola - in direct contravention of the Namibian peace process.

Transcripts of intercepted messages from Untag bases were shown to media military correspondents at



Mr Phillip Ivey with his mother, Mrs Elspeth Ivey.

Purple rain: Man in court

SA tips 2/11/87
730 3210 321
Staff Reporter
A BOTANIST, Mr Phillip Ivey, appeared in court yesterday in connection with an incident involving the "purple rain" cannon in the city centre during a protest in September.

During the protest in Burg Street on September 2 a man climbed on to the roof of a police riot-control truck and directed the nozzle, which was spraying purple dye on protesters, away from the crowd.

Top page 2

Beer worker beaten up on way to work

— PAGE 3



Koevoet veterans get jobs with DTA

— PAGE 3



KOEVOET ... Two of the Koevoet members demobbed yesterday, Sergeant Petrus Ribabe (left) and Warrant Officer Johannes Tom

BOERLEIERT

CAE TIPS
2/11/87
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PRETORIA. — South Africa put its military forces on alert last night, claiming that Swapo guerrillas were massing on the northern Namibian border with Angola.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said intercepted messages between Untag troops had warned of Swapo crossings into Namibia six days before the elections. But the UN was mystified by Mr Botha's claims, while

Untag denied that the messages came from their monitoring bases.

After informing Western governments and UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, Mr Botha told a hastily convened press conference yesterday: "If this threat cannot be removed then there cannot be a free and fair election."

"The numbers are large enough to create very serious concern," said Mr Botha, flanked by SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

But in New York the secretary-general's spokesman,

Mr Francois Giuliani, told reporters that "from the information we have, we are not aware of any such activities on the Namibian border or indeed of the messages which are mentioned by the Foreign Minister".

"I believe he indicated ... that these messages had been intercepted since October 26 and this is the first we've heard of it," Mr Giuliani said.

A spokesman for UN Special Representative in Namibia Mr Martti Ahtisaari said UN officials had examined the intercepted messages and established that they were not genuine. He also said Swapo guerrilla move-

ments could not be confirmed.

Untag spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said late last night, after a three-hour emergency session between Mr Ahtisaari, senior aides and communications manager: "It has been established that the messages do not emanate from any Untag source."

At the press conference, Mr Botha quoted what he said were messages between UN peace-keeping forces

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- SADF could be in action within hours — Page 4
- Namibia: UK, US assure SA — Page 4

P.T.O. **RAVANNA**

SWA Police issuing weapons

Disquiet over armed whites

By Jon Qwelane,
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — The continuing arming of whites in Namibia by the SWA Police on the eve of the most important election in the country's history is causing tension and fuelling charges of racism against the administration.

Various SWA Police heads at several police stations have confirmed that white civilians are being armed.

Yesterday, the Administrator-General's office said that the arming of civilians was not in violation of United Nations Resolution 435.

The SWA Police were understaffed by 2 000 men and the available policemen were being taken out to polling stations to monitor the elections next week.

That would cause a shortage of manpower. But the reservists would not perform any police functions, a spokesman said.

The UN said here yesterday it had over the past two weeks

been observing "civilians coming out of police stations with weapons, and when our police monitors inquired from the SWA Police what the weapons were for, they were told the civilians were police reservists".

A UN spokesman yesterday said: "The explanation that reservists are being armed is not consistent with what is happening, because now we hear there is something else called the Civil Defence League, which is also arming civilians.

"What we want to know is: What is going on? How many people are being armed? What are the conditions? Is it consistent with the terms of Resolution 435?"

He said the matter had been taken up with the police at the highest level.

Swapo spokesman Mr Eddie Amkongo said: "We have irrefutable proof that whites are being armed by SWA Police.

"In the absence of Koevoet, the Administrator-General has now decided to arm white civilians. One wonders what South Africa's real intentions are."

● See Page 19.

Untag on watch for Koevoet recruits

Capt. Mark 2/11/89
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WINDHOEK. — Untag military and police monitors have confirmed the successful demobilisation of the Koevoet counter-insurgency unit in Namibia, but are keeping a close eye on moves to re-recruit former members back into the SWA Police, UN spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard announced yesterday.

The demobilisation on Monday of 1 207 Koevoet members at Oshakati, 290 at Rundu and 132 at Opuwo ends one of the most contentious parts of the settlement process.

Mr Eckhard said UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari still maintained that, in terms of Resolution 435, he had to be consulted before additional policemen could be recruited.

The SWA Police last week announced moves to recruit 2 000 additional members and specifically opened the offer to former Koevoet members as well as former soldiers of the SWA Territory Force and Swapo's Plan fighters. — Sapa

3/1/89
Sowetan

SA charges 'sow fear' in Namibia

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THE UN special envoy in Namibia, Marti Ahtisaari, has said South African accusations against nationalist guerrillas a week before independence elections had "created enormous fear" in the territory.

South Africa has accused Angolan-based guerrillas from the South West African People's Organisation of staging an illegal incursion into

Namibia, violating a UN-backed peace plan for the region.

"I hope the South African government is in a position to rectify the situation very soon because this has created enormous fear amongst the population," Ahtisaari told British Broadcasting Corporation television in an interview made available to Reuters yesterday.

South African Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, said the Swapo action had been detected by intercepting messages between UN peacekeeping forces stationed in northern Namibia.

Botha also accused the UN transition assistance group overseeing the independence process of pro-Swapo bias. Both Unlag and Swapo deny there was an incursion.

Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said yesterday purported UN messages about guerrilla incursions into Namibia were forgeries and that South Africa was aware of this.

Ahtisaari criticised Botha for publicising his accusations and said he had discussed the alleged messages with Botha before he made his allegations to reporters on Wednesday.

"In a way it is sad, but it looks as though he might have been taken for a ride," said Ahtisaari. He said he would have been notified several days ago if his staff had been sending each other messages reporting a Swapo incursion. "I told him that they did not sound very plausible and from my point of view someone was playing games."

Messages were forged — UN

Govt wavers on Pik's Untag claims

991 B. Day
3/11/89

TECHNICAL experts were last night re-examining messages Foreign Minister Pik Botha said had been intercepted between Untag units after the UN dismissed them as forgeries and SA came under fire from Britain.

Botha said on Wednesday the intercepted messages had reported a build-up of Swapo troops on the Namibian/Angolan border. But responding from New York, UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said the messages were forgeries and SA was aware of this. UN experts had looked at the messages in the presence of South Africans and both sides had agreed they were forgeries.

The British Foreign Office said there was no evidence to support Botha's claim that Swapo guerrillas were infiltrating Namibia. SA's threat to intervene in Namibia was out of order on all grounds, it said.

● Reports: Pages 4 and 11
● Comment: Page 10

Untag spokesman Fred Eckard said in Windhoek the messages were "phoney" and the situation in northern Namibia was "exceptionally calm".

And yesterday Botha said he hoped his information was wrong, as far more damage would be done if it were not.

President F W de Klerk, during his inauguration as SADF Commander-in-Chief at Voortrekkerhoogte, said it was a fact that messages with disturbing implications had been sent on identifiable wavelengths. In the light of the Untag denials, technical experts were now trying to determine their origin.

Foreign Affairs director general Neil van Heerden said this should be interpreted

MIKE ROBERTSON

ed as government now being unsure of its information. "Technical reaffirmation" was being sought. Before Botha had made public the contents, "the technical people were sure they were Untag messages".

De Klerk said too much was at stake for SA and all southern African countries to allow the peace process to collapse because of mischievous actions by Swapo or any other party.

He said it would have been the height of irresponsibility for SA not to make public the information it had received.

There had been other sources of information that Plan members intended carrying out irregularities during the election.

"Swapo's hands are everything but clean," he said, adding it was a fact that Swapo elements were north of the Namibian border where they were not supposed to be. UN special envoy Martti Ahtisaari had admitted this.

Sapa-Reuter reports Perez told reporters he was not particularly concerned about what he called rumours of heavy infiltration. "Our experts saw them (the messages) in the presence of the South Africans and they both agreed they were forgeries. They are not the kind of messages we are used to sending."

IAN HOBBS reports that Britain yesterday said there was no evidence to support Botha's claim of infiltration.

A blunt Foreign Office statement said SA's threat to intervene was out of order.

The "proper forum" for Botha's claims was the daily meeting in northern Namibia of the Joint Monitoring Committee.

MICHAEL ACOTT reports Botha told a seminar in Vanderbijlpark yesterday SA's

□ To Page 2

Govt wavers

□ From Page 1

objective was to prevent a recurrence of the April 1 armed Swapo incursion.

He said the intercepted Untag messages included statements that a few hundred Swapo troops had already crossed the border from Angola, that a convoy of six vehicles had crossed, and that two trucks had entered Namibia and returned to Angola after unloading soldiers.

"I hope I am wrong. I hope my information is not correct," he said. "If it is true, I believe that by revealing it we may pre-

vent a recurrence of the events of April 1. If it is not true, far less damage and harm would then have been done that if it is true."

He also told delegates that SA had had similar information about the April 1 incursion, and he had conveyed this to Ahtisaari on March 31.

"His reaction was: 'Surely they would never be so stupid.' I told him to check it because I had a gut feeling something would go wrong. It did, the next day."

THE WEEKLY MAIL

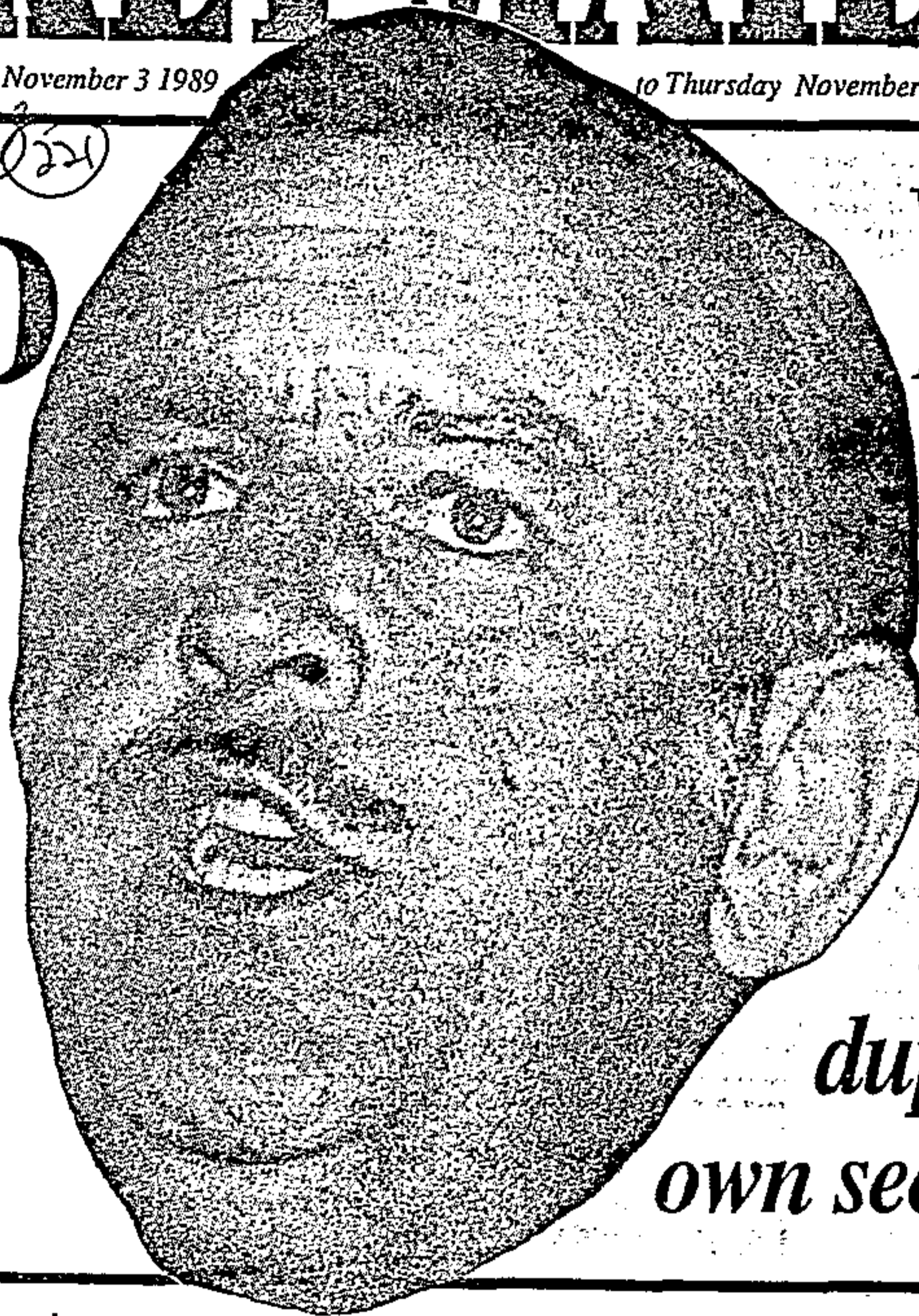
The paper for a changing South Africa

Volume 5, Number 43. Friday November 3 1989

to Thursday November 9 1989



Who set up Pik?



Who gave Botha the phoney 'Swapo attack' message? Was he duped by his own secuocrats?

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK in Johannesburg and SUE BROWN in Windhoek

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha has run headlong into an embarrassing fiasco over the use of intercepted radio messages described by Untag as "crude forgeries". United Nations secretary general Javier Perez de Cuellar said last night that the cables — used by Botha to claim that Swapo guerrillas were invading northern Namibia — were forgeries and South Africa was aware of this. Untag representatives described the situation in northern Namibia as "exceptionally calm".

Western diplomatic sources have rejected the claims that Swapo guerrillas had crossed the border, while confirming that there are a number of Swapo guerrillas south of the 16th parallel in southern Angola. General Jannie Geldenhuys, the chief of the South African Defence Force, yesterday morning concentrated on the claims that Swapo were massed on the border and made no mention of crossing the border. Botha said on Wednesday night that Swapo military activities included incursions across the border. However, Botha said yesterday that he hoped he was "wrong and the information is not correct." Speaking at a seminar on South Africa and the International Community, he said it would

"be better if they were not true." Perez de Cuellar said, however, that "our experts saw them (the messages) in the presence of the South Africans and they both agreed they were forgeries." Untag, it is believed, will be pushing for a full retraction from the South Africans. The cables were said to have been intercepted between October 23 and October 31 from United Nations forces monitoring the election. Botha said it was Untag's job to prevent Swapo incursions, but that they were not doing their job. Untag spokesman Fred Eckhart pointed out that the UN did not use internal communications for the transmission of super-sensitive material such as that contained in Botha's allegations.

It emerged yesterday that Botha had not checked the information before his Wednesday press conference with Untag or even his own administrator-general in Windhoek, Louis Pienaar. At a press conference yesterday, Pienaar said he had no prior knowledge of the documents or what Botha was going to say. The "intelligence gathering operation" that produced the documents had not taken place under his authority. Asked if this meant that the South Africans had been conducting intelligence operations illegally, Pienaar said this question should be put to Botha.

If the documents which Botha waved around so forcefully were forgeries, who made them and passed them on to him? If there are elements within the government who would give tampered information to their own Foreign Minister, what was their motive? If Botha has been duped by forgeries compiled by members of his own government, his position is untenable.

The evidence Botha produced is an interesting mix of content which was intercepted and blended with disinformation.

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The contents of this newspaper have been restricted in terms of the Emergency regulations

Police chief suddenly retires

IN the midst of allegations of security police assassination squads, Brigadier Willem Schoon, the officer alleged to have headed the secret hit squads, has suddenly retired from the police force.

Notices for Schoon's retirement party were being posted at police headquarters on the same day that former security policeman Butana Almond Nofomela alleged in an affidavit taken on death row that he had been a member of a security police death squad responsible for at least nine murders on ANC-linked individuals.

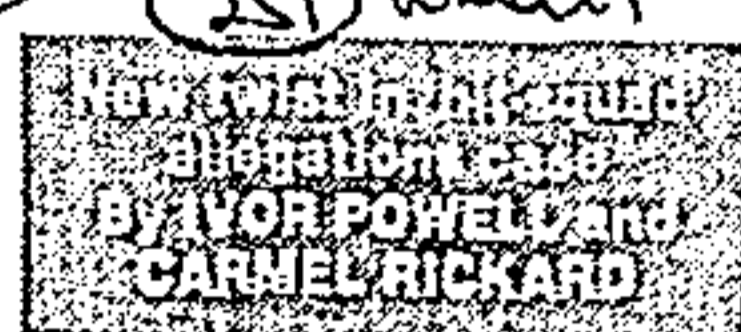
The previous day, Lawyers for Human Rights had informed Schoon of the intention to take the affidavit.

The retirement became effective at the end of October.

This week South African Police Public relations sources confirmed that the 58-year-old brigadier had indeed retired "as he had reached the age of retirement."

"He could in fact have retired a number of years ago but chose to stay on in the SA Police," the communiqué continued.

According to police sources, when Schoon first announced his intention



to retire about two years ago, he was urged at cabinet level to remain in the force.

Questions remain regarding the suddenness of last month's retirement in the wake of Nofomela's allegations.

Meanwhile, Schoon was this week linked to the current inquest into the killing of four youths and the wounding of two others in Chesterville, near Durban.

An authorisation document signed by Schoon, as head of "C Section" at Pretoria security headquarters, permits a special police unit "Section CI" to take an AK47 with them to Durban.

The document was handed to the inquest by Guido Penzhorn, counsel for the families of the four dead youths.

It noted the weapon would be used to establish the credibility of the unit involved in infiltrating "a group of

African National Congress terrorists" in the Port Natal area.

Schoon authorised the use of the weapon for this purpose on June 3 1986.

About a fortnight later seven members of the unit killed the four youths and wounded the two others in Chesterville using a variety of weapons including the AK47 authorised by Schoon.

Yesterday Penzhorn put it to Andries Seleka, one of the members of "Section CI" who was involved in the killings, that their orders had not been to infiltrate and arrest, but to kill.

He said this would make sense of many puzzling elements in the incident.

Seleka denied they intended to kill the youths. He said they were ordered to arrest them but the plan went wrong when they were allegedly fired on. Thinking they were under attack, they returned the fire.

Two other officers named by Nofomela as part of the alleged hit squad have also emerged during the Ches-

●To PAGE 2

Surprise 'warning' for New Nation

By PHILIPPA GARSON
NEW NATION newspaper was yesterday warned that it faces a suspension order for the second time.

Despite recent speculation that the government was considering lifting the Emergency media regulations, the Catholic church-owned newspaper received a letter of warning from the new Minister of Home Affairs, Eugene Louw, accusing it of publishing "subversive propaganda". The letter cites 11 editions from August to October this year, in alleged contravention of the regulations.

New Nation has two weeks to make a representation to the minister, who may reject it and issue another warning. If a second representation in the following two weeks is also rejected New Nation could be suspended.

Because the publication has been suspended once before — for two months in mid-1988 — it has less time to argue its case.

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Wmail 3-9/11/89

JOMO FACES EXPULSION League committee rules against him BACKPAGE

221 B. Day 3/11/89

Ex-Koevoet men may be called up if war resumes

WALVIS BAY — Troops stationed at Walvis Bay were on standby for possible deployment in Namibia, as were the remaining 1 500 soldiers confined to base at Oshivello, SADF chief Gen Jannie Geldenhuys told military correspondents here this week.

Outlining possible military solutions to the present crisis, Geldenhuys said the possibility of mobilising former Namibian-based San Bushman battalions could not be excluded. Nor would he exclude the possibility that the services of ex-Koevoet members would be sought, should the Namibian bush war resume.

Serious

He said the SADF's contingency plan regarding the alert was to rely solely on SADF troops, mostly stationed in SA, to engage Swapo if an incursion occurred.

Troops would be immediately mobilised from Oshivello, the base of 61 Mechanised Battalion, with subsequent deployments of 62 Mechanised Battalion from Walvis Bay and the airlifting of more troops from SA bases.

Describing the border situation as "very serious", Geldenhuys laid the blame squarely on the shoulders of Untag and the Angola government for not properly addressing Swapo's movements in Angola.

This follows criticism levelled at Untag by Swapo opponents that Un-

DANIEL SIMON

tag had become a victim of Swapo intimidation, and accusations against the Angola government that it did not have the political will, or possibly the capability, of restricting and confining Swapo's movements north of the 16th parallel.

Geldenhuys said: "Pressure should be put on Untag, who are not monitoring Swapo properly, and also on the Angolan government, who are not co-operating in facilitating the implementation of resolution 435. This also applies to Swapo, who should be warned they must not try any monkey business."

Administrator-General Louis Pienaar said a further security problem worrying the South Africans, after the gradual withdrawal of SADF troops since April 1, was the demobilisation of several hundred more Koevoet members from Swapol on Monday.

This followed the demobilisation of 1 200 Koevoet members on September 29, leaving Pienaar with a police force numbering about 2 500 to maintain law and order in the territory. This excludes Untag's 1 500-member police force, which does not have powers of arrest.

Pienaar said a programme was under way to recruit a large number of police reservists to make up for the loss of Koevoet members.

The point was raised that with the elections only days away, Swapo's alleged troop build-up along a 200km

strip of border could be a show of strength to intimidate Namibia's northern population, which makes up about 70% of the country's voters. But Geldenhuys said his impression was that another incursion by Swapo was "a real possibility".

It was disclosed that of the 42 000 refugees who returned to Namibia and registered as voters after April 1, 7 000 had been Swapo fighters. It had since been learned that at least 5 000 of these fighters had returned to southern Angola.

Geldenhuys said the refugee status of about 1 700 former fighters presently in the territory would not be affected as long as they remained within the law and did not breach their refugee status by wearing uniforms or carrying arms.

Committee

He added that Swapo's troop strength near the border was "very large", and far outnumbered levels before the April 1 incursion.

A development which could help solve the crisis has been the establishment two weeks ago of a Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC).

Pienaar and UN special envoy Maarthi Ahtissari are on the committee, along with South African and Angolan representatives. It also includes observers from the US, the Soviet Union and Cuba.

The JIC's function is to "verify" allegations from intelligence sources of alleged breaches of the settlement plan.

formation. However, it lacks key procedural codes, and the format is incorrect. Untag keeps records of all communications of the sort Botha was claiming to have intercepted.

The evidence points to a militarily sophisticated, experienced and well-equipped source based close to the Angolan border.

Diplomatic sources are speculating that Botha could have been attempting to pre-empt a repeat of the April 1 incursions by Swapo by putting the Untag forces on their guard.

At the same time, it renders much more difficult any potential military action by Swapo after the election, as this would vindicate Pretoria's claims.

In a statement which seemed to allow for the possibility that the documents were forgeries, Botha said yes-

Was Pik duped by securocrats?

● From PAGE 1

terday: "If the publicity leads to no further activities (by Swapo) it would have served its purpose."

However, the outburst on the eve of the election has aroused the suspicions of African states who have never been fully convinced that South Africa is genuine about allowing free and fair elections in Namibia.

It has also raised fears that the "securocrats" in the government — those *verkrampies* who oppose the *glasnost* of President FW de Klerk, but who have been sidelined since the retirement of PW Botha — are fighting back.

Although sources close to De Klerk

are confident that the securocrats cannot threaten him, the most likely source for Botha's allegations must be military intelligence or the National Intelligence Service.

The fears that these people are trying to stage a comeback to power were fuelled by two other unexpected developments this week that seem to go against the current *glasnost*: the warning of a pending suspension of the *New Nation* newspaper, and the apparent clampdown on rebel policeman Lieutenant Gregory Rockman.

Botha's move has increased tensions in an election which, coming after a lengthy guerilla war, has faced a number of bedeviling factors including the April 1 incursions by Swapo, clashes between Swapo and

DTA supporters, the long-running Koevoet issue, the assassination of Anton Lubowski and the question of the murder and disappearance of Swapo detainees.

Botha's claims are also likely to have damaged the pro-South African Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. Dirk Mudge of the DTA said yesterday that the announcement was "more or less equal to intimidation" because the impression had been created that Swapo had a strong military presence on the border.

Botha said yesterday, however, that the South African government was prepared to accept the outcome of the election, and in this spirit he had recently met Swapo leader Sam Nujoma. He said close co-operation with the government of Namibia was essential.

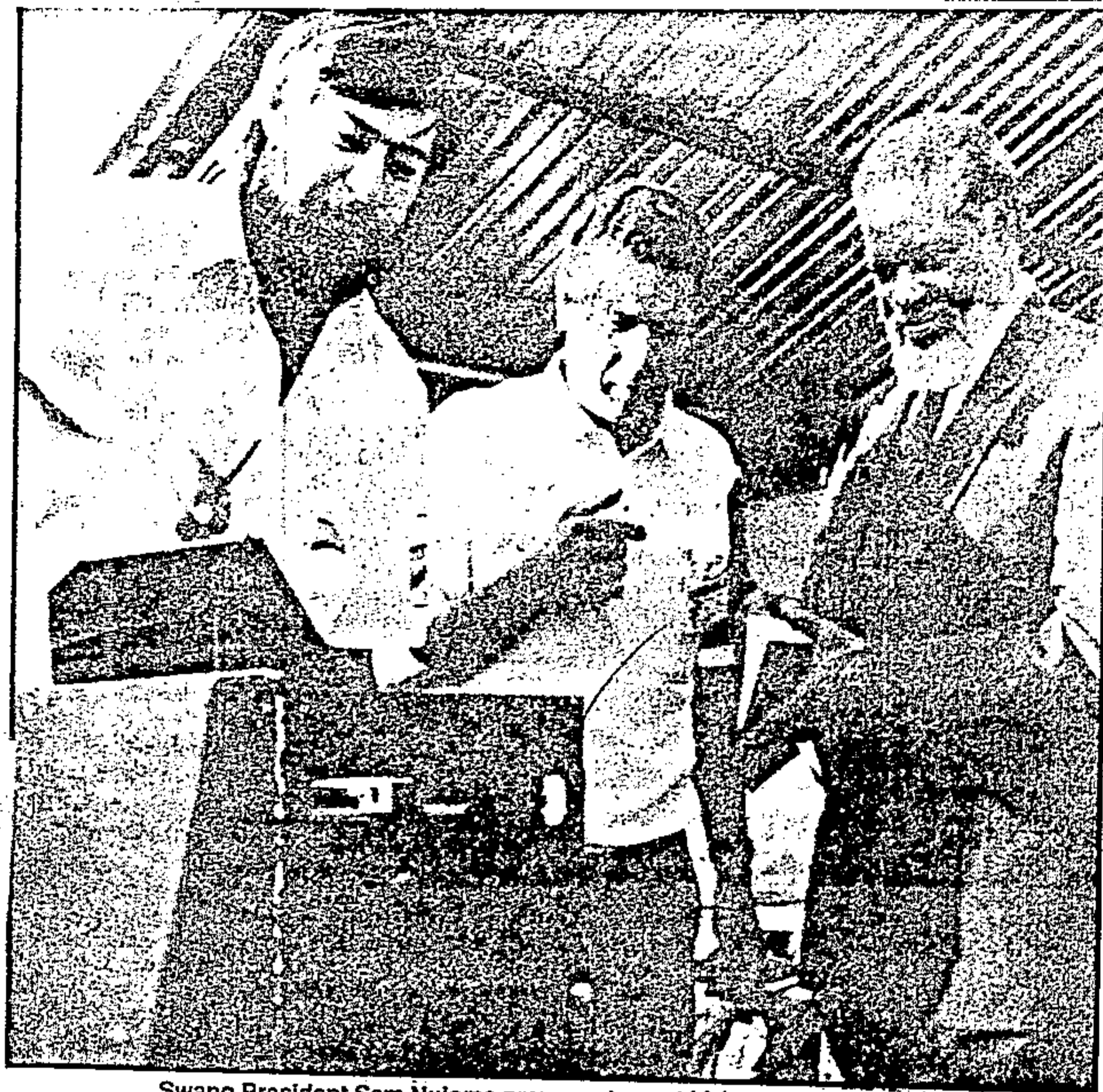
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~~SECRET~~

WMAW

3

9/11/89



Swapo President Sam Nujoma prepares to cast his vote on the first day.

Day one goes well

● From page 1

There are an estimated 10000 South African residents who have been registered as voters in the Namibian election and they are being ferried by aircraft, buses or coaches to Namibia to vote.

Those travelling by coach or bus are expected to vote at polling stations close to the border between Namibia and South Africa.

Reports from all over Namibia said there was intense voter interest and the atmosphere at polling stations was relaxed and calm.

No incidents of violence were reported.

A UN spokesman, Mr Fred Eckhard of America, said Ahtisaari was impressed with the response by Namibian voters to the opening of the booths.

"Mr Ahtisaari believes everything is running smoothly and the electoral process is going well," Eckhard said. - Sapa.

BIG Namibians flock to day one of voting

POLL

A MASSIVE voter turn-out on the first day of Namibia's elections signalled unprecedented enthusiasm for the polls.

But there were also indications of deliberate bunching at polling stations where queues at times covered more than two kilometres.

Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar and United Nations special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari would discuss problems, particularly

SA Press Association

well-meaning loiterers, impeding genuine voters, official spokesman Mr Gerhard Roux said yesterday.

It appears that supporters of a political party are being ferried to voting stations where they form long queues in an attempt to discourage possible opponents from braving the sun and the temperature soaring over 30 degrees centigrade in the shade.

At some places voters were waiting for six hours before they reached the polling booths.

Roux said the phenomenon was evident at Windhoek Airport and at Ariamsvlei and Karoib in southern Namibia where South African residents who qualify are coming to vote.

Whites flown to Windhoek from South Africa caused a scene at Windhoek Airport yesterday when they insisted on jumping the queue at a polling booth there, Zimbabwe's national news agency Ziana reports.

The group, understood to be sympathetic to the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, caught sight of some DTA supporters and

jumped the queue after polling officers denied them special access to vote.

They had argued that their aircraft was waiting for them and they wanted to vote quickly before returning to South Africa.

● To page 2

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

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Big Hoax

ARG 45 3/11/89

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'Crackpot' blamed for phoney Untag m

Political Correspondent

HOAX radio messages sent on Untag frequencies from in or around Windhoek appear to have been behind the Namibia election scare which started when South Africa made claims about the threat of a Swapo incursion into the territory before polling day.

This was the impression that was growing in government circles today after a technical team from South Africa had gone to the area.

A "crackpot" in the Windhoek area is being blamed for the hoax, but it was not clear what was behind it.

The results of the investigations of a technical team which went to the area were being investigated today and an announcement was expected later.

South African government sources kept insisting that such messages had been broadcast on the usual Untag frequencies and that the South African military had intercepted them.

Put on alert

As a result of this security forces were put on alert against a threatened Swapo incursion. Both Swapo and Untag have rejected the South African allegations.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said today that if the messages were phoney it would be a considerable relief.

However, this did not mean concern about Swapo forces had been eliminated.

There was incontrovertible proof that there were large numbers of Swapo forces immediately north of the Namibian border, as well as caches of arms buried in northern Namibia.

The Namibian election process was back on line today after the major scare following South African allegations and frantic diplomatic activity.

South Africa faced sharp international criticism for the way in which the messages were released and the allegations made before a proper investigation had taken place.

Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the UN special representative in Namibia, has already said that Mr Botha was misled.

Yesterday President De Klerk emphasised that the signals had been sent over the air on identified wavelengths.

The messages — ostensibly sent on October 26 and 31 by Untag monitoring stations near the border — disclosed substantial Swapo troop movements across the border.

● The Democratic Party said today it was most disturbed that South Africa's otherwise impeccable record in the Namibia peace initiatives had been spoilt with the recent unsubstantiated allegations which had raised unnecessary tensions.

A group of DP MPs under the leadership of Mr Tian van der Merwe left for the territory today to spend eight days monitoring the elections.

They will meet representatives of political parties and of the Administrator General, Mr Louis Pienaar, and the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

A statement said it was necessary to study and analyse the Namibian process "to prepare us for what may be expected in South Africa".

● De Klerk's vow — page 15.

Probe into SA 'proof' of disquiet in Namibia

921
Sowetan
3/11/89

THE United Nations mission stationed in Namibia to supervise and control next week's elections yesterday dismissed Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha's documentary proof of disquiet in the country as fake.

At the same time Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar asked for an on-site inspection of the border with Angola yesterday, requesting that joint commission members be present during the tour.

Mr Martti Ahtisaari, UN special representative, said yesterday senior communications experts attached to his military force and civilian police examined texts of messages Botha alleged had intercepted and their conclusion was that the missives do not emanate from any UN transition assistance group source.

Message

It also continued to be the case that Untag was unable to confirm the alleged build-up or presence of elements of Swapo's military wing, The Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia, in Southern Angola.

It is understood among those who studied Botha's messages were top British communications experts.

The UN pooh-pooed Botha's allegations that concerned members of the world body's peacekeeping forces in Namibia had threatened to return home after allegedly being threatened

SOWETAN
Reporter

with violence if they interfered in the issue.

It was simply untrue that there was discontent among UN personnel in Namibia, the UN said.

A senior diplomat posted here rejected outright Botha's claim but declined to go further until he had studied the text of the claims.

Swapo denied its members were massing on Southern Angola's border in preparation for an invasion into Northern Namibia, saying all its troops were now back inside the country, and that South Africa knew it.

Mr Nahas Angula, senior member of Swapo's politburo and a leading candidate in next week's elections, said even the command structure of Plan was back in Namibia.

He said Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma was Plan's commander-in-chief and he was back in Namibia as was his secretary for defence, Mr Peter Mueshahange, and other commanders.

A top UN source said Botha's statements were revealing: "They are a plain admission that the South Africans are intercepting, or trying to intercept, our messages."

Pik's claims denied

Namibia alert is shrouded in mystery

521
Star 3/11/89

When Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha waved a fistful of allegedly intercepted United Nations communications at a news conference in Pretoria on Wednesday he gave the Namibian independence process its second big shock this year.

But it looks as though this shock will not be as severe as the one delivered last April by Swapo's armed incursion from Angola, which nearly wrecked the process.

In April there was little doubt about what was happening: Swapo and South African forces were out in the Owambo bush locked in violent conflict and torn bodies were visibly overflowing from the morgues.

This time it appears that Mr Botha was trying to take pre-emptive action to stop the same thing happening again. Whether there was a real threat of it happening again seems to be anybody's guess — outside of Swapo, that is.

The communications Mr Botha produced were said to be messages sent between units of the United Nations monitoring force, Untag, suggesting that Swapo forces were not only present on both sides of the border but acting aggressively and receiving reinforcements.

While Untag has dismissed the messages as fakes, there is evidence that elements of Swapo's armed force, Plan, are in fact stationed in Angola just north of the Owambo border.

Independence plan

It also seems probable that some Plan units have infiltrated Owambo and cached weapons.

All of this would, if true, violate the independence plan.

The important question, however, is not whether the Plan forces are there but what their purpose would be.

Mr Botha, advised by the SADF, appears to have decided to act on a "worst-scenario" basis, which would assume Swapo's intention was to launch another incursion.

Such an incursion could have several objectives, ranging from a bid to seize power before the election to an attempt to influence voters to support Swapo at the polls.

Swapo, charging that Mr Botha's messages were faked, accused him of pursuing an (undefined) ulterior motive — an allegation rejected by South African sources.

If combat-ready Swapo forces are indeed in the region in the numbers claimed by the SADF they could be there for purposes other than the worst scenario one.

Expert observers see little sense in Swapo launching an incursion now, since that would al-

Did Foreign Minister Pik Botha forestall an incursion by Swapo by revealing its plans? It remains to be seen — and perhaps only Swapo will ever know. **GERALD L'ANGE**, of the Star's Africa News Service reports.

most certainly bring South African forces back into the territory in strength, probably without asking for UN permission as they did before going into action against the Swapo troops in April.

A hostile incursion would make no sense even if Swapo has accepted that it will not win a dominant majority in next week's election. Knowledgeable opinion is that they might well win that majority.

It would be more logical for Swapo to be keeping its forces in readiness to seize power in Namibia if it did not win the election. Alternatively, it would not be unreasonable for Swapo to want to have armed forces on call outside Namibia in the event of it winning at the polls, for it might not feel comfortable with law and order being maintained only by the SWA Police.

Another scenario that has been advanced is that Swapo's military commanders, having been pushed into the background by the movement's politicians in the election lineup in Windhoek, have become disgruntled and are plotting to seize power for themselves.

Various other scenarios, some less plausible than others, have been put forward. But the most likely one seems to be that Mr Botha, having consulted the Cabinet, decided not to take any chances on the election being wrecked by another Swapo incursion only days before the opening of the polls.

This took the course of making the allegedly intercepted messages public with the aim of putting international political pressure on Swapo to refrain from any hanky-panky.

A presumption of this scenario is that the messages waved by Mr Botha are genuine and perhaps only the British signallers, who are in charge of Untag's communications, know the truth of this.

For Untag to admit that the messages are genuine would presumably be to admit that its secret codes were broken by the South Africans.

If the messages are genuine, then so would be the alarm expressed in them by Untag personnel at Swapo's aggressive movements. Whether that alarm was justified depends on Swapo's real intentions. But if there is no Swapo incursion only Swapo will ever know whether Mr Botha's pre-emptive action was necessary and whether it succeeded.

A re

'Crackpot' is blamed

'Hoax' radio signals behind Namibia row

star 3/11/89 (22)

A "crackpot" transmitting hoax radio signals from in or around Windhoek seems to have been responsible for the mass of "Untag" messages warning of Swapo incursions into Namibia ahead of next week's independence elections.

Government sources said today a team of technical experts had established this yesterday. Their investigation was referred to by the President, Mr F W de Klerk, at a Pretoria military parade.

Today Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, said: "If the messages are phoney, it will be a welcome relief. But this does not mean concern about Swapo forces has been eliminated. There is incontrovertible evidence that there are large numbers of Swapo forces immediately north of the Angolan border as well as hidden caches of arms buried in northern Namibia."

It is understood the Joint Monitoring Commission is investigating violation of the peace accords.

The authenticity of the supposed Untag messages was rejected by all parties involved in the Namibian peace process yesterday after a flurry of diplomatic activity to try to verify reports of a Swapo incursion.

The messages came close to wrecking the independence process in Namibia as South Africa put its security forces on alert and threatened to intervene militarily if the supposed Swapo incursion was not stopped.

Political motive

Government sources said today the team of technical experts referred to by Mr de Klerk had spent most of yesterday investigating the signals.

They said today hundreds of hoax signals had been sent, put on Untag frequencies by a "suspected crackpot", probably with a political motive to wreck the independence elections.

United Nations Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar dismissed the messages as forgeries, saying South Africa was aware of this.

Mr Botha, who called a press conference yesterday to publicise the messages, said last night at a National Party meeting in Hillbrow that at no stage did he specifically say Untag had disseminated the telexes.

"The messages which were intercepted stated they were sent by Untag. We picked up the radio messages, decoded them and felt we should make the contents of the messages known."

South Africa's Administrator-General in Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, has tried play down the allegations.

Mr Pienaar said there was little likelihood that the election — scheduled to begin on Tuesday — would be delayed. He also remarked that fears of a Swapo invasion were more a psychosis than a response to a real threat.

Today Swapo said there was no truth in the claims. It was an attempt to discredit the organisation, and a plot to create insecurity on the eve of the elections. — Political Correspondent and The Star's Africa News Service.



Seeing how the other half lives ... Law and Order Minister Mr Vlok, SAP Commissioner General H. ... photographed on the wrong side of the bars in a ...

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, has defended his controversial policy of allowing peaceful protests — including the huge rally at Soccer City near Soweto on Sunday.

Amid some rumblings of discontent in the police, his policy was backed by Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Mr de Klerk was speaking at Voortrekkerhoogte yesterday at his official welcome by the SA Defence Force as its Commander-in-Chief.

He appealed to those who felt threatened by events in recent weeks not to allow fear to override the need for initiatives towards peaceful solutions.

He vowed that, despite the risks of the policy, he would continue on his "complex course to defuse conflict in our country and create conditions conducive to involving all citizens in determining our common future".

He rejected calls to unban the ANC, and said pro-ANC activities at the rally on Sunday were being investigated. The Government could not allow the process of renewal and reform to take place without observance of the law.

FW and Vlok out on AI

He appealed to those who felt threatened by events in recent weeks not to allow fear to override the need for initiatives towards peaceful solutions. Mr Vlok, open to dialogue at Gold Reef City, said the Government would continue to work with all South Africans and permit peaceful protests where necessary. "Political action is not the answer. It is merely a holding action. We must achieve peace and peace." Mr de Klerk said the allegations of the rally were being investigated. He rejected

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R4-m Pick 6 coming up

By Robert Garner, Racing Editor
A R650 000 carry

The Bookie's Bet

Swapo denies troop massing claims



HAMUTENYA... at the conference

WINDHOEK — There was no truth in Foreign Minister Pik Botha's claim that Swapo military forces were massing on the Angolan border, Swapo Information and Publicity secretary Hidipo Hamutenya said yesterday.

Hamutenya told a news conference Swapo suspected Botha's allegations were part of a broad campaign to create insecurity, smear Swapo and foster doubts in order to limit the size of Swapo's victory in the election next week.

Swapo's military wing, Plan, had been dismantled a long time

ago and most members had returned to Namibia as civilians.

Apart from about 300 people guarding Swapo property north of the 16th parallel in Angola, there were no armed Swapo forces anywhere.

Untag monitors in Angola had confirmed there was no evidence of Plan moving on the border, Hamutenya said. There were still about 800 SADF officers in Namibia, in contravention of the international settlement plan, he said.

Hamutenya said moves to arm

police reservists and whites in rural areas were part of this attempt to create insecurity.

Hamutenya said SA wanted to create the impression Swapo was not committed to the election.

He said Swapo was only interested in letting people exercise their right to vote, pledged Swapo would keep from using violence before, during or after the election and called on the UN to keep the peace process on track.

"But if the process is derailed, we are back to square one and the struggle for the liberation of Namibia will continue." — Sapa.

Ivory-han is

(22)

Day

19/1/89

Row over

'phoney' ²²¹

CA Times 3/11/89
messages

on Swapo

'invasion'

WINDHOEK. — United Nations officials and diplomats, mystified by South Africa's warning of an imminent Swapo invasion of Namibia, have accused Pretoria of fabricating the evidence produced by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

Mr Botha said yesterday that he hoped his information was wrong, as far more damage would be done if the information were correct. He told a seminar in Vanderbijl Park that SA's objective was to prevent a recurrence of the armed Swapo incursion on April 1.

President F W de Klerk said at a military parade yesterday that the messages had been sent on identifiable wavelengths.

However in New York, the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, said the messages were forgeries and that South Africa was aware of this. He said UN experts had looked at the messages in the presence of South Africans and both had agreed they were forgeries.

'Taken for ride'

In Washington the US State Department firmly backed the UN's conclusion that the radio intercepts were "phoney".

"We have investigated and we can find no independent information to corroborate the assertions that large numbers of Swapo supporters were prepared to enter Namibia in contravention of the UN settlement plan," a department spokesman said.

The UN special envoy in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, said South African accusations had "created enormous fear" in the territory.

"In a way it is sad, but it looks as though he (Mr Pik Botha) might have been taken for a ride," said Mr Ahtisaari.

To page 2

P.T.O.

SA 'has activated' plan to scupper Swapo

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — South Africa has "activated" a top-secret contingency plan to prevent the South West Africa Peoples' Organisation (Swapo) from taking power if they win next week's elections, the semi-official daily The Herald claimed here yesterday.

The Herald, which is close to the Zimbabwean government and usually reflects its thinking, quoted "authoritative sources" who said "the decision to activate the plan was made after the South African authorities became convinced that Swapo would win the two-thirds majority necessary to control the constituent assembly".

The Herald's sources claimed that Pretoria had originally hoped to rig the ballot by intimidating Swapo supporters not to register, and by registering anti-Swapo elements not entitled to vote.

"Phase two" of the South African contingency plan was now in force.

Whites were being armed against Swapo, and arms cached in northern Namibia were being used by both the SWA Territory Force and former members of the Koevoet unit, which The Herald claimed had been only "theoretically" disbanded.

The South African Defence Force had been placed on full alert while "a massive smear and disinformation campaign has been launched against Swapo".

The claims of Swapo infiltration made on Wednesday by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, were part of this campaign, claimed The Herald.

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THE South African government was last night battling to extricate itself from a major credibility crisis after evidence mounted that it was shooting from the hip by accusing Swapo of planning to scupper next week's Namibian election.

As Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha acknowledged that the radio transmissions he had used to back his earlier allegations that Swapo forces were poised to invade Namibia could be a hoax, he was slammed by political parties in SA and Namibia, with the Conservative Party demanding his immediate resignation.

Hard questions were also being asked both at home and abroad about whether Mr Botha had been "set up" by elements within the SA security establishment.

And Mr Botha's accusations — bluntly denied by Untag and Swapo — clashed head-on with Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar's calm assessment of the territory's state of security. He described reports about his possible resignation, in protest against Mr Botha telling the media about the alleged massing of Swapo troops without first informing the AG's office, as "much exaggerated", but declined to elaborate.

CP foreign affairs spokesman Professor Fanie Jacobs said Mr Botha had "cast SA on the brink of military involvement" because he had broadcast allegations to the world without first properly checking his "unreliable" information.

"Our diplomatic credibility is in tatters, Pik has blown up his own castle and SA has been made the laughing stock of the international community.

"If the foreign minister of any civilised country had committed such a blunder he would have resigned out of self-respect or would be forced to by the President.

"Mr Pik Botha must now resign," Professor Jacobs said.

Democratic Party co-leader and foreign affairs spokesman Dr Denis Worrall said the SA government had "boobed" and that Mr Botha's judgment in the

To page 2

Angola agrees to patrol border

PRETORIA. — Angola has agreed to use helicopters to patrol the Angolan side of its Namibian border, South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

In addition, a spokesman for the Administrator-General's office, Mr David Venter, said the Joint Commission's

Intelligence Committee was to monitor the Namibia-Angola border on a regular basis.

The Intelligence Committee, which includes officials from the Joint Commission member countries — South Africa, Cuba and Angola, met at Oshakati on Thursday. — Sapa

CAM Tm H
4/11/89 (ZZI)

From page 1

matter had been "extraordinarily bad".

The Guardian and the Independent reported from London that a faction in military intelligence might be trying to sabotage President F W de Klerk's government.

The newspapers said there was speculation among diplomats that Mr Pik Botha might be the first significant victim.

They said Mr Botha's apparently inept handling of the claim that Swapo guerillas had infiltrated Namibia might have been the result of a "set up" by disaffected securocrats trying to discredit him and the government's diplomatic initiatives.

The Guardian correspondent, David Beresford, reported from Windhoek that:

"Suspicious that military intelligence was behind the Botha fiasco were encouraged by the fact that on Wednesday the head of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, gave confidential briefing on the issue to correspondents in the SA enclave of Walvis Bay.

"After Mr Botha had made his allegations, the substance of the Geldenhuys briefing was released. According to a report carried by the state broadcasting corporation, the general had claimed that there were thousands of Swapo guerillas massing on the border, supported by tanks."

A spokesperson for the Department of Foreign Affairs said last night that "at this stage it remains unclear who sent the messages".

Rearguard bid

As the political storm continued to rage last night, Mr Botha and Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan fought a rearguard action in a bid to explain why Pretoria's charges about the massing of Swapo troops and tanks were contradicted by its own administrator-general in Namibia, Untag and major Western powers.

Mr Botha said a technical investigation by a SA Defence Force team had established that the radio transmission about alleged Swapo activity on the Namibian-Angola border had taken place on a frequency allocated to an Untag battalion.

However, he then added that if the transmissions were a hoax "I would be the first to be overjoyed".

In his reaction last night, General Malan repeated charges that Swapo was building up its forces in southern Angola, arguing that the SA's "revelation" had prevented a repeat of the April 1 invasion of Swapo forces into northern Namibia.

Mr Pienaar dismissed the alleged imminent invasion of Swapo guerillas as "more of a psychosis than an actual threat".

Mr Botha's claims of a Swapo threat uncovered covert snooping on UN supervisors that was unknown even to Mr Pienaar.

Communications experts said transcripts purporting to be intercepted Untag messages were fabricated by "blatantly amateurishly communicators".

A spokesman for the AG, Mr Gerhard Roux, fired another shot across the bows by stating that the AG's office was unaware of any massing of Swapo forces in southern Angola as claimed by Mr Botha. — Political Correspondent, London and Windhoek correspondents and Sapa



GRAVE DESECRATED . . . A Swapo supporter sits at the desecrated grave of former Swapo Politburo member Anton Lubowski, who was gunned down outside his Windhoek house on September 12. Lubowski, the first white to join Swapo, was the party's deputy head of administration for the election campaign.

Picture: REUTER

CMT Tents 4/11/89

DTA 'dirty tricks' alleged

OSHAKATI. — Swapo publicity secretary Mr Hidipo Hamutenya yesterday alleged that the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance was engaging in a "dirty tricks" campaign against Swapo. Mr Hamutenya said a recent hand-grenade attack on the Caprivi home of DTA vice-president Mr Michek Muyongo, who was not there at the time, had been planned by "DTA elements" to discredit Swapo and not to hurt Mr Muyongo. — Sapa

Assurance on voting fairness

By **BARRY STREEK**
Political Staff

THE UN's special representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, has given the assurance that he will certify whether the voting in next week's election in the country was "free and fair" before counting takes place, a group of European MPs said yesterday.

This will mean that Mr Ahtisaari's certification of the fairness of the elections will be given before the results are known and will not be influenced by the outcome of the election.

This assurance could have a

significant influence on the internal and international acceptance of the election results.

The group of parliamentarians, led by British Conservative MP Mr George Gardiner, said in a statement, which was issued on their behalf by the International Freedom Foundation: "We have found much confusion on this.

"Some thought Mr Ahtisaari would not certify until he knew the results, which would be seen as compromising his independence.

"But certification goes by stages. The first was for registra-

tion of voters and parties.

"Next it will indicate whether voting is free and fair. Certification of the counting should complete the process.

"We have been assured that Mr Ahtisaari will give us his verdict on the voting process before the counting takes place.

"If this is favourable then only a substantial disruption of the counting could invalidate the election," the parliamentarians said.

The group is to stay in Namibia for the duration of the elections.

DP to monitor Namibia election

By **ANTHONY JOHNSON**
Political Correspondent

A PARTY of Democratic Party parliamentarians left for Namibia yesterday to monitor the elections in the territory.

The group, headed by DP national chairman Mr Tian van der Merwe, is to spend eight days in Namibia.

"The process towards a normal non-racial democratic society in that territory is likely to bear important lessons for South Africa," the DP's director of communications, Mr James Selfe, said in a statement yesterday.

The DP delegation will meet UN special representative in Namibia Mr Maarti Ahtisaari, members of the administrator-general's office and representatives of a variety of political parties contesting the election.

WINDHOEK. — Independence procedures in Namibia suffered a hiccup yesterday when several political parties refused to sign the principles concerning the Constituent Assembly, claiming they needed more time to discuss the document.

The principles, which must be accepted by all 10 political parties contesting next week's election, deal with proportional representation and a two-thirds majority for a single group to formulate a constitution.

At the same time, the formal proclamation establishing the Constituent Assembly has also

Hiccup in Namib independence

been delayed with Untag and the South Africans awaiting agreement on a single sentence from the UN headquarters in New York.

Speaking to journalists in Windhoek, Mr Gerhard Roux, spokesman for the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, said: "The State President is ready and waiting to sign, so is the A-G. However, it depends when the UN re-

spond before we can make it public."

This would not lead to a delay or the extension of polling days, Mr Roux added.

On the question of the alleged build-up of Plan forces in southern Angola as stated by South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, on Wednesday this week, Mr Roux said they were unaware of the massing of forces. — Sapa

Army 'Rambos' suspected in fake signals row

HOW THE RAMBOS WERE REVEALED



Foreign Minister Pik Botha

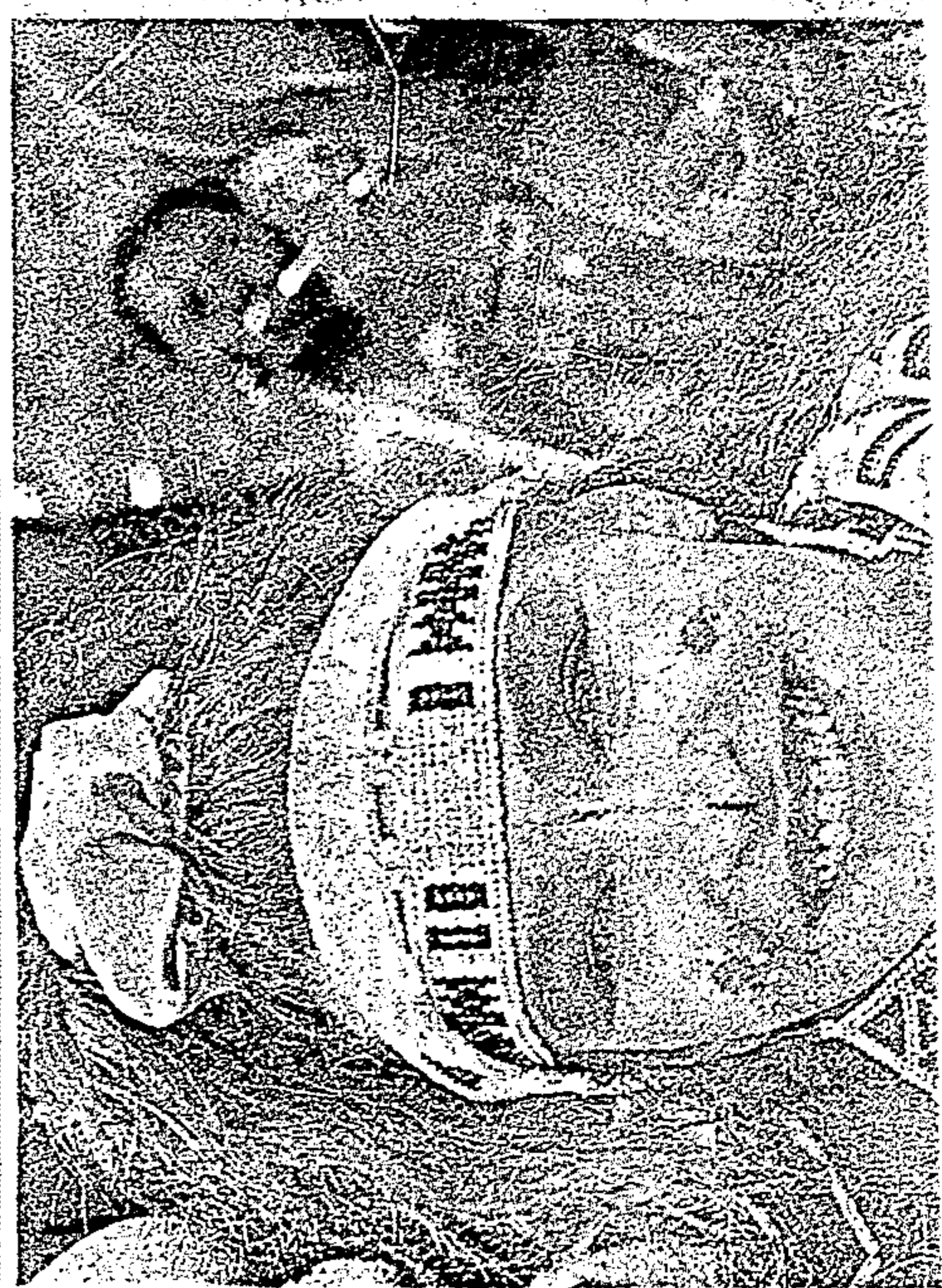
34 dead HORROR TOLL OF PISTOL-PACKING SECURITY GUARD

AN 18-year-old youth who was shot dead in a butchery has become a roving security guard's 34th victim in four years.

As the toll rises, police are investigating three charges of attempted murder against burly East London gunslinger Mr Louis van Schoor, 37.

In sworn statements to police, the three complainants have given terrifying accounts of encounters with Mr Van Schoor and his blazing CZ 5mm parabellum pistol. Now Democratic Party nominated MP for

Michelledebele!



By LESTER VENTER, De WET POTGIETER and PETER KENNY

SUSPICION grew last night that dissident army officers fabricated Untag radio signals to dupe the Government into believing Swapo was poised to mount a major armed incursion on the eve of the Namibian election.

The aim, diplomats believe, was to derail the territory's independence and block the possibility of the enemy they had fought for years becoming the government.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha — who made public the phoney messages and alerted Western governments to the imminence of a Swapo invasion — has been gravely embarrassed and is said to be fuming.

In talks in Windhoek yesterday with Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem and Swapo leader Sam Nujoma, Mr Botha was given assurances that guerrillas posed no threat on Angola's southern border.

"I am leaving with the firm impression that there will be peaceful elections in Namibia and that they will be open, free and fair," he said. He did not believe it was necessary for SA's forces to be kept on alert.

In diplomatic and political circles yesterday it was said that much evidence pointed to a dirty-tricks operation by "Rambo" elements in or near Namibia.

A technical investigation conducted in collaboration with a British Royal Signals Corps unit attached to Untag revealed that most of the messages were transmitted on a frequency allocated to a Kenyan battalion stationed near Tsumeb.

However, an inspection of the log kept at the Kenyan battalion's headquarters revealed that none of the controversial messages was logged.

R741 000 Pick 6 win

FOUR lucky ticket holders earned themselves a whopping R741 260,60 at Gosforth Park yesterday from the R2 965 042 carryover.

Selection: 2, 3, 7, 11; 16; 8; 8.

Arlington:

Five tickets claimed R5 962,80 apiece. Selection: 7; 4; 9; 4, 9, 10; 4, 6, 10; 8.

KENILWORTH:
There were no winning tickets at yesterday's meeting and R380 820,25 was carried over. Combination: 7, 7, 5; 2, 3, 7, 10; 1, 5.

The Greyville meeting was postponed until tomorrow.

cy allocated to a Kenyan battalion stationed near Tsambeh. However, an inspection of the log kept at the Kenyan battalion's headquarters revealed that none of the controversial messages was logged.

Let's get to the bottom of this: See Opinion, Page 22

This has led observers to conclude that the authors of the alarmist messages had either trespassed on the Kenyan frequency or had fabricated the intercepts which were sent to Pretoria. An investigation is under way to find the culprits.

Diplomats have long been deeply concerned about conservative elements in the armed forces who have never been fully reconciled to the peace process in Namibia. They opposed the ending of the war in Angola before it reached what they regarded as a conclusive stage. They also resented the cessation of open military support for Unita and what they saw as the "handing over" of Namibia to a near-communist Swapo.

For some weeks, attempts have been made to persuade selected newspaper reporters that Swapo units were massing for a big push into Namibia. However, scant evidence beyond a few arms caches could be produced to support the claims.

If the "intercepted" signals that triggered the latest controversy were not sent by Unita — and Mr Botha has conceded that he possesses no concrete evidence that they were — then only someone with sophisticated equipment and inside knowledge of Unita codes and frequencies could have done so.

The drama that came close to wrecking years of patient effort by Mr Botha, with generals Malan and Geldenhuys at his side, began on Wednesday during the weekly Cabinet meeting. Mr Neill van Heerden, the director-general of Foreign Affairs and General

Geldenhuys called Mr Botha and General Malan from the meeting — a highly unusual procedure adopted only in emergencies.

The authenticity of the signals was discussed, but after assurances were given it was decided to alert the world to what was held to be Swapo's intentions.

Doubts

Mr Botha telephoned the head of the Unita mission, Dr Mr Martti Ahtisaari, in New York and called in ambassador of the major Western nations. Soon afterwards, foreign governments with access to satellite surveillance began to express doubts about the authenticity of the "Unita" signals.

Senior Western diplomats have made it clear that at no time was the credibility of Mr Botha or his colleagues in doubt. Yesterday it was announced that SA, Cuba and Angola would monitor Namibia's northern border with helicopter patrols.

● Swapo is said to have made an approach to a former Commissioner-General of South West Africa, Jamie de Wet, to join its Cabinet. A report in London's Observer newspaper quoted De Wet, a prominent farmer and chairman of the Action Committee National political alliance, as saying he had turned his back on apartheid.

He said Swapo had sounded him out about becoming Minister of Agriculture.

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ts Rebeck said she was "finalising negotiations". Bookseller, her company, a specialist magazine, Press, Gall Rebeck, managing director of appearing at the time of Christmas, with the printing will begin just before Christmas, with the date himself, the release.

OK in tmas

Horrified

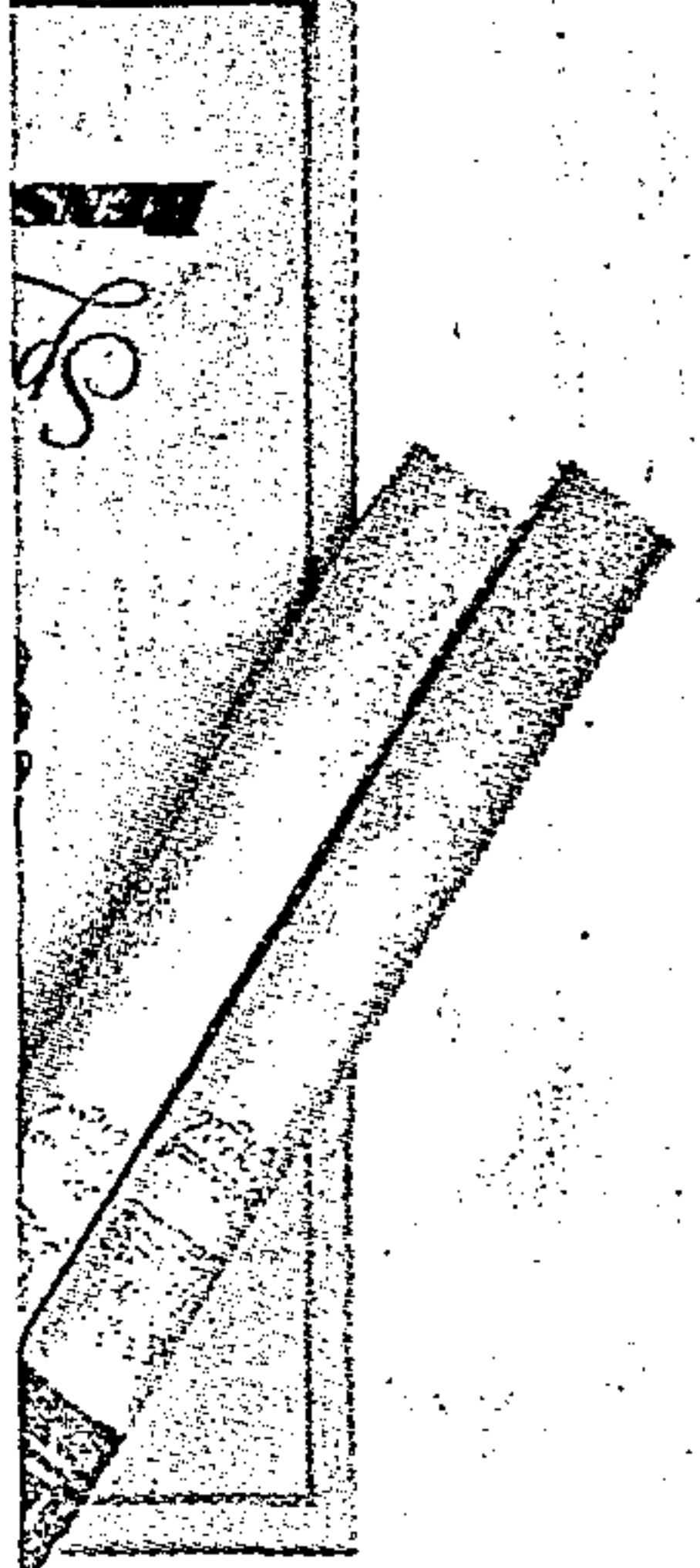
ews of the manuscripts were revealed in weeks Sunday Times. story was given prominence this week by papers in both New York and London. he main contenders for rights have been narrowed down to Penguin and Random Century. Publishers this week sed to comment on the

Shot dead

ickets at yesterday's meeting and R280 820,25 was carried over. Combination 7, 7, 5, 2, 3, 7, 10, 1, 5. The Greyville meeting was postponed until tomorrow.

A MAN driving an alleged stolen vehicle in Isipingo, near Durban, was shot dead by a policeman during a high-speed chase after a pedestrian had been killed.

MONDAY

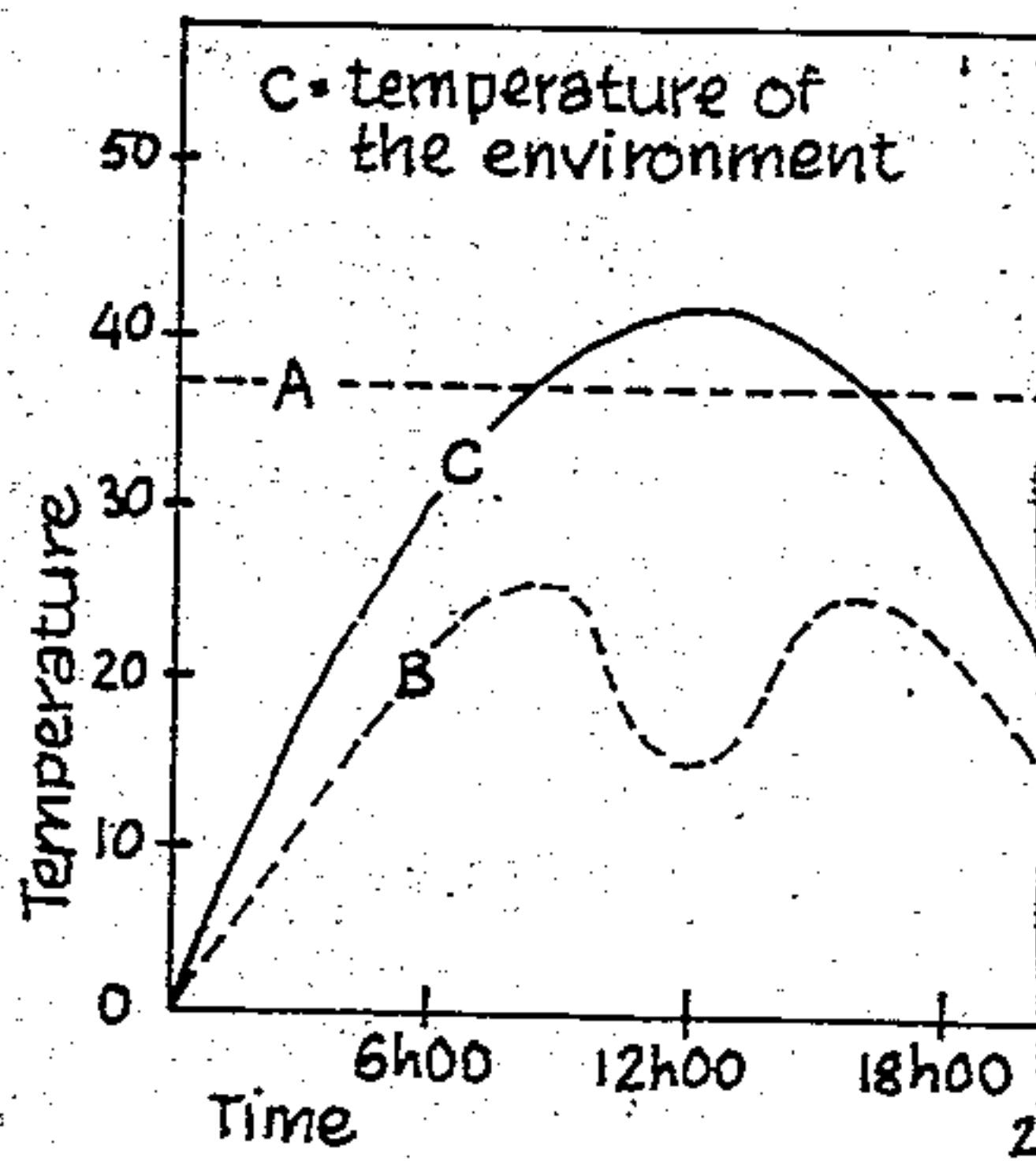


STARS

WORLD

SOUTH AFRICA INTERNATIONAL

Made in SA



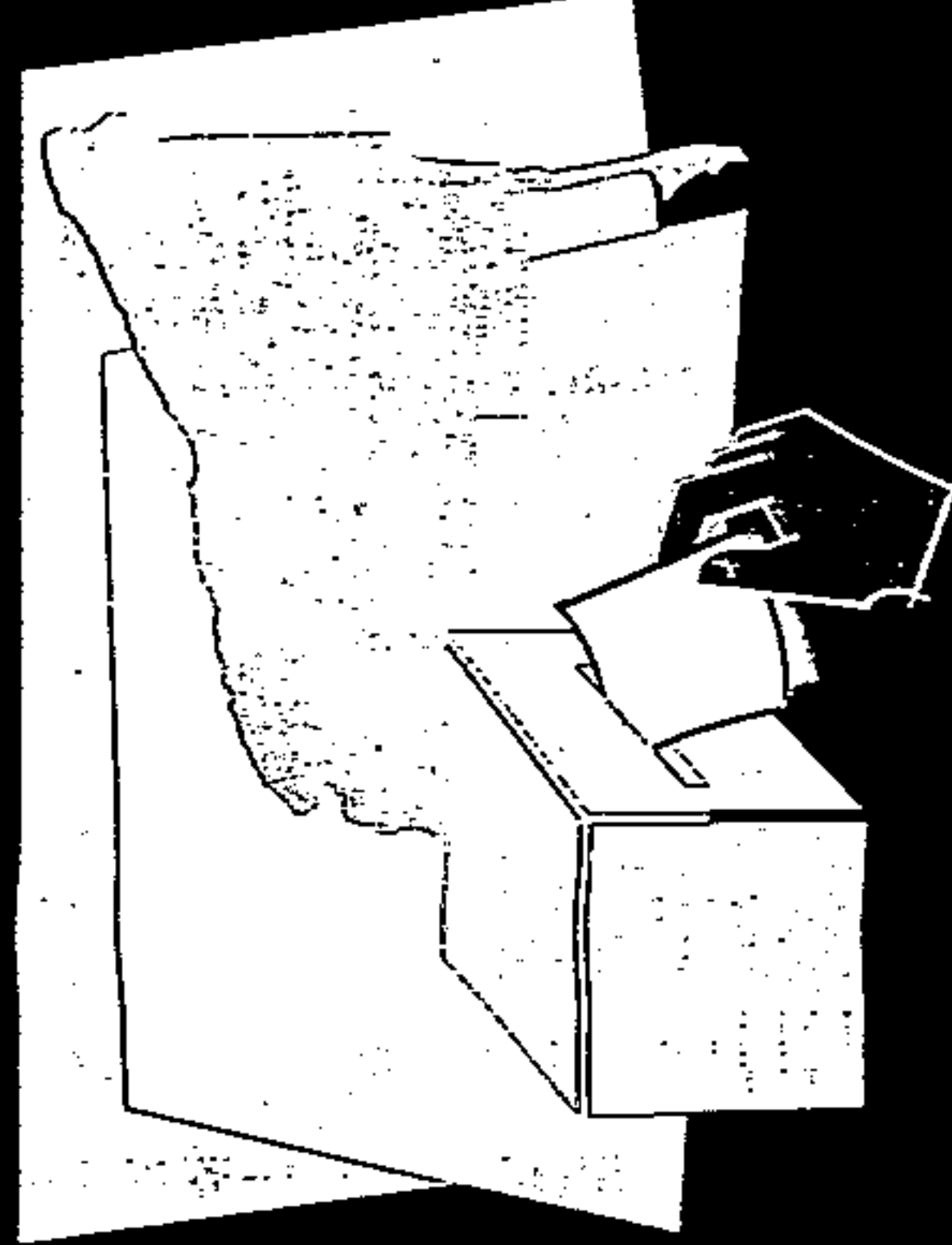
Adaptations to heat and cold

In this graph the temperatures of a human and are compared during a very hot day.

- 2.1 Which would you identify as the temperature of a human and which as the temperature of the environment? Give reasons for your answer.
- 2.2 What was the snake probably doing at noon?
- 2.3 What would happen to man if the temperature rose above 45 degrees Celsius? Explain why this happens.
- 2.4 Explain how warm-blooded animals adapt to changes in the environment.
- 2.5 With relation to temperature, to what group of animals does man belong and to what group does the snake belong?

Role of the nephron

3. Answer these questions on the nephron as illustrated here.
- 3.1 Label the parts numbered 1 to 6.
- 3.2 In what organ is a nephron found, and to what system does this organ belong?
- 3.3 Give four ways in which the kidneys play a role in homeostasis.
- 3.4 In what way is the part numbered 3 adapted for selective reabsorption? Explain briefly.
- 3.5 What substance is passed out at 6? Discuss its composition briefly.



Is the Namibian independence process going to be derailed?

Dark threats by South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha that it may be delayed for some days because of an alleged incursion by Swapo's liberation army now fall away but the rickety Resolution 435 vehicle is coming to the bumpiest part of its road so far: the first elections in Namibia with a chance of international recognition.

But if the process is not disrupted and the elections go ahead as scheduled, Pik Botha's roars and sabre-rattling may end up boosting Swapo's results.

Will Swapo win?
Absolutely, in the sense of winning more than half of the seats in the Constituent Assembly that will be voted in next week.

The big question is, will it get a two-thirds majority? This would allow it to pass a constitution and form a government without having to make an alliance with one or more of the nine other parties contesting the election.

Muzorewa factor

The Muzorewa factor – a popular landslide hidden behind the murk of propaganda and public uncertainty which would give the movement a two-thirds majority – is not impossible.

But it looks as though it will be a close-run thing. Phoney polls and guesstimates abound, but it seems fairly likely that Swapo will be looking at about 60-63 percent of the vote.

But the days leading up to the election, particularly with South African threats, may swing the two-thirds for Swapo.

That is what no-one is sure of. Senior Swapo officials who spoke confidently of getting 80 percent of the vote when they returned to Namibia in June are now unwilling to commit themselves about the outcome.

The Secretary for Education in the Politburo, Nahas Angula, who heads Swapo's voter registration drive, has been campaigning in Kavango, which may be a key area.

Meetings were well attended, he said. This is supported by the fact that attendance at the Swapo rally in Rundu two weeks ago, at which its leader Sam Nujuma spoke for the first time in the region, considerably outnumbered the DTA rally held on the same day. But Angula is concerned about the

Will Swapo win? Absolutely, in the sense of winning more than half of the seats in the Constituent Assembly that will be voted in next week. The big question is, will it get a two-thirds majority? This would allow it to pass a constitution and form a government without having to make an alliance with one or more of the nine other parties contesting the election, writes SUSAN BROWN from Windhoek about the Namibian election which starts on Tuesday and ends on Saturday.

like the leftish NNF, NPF and UDF (no relation to the South African one).

These may win several seats – each in fact hopes to become essential to enabling Swapo to pass a constitution and form a government.

The issue of the Swapo ex-detainees, and the tales of atrocity in southern Angola, are in fact unlikely to have a strong impact on the voting patterns.

Communities which support Swapo have waited so long and suffered such hardship that few people are going to be put off from writing their cross in the second-last box.

Made impact

The number of votes gained by the UDF, which contains the Patriotic Unity Movement, a party led by ex-Swapo detainees who went into opposition, will be an indicator of how far the detainees issue has made an impact.

It is certain that Swapo will sweep to victory in Ovamboland, but that area, as it turned out, has only 35 percent of registered voters.

The mood in the north until the latest developments was wary but calm, in marked contrast to the naked fear and seething rumours that followed the demobilisation and rampages of the notorious counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet, a month ago.

Another crucial area is Windhoek, where all the ingredients of the election are to be found: a large number of returned exiles, some support for almost all of the parties, and an unknown number of "fly-in voters".

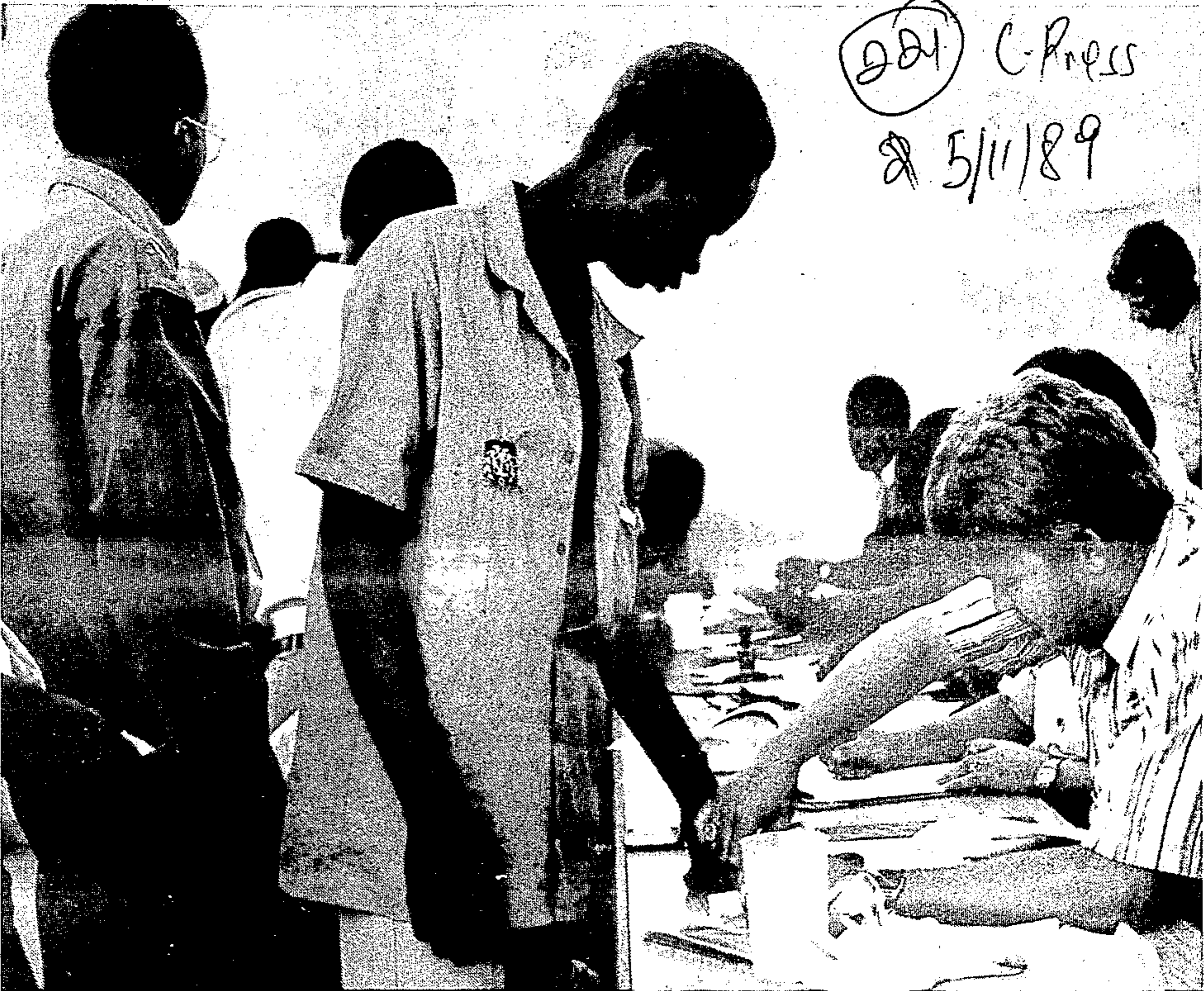
But there is one crucial and very large group about which nobody has the information to predict support patterns: the farmworkers on white farms.

Often isolated, illiterate and under a great deal of control by the farmer, their votes could be vital. One estimate is that they make up 20 percent of Namibia's approximately 1,5 million people.



Swapo get two-thirds?

NAMIBIA



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5/11/89

Voters going to the polls in a previous "internal" election in Namibia. For the first time Swapo will take part in an election this week – an internationally accepted election under United Nations supervision. On the right is a ballot paper with the names and symbols of all parties taking part. A fake ballot paper has been distributed in Namibia giving wrong names to all political parties except the DTA.

Illiteracy may indeed be a problem; voters from remote rural areas who have never held a pen will have two minutes to make their X next to their party's symbol – and the symbols are not that clear.

Swapo-D, an earlier breakaway from Swapo, has the flaming torch which for many years was chiefly identified with the main party.

One way of telling will be the number of spoiled papers – and the number of voters for Aksie Christelik Nasionaal,

a white rightwing party, in black areas. Some rural voters interviewed recently figured that the cross identified the Council of Churches, which they knew to be in favour of the liberation struggle.

Namibia is filling up with observers, monitors, and diplomatic teams. Sometimes it looks as though the voters will have to fight their way through the thousands of foreigners hanging around outside voting stations to see whether Namibia gets a fair election.

| | | |
|--|---------|--|
| AKSIE CHRISTELIK NASIONAAL | ACN | |
| CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC ACTION FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE | CDA | |
| D.T.A. VAN NAMIBIË | DTA | |
| FEDERAL CONVENTION OF NAMIBIA | FCN | |
| NAMIBIA NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY | NNDP | |
| NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT | NNF | |
| NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF NAMIBIA | NPF | |
| SWAPO-DEMOCRATS | SWAPO-D | |
| SWAPO OF NAMIBIA | SWAPO | |
| UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF NAMIBIA | UDF | |



registration of "foreigners" as Namibian voters, believing that it may cost Swapo two or three seats - and that could just make the difference.

The foreigners Angola is concerned about are mainly whites living in South Africa who qualify to vote in Namibia either because they were born there or because one of their parents was born there or because they lived for four years in the country during the past 10 years.

This includes a lot of SADF permanent force members and SA police who have returned to South Africa.

Notorious battalion

It also includes the members of the notorious 32 Battalion of the SWA Territory Force, most of them Angolan and Portuguese in origin, who were moved bag and baggage to Pomfret in the Northern Cape.

Special cheap turn-around flights are being offered for voters who want to fly to Namibia, vote, and return home within hours.

The two main contenders are the DTA and Swapo. These are the parties whose T-shirts, flags and rallies are everywhere across the country.

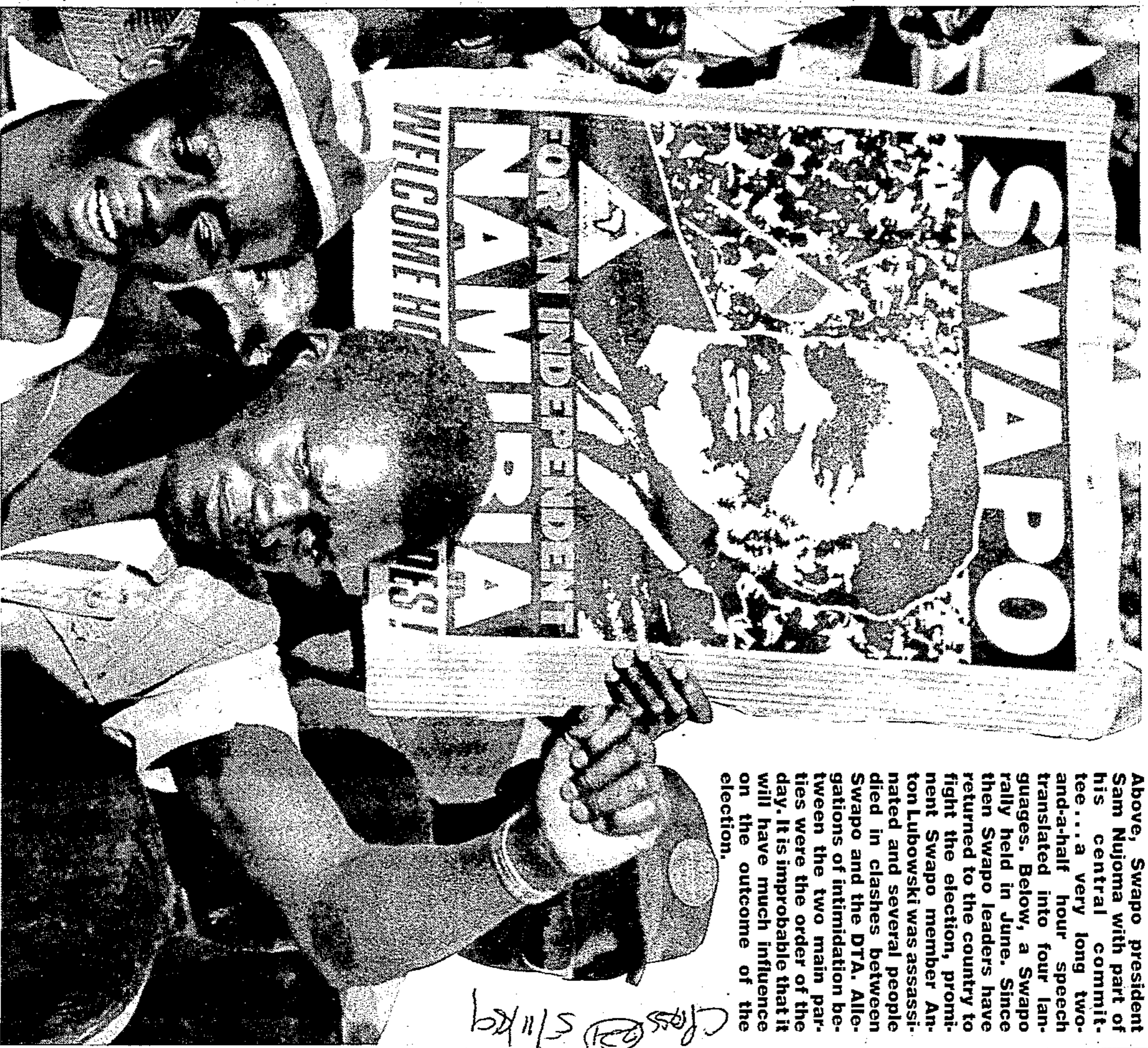
The DTA, long backed by South Africa and involved in administering Namibia for the last 10 years, is not short of funds and has had a long time to set up its patronage systems, notably through the ethnic administrations, which are unpopular and often corrupt.

Still, the DTA does have a genuine core of support, and not just among whites. Many supporters are older, more conservative and traditional people in the central and southern parts of the country.

The DTA's aim is to gain one-third of the seats in the Constituent Assembly, which will give it an effective veto over the constitution.

Its propaganda is more and more panicky, reinforcing the impression that it does not like the picture it is getting, which is probably not much more than 20 percent voter support.

Its anti-Swapo campaign, especially on the issue of the Swapo detainees, may have backfired, in that younger urban people drawn away from Swapo seem to have moved to the smaller alliances,



Above, Swapo president Sam Nujoma with part of his central committee... a very long two-and-a-half hour speech translated into four languages. Below, a Swapo rally held in June. Since then Swapo leaders have returned to the country to fight the election, prominent Swapo member Anton Lubowski was assassinated and several people died in clashes between Swapo and the DTA. Allegations of intimidation between the two main parties were the order of the day. It is improbable that it will have much influence on the outcome of the election.

Chris 27/11/89

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Cabinet to meet as hoax row continues

Political Correspondent

REPERCUSSIONS and inquiries in the highest government circles continued today over fake Untag messages that have severely embarrassed a number of ministers.

The National Security Council is due to discuss the matter in Pretoria. The subject is also to be raised at a cabinet meeting on Wednesday.

Efforts are being made to find out who was responsible for the hoax radio messages, said to have been sent on Untag frequencies, that created a scare about a possible Swapo incursion into Namibia shortly before this week's independence polls.

The affair has particularly embarrassed the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

However, there are also questions about the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Ma-

lan, and the role the military played.

Mr Botha has told the Nationalist Press he would have acted in the same way in any similar situation.

The irony was that the affair had brought greater calm to the countdown to the Namibian polls, he said. He had been assured by Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma that there were no armed elements north of the border.

Dr Das Herbst, a communications chief in the Department of Defence, said some of the messages had been broadcast on frequencies allocated to Untag's Kenyan unit.

Responding to suggestions that Defence Force dissidents had "set up" Mr Botha, Dr Herbst said it was inappropriate to blame "dissidents and Rambos" before proper consideration had been given to the inquiry's findings.

Police at factory 'to enforce

court order'

Staff Reporter

POLICE were outside the Jungle Oats factory in Maitland yesterday to "enforce a Supreme Court order" issued against striking Food and Allied Workers' Union members, according to Jungle Oats management.

A union spokesman said workers, interdicted from "interfering" with casual workers, were prevented from picketing.

In addition, a police truck had brought casuals into the factory, the spokesman said.

Mr J Paddick, deputy-managing director of Jungle Oats, said about eight policemen were outside the premises to enforce a Supreme Court Order served on Monday.

ORDERLY MANNER

"The police requested the workers to move away from the gate, which they did in an orderly manner, after which the police withdrew," he said.

The company had made no arrangements with the police...

retraction by the police in order to apply for work," said Mr Paddick.

over Swapo troop alarm

Weekend Argus Political Staff

TOP government officials smarting over the mystery radio transmission fiasco which plunged the Namibian peace process into crisis, have launched a probe to find the source of the false signals.

The hunt is on in Windhoek for those behind hoax messages on a United Nations military frequency which spurred Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha to raise a global alarm about Swapo forces poised to invade northern Namibia.

"As matters stand now, there is no evidence as far as I am concerned that Untag was responsible for the transmissions," said Mr Botha last night in a retraction of what he had said 48 hours before.

"Who did it, remains unclear," he added.

"Crackpot"

One well-placed source described the source of the transmissions — apparently designed to sound like authentic, internal UN monitors' radio traffic — as a "crackpot".

Mr Botha said the messages had been intercepted by a monitoring team on a frequency allotted to an Untag battalion.

"What is strange is that when a frequency is given a transmitter, that transmitter should hear when messages are sent on that frequency. I do not feel obliged to explain this puzzle."

The episode has plainly embarrassed the government.

A former top diplomat, now co-leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Denis Worrall, said Mr Botha was guilty of a "very serious error of judgement".

"Misjudgment"

"What is inexcusable is that he failed to check out the facts with (Namibian Administrator-General) Louis Pienaar beforehand.

"It was an unfortunate misjudgment from his point of view, given the fact that he has handled the Namibian issue extremely well to date."

But Dr Worrall said he did not believe Mr Botha would have acted the way he did without Defence Minister General Magnus Malan's advice.

"If anyone owes the country a full explanation, it is Magnus Malan," said Dr Worrall.

One theory, advanced in South Africa and abroad, is that Mr Botha has been duped by forgeries compiled by elements in the government's own security establishment.

The incident raised fears that seurocrats opposed to President De Klerk's new reform initiatives may now be fighting back.

Security sources quoted in Nationalist Press reports today said whoever sent the "Untag messages" must have used advanced radio equipment.

In modern defence systems, messages are coded to prevent the "enemy" from obtaining sensitive or secret information.

Intercept

Whoever sent the mysterious messages that led to this week's rumpus must have known Untag's radio frequency and communication codes.

Sources say the SADF has for years been using equipment that can intercept and decipher coded messages.

With the aid of computers, messages can even be intercepted, deciphered, changed, and then sent back to their original destination.

It is also possible, through computer systems, to change the frequency of a transmission so rapidly that an "enemy" cannot establish which frequency

UNTAG

Pik red-faced

w/e Magnus 4/11/89 221

FOR: HOAXERS

is being used.

It is said to be accepted generally that the SADF was responsible for the interception of the "Untag messages".

The possibility has also been mentioned that hidden Swapo equipment could have been used by somebody who wanted to discredit the South African government.

If the messages are proved to have been a hoax,

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

P.T.O

PROBE TO FIND AUTHORS OF HOAX MESSAGE

(Cont. from page 4/11/81)
as now suspected in government circles. Mr Botha will be the man with the reddest face of all as the man who raised the alarm about a threatened Swapo invasion.

Boo-boo

His sombre announcement at a news conference in Pretoria and on SABC-TV on Wednesday night could turn out to have

been the biggest boo-boo of his political career. Not only did he scare South Africans with claims of a threatened invasion and of security forces placed on full alert, but also caused a flurry of diplomatic activity among foreign governments and UN officials.

The Conservative Party spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Thomas Langley, said yesterday the CP "noted with con-

siderable astonishment and disquiet" that it appeared the disclosures were based on false information.

"Mr Pik Botha, in his usual dramatic and exhibitionist manner, informed the UN, Russia and various embassies of these 'disclosures'," said Mr Langley. "If this information — that several thousand Swapo terrorists are preparing to invade SWA — was not verified

beforehand by his department and is genuinely false, then South Africa, which already suffers from a credibility problem, has been made to be the laughing stock of the international community.

"Irresponsible"

"In these circumstances the CP demands Mr Pik Botha's immediate resignation."

A Labour Party foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Desmond Lockett, said Mr Botha's handling of the matter was "highly irresponsible". The matter of the radio messages should have been cleared up before Mr Botha went public.

"The situation in Namibia is very tense, and there should have been more caution on the part of the government before Mr Botha accused Swapo."

PERSI**Sunday Times****THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE**

Let's get to the
bottom of this

(28)
S. Times
5/11/89

FORTUNATELY the fiasco over the phoney Untag signals has not done any serious damage to the Namibian independence process — it has merely left the countenance of our Foreign Minister covered with a large splotch of unwelcome egg. Mr Pik Botha can be excused for being hopping mad because so far only one thing has emerged clearly from this whole murky business: Someone, somewhere, took him and a number of senior officials for a ride.

As Mr Botha gamely brushes the egg from his person, there are disquieting suggestions that rogue elements within the security forces could have rigged the whole thing, either by trespassing on Untag radio frequencies or by the much simpler expedient of actually fabricating the controversial messages. Mr Botha himself — finally faced with a total absence of proof that the signals were genuine — sensibly eschewed the temptation to play politics and frankly admitted that he possessed no evidence that Untag was responsible for transmitting them.

Who, then, was?

The SA Defence Force is, presumably, at this moment leaving no stone unturned — nor, one hopes, sparing any individual reputation — to get to the bottom of the mystery. It is charged with the protection of our frontiers in a volatile subcontinent and one

shudders to think of the many cross-border calamities that could result if, indeed, there are people feeding false signals to Pretoria.

Generally the SADF is a well-trained, well-officered force with an enviable reputation for maintaining discipline. But (as post-Nkomati adventurism with Renamo taught us) it is not without its dangerously maverick elements.

If there has been a repeat performance of the Renamo caper, the public must be told. If there are men who find it difficult to abandon the total onslaught theory, or who simply cannot bear the thought of shaking the red dust of their beloved northern Namibian battleground from their boots, we need to know who they are. And their heads must roll.

Of course Swapo has a record of duplicity (as was demonstrated on April 1 when only solid intelligence-gathering, leading to a devastatingly effective turkey-shoot, prevented disaster). But today Namibia is on the threshold of independence thanks to protracted but brilliant collaborative diplomacy by Foreign Affairs and the SADF.

If there are people bent on scuppering the process at the 11th hour they must receive no mercy. When next the Foreign Minister cries "Wolf!" South Africans — and governments abroad — must be sure they can believe him.

DRIES VAN HEERDEN REPORTS FROM WINDHOEK

5/11/89
S. 1 mms
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Swapo majority is key

is set to win this week's elections in a. This will pave the way to independence ca's last colony — as early as March. Major parties contesting the election — Swapo and the agreed this week that they were opposed to a second elections.

th Africa and the United Nations were in favour of the constituency-based government option, should a second round materialise. This would mean that the Constituent Assembly, elected this week to draw up a constitution for Namibia, could decide by an overwhelming majority of its 72 members to transform itself into the territory's first government.

The major issue — as Namibia's 701 269 registered voters go to the polls on Tuesday — is how big Swapo's majority will be when voting booths close on Saturday night.

Expectations are that the organisation will poll between 55 and 63 percent of the vote, leaving it just short of the two-thirds majority needed to impose its own constitution on Namibia.

Swapo will then be forced to enter into an alliance with a number of smaller parties,

which are expected to win between five and 10 percent of the vote. With a mere 70 000 voters holding 10 percent of the poll, a number of factors may still determine the final showing of the 10 parties contesting this election.

Hurt

● A low percentage poll, especially in Swapo's northern stronghold of Ovambo may hurt the party badly.

● The effect of allegations that Swapo detainees are being held under abysmal circumstances in concentration camps in Angola is hard to determine. Most election watchers agree that these issues may hurt Swapo's impact on minority groups such as the Namas and the Damaras, but they will not materially sway

the allegiance of the Ovambos: ● The small, no-hope parties could play a spoiling role, which could hurt Swapo's main opponent in a largely two-horse race — the DTA.

Swapo's strength is undoubtedly in the north, where more than half the country's voters live.

Swapo seems to have favour among the 250 000 voters in Ovambo, where the party is expected to sweep the board with about 80 percent of the vote.

Its strength in the adjacent Kavango and Caprivi, as well as scattered support in Namaland and among coloured voters, may well help Swapo over the top.

The DTA, led in the elections by Dirk Mudge and Caprivan Meschake Muyongo, is expected to run a close

second in most areas and may gain enough votes to thwart Swapo intentions of running the country on its own.

If the DTA can poll more than 35 percent of the vote, some of the smaller parties like the United Democratic Front, the Namibia National Front and the National Patriotic Front may end up holding the balance of power.

Speculation

This will force Swapo into making compromises once the Constituent Assembly gets down to writing the new constitution.

The results of the election are expected by November 17. United Nations special representative in Namibia Martti Ahtisaari is expected by then to have already certi-

fied that the election has been "free and fair" in accordance with UN Resolution 435.

In Windhoek this week there was much speculation on exactly when Mr Ahtisaari is supposed to certify the election — either immediately after the polling booths close or once the results are known.

This has given rise to speculation that the UN may refuse to certify the election if Swapo fails to gain a two-thirds majority.

The party which wins the majority in the elections should convene the Constituent Assembly within a week after results are published. The Assembly will then go about drafting the new constitution.

Both major parties have expressed hope that the

Anything less than a two-thirds victory will force compromises

drafting will proceed without hitches. Swapo spokesman Eddie Amkongo tells the Sunday Times his party "will go out of its way" to accommodate the wishes and fears of minority groupings in the Assembly.

"We genuinely believe in national reconciliation once the election is over. We will talk to all the people of Namibia to find out how they feel, and we hope that the constitution will reflect the wishes of the vast majority of Namibians."

Transform

Mr Mudge said he expected most members of the Constituent Assembly would agree on most of the new constitution.

"We agree with Swapo on a number of issues. I expect the real differences to come to the fore once a new government starts implementing its policies — which is where we differ very strongly with Swapo, especially on economic policies."

Both Swapo and the DTA agree that there is little need for a second election to choose representatives on a constituency basis.

READING PALMS: The chart that will be the polling booth guide for many voters

| | | |
|--|---------|--|
| AKSIE CHRISTELIK NASIONAAL | ACN | |
| CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC ACTION FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE | CDA | |
| D.T.A. VAN NAMIBIË | DTA | |
| FEDERAL CONVENTION OF NAMIBIA | FCN | |
| NAMIBIA NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY | NNDP | |
| NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT | NNF | |
| NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF NAMIBIA | NPF | |
| SWAPO-DEMOCRATS | SWAPO-D | |
| SWAPO OF NAMIBIA | SWAPO | |
| UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF NAMIBIA | UDF | |

The election that will be won by a show of hands!

IF YOU happen to drive through Namibia this week, one golden rule of the road should be adhered to: Keep your hands firmly attached to the steering wheel.

Don't scratch your nose, don't point at passing motorists and never, ever make rude gestures with one, two or five fingers.

The election that starts on Tuesday will be dominated by hands in various positions. Clenched fists raised aloft, victory signs flashed by latter-day Churchills and hands locked in embrace signalling unity and solidarity.

All but one of the 10 parties contesting the poll for a constituent assembly have chosen a hand as the symbol to appear next to its name on the ballot papers.

Because so many of the 701 483 registered voters are illiterate the symbol will, no doubt, have a major influence on where the crosses are made.

Swapo, the odds-on favourite to win a clear majority of seats, was caught napping when one of its major break-away groups, the Swapo-Democrats led by Mr Andreas Shipanga, first registered the official Swapo emblem — a clenched fist holding a 'torch of freedom'.

Oldest

Instead, Swapo opted for another striking symbol — the torso of a black man holding his right arm aloft in a classic clenched-fist salute.

The clenched fist is also the logo of two of the minor parties — the Namibia National Front and the United Democratic Front of Namibia.

The National Patriotic Front — an alliance between former members of the white

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN
Windhoek

National Party and one of the oldest liberation movements on the continent, Swanu — chose an open hand as its symbol.

Two parties decided on two hands locked in a handshake to signify peace and reconciliation — the Namibia National Democratic Party and the Federal Convention of Namibia which superimposed its hands on a map of Namibia.

Swapo's main opponent, the DTA, chose two fingers raised in a victory salute when it was established in 1977. Today it is one of the most recognisable symbols in the region.

In Owambo, Damaraland, Rehoboth and the Caprivi, DTA supporters need little prompting to flash the V-sign.

The Christian Democratic Action — a small Owambo-based party — has a single finger "One Way" sign as its logo with the words "We Are One" written underneath.

The only exception to the hands theme is Action Christian National — the exclusive white alliance dominated by the National Party of South West. But it went two better on its opponents.

Its symbol is a cross within the outlines of a map of Africa in an obvious attempt to draw votes from the thousands of Namibians who embrace Christianity.

Either deliberately, or by accident, it chose a name that starts with an "A", thus occupying the top space on the ballot paper, leading many of its opponents to believe that the ACN may pick up some votes from illiterate voters making their crosses in the first available space.

Dye

Most alliances contesting the election are the result of political shotgun marriages caused by voting regulations requiring parties to show a measure of support by collecting 2 000 signatures.

So voters were spared the option of having to choose between 35 parties sporting such exotic acronyms as BA, DAN, UNIPA, NIP, ANS, PUM and DUP.

The right hand will gain added significance once the polling booths open. To prevent election abuses each voter's right hand will be daubed with an invisible but indelible dye which will clearly show up under ultra-violet light.

Namibia's capital, Windhoek, was this week on the surface very calm with supporters of all the main parties openly flaunting the brightly coloured T-shirts of their choice.

But below the surface there is a lot of uncertainty in the white community.

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S. J. J. J. J.
5/11/89

The Namibian election

'April independence'

By BRENDAN SEERY of the Argus Africa News Service in Windhoek

If all goes according to plan, Namibia could attain its official independence in April next year, a decade after Zimbabwe achieved its "Uhuru".

There are strong similarities between the two situations — but also major differences.

The biggest of these is that whereas the Zimbabwe-Rhodesian parties went into the election with a constitution already written at the Lancaster House conference — and resented by some — the Namibians will write their own constitution in an assembly chosen in the election.

In Zimbabwe's case, its own colonial power, Britain, drew up the Lancaster House proposals which provided for a ceasefire, a return of refugees and guerrillas and finally an election for a 100-seat National Assembly.

Ceasefire

The British were also involved, as a member of the Western Five Contact Group, in the efforts in the late 1970s to draw up a peace plan for Namibia. The proposals were finally embodied in UN Secu-

Britain's Lord Soames was effectively the colonial governor of Rhodesia during the transition — a position somewhat similar to that occupied in Windhoek by the South African Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, except that Mr Pienaar has nothing like the absolute power enjoyed by Lord Soames and is under constant monitoring by UN Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari.

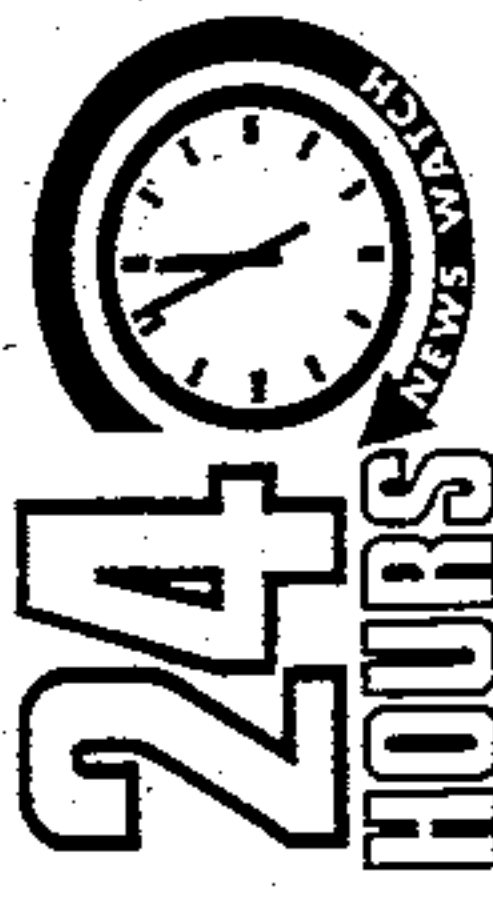
Mr Ahtisaari will also have the same task as Britain's representative in Rhodesia in certifying that the elections were free and fair.

One of the biggest differences between the two sagas is in the election process itself.

Party list

While both Zimbabwe's National Assembly and Namibia's Constituent Assembly are selected by proportional representation in a party list system, the polls in Namibia will certainly be more complex and far more regimented and controlled than they were in Zimbabwe.

In Zimbabwe, there was no registration of voters and



Rally behind Swapo, Boesak tells voters

Sapa reports from Windhoek

THE independence of Namibia would be an inspiration to the people of South Africa to intensify their liberation struggle, anti-apartheid campaigner Dr Allan Boesak said yesterday, Zimbabwe's Ziana news agency reports from



rity Council Resolution 435. This provided for a ceasefire, withdrawal of South African troops, return of exiles and a majority-rule election for a Constituent Assembly to draw up independent Namibia's first constitution.

In both cases, outside pressure and negotiation implemented the peace and independence process which would see black majority rule after decades of white colonial administration.

And in both cases, provision was made for supervision and monitoring of the process to ensure an end product which was a fair reflection of the will of the people.

In Zimbabwe, Commonwealth Monitoring Force troops, election supervisors and even blue-helmeted British bobbies came to oversee the peace process and the polls, which took place in February 1980.

Monitors

In Namibia, the 4 600-strong peacekeeping force of the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag) is there to help maintain the ceasefire while police monitors (originally 500, but now boosted to 1 500) keep an eye on the SWA Police.

most residents in the country over the age of 18 were allowed to cast votes.

Here, the 700 000 eligible voters were registered in a painstaking process over a period of six weeks and issued with registrations cards.

When voting starts on tomorrow (to run for five days — similar to the time allowed in Rhodesia) Namibia's electors will have to produce not only their registration cards but also proof of identity before being allowed into the voting booth.

Invisible ink

In addition, there is a complex system of double-checking voter identities (through fingerprint and handwriting analysis) during the counting phase to ensure there has been no fraud.

Zimbabwe's voters merely queued at polling stations, went through a check to ensure they had not already voted and then cast their ballots.

The procedure for preventing multiple voting will be the same in Namibia as it was in Harare: as they leave the polling station voters will have their fingers smeared with an invisible and indelible ink which election authorities claim will remain indelible for the length of the election. Before casting their ballots

voters will have to put their hands into an ultra-violet light box which will show up the ink if it is present.

There has so far been no challenge to the procedure in Namibia similar to the one that was made in Zimbabwe, with comical overtones.

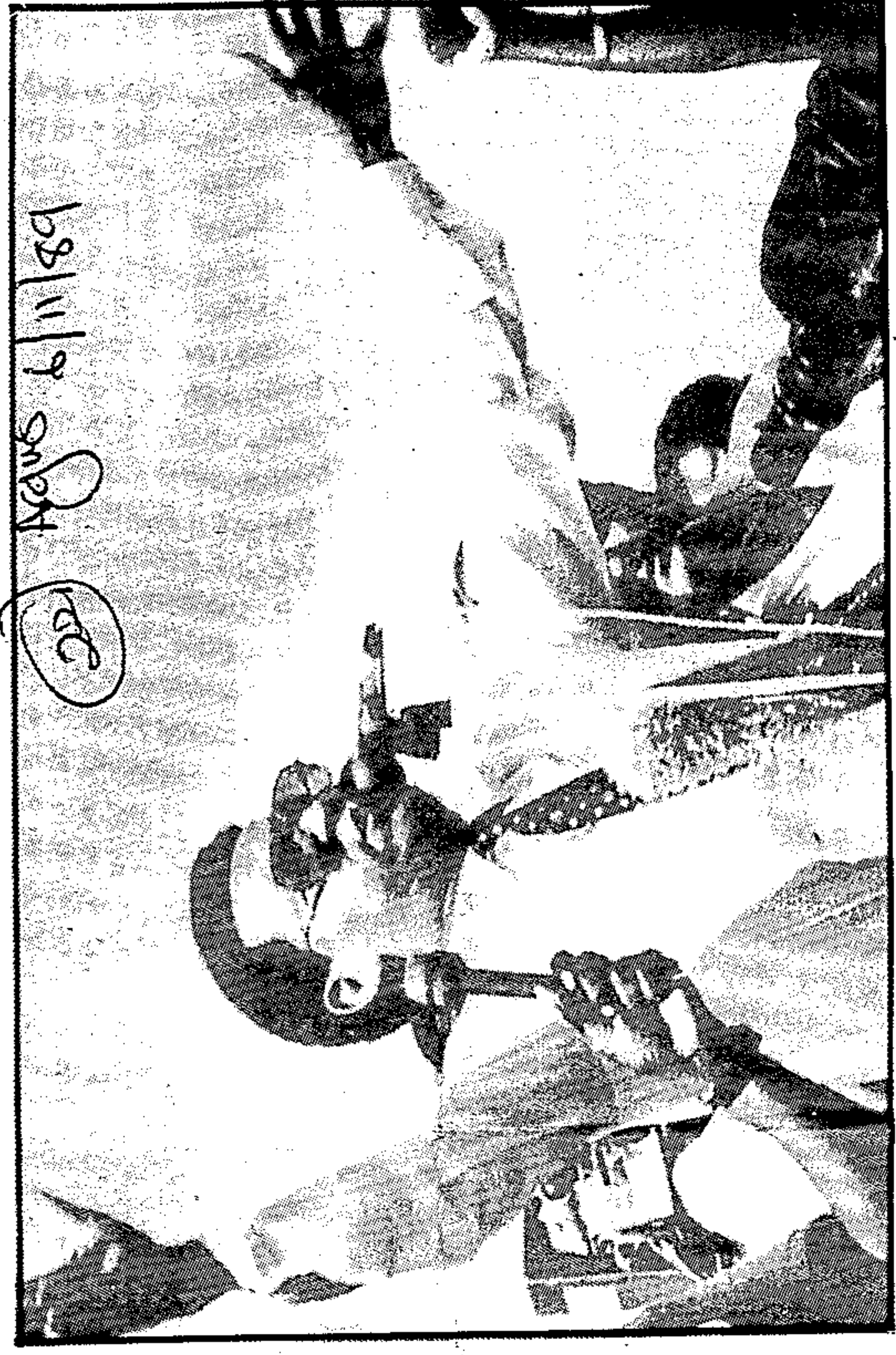
After rumours spread that the ink could be removed with Coca Cola the election authorities staged a public demonstration in a hotel ballroom to prove that it could not.

Light box

Surrounded by scores of foreign journalists and a thicket of TV cameras, an official solemnly washed his pre-inked hands in Coke and then thrust them, triumphantly glowing, into the light box.

Ballot papers for both elections are similar, with the parties being identified by symbols as well as names for the benefit of illiterate voters. Whereas the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia election was contested by four parties, in Namibia there are 10.

A Swapo supporter holds up a picture of Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma during an election rally in Gobabis. Voting in the Namibian independence election starts tomorrow and continues until Saturday.



Dr Allan Boesak speaks at a Swapo rally at Khomasdal on the eve of the Namibian independence election

Windhoek.

Addressing a Swapo election rally in the township of Khomasdal, Dr Boesak said Namibians who go to the polls for a constituent assembly on tomorrow should rally behind Swapo, which had fought against colonialism.

The victory of the Namibian people would not be a victory for those who collaborated with South Africa.

He told the crowd they had to ensure that the result of this election would not be overturned by South Africa.

Apartheid

He urged the Namibians to reject parties which were supported by Pretoria and denounced President F W de Klerk for calling for unity in South Africa while he supervised apartheid.

He said people who had collaborated with Pretoria in the past now came to ask for votes, pretending to champion democracy and justice.

He told the rally Namibians had come to a decisive stage in the building of their nation and should ensure they voted for a party that would guarantee their freedom.

Foreign guests at the meeting included academics, trade unionists and representatives of political parties.

Gobabis rally was a personal homecoming for Sam Nujoma

6/11/89

Sapa reports from Gobabis

Agus

FOR Swapo leader Sam Nujoma the organisation's rally in the eastern Namibian town of Gobabis yesterday was a personal and political homecoming.

It was here, about 100km from the Botswana border and in the heart of white farmland in the east, that the former exiled leader left for Botswana to set up Swapo's military wing, the Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia.

And it was here that he chose to wrap up his election campaign by holding Swapo's final rally before balloting gets underway tomorrow.

Herero chief

Mr Nujoma's political homecoming acquired an added significance as he met a representative of the local Herero chief, Munjuku Nguvauva.

The representative presented him and colleagues with a young colt, a cow and two sheep on behalf of Chief Nguvauva.

It was Chief Nguvauva who, in 1966, gave the young Nujoma shelter and then safe passage to the Botswana border.

Noting this, Mr Nujoma recounted the history of the region before driving home Swapo's political message to about 2 500 people who turned up in the blue, red

and green colours of the organisation.

Herero elders, in their triangular headgear, sang his praises, chanted political slogans and acclaimed him as their leader.

Mr Nujoma said all credit for the development of Namibia should be given to the African majority who had toiled tirelessly for the benefit of the country.

"Yet we have been exploited, our land was taken by colonialists, apartheid was introduced by the Boers and we were divided by the Boer."

Mr Nujoma also reiterated that teachers and other civil servants would not have their pensions taken away by a new Swapo administration.

National scheme

"All those people, especially in the DTA, have spread propaganda that we will nationalise civil servant's pensions, but that is a blatant lie.

"The pensions are for those who have worked for them, and we will not take that away.

"However, we are going to start a national pensions scheme which will be for the majority of people," said the Swapo leader.

Throughout the mass rally, about 30 white farmers watched proceedings from the perimeter of the Gobabis showground.

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will

poised

SWAPO is almost certain to emerge victorious as Namibians go to the polls tomorrow but the acid test is whether it can achieve a two-thirds majority.

The 10 political parties and fronts contesting the election wound up their political campaigns this weekend.

Mr Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance produced a glossy magazine insert for its mouthpiece newspaper, Sunday Republicain, while at least one party's workers were seen handing out soft drinks and T-shirts in Windhoek to Saturday morning shoppers.

Land redistribution

Swapo's final rally in Windhoek's coloured township of Khomasdal had the Rev Allan Boesak as one of the main attractions yesterday and the organisation's leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, appeared on television and radio on Saturday night appealing for calm and intimidation-free elections.

At a rally on Saturday, Mr Nujoma reiterated his party's resolve to give top priority to the issue of land redistribution.

He said: "We will not evict every white foreigner from South Africa and other parts of the world who continue to own vast tracks of land, while residing in a different country."

But on the eve of the five-day election period for Namibia's 701 453 registered voters, only a handful of officials know where the polling booths for the UN-supervised elections will be.

South Africans flock to Namibia to help Nujoma

THOUSANDS of South African leftwing political activists, including students of the University of the Witwatersrand who have foregone their examinations to make the trip, are flocking to Namibia to help Swapo in the elections.

The Wits students left Johannesburg early on Saturday morning in about 300 combis which will be used to assist Swapo in transporting voters to polling stations, according to the Wits Students' Representative Council.

WINNIE MANDELA

Another visitor to the territory may be recently released African National Congress leader Mr Walter Sisulu. He would be a guest of Swapo but family members would not confirm his visit.

There are also strong rumours that Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela,



Independence by April
— page 11.

will make an appearance in Namibia in support of Swapo.

The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) placed a full-page advertisement in the pro-Swapo newspaper, the Namibian, today in support of Swapo.

Scores of students from the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), many of whom are missing final exams, are already in the country and will be transporting Swapo voters in minibus taxis borrowed from black operators in South Africa. — The Argus Correspondent and Argus Africa News Service.

Polling details

By late yesterday, neither the Office of Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar nor the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag) had produced any details of the more than 300 polling stations, 198 of which will be fixed with the rest mobile.

The list is expected today but some political parties are worried that the vagueness could cause confusion among voters, particularly in the populous northern areas, where many people are illiterate.

UN officials have said problems with voters in remote areas not being able to reach polling stations could force the extension of polling into Sunday but Mr Pienaar said there will be no extension.

Intimidation

Both the UN and Mr Pienaar have commended the recent absence of significant incidents of violence and intimidation and both have appealed for continued calm.

The head of the South African Interests Office in Namibia, ambassador Mr Willem Reijer, appeared on television at the weekend assuring Namibians that Pretoria would respect the Namibian electorate's wishes. He promised a mutually beneficial working relationship after independence.

One week after UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari has certified the election and results "free and fair", the 72-seat Constituent Assembly will hold its first session and eventually draw up the first constitution of an independent Namibia.

Members will be selected from the top of their party's list of candidates according to a complex proportional representation formula similar to that used in Zimbabwe's independence election in 1980. — Argus Africa News Service and Sapa.

SWAPO

Malan's turn to exclaim

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QUICK VISIT . . . Foreign Minister Mr P. Botha arrives in Windhoek at the weekend to discuss the Namibian elections, which start tomorrow.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE spotlight in the botched signals episode which sparked a major election scare in Namibia has moved firmly on to Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

Foreign governments and politicians in South Africa and Namibia are looking to General Malan for urgent explanations for a number of outstanding questions surrounding the fabricated Untag radio signals about an alleged Swapo plan to scupper the election by invading Namibia from Angola.

Foreign Minister Mr P. Botha told journalists at the weekend that he could not say if General Malan should bear responsibility for the incorrect messages.

But he emphasized that before going public on the alarmist radio messages — which later severely embarrassed Pretoria — he had asked the military whether the messages might be dis-

Insider:

- **Namibia calm on eve of election,**
- **Signals still a mystery,**

See PAGE 2

formation, but had been assured that this was not possible. However, it was still unclear last night why the messages, which had apparently been intercepted since October 26, were not properly evaluated before they were presented to the world as the genuine article.

Mr Botha said last night that the messages about the imminent Swapo military threat had emerged from the same source — presumably military intelligence — which alerted the government to the planned infiltration of Swapo forces into northern Namibia at the end of April.

The likelihood of a Swapo invasion of northern Namibia on the eve of the election has been discounted by the major Western powers, Untag, administrator-

general Mr Louis Pienaar and, last night, by Mr Botha himself. But General Malan stuck to his guns about the planned Swapo invasion story in a statement released at the weekend. His two-page statement attacked both Swapo and Untag but failed to throw any light on who the culprits were for authoring bogus radio messages, why they had been sent or how his military experts had failed to identify them as fake.

MIKE ROBERTSON reports foreign affairs officials as saying the whole episode would have lasting damage on South Africa's relations with the international community. "In future if the need arises for us to alert the international community to something which depends on the strength of our word, how are we going to convince them?" one official asked.

A senior official said South Africa's conduct during the Namibian independence process had been the one issue that had contributed to its improved position in the international community. An investigation conducted in collaboration with a British Royal Sig-

THE elections which started in Namibia today mark a crucial stage of the territory's long haul to independence after 105 years of colonial rule by Imperial Germany and South Africa.

The sparsely populated but mineral rich territory, formerly known as South West Africa, has seen violent repression by German troops at the turn of the century and more recently a 23-year bush war between black nationalist guerrillas and South African troops.

The League of Nations gave South Africa a mandate to rule the desert land on the western seaboard of Southern Africa in 1920. This was replaced by a United Nations Trusteeship in 1946.

In 1966, the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) began an armed struggle to end South African rule.

Key dates in the history of the territory are:

- 1884: Germany colonises South West Africa.

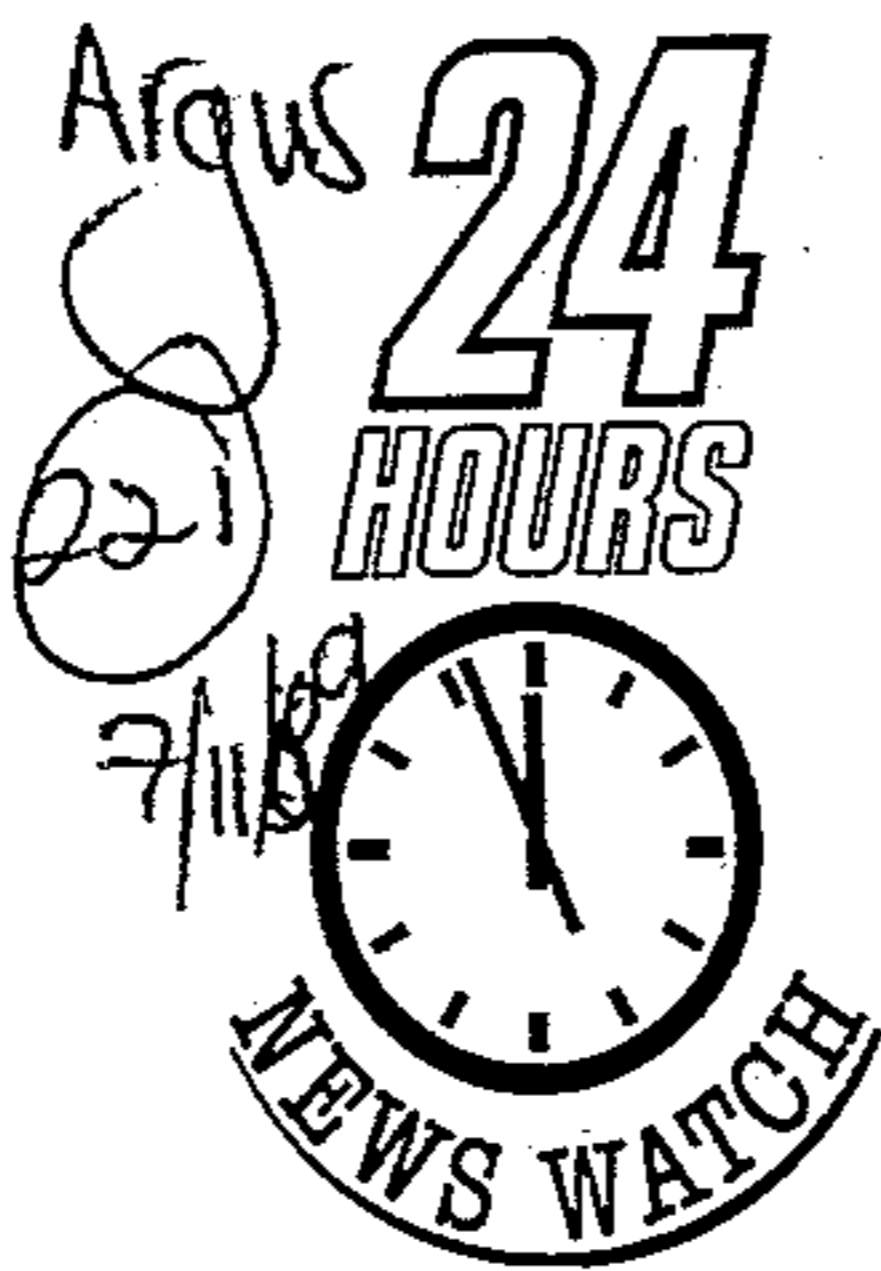
- 1904-7: German troops put down a rebellion by the indigenous population, killing 70 000 Herero people.

- 1915: South Africa invades the territory and Germany surrenders.

- 1920: The League of Nations gives South Africa a mandate to administer the territory.

- 1946: United Nations trusteeship replaces the League mandate but South Africa rejects the change.

- 1966: Swapo launches a guerrilla war to liberate the territory. UN strips South Africa of the trusteeship rights.



- 1968: UN renames the territory Namibia.

- 1971: The International Court of Justice rules that the South African presence in Namibia is illegal.

- 1975: South Africa holds independence talks with internal political parties, excluding Swapo. Angola becomes independent from Portugal. Cuban troops are drafted into Angola at the request of the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

- 1976: A South African-organised Turnhalle constitutional conference at Windhoek, Namibia's capital, proposes an interim government and aims for independence by December 1978. A UN Security Council resolution calls for UN-supervised elections.

- 1977: A UN-sponsored western contact group of US, Britain, France, Canada and West Germany starts talks with Pretoria, Swapo and the "frontline" African states. South Africa drops the Turnhalle proposals and sends an administrator-general to Namibia.

- 1978: The UN Security Council passes resolution 435 envisaging a ceasefire, UN-sponsored elections and a peacekeeping force.

Pretoria holds elections in Namibia which are boycotted by Swapo. The elections are not recognised internationally.

- 1982: South Africa, with US backing, says independence must await the departure of Cuban troops from Angola. The "linkage" issue is rejected by the UN General Assembly.

- 1983: In December, South Africa launches a major operation against Swapo guerrillas in Angola.

- 1984: South African troops pull out of southern Angola.

- 1988: US-mediated talks begin in London in May between South Africa, Cuba and Angola on the withdrawal of an estimated 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola and independence from Namibia under UN Resolution 435.

The talks culminate in a US-brokered agreement signed in New York in December by South Africa, Cuba and Angola.

- 1989: The independence process starts on April 1, overseen by the biggest civilian-military operation ever undertaken by the UN, but is immediately jeopardised by a Swapo incursion from Angola.

More than 300 Swapo fighters and 27 members of the South African-led security forces are killed in two weeks of clashes.

Frantic diplomacy involving South Africa, Cuba and Angola puts the process back on track.

300 permanent — and mobile — poll stations

BRENDAN SEERY of Argus Africa News Service reports from Windhoek

MORE than 300 polling stations, 198 permanent and the rest mobile, are available to Namibia's 701 453 registered voters in the desert territory's historic UN-supervised elections.

Up until the weekend a list of the stations had not been made public but it is likely that the list will be published regularly during the course of voting, which ends on Saturday.

Some political parties are worried that this vagueness could cause confusion in the minds of voters, particularly in the populous northern ar-

reas, where many people are illiterate.

There is concern especially about the publication of the deployments of the mobile polling stations, which could only visit some remote areas once during the week.

UN officials have said problems with voters not being able to get to polling stations could force the extension of polling into Sunday.

However, Mr Pienaar has said the polling will not be extended, primarily because the time on Sunday will be needed to get ballot boxes from remote areas and mo-

bile polling stations, transferred to the counting centres.

Seconded officials from government departments in Windhoek have been heading out, some of them in convoys of four-wheel-drive vehicles, to remote areas to take charge of polling stations.

Civil servants from departments as diverse as Education, Water Affairs and Nature Conservation have volunteered for election duty, which carries with it special, extra "subsistence and travelling" allowances of up to R200 a day.

The Namibian election

Critical stages in a long

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'IncurSION' allegations have harmed SA in US

DAVID BRAUN of the Argus Foreign Service reports
from Washington

MR Pik Botha's ill-advised allegations of an impending Swapo invasion of Namibia has been as embarrassing for the South African government in the US as it has been at home.

The allegations were almost immediately debunked by the State Department when they were made, with a spokesman saying there was no independent information to corroborate Mr Botha's statements. The US government, the spokesman added, saw no reason for delaying the scheduled Namibian independence election.

The US media was less diplomatic than the State Department on the issue, and a number of television channels and newspapers carried items which suggested South Africa might be trying to sink the Namibian independence process at the last minute.

The attitude of some people in the US has all along been that South Africa really does not want to give Namibia its independence, that it was forced into the UN plan because of sanctions or because it was militarily defeated in Angola, and that it would be highly likely that Pretoria would try every dirty trick to see that the territory did not have its elections.

Mr Botha's allegations, immedi-

ately refuted by the US government and the United Nations, were therefore manna to these critics.

The Washington Post, for example, this week carried an article under the heading "South Africa is sabotaging Namibia's elections".

In it the writer, Mr Erwin Griswold, a former US solicitor general and now a member of Namibia Election Watch, described Mr Botha's allegations as an attempt to discredit Swapo.

The main thrust of the article was that the elections were unlikely to be free or fair unless effective measures were taken to make the UN independence agreement fully operative.

Thus its pre-election strategy was aimed at denying to Swapo, the Namibian independence movement, the 48 seats it would need to write an independence constitution in the constituent assembly.

He accused South Africa of ignoring important elements of the UN independence plan.

The State department has taken a different official view of South Africa's handling of the election process, and several spokesmen have on numerous occasions expressed gratitude to Pretoria for upholding its side of the agreement.

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WINDHOEK. — Thousands of Namibians swamped polling stations throughout the country today and a two-kilometre queue formed at a Katutura township polling booth where Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma was the first to cast his vote.

Two other polling stations in the township were also crowded as thousands gathered to vote in the pre-independence elections under United Nations Resolution 435.

"Today we are finally burying apartheid colonialism," said Mr Nujoma, entering the polling station after a 20-minute delay for which the electoral officer, a Mr Botha, apologised.

Wearing a dark pin-striped, double-breasted suit, the Swapo leader raised a clenched fist at the joyful crowd. Untag monitors and civilian police hung around the station gazing at the huge numbers.

Barrel of the gun

Asked what he felt about the armed struggle now that polling was under way, Mr Nujoma replied: "The colonialists imposed the war on us. When we used the barrel of the gun it was to facilitate the end, which was the ballot box."

In an interview broadcast in Britain on BBC Television last night Mr Nujoma warned: "Our government is certainly not going to be liked by South African whites."

The non-racial society that Swapo intended to create though, would show the whites of South Africa they could "do better" without apartheid.

Throughout Namibia people were reported to be streaming to polling stations. The atmosphere was calm, although tense, particularly in the wake of yesterday's shooting-down of a Democratic Turnhalle Alliance aircraft.

Voting extension

The late announcement of the locations of the 340 polling stations also caused widespread confusion. Parties are concerned that this could influence voting and UN organiser Mr John Truman said that if there were still long queues at polling stations on Saturday afternoon — the last day of voting — an extension to Sunday would be considered.

Thousands of voters countrywide seem undeterred by the confusion though. In the Caprivi many people spent the night at stations to be at the front of the queue when the doors opened.

In Tsumeb in central Namibia about 500 black and white voters had gathered by 7am and an hour earlier, in Otjiwarongo, people were queuing before dawn.

Between Tsumeb and Otjiwarongo, in Otavi, trucks festooned in DTA colours ferried voters to polling stations.



WAITING TO VOTE: Part of a two-kilometre queue which formed at a Katutura township polling booth today as thousands of Namibian voters streamed to cast their votes. **Below:** Young and old wait patiently for their turn.



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Namibia election spotlight

In Owamboland more than 250 000 Owambos made an early start and loudspeakers mounted on vans in the streets of Oshakati urged people to vote. They responded in their thousands with queues of nearly a kilometre outside some polling stations.

The first of the South African contingent — most of whom would be casting a national poll vote for the second time in just over two months having voted in the recent South African election — hit the small Namibian village of Ariamsvlei today with the arrival of 19 buses and dozens of cars.

More than 10 000 South African residents are registered in the constituency of Karasburg, of which Ariamsvlei is a part.

The first bus passengers, just over 1 000, breakfasted on braaied steak and wors before voting, while bemused Untag officials looked on.

Some buses carried the blue, white and red of the DTA. But most slogans in evidence were those of the Action Christian National, ACN, the National Party clone in this election.

Local voters, mainly Namas and coloured people, stayed away, saying they would vote later in the week when the visitors had gone.

Angry exchanges

There were angry exchanges at the Windhoek Airport polling station when the first planeload of South African voters arrived to find several hundred locals ahead of them in the queue.

The 173 passengers, many wearing DTA colours, tried to push to the front of the queue.

Untag officials intervened and ruled that the visitors must go to back of the queue. The plane was believed to have been delayed until the passengers had voted.

Another aircraft is due to fly voters from Cape Town into Windhoek this afternoon.

Meanwhile, the German Embassy said in Pretoria today that future economic assistance to Namibia would not depend on which party assumed power when the former German colony becomes independent. — Argus Africa News Service and Sapa.

Rains muddy roads to the polls

OSHAKATI. — Namibia's "early rains" — the *kleine regen* — are sweeping across Owamboland and threatening to become a problem for election organisers.

If the rains, already a month late, come in full force, the dirt roads and tracks of Owamboland — where almost 40 percent of the country's voters live — will quickly turn to mud and seriously hamper efforts to get people to the polls. — Argus Africa News Service.

Flag-waving at new height

OSHAKATI. — An anonymous Democratic Turnhalle Alliance supporter has scaled the SWABC broadcasting tower at Oshakati to plant two of his party's flags at the top — 50m above the ground.

But his fervour was foiled by a SWABC employee who also climbed the tower to remove the flags because he felt they compromised his corporation's impartiality. — Sapa.

Diplomatic relations likely

SOUTH Africa is likely to maintain Namibian diplomatic relations even with a Swapo government, diplomatic sources said today.

In a message broadcast to Namibians last night, President De Klerk said South Africa would accept the results of a free and fair election. — Political Staff.

Court move against Swapo

WINDHOEK. — The Windhoek Supreme Court is to hear an application on Friday for Swapo, its leader Mr Sam Nujoma, and the organisation's central committee and political bureau to be ordered to release about 600 people allegedly being held in a military camp in Angola. — Sapa.

Show colours, says Nujoma

KEETMANSHOOP. — Swapo president Sam Nujoma has ordered his supporters to wear the organisation's colours of green, red and dark blue when they go to the polls to vote, but says he will absolve from this stipulation party supporters in delicate areas like the south, who could face physical danger by wearing their commitment on their sleeves. — Argus Africa News Service.

Untag soldiers plan to travel

KEETMANSHOOP. — Today's elections will see hundreds of Untag monitoring troops of many nationalities start to be released from their duties. Some will be going straight home, but many apparently intend to tour a country, and a continent, they have not seen much of, and travel agents are reporting good business. — Argus Africa News Service.



Crucial stage in a long haul to independence — page 13.

AFRICA

Lubowski murder suspect charged

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KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — An Irish suspect held for the killing of Swapo official Anton Lubowski faces a formal murder charge for the first time after a day of court drama in which he was ordered released by a judge and later arraigned before a magistrate.

But Donald Acheson's first appearance in a court since his September 13 arrest, more than 50 days ago, threw no light on Lubowski's mysterious assassination and defence attorneys said police still had no shred of evidence to tie the 52-year-old Irishman to the killing.

Oosthuizen later said he would seek a reversal of Retief's ruling in the Supreme Court.

In a statement supporting his claim for release, Acheson accused Smit and his officers of "improper and sometimes violent procedures of interrogation".

He alleged he had been taken to Johannesburg's Brixton police headquarters and left with Swapo sympathisers who threatened to kill him, and said Smit had encouraged him to flee from a barbeque with investigators so police could shoot him.

Acheson said he entered Namibia legally, seeking work as a newspaper cartoonist, after eight years in SA and seven in Zimbabwe.

He acknowledged in the statement a shoplifting offence last year in a Hillbrow department store, but said the conviction was not serious enough to warrant detention as an undesirable immigrant. — Sapa.

Ian Smith wins 'court scrutiny' case

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — Former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith yesterday won a major constitutional court case against President Robert Mugabe's government, establishing that Parliament could not forbid court scrutiny of the legality of its actions.

Chief Justice Enoch Dumbutshena said a full bench of Supreme Court judges had unanimously decided that Smith was entitled to his salary for the period between his suspension from the House of Assembly in April 1987 and the abolition of elected white representation five months later.

Smith was arraigned before the House for alleged contempt after telling Johannesburg businessmen sanctions would hurt Zimbabwe more than SA, and that they could defeat embargoes by showing the same spirit of enterprise Rhodesians did during his 1965-79 defiance of the UN.

As a Roman Dutch Law precedent, yesterday's decision could be cited in future litigation in SA.

Irregularly

Acheson — slightly built and sporting a full military style moustache — was arrested in the Namibian capital on September 13, 24 hours after Lubowski was gunned down by automatic fire outside his suburban Windhoek home.

Windhoek judge Mr Justice Herman Hendler on Saturday ordered police and government officials to free Acheson, ruling that he had been irregularly detained under immigration law two days after his arrest, because police had no evidence to uphold a murder charge.

State advocates opposed the move, claiming police had obtained new evidence hours earlier that would underpin a charge.

Within an hour of the Supreme Court

Confusion and tension among voters

Rocky road home

Thousands stream to Namibian polls

(221) How 7/11/89

Windhoek

Thousands of Namibians began streaming to polling stations throughout the country just after dawn today as the long-awaited UN-monitored Resolution 435 independence elections got under way.

There was still widespread confusion among voters because of the late announcement of the locations of the 340 permanent and mobile polling stations, but reports said lines were already forming at many rural booths.

In the Caprivi, many people spent the night at stations to be at the front of the queue when the doors officially opened at 7 am.

Tension increased today as a result of an incident in Kavango yesterday in which unidentified gunmen shot at a Democratic Turnhalle Alliance aircraft yesterday.

The aircraft, broadcasting DTA messages, made a crash landing at Andara in northern Owambo after being shot at with small arms in Kavango, DTA sources said in Windhoek.

A section of the aircraft caught fire when it struck the ground. The SWABC reported that the two occupants were hurt in the landing and were treated at the hospital at Andara on the Kavango River before being discharged.

Reports from around the country today suggested that the voting atmosphere was calm but tense.

Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma and other top party officials opened polling at the Katutura community centre outside Windhoek as thousands of Namibians swamped three polling stations in the township.

"Today, we are finally burying apartheid colonialism," Mr Nujoma said.

Wearing a dark pin-striped, double-breasted suit, the Swapo

The Star's Africa News Service

leader raised a clenched fist at the crowd which stretched for more than 2 km along the perimeter of the polling station.

Asked what he felt about the armed struggle now that polling was under way, the Swapo leader replied: "The colonialists imposed the war on us.

"When we used the barrel of the gun, it was to facilitate the end, which was the ballot box."

In an eye-of-election interview broadcast in London Mr Nujoma said a Swapo government "is certainly not going to be liked by South African whites".

UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar expressed concern in remarks to the UN Security Council that violence could mar the elections because an estimated 10 percent of the population, including many whites had armed themselves.

"While, at this time, there have been marked improvements in the security situation on the eve of the election, I remain vigilant to the possibility of a deterioration in the field of law and order.

"In Namibia about 120 000 licences for weapons have been issued to civilians. The number of unlicensed weapons. from



Murder suspect ... Mr Donald Acheson (centre), the 52-year-old Irish national held in connection with the assassination of Swapo lawyer Mr Anton Lubowski. He was arrested yesterday and will appear on December 6.

whatever sources, can only be a matter for conjecture," Dr Perez de Cuellar said.

'Vicious agents'

Swapo and the DTA have raised doubts about whether they will accept the results of the election if they are not to their liking.

In a TV programme last night, all 10 parties answered a number of questions, including one about their reaction to the result of the election.

Swapo's secretary of foreign affairs, Mr Theo-Ben Gurirah, implied the organisation would accept the result, provided that result was a Swapo victory.

He said the conditions for free and fair elections remained "fragile", and accused the DTA and "other vicious agents of the colonial order" of constantly undermining them.

He said that, as far as Swapo was concerned, if the elections were "free and fair", Swapo would emerge victorious.

DTA spokesman Mr Katuutire Kaura said his organisation regarded the process "so far" as free and fair. The next five days would be critical.

He cited possible problems as intimidation or "if our people get hurt, if our people get prevented from reaching the voting points." In such a case, the DTA would protest, and would "demand the election be stopped immediately".

● Namibians do it their way — Page 19.

Irishman charged with murder of Lubowski

By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Irishman Mr Donald Acheson (52), who is being held in connection with the assassination of white Swapo activist Mr Anton Lubowski, was re-arrested by SWA Police yesterday, moments after the Supreme Court in Windhoek ordered his release.

The court ordered his release just after 10 am, after hearing that he had been held since his arrest on September 13 on immigration charges.

However, police immediately re-arrested him and took him across to cells at the adjacent Magistrate's Court building, where he appeared later on a formal charge of murder.

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new information with which to charge him with the murder of Mr Lubowski.

Mr Acheson has denied any involvement in the killing, and said in an affidavit before the court that he was in Namibia looking around for a job as a journalist or cartoonist when he was arrested.

It was reported in Windhoek newspapers shortly after Mr Acheson's arrest that the police did not have sufficient evidence to charge him with the Lubowski murder.

One report said Mr Acheson had been interrogated by detectives of the SAP's Brixton murder and robbery squad in Johannesburg in the presence of representatives of America's Federal Bureau of Investigation and Central Intelligence Agency.

DOCUMENTS

Court documents said Mr Acheson was Irish-born and had lived in South Africa for the past eight years, having been in Zimbabwe for the seven years before that.

The documents said that, although he had not taken out permanent residence in South Africa, he had successfully renewed his temporary work and residence permit shortly before coming to Namibia, which was five weeks before his arrest.

The hearing has been postponed to December 6.

Fake radio messages

raised at meeting

State President Mr F W de Klerk said yesterday the question of the radio messages intercepted in Namibia last week was discussed at yesterday's State Security Council meeting and was receiving his attention.

He would refrain from making a statement at this stage.

The successful completion of the Namibian election should take preference, he said. The election should go ahead without disturbance. — Sapa.

DTA plane forced to land by gunfire

B. Say 7/1/89
WINDHOEK — A DTA aircraft was forced to make an emergency landing yesterday after a volley of gunfire apparently set it alight.

The aircraft was circling Kavango, broadcasting last-minute political messages before today's scheduled independence elections.

A DTA source said a group of unidentified gunmen fired at the aircraft. A part of the tail section was believed to have caught fire, but the two occupants escaped unhurt at the landing site near remote Andara in northern Namibia.

An official source at Rundu — the administrative centre of Kavango — confirmed the incident.

He said police were guarding the aircraft pending an investigation.

It was not known whether the gunfire had come from the Namibian side of the border with Angola or the other side — territory controlled by Unita.

DTA secretary-general Johan de Waal said he could not confirm that shots had been fired at the aircraft. — Sapa.

● See Page 5

NAMIBIAN BREADS

Save an 7/11/89

Long awaited polls begin today



MORE than 701000 Namibians go to the polls from today to determine the sovereign constitutional future of the territory.

Based on universal adult suffrage, Namibia's elections will run until Saturday supervised by the United Nations and observed by a large number of foreign diplomatic missions.

They are the Organisation for African Unity, the African Frontline states and the Non-Aligned Movement. Officials, nominated by South Africa's Administrator-General

● To page 2

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



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P.T.O



Britain's Lord Soames... enjoyed absolute power while effectively the colonial governor of Rhodesia during the country's transition to independence.

Uhuru

WINDHOEK — If all goes according to plan, Namibia could attain its official independence in April next year, a decade after Zimbabwe achieved its uhuru.

There are strong similarities between the two situations — but also major differences.

The biggest of these is that whereas the Zimbabwe-Rhodesian parties went into the election with a constitution already written at the Lancaster House conference — and resented by some — the Namibians will write their own constitution in an assembly chosen in the election.

In Zimbabwe's case, its own colonial power, Britain, drew up the Lancaster House proposals which provided for a ceasefire, a return of refugees and guerrillas, and an election for a 100-seat National Assembly.

The British were also involved, as a member of the Western Five Contact Group, in the efforts in the late 1970s to draw up a peace plan for Namibia. The proposals were finally embodied in UN Security Council Resolution 435. This provided for a ceasefire, withdrawal of South African troops, return of exiles and a majority-rule election for a Constituent Assembly to draw up independent Namibia's first constitution.

In both cases, outside pressure and negotiation implemented the peace

and independence process which would see black majority rule after decades of colonial administration.

And in both cases provision was made for supervision and monitoring of the process to ensure an end product which was a fair reflection of the will of the people.

In Zimbabwe, Commonwealth Monitoring Force troops, election supervisors and even British bobbies came to oversee the peace process and the polls of February 1980.

In Namibia, the 4 600-strong peace-keeping force of the UN's Transition Assistance Group is there to help maintain the ceasefire while police monitors (originally 500, now 1 500) keep an eye on the SWA Police.

Constant monitoring

Britain's Lord Soames was effectively the colonial governor of Rhodesia during the transition — a position somewhat similar to that occupied in Windhoek by the South African Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar. Except that Mr Pienaar has nothing like the absolute power enjoyed by Lord Soames and is under constant monitoring by UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari.

Mr Ahtisaari will also have the same task as Britain's representative in Rhodesia in certifying that the

There are strong similarities between the Namibian election and the one in Zimbabwe a decade ago — but also some differences, reports BRENDAN SEERY of The Star's Africa News Service.

elections were free and fair.

One of the biggest differences between the two sagas is in the election process itself. While both Zimbabwe's National Assembly and Namibia's Constituent Assembly are selected by proportional representation in a party-list system, the polls in Namibia will certainly be more complex and far more regimented and controlled than they were in Zimbabwe.

In Zimbabwe, there was no registration of voters and most residents in the country over the age of 18 were allowed to cast votes.

In Namibia, the 700 000 eligible voters were registered in a painstaking process over a period of six weeks and issued with registration cards.

When voting starts today (to run for five days — similar to the time allowed in Rhodesia) Namibia's electors will have to produce not only their registration cards but also proof of identity before being allowed into the voting booth.

There is also a complex system of double-checking voter identities

the Namibians do it their way

(through fingerprint and handwriting analysis) during the counting phase to ensure there has been no fraud.

Zimbabwe's voters merely queued at polling stations, went through a check to ensure they had not already voted and then cast their ballots.

The procedure for preventing multiple voting will be the same in Namibia as it was in Zimbabwe: as they leave the polling station, voters will have their fingers smeared with an invisible and indelible ink which election authorities claim will remain indelible for the length of the election.

Before casting their ballots, voters will have to put their hands into an ultra-violet light box which will show up the ink if it is present.

Triumphant

There has so far been no challenge to the procedure in Namibia similar to the one made in Zimbabwe, with comical overtones. After rumours spread that the ink could be removed with Coca-Cola, the election authorities staged a public demonstration in a hotel ballroom to prove that it could not. Surrounded by journalists and TV cameras, an official solemnly washed his pre-linked hands in Coke and then thrust them, triumphantly glowing, into the light box.

Ballot papers for both elections are similar, with the parties being identified by symbols as well as names for the benefit of the illiterate.

Whereas the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia poll was contested by four parties, in Namibia there are 10. Swapo and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance are expected to take most of the votes.

UN election observers have described the Namibia poll as one of the most stringently monitored the world has seen — something certainly not true of Zimbabwe's.

In Namibia, despite the incursion of April 1 when 300 Swapo insurgents were killed in clashes in northern Namibia, the possibility of armed conflict appears less than it did in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, where at least three armies faced each other. The guerrillas there were not disarmed in their assembly points and were under only rudimentary guard.

Most of Swapo's fighters have, according to the organisation, already returned home unarmed and as returning refugees.

The Constituent Assembly will have to approve a constitution for an independent Namibia with a two-thirds majority. Under an agreement between Western powers, South Africa and Swapo reached in 1982, the new constitution is expected to include the principles of regular elections and a bill of rights.

Thousands stream to Namibian polls

(221) Star 7/11/89

Windhoek

Thousands of Namibians began streaming to polling stations throughout the country just after dawn today as the long-awaited UN-monitored Resolution 435 independence elections got under way.

There was still widespread confusion among voters because of the late announcement of the locations of the 340 permanent and mobile polling stations, but reports said lines were already forming at many rural booths.

In the Caprivi, many people spent the night at stations to be at the front of the queue when the doors officially opened at 7 am.

Tension increased today as a result of an incident in Kavango yesterday in which unidentified gunmen shot at a Democratic Turnhalle Alliance aircraft yesterday.

The aircraft, broadcasting DTA messages, made a crash landing at Andara in northern Owambo after being shot at with small arms in Kavango, DTA sources said in Windhoek.

A section of the aircraft caught fire when it struck the ground. The SWABC reported that the two occupants were hurt in the landing and were treated at the hospital at Andara on the Kavango River before being discharged.

Reports from around the country today suggested that the voting atmosphere was calm but tense.

Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma and other top party officials opened polling at the Katutura community centre outside Windhoek as thousands of Namibians swamped three polling stations in the township.

"Today, we are finally burying apartheid colonialism," Mr Nujoma said.

Wearing a dark pin-striped, double-breasted suit, the Swapo

The Star's Africa News Service

leader raised a clenched fist at the crowd which stretched for more than 2 km along the perimeter of the polling station.

Asked what he felt about the armed struggle now that polling was under way, the Swapo leader replied: "The colonialists imposed the war on us."

"When we used the barrel of the gun, it was to facilitate the end, which was the ballot box."

In an eve-of-election interview broadcast in London Mr Nujoma said a Swapo government "is certainly not going to be liked by South African whites".

UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar expressed concern in remarks to the UN Security Council that violence could mar the elections because an estimated 10 percent of the population, including many whites had armed themselves.

"While, at this time, there have been marked improvements in the security situation on the eve of the election, I remain vigilant to the possibility of a deterioration in the field of law and order."

"In Namibia about 120 000 licences for weapons have been issued to civilians. The number of unlicensed weapons, from whatever sources, can only be a matter for conjecture," Dr Perez de Cuellar said.

'Vicious agents'

Swapo and the DTA have raised doubts about whether they will accept the results of the election if they are not to their liking.

In a TV programme last night, all 10 parties answered a number of questions, including one about their reaction to the result of the election.

Swapo's secretary of foreign affairs, Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab, implied the organisation would accept the result, provided that result was a Swapo victory.

He said the conditions for free and fair elections remained "fragile", and accused the DTA and "other vicious agents of the colonial order" of constantly undermining them.

He said that, as far as Swapo was concerned, if the elections were "free and fair", Swapo would emerge victorious.

DTA spokesman Mr Katutire Kaura said his organisation regarded the process "so far" as free and fair. The next five days would be critical.

He cited possible problems as intimidation or "if our people get hurt, if our people get prevented from reaching the voting points". In such a case, the DTA would protest, and would "demand the election be stopped immediately".

● Namblans do it their way — Page 19.



Murder suspect ... Mr Donald Acheson (centre), the 52-year-old Irish national held in connection with the assassination of Swapo lawyer Mr Anton Lubowski. He was arrested yesterday and will appear on December 6.

Irishman charged with murder of Lubowski

By Brendan Seery, The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Irishman Mr Donald Acheson (52), who is being held in connection with the assassination of white Swapo activist Mr Anton Lubowski, was re-arrested by SWA Police yesterday, moments after the Supreme Court in Windhoek ordered his release.

The court ordered his release just after 10 am, after hearing that he had been held since his arrest on September 13 on immigration charges.

However, police immediately re-arrested him and took him across to cells at the adjacent Magistrate's Court building, where he appeared later on a formal charge of murder.

Police did not oppose the application to the Supreme Court for Mr Acheson's release, but indicated they now had

new information with which to charge him with the murder of Mr Lubowski.

Mr Acheson has denied any involvement in the killing, and said in an affidavit before the court that he was in Namibia looking around for a job as a journalist or cartoonist when he was arrested.

It was reported in Windhoek newspapers shortly after Mr Acheson's arrest that the police did not have sufficient evidence to charge him with the Lubowski murder.

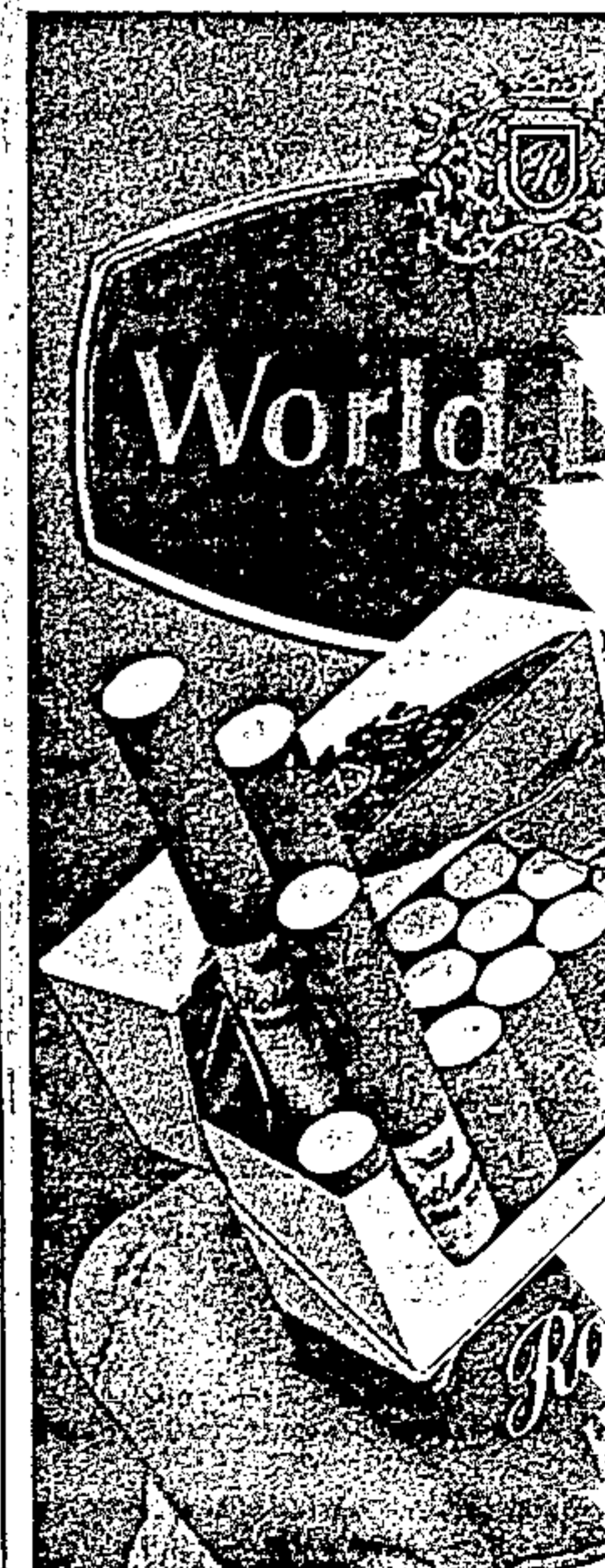
One report said Mr Acheson had been interrogated by detectives of the SAP's Brixton murder and robbery squad in Johannesburg in the presence of representatives of America's Federal Bureau of Investigation and Central Intelligence Agency.

DOCUMENTS

Court documents said Mr Acheson was Irish-born and had lived in South Africa for the past eight years, having been in Zimbabwe for the seven years before that.

The documents said that, although he had not taken out permanent residence in South Africa, he had successfully renewed his temporary work and residence permit shortly before coming to Namibia, which was five weeks before his arrest.

The hearing has been postponed to December 6.



ANC leaders not aware of invitation

By Jovial Rantao

Some of the recently released ANC leaders today said they were not aware of an invitation extended to them to attend a conference on South Africa in Paris in three weeks time.

Reports from London have it that Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Oscar Mphahlele and Mr Wilton Mkwayi have been invited, together with Archbishop Desmond Tutu, by organisers of the conference, the Danielle Mitterand Foundation.

Speaking from his home in Orlando West, Mr Sisulu said he was unaware of any invitation to attend the conference, but said he could not state categorically that he had not received one.

"I have had so much correspondence and I am still sifting through it all, so I don't know whether or not I have been invited."

Mr Sisulu said he did not have a passport yet, but his lawyer was attending to it.

Mr Kathrada and Mr Motsoaledi told The Star they were also not aware of the invitation.

Mr Kathrada said he had not yet applied for a passport.

Namibia needs govt that can heal deep wounds

By THE ECONOMIST NEWS SERVICE

The best foreign aid for independent Namibia will come with strings attached for the promotion of democracy.

LONDON — If new African countries learnt from the independence experiences of older ones, the outlook for Namibia would be bright.

Like Botswana, the prosperous democracy next door, Namibia has only 1.5 million people — and a wealth of minerals.

The South-West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo), which is almost certain to win the election that begins today, says it wants democracy, human rights and a mixed economy.

South Africa says its last troops (which have occupied the country illegally since the United Nations withdrew its mandate in 1966) will go once the election is over, and thereafter leave Namibia to work out its destiny.

Unfortunately, Namibia's path to independence is unlikely to be as smooth as all these promises imply. Under the invigilation of the United Nations, the election will probably deliver a fair result. The serious trouble will come later.

After two decades of civil war, Namibia needs a government that can heal deep wounds and win the confidence of a dozen black, brown and white tribes. These are tasks for which Swapo, which is likely to gather up at least half the votes in this week's election, is singularly unprepared.

In 1982, all of Namibia's parties committed themselves to regular elections, the separation of powers and a Bill of Rights that protects private property and freedom of speech. Swapo has reaffirmed these beliefs in its election manifesto. So the constituent assembly, which will draw up a constitution after the election, should write a respectable doc-

ument. Unfortunately, it may not be worth the paper it is printed on.

Swapo has become synonymous with independence in the eyes of many Namibians. It should also have become synonymous with bumbledom and brutality. Last April, under cover of the United Nations transition plan, it launched a foolish invasion of northern Namibia which nearly persuaded South Africa to stay on. Swapo's leaders have shown no interest, on their return from exile, in building bridges to other parties at home.

Bright side

Most ominously, Swapo has a grisly record of torturing hundreds of its own members in Angola, most of them non-Owambos. This can only reinforce fears that the Owambo-dominated movement will put its own tribesmen first in the post-independence division of spoils.

The bright side is that in one respect Swapo does seem to have learnt from Africa's decolonisation history. It has taken every opportunity to persuade Namibia's 70 000 whites to stay, keeping their skills and capital in the country.

Its manifesto promises that there will be no wholesale nationalisation of big mining companies and productive white farms. After the election, a Swapo-dominated government may well invite a few whites into its Cabinet, as Mr Robert Mugabe did in similar circumstances in Zimbabwe. It is this economic realism which should encourage outside powers to help secure a decent future for Namibia.

Some of them will certainly give it a try. Now that Zimbabwe has become old news, the international aid caravan is preparing to trundle westwards. Namibia is not the most deserving aid case in southern Africa. It is richer, by income per head, than many near-neighbours, even though the 70 000 whites hold a starkly disproportionate share of the wealth.

With independence, the country will lose the \$120 million (R312 million) that South Africa has contributed to its budget each year, but it has export revenues of more than \$1 billion (R2.6 billion) a year and a foreign debt of only \$260 million (R676 million). The country's hard-currency earnings will depend less on aid than on the price it gets for

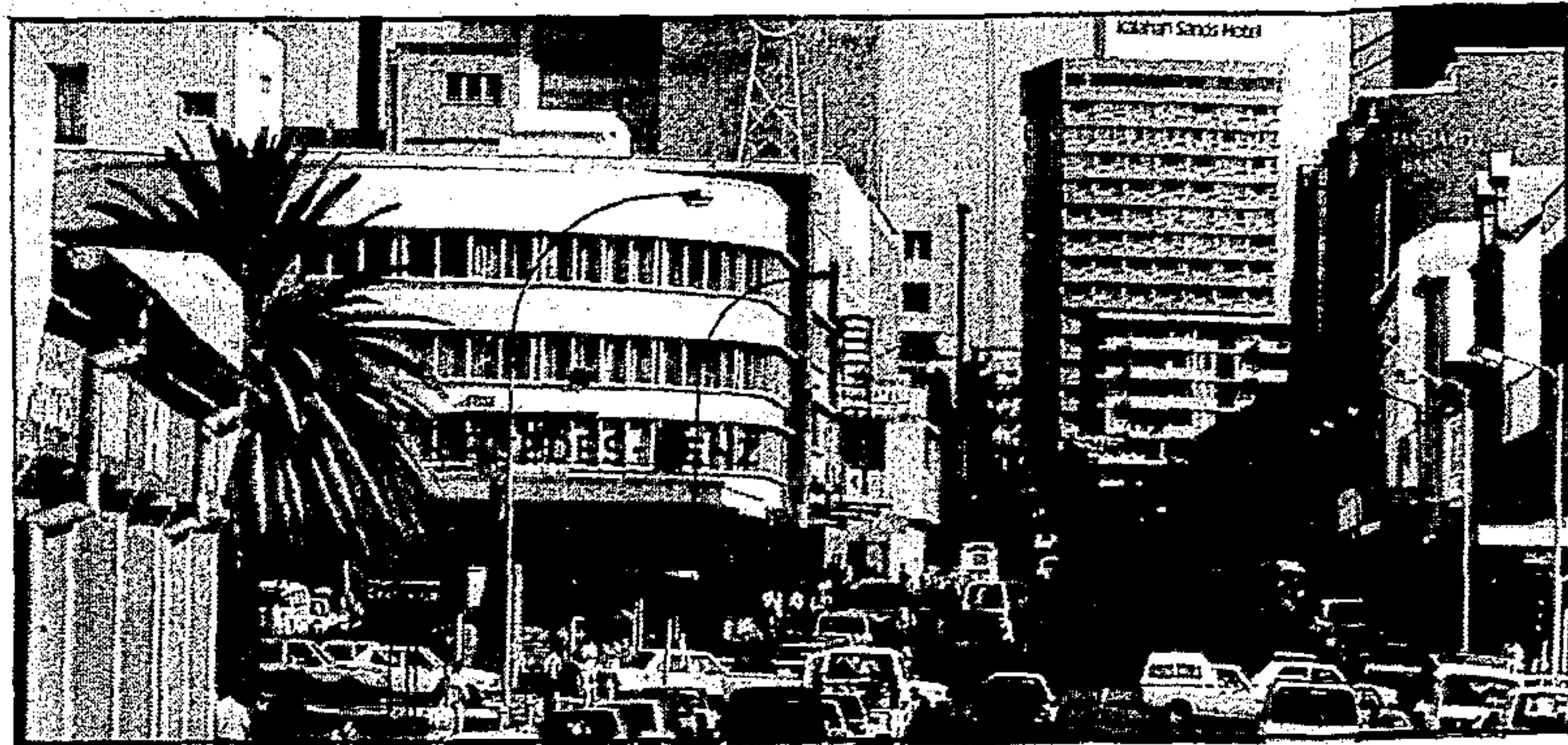
its exports of uranium and diamonds.

It does not need foreign billions to squander on sports stadiums and conference centres, but modest help to increase its stock of trained managers, administrators, teachers and farmers.

Nonetheless, as Africa's newest nation, Namibia is likely to get large stacks of aid. Those giving it should make it clear that their help depends on Swapo delivering a multiparty, non-tribal democracy. This is not just because democracy is a good in its own right.

Namibians need to remember why South Africa is leaving: not because Swapo pushed it out, but in a big-power deal involving America, the Soviet Union and the Cubans in Angola. In previous African decolonisations, the colonial power withdrew across oceans to distant European lands. The South Africans will be staying on just beyond the frontier.

If regional calculations change, they can easily march back in again. The best way to prevent this is to turn Namibia into a democracy the West will feel proud to protect.



The bustle of modern Windhoek, Namibia, where polling opens today for the first independent government.

Business day
14/11/89
Namibia set
to enter the
gold ranks

WINDHOEK — Namibia enters the ranks of the world's gold producers when the first gold is poured at Navachab gold mine towards the end of the month.

CDM (Pty) Ltd spokesman Clive Cowley told Sapa yesterday that plant at the mine was already operating "but at various levels of efficiency".

It was expected initial problems would soon be resolved, he said.

Navachab in central Namibia is a capital-intensive but low-cost open-cast mine with an expected yield of 2,22g of gold per ton of ore milled.

Annual production is estimated at 1 900kg of gold.

Cowley said the life of the mine at this stage was thought to be about 13 years, but further exploration was being carried out.

Metal Mining Corporation of Canada (a subsidiary of West Germany's Metallgesellschaft) holds 20% of the shares in Navachab and Rand Mines 10%.

Erongo Mining and Exploration Ltd holds the remaining 70%.

Anglo American controls Erongo with two-thirds of the shareholding, and CDM the rest. — Sapa.

Hoax: Gag on army

Cape Times 7/11/89 221

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

AS the crisis over the bogus Untag signals debacle deepened yesterday, a gag order was slapped on officials in General Magnus Malan's defence department after a meeting of the State Security Council to discuss the matter.

It is reliably understood that a statement aimed at defusing the crisis and throwing some light on the growing number of unanswered questions and contradictions emerging from the affair was prepared after the top-level meeting in Pretoria.

- Nujoma offers hand of moderation to SA,
- SA will accept results of poll — FW,

See PAGE 2

But President F W de Klerk has apparently chosen to sweep the problems under the carpet — for the time being at least.

Instead he issued an appeal to Namibians on the eve of their election to put "the strife and bitterness, and the distrust and misunderstandings of the past" behind them.

However, government officials acknowledged that the international furore that followed Mr Pik Botha being duped into believing that Swapo forces and tanks were about to invade Namibia would not be resolved by an ostrich approach to the problem.

"The crisis is simply not going to die until the blame is put on someone," one government source

Army starts probe

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The SADF yesterday began investigating the sources of fake Untag messages claiming a Swapo build-up on the Namibian/Angolan border as government drew a veil of silence over the entire incident.

A senior foreign affairs official said the task of identifying the culprits would fall to the military, as foreign affairs had

no resources to launch an investigation of its own.

It is understood that the military is standing by its claims that the messages were real — despite not being able to establish the veracity of these claims.

Foreign affairs officials say they do not doubt the integrity of SADF chief General Jannie Gel-

To page 2

said yesterday.

Fears were also expressed that the damage the hugely embarrassing affair has done to South Africa's international credibility could jeopardise future diplomatic initiatives.

"We have worked very hard on the Namibian issue and have received a lot of appreciation for our role internationally," one official noted. "Now all of a sudden we have to start from scratch and try to rebuild our credibility, which won't simply come back easily."

The way in which elements of the military, either wittingly or unwittingly, allowed Mr Botha to be taken for a ride and then be lumped with most of the blame, has also heightened tensions within the government.

Mr Botha, who is said to be "fuming", has openly told journalists: "I do not blame anyone who wants to investigate this further."

Hard questions are being asked about why the bogus messages, intercepted by the military during the last week of October, were not properly checked

To page 2

P.T.O.

SA will accept result — FW

Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA would accept the results of a free and fair election in Namibia and stood ready to play a constructive role in the future of a "new, independent Namibia", said the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, yesterday.

In a conciliatory message on the eve of the territory's elections, he told Namibians that "strife and bitterness and the distrust and misunderstandings of the past must be put behind us".

The message made no direct reference to the botched Untag message row.

Indeed, Mr De Klerk implied that SA would want cordial relations with Namibia even if Swapo — whom his government last week charged with planning to scupper the elections — should emerge the clear victor.

'Reach out'

Speaking in Pretoria, he said it was in the interest of "the whole Southern African region that all and everybody, in the spirit of co-operation and neighbourliness, should reach out to each other".

"The states of Southern Africa need one another and South Africa stands ready to play a constructive role in this regard."

Mr De Klerk said: "The international dispute concerning SWA/Namibia must now finally be ended."

Nujoma offers moderation

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — On the eve of Namibia's historic vote for sovereignty, Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma — probable first president of the independent nation — offered a hand of moderation to departing South African rulers.

Mr Nujoma also pledged to respect the United Nations endorsement of a five-day election that begins today, no matter the result.

In Windhoek, poll managers belatedly completed a list of 360 voting stations across the territory and broadcast the details nationwide on radio programmes aired in several ethnic languages.

Political party work teams freshened wind-ripped election posters and added to slogans and emblems papered across the capital. At dusk yesterday election exuberance was marked with sporadic firecracker blasts from passing cars.

Swapo's 60-year-old president, confident that his party will win the poll behind the flag of its free-

Pledge to respect election results

dom-fighter image, prepared to cast the first vote in Katutura township when polls open at 7am.

"South Africa is our neighbour in the south," Mr Nujoma told reporters at his Katutura home after meeting black South Africans who drove a convoy of Cosatu-sponsored minibus taxis to Windhoek to aid Swapo's vote-catching drive among the territory's 700 000 registered voters.

"Our policy is to leave the sad history behind and to try to adopt a much more flexible policy towards our neighbours, including South Africa."

Mr Nujoma's moderate remarks and refusal to be

drawn into harsher criticism Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and the Swapo leader had "a bygone" in a 90-minute meeting Saturday night.

In line with Untag officials agreed yesterday that they had a week's off-target charges by was planning disrupting inc

"We must start afresh, for working together for unity, our children in this country."

Addressing a question that parties, Mr Nujoma said Swa fication of the election res Martti Ahtisaari even if it expectations.

"If the election will be fr accept the result," he said participating. We will have the Namibian people."

From page 1

Gag on army

out before being dramatically proffered as genuine.

Foreign affairs officials, who are insistent that the military brass owe it to the country to establish who was behind the phoney messages, say that they no longer believe the content of the messages and have no evidence to continue believing they originated from Untag.

However, General Malan has not amended or withdrawn his assertion that the intercepted messages were genuine and that their revelation, in fact, prevented a Swapo invasion of Namibia.

UN military communications specialists have scoffed at suggestions that the SADF picked up hoax transmissions on genuine Untag radio frequencies, arguing that the highly trained Untag operators would have picked up such intrusions.

But the department of defence spokesman said yesterday that he stood by his earlier statement that some of the alarmist messages had in fact been logged by Untag and suggest that Untag was hiding such evidence.

Meanwhile, DP foreign affairs spokesman Mr Colin Eglin said last night: "The debacle over the false intercepted messages will come like manna from heaven for those people overseas who do not accept the bona fides of the SA government."

From page 1

Army starts probe

denhuys, who provided the assurances that the messages were real. "His reputation is as much damaged by this as the ministers'."

Like Mr Botha, the official said, General Geldenhuys had no alternative but to accept the veracity of the intercepted messages when they were presented to him by people who insisted they were real.

"It's what happened along the long line between the people who picked up the signals on the ground and the General that needs to be established."

UN confirms Cuban withdrawal

LISBON. — United Nations verification mission officials have confirmed the withdrawal of all Cuban troops from positions in southern Angola below the 13th parallel in accordance with a regional peace agreement signed last December, the Angolan official news agency Angop reported yesterday.

Brazilian General Pericles Ferreira Gomes said at the weekend that he was satisfied with the withdrawal after inspecting former Cuban bases in Namibe, Huila and Cuando-Cubando provinces south of the parallel that

runs along Angola's central highlands, said Angop.

Last week General Gomes, who heads the UN monitoring mission, said half the 50 000 Cuban troops helping the Angolan government in a 14-year civil war against US-backed Unita rebels had left Angola slightly ahead of the schedule set by the December agreement signed by Cuba, Angola and South Africa.

All Cuban troops are due out by July 1, 1991. The Cuban pull-out began in January when the first 3 000 Cubans left Luanda. Sapa-AP



IN THE DOCK... Mr Donald Acheson, the Irishman arrested in connection with the killing of Swapo official Mr Anton Lubowski, was formally charged yesterday.

Lubowski accused

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — An Irish suspect held for the killing of Swapo official Mr Anton Lubowski yesterday faced a formal murder charge for the first time since being arrested more than 50 days ago.

The charge followed a day of court drama in which Mr Donald Acheson was ordered to be released — and was rearrested moments later.

But Mr Acheson's first appearance in a court since his arrest threw no light on Mr Lubowski's mysterious assassination, and defence attorneys said police still had no shred of evidence to tie the

52-year-old Irishman to the killing.

Mr Acheson was arrested in the Namibian capital on September 13, 24 hours after Mr Lubowski was gunned down by automatic fire outside his suburban Windhoek home.

Windhoek judge Mr Herman Hendler yesterday ordered police and government officials to free Mr Acheson, ruling that he had been irregularly detained under immigration law two days after his arrest because police had no evidence to uphold a murder charge.

State advocates opposed the

move, c tained n Withir. Court ru Colonel Acheson to the court, c mally : charge. Defen Oosthuiz magistr: police h the susp to polic cember asked to

DONT PAV

Celebrity denounces Swa

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Britain's most celebrated liberal commentator, Bernard Levin of The Times, yesterday denounced Swapo for abuses of human rights that ranked with Stalinist terror and nazi atrocities — and the world for turning a blind eye.

Levin, renowned for his devastating attacks on apartheid, said his great concern was that black tyranny in Namibia was being accepted "because it is black".

Levin said a parents committee trying to find the truth of what had happened to the fate of thousands who had not returned

from Swapo's torture camps, faced obstruction and hostility.

Writing in The Times, Levin commented scathingly: "Nothing, it seems, is to be allowed to diminish the rectitude and nobility of Swapo".

After detailed statements by victims of Swapo atrocities, who included Christians, Levin said it was clear UN personnel in Namibia behaved "as though they had been engaged to help" Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma's campaign.

He added: "Much worse has been the attitude of the Christian churches. Rightly condemning violations of human rights by

SA forces, Cour, particularly the lent on the atrc

Levin said if s expected oppo pressed within will be condon cause of the wh the black opp themselves.

"Nowhere ha which would p firm basis — e racist argumen because they a

221 3.5.89 7/11/89
Namibian body formed

NAMIBIA's first private sector trade organisation, the Namibian International Business Development Organisation (Nibdo), was established in Windhoek last week to promote international trade and business interests.

President of the Namibian Chamber of Commerce and chairman of the founders' meeting on Thursday, Des Matthews, said it was crucial at this stage of Namibia's move to independence that the fullest confidence was created in the business community. He said the new government, with a multitude of pressing priorities in the country's social and educational development, would hardly have time to devote to this.

Nibdo would work closely with other organisations in the Namibian business world and would not duplicate existing facilities. It would provide practical services geared towards generating export trade and a

ZILLA EFRAT

private-sector channel to direct foreign private investment.

The South African Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) said in a statement that it would mobilise SA private sector interests behind Nibdo and provide practical assistance to the new organisation.

A series of export programmes would start early in 1990 to enable Nibdo to stand on its own feet within a relatively short time.

Nibdo's projects would include the participation in foreign trade fairs, export skills training, export directories and access to foreign market intelligence, the statement said.

Ten major Namibian companies have already agreed to finance the establishment of Nibdo. Membership would be open to all companies committed to developing international business links.

Fully trained per-

Voting for independence continues at a brisk pace

WINDHOEK — Voting in Namibia's UN-supervised polls continued at a brisk pace yesterday after nearly 30% of voters had registered their votes on the first day (Tuesday) of the five-day polls ending on Saturday.

"It looks as though the tempo has been maintained fairly well," official spokesman David Venter told a media briefing yesterday.

According to official figures, 29.9% of the voters went to the polls on the first day in what diplomatic observers described as an unqualified success.

Figures for yesterday's voting are not expected to be available until long after the polls have closed at 7pm.

Election reports from remote polling stations are not received before the next day, but official sources said that if the voting pattern continued, close to 100% of Namibia's 701 000 voters should have been to the polls by Friday.

Voters queued in the blistering sun

outside polling stations where temperatures soared to 30°C.

Another official spokesman, Gerhard Roux, said that by late afternoon yesterday, no reports had been received of election violence.

Administrator-General Louis Pienaar commended voters for their "patience and enthusiasm" in the election.

UN spokesman Fred Eckhard said that in spite of long waits, voters displayed enthusiasm and determination to cast their ballots.

Pamphlets

The largest percentage poll on Tuesday was in eastern Caprivi where 55.9% of the registered voters had voted.

Reports had been received of smear pamphlets issued in the name of Swapo and both Pienaar and UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari had ordered a police investigation into the origin of the leaflets.

The pamphlets were apparently an

attempt to sow division in Swapo ranks by promising "Plan fighters from Ongandjera" (home of Swapo president Sam Nujoma) that they would enjoy compensation and privileges over other Swapo members.

Roux said Pienaar had also ordered an investigation into the placing of DTA political posters near polling stations.

In terms of election legislation, no political activity is allowed within a radius of 500m of polling booths.

Election stations are open from 7am to 7pm each day, but electoral officials are obliged to keep open polling booths if there are still voters waiting at the scheduled close.

Counting of votes for the 72-member Constituent Assembly is expected to begin next Monday and to be completed by Wednesday.

Results of voting in each of the 23 electoral districts will be announced as those results become known, with the key result of the Owambo region being expected last. — Sapa.



● Mudge... 'media have already decided'



● Nujoma... smear campaign in his region

Mudge: SA Press backs Swapo

WINDHOEK — DTA chairman Dirk Mudge has slammed what he termed the "favouring" of Swapo in the Namibia elections by the SA media.

"The amount of publicity the SA Press is giving to Swapo can only benefit the party in the elections," he said in a statement from Windhoek.

"(It would seem as if the SA government and the SA news media have already decided the election battle is over, even before any results are known," the statement said.

"Enough damage has been done by the statements and the point of view of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Pik Botha), as a result of which a spirit of pessimism and fear exists among certain sections of the population."

Mudge appealed for support for the principle of free and fair elections and called on SA to stop "meddling" in the

Namibian process, adding that this also applied to Cabinet ministers.

But Mudge also expressed optimism about the DTA's support, claiming up to 80% of the first day's votes in parts of Namibia.

He was particularly pleased about the DTA's performance in Caprivi, Kavango, Kaokaland and Hereroland, saying a spirit of victory prevailed in the DTA camp in the northern part of the territory, home to 60% of Namibian voters.

Mudge also alleged Swapo supporters had attempted to obtain a monopoly in Windhoek and Owambo, blocking polling stations by rejoining queues after casting their votes.

One of the booths affected was at Windhoek airport which was intended for people flying in to vote, he said. — Sapa.

Voters from afar crowd polling stations

SOUTH Africans registered to vote in the election in Namibia again crowded the polling stations at Ariamsvlei and Noordoewer yesterday, second day of the election.

Bus and carloads of voters arrived early and by 10am 600 people had voted at Ariamsvlei and 500 at Noordoewer.

On Tuesday 2 000 people voted at Ariamsvlei and 1 200 at Noordoewer.

Earlier news reports said the Legal Assistance Centre in Windhoek had claimed on Tuesday DTA supporters were forcing Angolans, sometimes at gunpoint, across the border to vote for the DTA. A UN spokesman said all registered voters could vote. — Sapa.

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AFRICA

Voting slows to trickle after hectic early run

WINDHOEK — Polling in Namibia slowed to a trickle yesterday, compared with the hectic voting of the first two days in which 52.6% of voters cast their ballots. On Tuesday and Wednesday, Namibians queued for several street blocks in Windhoek waiting to cast their votes.

However, queues did not build up outside polling stations in the city yesterday and new arrivals were helped within minutes.

The latest official statistics indicated 368 988 ordinary ballots were cast in the first two days of the five-day elections which were due to end on Saturday.

A further 39 546 tendered ballots were cast in the first two days of voting.

Tendered ballots are offered by people who arrive at polling stations without their voters' registration cards and identity documents, and their votes are subject to the central voters registry in Windhoek.

The key Owanbo election district registered the largest percentage of 64.5% after the first two days of voting.

With 246 272 registered, Owanbo is the largest voting district in the country.

Namibia where the total number of voters is just more than 701 000.

Results for the election of a 72-member Constituent Assembly are expected to be announced from next Monday when counting begins in the 23 election districts.

Owanbo's results are expected to be made available last by next Wednesday.

There are 10 political parties contesting the elections, but the main rivals are Swapo and the DTA.

Meanwhile, UN forces in Namibia are reported to be stepping up patrols along the Angolan border after allegations that Angolans have been forced into the territory to vote.

Orderly

Increased patrols were ordered on the second day of the poll paving the way to independence for Africa's last colony after 74 years of SA rule.

Election officials said polling had been enthusiastic and orderly and they expected almost half the 700 000 eligible voters to have cast their ballots by Wednesday night.

Li-Gen Prem Chand, military commander of the peacekeeping UN tag, was investigating charges of voter fraud in northern regions heard by the UN Security Council.

Angola and had ordered increased patrols there, Untag spokesman Fred Eckhard told reporters.

But he added some people living in Angola were registered to vote in Namibia and they would be allowed to do so.

A liberal organisation, the Legal Assistance Centre, has accused the DTA of forcing Angolans to cross the frontier, sometimes at gunpoint, to vote for the party.

Former members of Koevoet and Unta rebels in Angola were also involved, it said.

The DTA has consistently denied the charges.

Election officials praised voters for queuing patiently in blazing summer heat at polling stations in dusty townships and desert outposts.

"Things could have got out of hand, but I admire these people for being calm in almost horrible conditions," said Untag monitor Dahlo Al-lan-Larry at Oshikuku in the north.

Swapo is the favourite to emerge the winner when the results are announced next week for the Constituent Assembly.

Swapo leader Sam Nujoma is expected to head Namibia's first post-independence government. — Sapa-Reuters.



Voters from the northern Namibian district of Oshivello wait patiently to cast their ballots in the elections. Picture: REUTERS

Police suspect abduction of journalist

WINDHOEK — Namibian police have gone to Oshikango on the border between Namibia and Angola to investigate the disappearance of Republikain journalist Martin Erastus.

Police spokesman Chief-Inspector Klerke du Rand said police suspected at this stage that Erastus had been abducted on Monday when he crossed

the border into Angola to interview a number of people.

Erastus's vehicle was found abandoned near Oshikango border post after his disappearance.

The Republikain is the party newspaper of the DTA.

The DTA is the main rival of Swapo contesting UN-supervised elections in Namibia. — Sapa.

Five judges rebuke Speaker

HARARE — Zimbabwe House of Assembly Speaker Didymus Mutasa has precipitated a full-scale confrontation with the judiciary by announcing he would ignore a Supreme Court judgment in favour of former Rhodesian PM Ian Smith.

The five Appeal judges yesterday issued an unprecedented joint statement rebuking Mutasa for displaying contempt for the rule of law.

Mutasa, who is also a leading member of President Robert Mugabe's Zanu (PF) Politburo, declared that "unless Parliament reverses the decision I will not pay him a cent" after Smith won a major constitutional test case.

A full bench of five appeal judges ruled unanimously on Monday that Smith's rights were violated when he was denied his R6 200 salary for a period of five months between his suspension from Par-

MICHAEL HARTNACK

liament and the abolition of his seat, by a constitutional amendment, five months later.

The judges protested that by claiming Parliament was not subject to the courts' rulings, Mutasa meant "Parliament can disregard the laws of the land and the courts of law can do nothing about it".

"The statement displays the contempt with which the Speaker holds the Supreme Court and his utter disregard for the rule of law," said the statement issued by Chief Justice Durnbushena in conjunction with Mr Justice Gubbay, Ghanalan-born Mr Justice Korsal, Mr Justice McNally, and Mr Justice Manyarara.

They said they would seek an "audience" with Mugabe as soon as he returned from Britain.

On the brink of power

PATRICK LAURENCE

A COMMON theme runs through the political oratory of the competing parties in Namibia's election: commitment to democracy.

But that is no guarantee that democracy will thrive, or even survive, in an independent Namibia after it takes its place in the community of sovereign states next year.

The future of democracy — in the elementary sense of the right to dissent underpinned by the associated freedoms of speech and assembly — depends in large measure on Swapo and perhaps particularly on its president, Mr Sam Nujoma.

As the strongest of the 10 competing parties, Swapo is poised to emerge as the dominant force in an independent Namibia.

The question is not whether Swapo will win an absolute majority; there is virtual unanimity among political analysts that it is assured of more than 50 per cent of the votes and hence — because of proportional representation — of more than half of the seats in the constituent assembly.

What is in doubt is whether Swapo will secure a two-thirds majority and thus have the right to write its own constitution for an independent Namibia without consultation and compromise with the rival parties.

Either way, Swapo, which spearheaded the armed struggle against colonial rule for nearly a quarter of a century, will be the ruling party in Namibia when the United Nations and the

If Swapo

rules, the

chances for

democracy

in Namibia

are not

auspicious

in the *The Independent* read:

"Torture under Freedom's Flag". Mr Nujoma was characterised as a "freedom fighter intent on tyranny" in *The Times* in London.

Sitting in a chair but still on edge, Mrs Ilona Amkutuwa told of her ordeal in a Swapo prison camp where she was detained for four months at Ninyva base near Lubango in Angola.

"They beat you with sticks," she said, her voice quivering a little. "They push cloth into your mouth so you can't scream. They only stop when you are unconscious. Then they start again."

Blood was drawn and wounds formed; paraffin and pepper were put into them to delay healing. Sometimes the sticks were heated on a fire before

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its list of 72 candidates for independence elections. Its upper ranks contain several people who are not Owambos.

Drawn from across the racial and ethnic spectrum, the list includes highly educated people, thus forcing, at the least, closer examination of charges of anti-intellectualism and its corollary that Swapo is controlled by poorly educated people.

The No 2 man on the list after Mr Nujoma is a Nama leader, the Rev Hendrik Witbock. Ninth position is occupied by Mr Theoben Gurtrab, a highly educated Damara. Then Mr Niko Bessinger, a coloured architect, is 12th on the list.

Dr Katjavivi, a Herero, is No 24. He is just ahead of Mr Daniel Botha, an Afrikaner theology lecturer at the University of Namibia, who is 26th. Occupying the 33rd rung is a German-speaking housewife, Mrs Michaela Huebache.

But for his assassination in September, Anton Lubowski, the first white to join Swapo, would have been high up on the list.

Seats are allocated in proportion to the percentage of the vote captured, and Swapo is assured of 50 per cent of the vote, so these people will take their seats in the new constituent assembly.

They reflect Swapo's determination to enter the new era as a supra-national force powered by intelligent, educated people.

Mr Botha, a young man who hopes through his action to show his co-Afrikaners the way, offers an interesting perspective on the detention camps. He does not deny that they ex-

South African Administrator-General leave next year.

The UN-supervised independence election, the first free and fair poll to be conducted in Namibia since Germany initiated more than a century of colonial rule in 1884, puts Namibia on the road to democracy.

Swapo's record, however, is hardly auspicious for its survival in Namibia.

During Swapo's long sojourn in exile, it dealt harshly, even brutally, with many of its own cadres, accusing them of being "spies" and throwing them into dungeons and pits.

The return of detainees from Swapo detention camps over the years, but particularly since July and August when international pressure secured the release of nearly 200 detainees, helped to expose the ugly face of Swapo which its admirers long refused to acknowledge.

Scores of detainees spoke of their experiences; they agreed willingly to be quoted by name, a rare decision given the certainty of Swapo rule after independence and their inside knowledge of its dislike of dissent.

They must have been strongly motivated to do so; anger at air incarceration and torture is one driving force, concern to secure the release of fellow detainees was another.

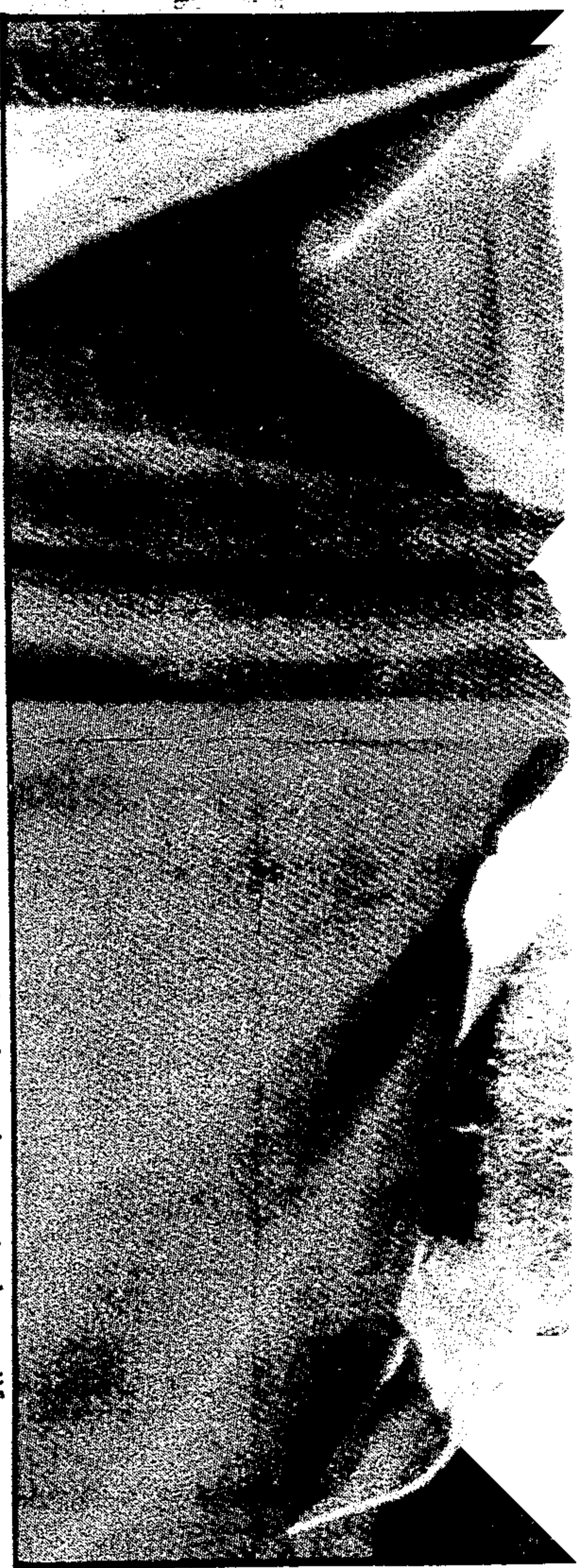
It led to a spate of hostile publicity for Swapo. A headline

they were used on the detainees. "Most of the time they are interrogating you they are drunk," Ms Amkutuwa recalled.

At first she was "stubborn", refusing to confess to being a South African spy. But then it became apparent that the beatings would continue until she did ... or until she was dead.

Judging from the accounts given by ex-detainees, including the chairman of the Parents' Committee, Mr Phil Ya Nangoloh, three factors converged to produce the detention camps: fear of spies, anti-intellectualism and Owambo chauvinism.

The attack by South African forces on a Swapo camp at Kasisinga in May 1978 fed a real — and justifiable — fear of enemy agents. More than 600 Namibians were killed in the raid, the bulk of them women and children, according to the Swapo historian, Dr Peter Kajaviivi.



HOSTILE PUBLICITY: Since his return from exile, Mr Sam Nujoma has been characterised as a "freedom fighter intent on tyranny" and Swapo has been exposed for "torture under freedom's flag".

younger members prompted an anti-intellectualism.

Mr Ya Nangoloh, a detainee from the 1970s, recalled in an interview: "They told new comers 'You won't get anywhere. We don't want intellectuals here. You have reached a dead end. Swapo is an organisation of the masses'."

The "intellectuals", he charged, were placed under guards recruited from contract labourers, who were not seen as a threat. These accusations have led to

Swapo being compared to Khmyer Rouge and Mr Nujoma to Pol Pot.

Many of the detainees released in July and August were not Owambos. It precipitated allegations that Swapo is primarily an Owambo-dominated movement, with an in-built bias against people who are not Owambos.

It started life in 1959 as the Ovamboland People's Organisation before calling itself the South West African People's Organisation or Swapo.

But its change of name did not neutralise perceptions of it as an Owambo organisation. Before his assassination in 1978, the Herero leader, Chief Clemens Kapuuo, said: "Swapo is an Owambo political organisation because about 90 percent of its members are Owambos."

Swapo, to recapitulate, is poised on the brink of power with a reputation for brutal suppression of dissent; its final push to power comes amid fears that its leadership is likely to revert in moments of stress to an underlying anti-intellectualism and tribalism.

But, of course, there is another, more hopeful side. Since his return after nearly 30 years in exile, Mr Nujoma has preached a message of reconciliation. It has gone some way to easing fears that he is a potential despot and neutralising the assessment that he is — in the words of a Western diplomat — "a dim Stalinist".

Mr Nujoma's reconciliation message was given concrete content when Swapo published

isted when Swapo was in exile; they have since been vacated, as the UN fact-finding mission found when it went to Angola in September.

But Mr Botha, a deeply religious man, insists that the full truth of the Swapo camps has not yet come out. Until then, he thinks it is better not to be too judgmental and imperative to see the camps in the broader context of the war in which violence was widespread and spying and counter-spying the order of the day.

But the people who have been on the receiving end of Swapo's security guards in the camps are less philosophical. Their deep, visceral fear is that the men who will exercise power after independence will not be its educated leadership but its security wing, led by the dreaded chief of security, Solomon Jesus Hawala, known as the "Butcher of Lubango".

They fear that democracy will be no safer in their hands than it was in those of the Gestapo. Many people share their anxiety. Mr Hawala was given a chilly reception when he was introduced to the crowd at Mr Nujoma's first major Swapo rally after his return from exile.

Mr Ya Nangoloh, who has spearheaded the drive to expose the detention camps, is taking no chances. "If Swapo wins, I will have to leave," he says.

MS 11/1/89

Voting machines

Argus

8/11/89

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WINDHOEK. — On the second day of elections in Namibia voters continued to arrive in large numbers at the polling stations where, during hectic voting yesterday, an estimated 20 percent of the electorate cast their ballot.

Hundreds of determined voters slept outside polling stations to be first in the queue today and in spite of sometimes chaotic scenes at polling stations and the blazing summer heat, Namibia's first election day seems to have gone off in a spirit of generosity and remarkably without incident.

ELECTION SNIPPETS

Pamphlet war hots up

OSHAKATI. — Pamphlets labelled "confidential" and purportedly edited by Mr Sam Nujoma were distributed around Ondangwa yesterday. The pamphlets promised voters in the Swapo leader's birthplace, Ongandjera, R6 000 "after the seizure of power by us." — Argus Africa News Service.

Foot-slogging and slogans

OSHAKATI. — Supporters of at least four parties scrawled their slogans across more than 200km of tarred road between Oshivelo and Ruacana as they made their way to polling stations. — Argus Africa News Service.

A chapter

At villages near Oshikango on the northern border voters showed more enthusiasm today than yesterday. Double queues formed even before polling stations opened and had lengthened by opening time at 7am.

Sources estimated that votes were coming in a 180 an hour. This was the sort of pressure officials expected today after the frantic pace of the first day at most polling stations throughout Namibia.

United Nations and South African administration electoral officials worked overtime last night to deal with crowds of potential voters after the official closing time of 7pm.

The office of Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar last night confirmed the over 20 percent poll so far.

Voters praised

High polling percentages were recorded at Okahandja (28 percent), Maltahöhe (27 percent) and the Caprivi (25 percent). The highest number of votes was polled in Kavango in northern Namibia (10 535 of

Of accidents

OSHAKATI. — The first day of polling was not without mishap: a mobile polling station lost its way in the Owambo bush and was directed by a helicopter, an election official was bitten by a snake and at one of the smaller stations voters had to leave by a window as the crush of people waiting to get in blocked the exit door. — Argus Africa News Service.

Injuries lead to safety steps

WINDHOEK. — Special measures have been taken to avoid elderly people being injured after a baby was killed and several people were injured at an Ohangwena polling station. At the Ongwa station two men wounded each other with pan-gas. — Sapa.

Nusas students take the gaps

NUSAS students from the Transvaal who are helping with the Namibian elections will not be able to write supplementary examinations, but a Wits SRC spokesman has said they are slotting their trips into gaps in their examination timetables. — Staff Reporter.

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Mr Pienaar's chief spokesman, Mr Gerhard Roux, said this morning that the Administrator-General was full of praise for the mature, patient way in which Namibians had gone to the polls.

Mr Roux acknowledged a number of "teething problems" during the first day and said voting hours would be extended each day to deal with the numbers.

The first day was not without tragedy.

In Owamboland a baby was killed when its mother lost her footing during a surge towards a polling station and three children were killed when the rifle grenade they were playing with exploded. The latter incident was not related to the election, spokesmen said.

In many areas throughout the country heat was the big problem, with voters becoming victims of sunstroke and dehydration.

United parties

However, reports were that the battle against the sun united people across party political lines with opponents generously sharing their umbrellas. Most observers have been struck by the patience and good humour in the long queues.

Even more remarkable, given that intimidation was one major problem expected in the run-up to the polls, has been its almost entire absence in the voting.

UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari has expressed concern that the media in Namibia failed to provide reasonably objective information to the public, according to a South African Democratic Party delegation in Namibia.

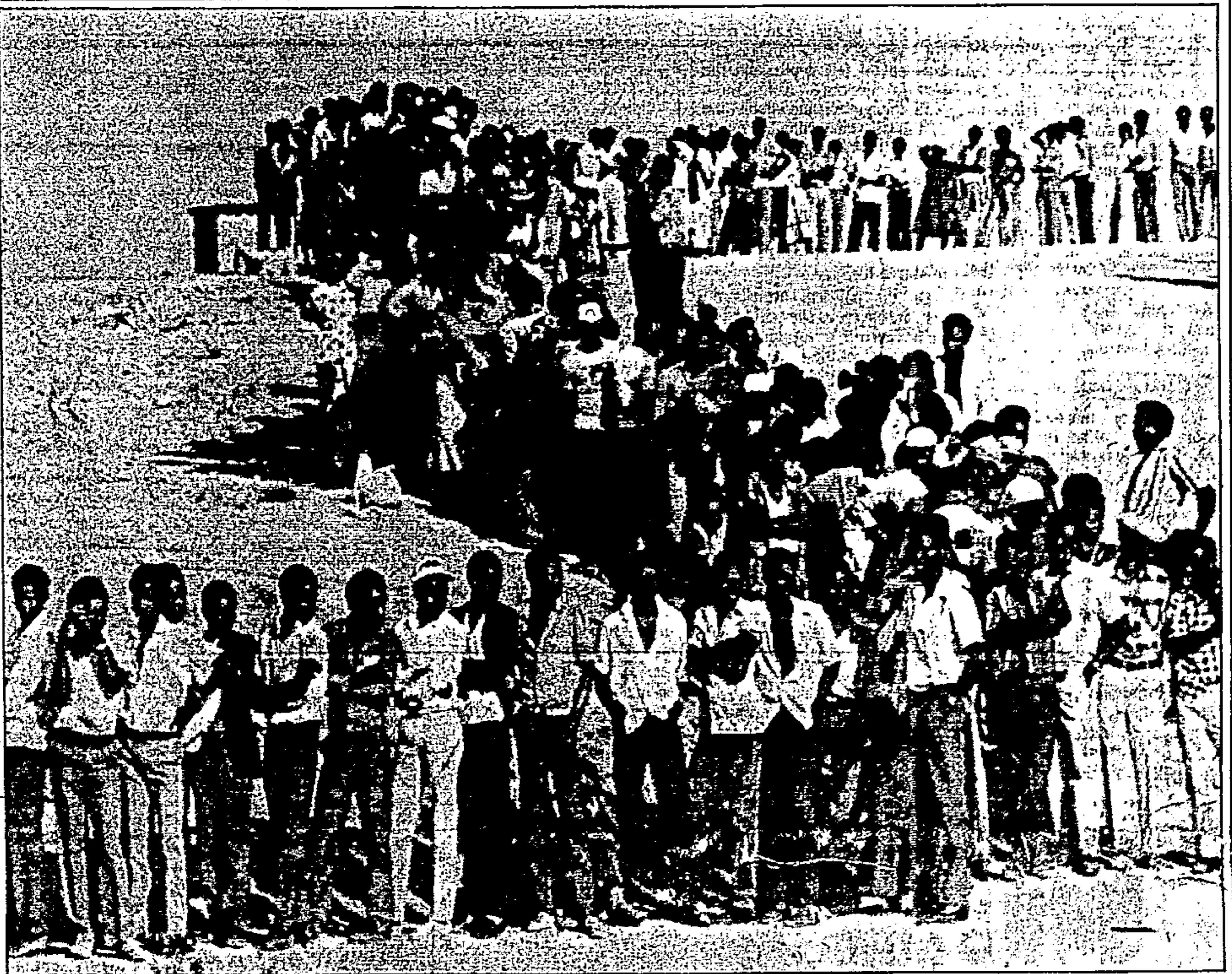
And in another attack on the media, Democratic Turnhalle Alliance chairman Mr Dirk Mudge yesterday slammed what he termed the "favouring" of Swapo by the South African media. — Argus Africa News Service and Sapa.

● Pictures - page 6.

oose new leaders

The talks have been requested by Mr Mandela, and are the first he is to hold with a PAC leader since Mr Masemola and seven other former security prisoners were released last month. "We do not know at present why Mr Mandela has requested the talks," sources said. — Pretoria Bureau.

Mad dogs, Englishmen and voters out in midday sun



Stretching for kilometres patient (and wilting) voters form long lines under the broiling sun in this township at Windhoek yesterday, waiting to make their crosses at the start of the five-day long Namibian independence elections.

Namibia polls flooded — 20 pc vote

The Star's Africa News Service WINDHOEK — Hundreds of determined Namibian voters slept outside polling stations last night, unwilling to surrender their places in the voting queues, after hectic voting saw about one-fifth of the electorate cast their ballots. Lines were already lengthening at many stations this morning, before doors officially opened at 7 am. Figures released by the Office of the Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar late last night showed that just over 20 percent of the total electorate had voted by late yesterday. However, figures from areas were still coming in. High polling percentages were recorded at Okahandja (just over

28 percent), Maltahöhe (27 percent) and the Caprivi (just over 25 percent). In the Rehoboth area, the percentage poll was a disappointing 12 percent, although officials were still waiting on returns from a number of polling booths. The chief spokesman for Mr Pienaar, Mr Gerhard Roux, told the SWABC today the Administrator-General was pleased with the way matters had gone so far, and that he was full of praise for the mature, patient way in which Namibians had gone to the polls. Mr Pienaar visited polling stations in the northern Namibian centres of Katima Mulilo, Rundu and Oshakati yesterday, and is expected to tour booths in Windhoek

today. The Chief Electoral Officer, Mr A G Visser, was also complimentary to Namibian voters, especially for their patience during the first day, when teething problems caused further delays to an already lengthy voting process. In Owambo, the district electoral officer, Mr Sakkie van der Merwe, said the administrative snags had meant that only 70 000 to 80 000 of about 250 000 registered voters could be handled on the first day. He said the snags had prevented a 50 percent voter turnout, but believed things would run more smoothly today, and the voting tempo would begin tapering off by tomorrow.

● See Page 19

Station goes astray, but helicopter saves day

OSHAKATI — The elections in Namibia may be a serious matter, but it has its lighter side, especially while the Administrator-General's officials and Untag try to deal with teething problems. At least one of the mobile polling stations got hopelessly lost in the Owambo bush, and had to be rescued by helicopter. An election official was bitten by a snake in the northern Owambo bush but was not badly hurt. At one of the smaller stations, the crowd outside was so huge that

voters could not leave through the door after casting their ballots. Untag officials eventually gave the go-ahead for a window at the back of the station to be opened. After that it was in the door and out through the window. And then there is the yet unsubstantiated account of a somewhat intoxicated voter who apparently used the ballot box to relieve himself. As political parties took to the road on the first day of the election yesterday, at least four

scrolled their slogans across the tarmac on the 200 km stretch from Oshivelo to Ruacana. The world's most closely watched election evoked feelings of happy expectations and excitement among the voters. Although the display of colours of parties contesting the elections cannot be displayed within half a kilometre of the polling stations, the colourful dress of some of the women made it clear which party they supported. — Sapa-The Star's Africa News Service.



GIVE YOUR SON OR DAUGHTER THE BEST SC

A young person's future depends on education and any weakness should not be neglected.

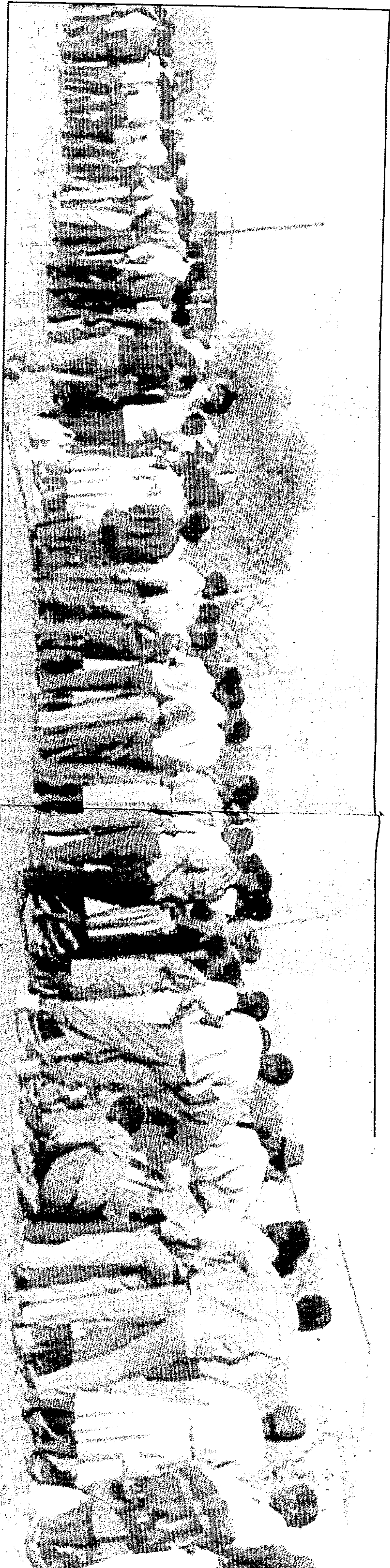
STUDYWELL COLLEGE W OR DAUGHTER THE ATTENTION HE OI

STUDYWELL COLLEGE of

- Top-rate teachers
- Individual attention in small classes
- Supervised homework
- Extra coaching at no extra charge
- Courses in study skills and confidence
- In short — we produce results

STUDY COLL

"All interviews without obligation"



Standing up to be counted . . . voters in Katutura township near Windhoek yesterday morning.

● Picture by Jacob Ryliff.

Namibia decides its destiny

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ABOVE: Swapo president Sam Nujoma salutes crowd of supporters as he enters a polling station outside Windhoek to cast his vote.



LEFT: Faces in the queue . . . old and young, black and white, Namibians line up outside a Windhoek polling station.



A long wait . . . traditional Herero women sit down in the long queue of voters waiting to cast ballots in the UN-monitored Resolution 435 independence elections. Yesterday was the first of days of voting.

Messages: Cabinet meets today

Political Correspondent
THE cabinet is expected to tackle the bogus Untag messages row when it meets in Pretoria this morning.

It appears likely that official secrecy will continue till at least after the Namibian elections.

Inquiries to Foreign Affairs and Defence are being referred to the State President's office.

President FW de Klerk has indicated that he plans to withhold all comment for the time being.

The investigation into the false Untag radio messages continues, but officials would not say when this might be completed.

Foreign Affairs officials insist that not only the source of the messages be traced but that blame be put on members of the military who failed to check their authenticity before passing them to Mr Pik Botha.

Elements in the Defence Force hope to show that the messages reflected a real danger from Swapo — which would help exonerate those involved.

Namib poll stations extend voting hours

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From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — Electoral officials extended voting hours last night to cope with thousands of Namibians who swamped polling stations on a violence-free first day of the territory's historic independence election.

Voters queued before dawn and stood in kilometre-long lines under a sweltering sun as the UN's billion-rand mission to end colonialism in Africa approached its high point.

In the populous northern Ovambo region — home to half of the territory's 1.3-million population — the rush eased by late afternoon but lines still stretched far from polling booth entrances.

To ease the crush, officials at Engela in the north summoned headmen and church pastors to talk some voters into giving up the wait and returning today.

SA voters arrive

Officials said 1 000 people were queuing at Oshikuku when they opened the voting station yesterday morning.

Soon after the scheduled 7pm close, Untag deputy election overseer Mr John Lee Truman said some polling points were being kept open to clear a backup.

The first of a series of planned charter



SALUTE ... Swapo's president Mr Sam Nujoma salutes his supporters as he enters a polling station with his wife, Kovambo.

flights bringing registered voters from South Africa arrived at Windhoek Airport yesterday, and the 147 passengers found that even an airport polling point 50km from the capital was already crowded, delaying their turnout by several hours.

UN and administration officials declared themselves largely satisfied with the first day of nationwide voting, and said initial hiccups should be cleared up today.

Electoral managers also were confident that polling by up to 700 000 voters at 358 voting stations across the territory would

be completed within the five days ending at 7pm on Saturday.

Administration officials urged voters caught in queues to be patient.

"We appeal to voters to realise that this election is unique in that verification and monitoring is unrivalled anywhere in the world," government spokesman Mr Gerhard Roux said, and added that there had been no reports of "anything untoward" from any of the polling stations.

At the head of the queue at a Katutura township polling point was Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma, who told reporters after casting his vote: "Today we are finally burying apartheid colonialism."

Impressive response

Untag chief Mr Martti Ahtisaari criticised "disinformation" efforts by unidentified people who dumped forged Swapo pamphlets from a helicopter in Ovambo.

Touring Windhoek stations last night, he radioed to his headquarters that he was "impressed" by the voters' response.

Mr Roux said the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, was equally impressed with the first day.

Late yesterday officials sought to solve the problem of long queues, and Mr Roux said voters had to accept that "even with a vast number of officials and despite intensive training, one can expect teething troubles on the first day".

Untag missing detainees' probe to continue

Political Correspondent

UNTAG's investigation into missing Swapo detainees would continue for as long as even one person was not accounted for, UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari has told a Democratic Party delegation in Windhoek.

The DP group said yesterday that Mr Ahtisaari had told them the treatment received by detainees "emphasised the need for a democratic constitution in Namibia".

Mr Ahtisaari gave the delegation, led by Mr Tiaan van der Merwe, an up-to-date report on Untag's detainee investigation, and "he was clearly serious about this problem".

Mr Ahtisaari also expressed concern that the media in the territory "failed in their task to provide reasonably objective information to the public". This "could threaten the freedom of the press after the election".

Mr Ahtisaari said the most difficult problem had been to restore accepted standards of behaviour in the territory's police force. He blamed this on a "lack of control over a long period".

The delegation said it felt that "all three of these issues bear important lessons for SA".

During meetings with the Swapo, the DTA, the NPF and diplomatic representatives from West Germany and the Soviet Union, general satisfaction was expressed with election arrangements, the DP said.

The group visited polling stations in Windhoek and Katutura earlier yesterday and later departed for a tour of Kavango, Ovamboland and Kaokoland.

Security at polls

WINDHOEK — Special measures have been taken to avoid elderly people being injured during polling in eastern Ovambo, according to SWABC radio news. Sapa

Ultra-violet scanners, hands dipped in dye

By STEPHEN ROBINSON
of the Daily Telegraph

WARMBAD, Southern Namibia. — Safari-suited white farmers queued alongside traditionally dressed tribeswomen as Namibians flocked to the polls yesterday, the first day of this week's independence elections.

The territory was calm as polling began. The main problem facing United Nations election supervisors and the South African officials jointly running the polling station was the sheer mass of people, many of whom required on-the-spot instruction on how to cast a vote.

Some voters expressed their political preferences in an eccentric manner. In this tiny farming settlement of Warmbad on the border of the Kalahari Desert, UN officials were puzzled when a Nama tribeswoman dragged a chair into the wooden cubicle where the ballot paper is supposed to be marked in private.

The woman then climbed on to the chair and wrote the name of her chosen party on the wooden partition, before emerging triumphantly to drop her virgin ballot paper into the box under the watchful eye of a UN official.

A quick inspection of the booth showed that half-a-dozen Namas had wasted their votes by adopting the same procedure.

But in general, UN officials expressed satisfaction at the way voting was proceeding, although throughout southern Namibia long queues built up under the baking sun because there were insufficient electoral staff to check the voters' registration cards.

Local police maintained a token presence outside the polling station. There have been complaints of police intimidation of the local population during the election campaign, but they kept a distinctly low profile yesterday, and were watched throughout by special UN police monitors.

All voters must dip a hand in a special dye as they vote. The dye can then be detected by ultra-violet scanners positioned at the entrance to each station, ensuring that no one can vote twice.

The 7 400 UN civilian and military personnel in the territory are charged with ensuring that voting is "free and fair". Some cynics believe these elections are the free-est Namibians have ever had, and the fairest they will ever get in the future, but the UN officials are working determinedly to make the process work.

Namibia is so large, and the distances between human settlements so great, that the UN is even providing the ultimate electoral service — votes on wheels. Where it is impossible for voters to reach their polling station in a town, the UN officials are going to them, with a number of four-wheel-drive mobile polling stations.

Usually these are set up on private white-owned farms for a few hours at a time, before they are moved on further into Namibia's endless hinterland.

Namibia's whites are distinctly nervous about moving out of 70 years of South African rule into a future under a black majority government. They are especially wary of Marxist-leaning Swapo, which is certain to emerge as the largest of the 10 parties.

Most whites have adopted a wait-and-see attitude, and few will admit they are preparing to flee the country for neighbouring South Africa.

"What can you do but wait for the black government and hope?" asked a white voter queuing outside the polling station at Karasburg, about 720km south of Windhoek.

"My family has been here for generations. This is my home — I have nowhere else to go."

SIEMENS

SPOT THE



Mrs Dukakis in hospital

BOSTON. — Mrs Kitty Dukakis, wife of Massachusetts governor and former Democratic presidential candidate Mr Michael Dukakis, whose election defeat last year turned her into an alcoholic, was taken to hospital on Monday night.

SARU, SARB to meet for unity talks

Staff Reporter

THE South African Rugby Union (SARU) and the SA Rugby Board (SARB) will meet in the near future to discuss forming one body after reconciliation moves petered out last year.

This is the first time that the South African Council on Sport (Sacos), which is affiliated to SARU, has indicated that it is prepared to discuss rugby with the SARB since the controversial and much-publicised meeting with SARB president Dr Danie Craven

Link in three gang strikes?

Crime Reporter

POLICE suspect that a single gang may be responsible for three separate township robberies early yesterday.

In the first robbery five men threatened Ms Ntombekaya Pitolo with a firearm in Guguletu and stole a TV set.

More than 50 percent poll as Namibia hits day 3

WINDHOEK. — Well over 50 percent of Namibia's 700 000 registered voters had cast their ballots by the end of the second day of the five-day pre-independence elections.

The electoral machinery was feeling the strain yesterday though with some polling stations forced to close early when they ran out of ballot papers and even ballot boxes.

Preliminary figures released by the office of Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar showed voter turnout in excess of 50 percent in many regions. In Windhoek, the figure was 50 percent, in Kavango 51 percent, while in Luderitz 66 percent of voters had cast their ballots.

OWAMBOLAND

In the Owambo area, incomplete initial figures showed that 45 percent of the 250 000 registered voters had been to polling stations by late yesterday.

Both the Administrator-General's Office and Untag said efforts were being made to redistribute ballot papers and ballot boxes to stations which had run out. The problem was particularly acute in Owamboland where voting pressure was still heavy yesterday.

In other areas, the voting pace had decreased markedly.

Officials from both the South African and United Nations sides have said it appears unlikely that voting will be extended for an extra day on Sunday.

Again, there have been few reports of incidents of intimidation or violence.

Both the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and Swapo — the main players in the election — claim to be sweeping the boards in both urban and rural areas.

Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma claimed in an interview that Swapo would win at least 85 percent of the vote.

Diplomatic observers and journalists feel that Swapo is easily on top at present, but there is still much disagreement about whether or not the organisation will gain the two-thirds majority it needs to dictate matters in the 72-seat Constituent Assembly.

Counting will begin on Monday and, all going well, the result could be out by late Tuesday or early Wednesday.

"VERY GOOD"

Asked if the election to date could be described as "free and fair", UN spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said: "The situation certainly looks very good."

● The chairman of the European Parliament's Commission for Co-operation and Development, Mr Henri Saby, who is in Namibia for the elections, will meet South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in Pretoria on Saturday.

"The transition of Namibia to independence and the changing situation in southern Africa generally, opens up a new scenario for economic and social development in the region," Mr Saby said. He did not expand on his meeting with Mr Botha.

● US President Mr George Bush named former Secretary of State Mr Edmund Muskie to head a US delegation to Namibia to observe the elections, it is reported from Washington.

● A journalist covering the election, Mr Martin Erastus, was today reported missing in Ovamboland after his abandoned vehicle was found near the Angolan border.

Mr Erastus is employed by the Republican, a DTA publication.

● White employers in the Mariental area are concerned that the enthusiasm shown by black workers at the polls, could be a measure of support for Swapo in the district.

Many believed that most blacks in the area would support the centrist DTA or ethnic parties but white bosses are increasingly suspicious that the some 50 000 Nama workers may have thrown their lot behind Swapo.

Said one farmer: "It's hard to blame them. They have almost nothing and Swapo is promising them houses and even farms. They do not realise that Swapo doesn't have the ability or the cash to fulfil these promises." — Argus Africa News Service, Sapa and Sapa-Reuter.

Riding to victory

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IN THE SADDLE: Swapo's president Sam Nujoma oozes the confidence of a winner astride a gift horse given to him by supporters at an election rally this week.
Election wrap-up — Pages 8 & 17

PICTURE BY RASHID LOMBARD

Very few reports of intimidation, violence

Ballot papers run out as voters flood polls

(32)

Ston 9/11/89

By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — With more than half of Namibia's voters casting ballots in the first two days of the election, many polling stations were swamped by a deluge of voters and some had to close early yesterday when they ran out of ballot papers and boxes.

Emergency arrangements were made to get supplies to these stations. Helicopters were used to reach isolated stations.

Despite these difficulties, well over half of the territory's 700 000 registered voters had cast their ballots when the polls closed yesterday. Voting opened on Tuesday and is due to end on Saturday.

Preliminary figures released by the office of Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar showed voter turnout in excess of 50 percent in many regions. In Windhoek, the figure was 50 percent, in Kavango 51 percent, while in Luderitz 66 percent of voters had cast their ballots.

In the Owambo area, initial figures showed that 45 percent of the 250 000 registered voters had been to polling stations by late yesterday.

It was reported by both the Administrator-General's office and Untag that efforts were being made to redistribute ballot papers and ballot boxes to stations which had run out.

The problem was particularly acute in Owambo where voting pressure was still heavy. In other areas, the flood of voters decreased. Officials from both South Africa and the UN said they

were happy with the tempo of voting and it appeared unlikely that voting would be extended for an extra day on Sunday.

There have been very few reports of incidents of intimidation or violence, although UN officials said they were still concerned that some parties were continuing to disobey the election ordinance by placing party and campaign materials within 500 m of polling stations.

Both the DTA and Swapo — the main players in the election — are claiming they are sweeping the boards in urban and rural areas. DTA leader Dirk Mudge said he had been impressed, after a tour of voting stations in the north and in Windhoek, by the level of support for the party.

Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma claimed in an interview that Swapo would win at least 85 percent of the vote.

Counting starts

Diplomatic observers and journalists feel that Swapo is easily on top at present, but there is still much disagreement about whether or not the organisation will gain the two-thirds majority it needs to dictate matters in the 72-seat Constituent Assembly.

Counting will start on Monday, and the result could be out by late Tuesday or early Wednesday, if all goes well.

The Constituent Assembly will sit a week after UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari certifies the election was free and fair.

Baby crushed in poll station crowd

Sowetan 9/11/89

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A baby was crushed to death and several people were injured in crowding at polling stations near Ohangwena in northern Namibia.

Special measures were instituted to avoid crowding in queues where many elderly people and

mothers with babies are waiting to cast their ballots.

In another incident two men were reportedly injured when they attacked each other with pangas near Ongha polling station.

Explosive

In northern Namibia a child was killed and another seriously injured when an unidentified explosive device detonated near Okankolo.

Police said it could have been yet another case of children falling victim to the many unexploded devices left in the region after the protracted bush war.

In another incident

three children, two boys aged nine and a girl of two, died instantaneously when an anti-tank grenade exploded at Okalongo in northern Namibia.

Police found two more anti-tank grenades near the scene of the blast where the children had been playing with one of the explosive devices. - Sapa.

By REHANA ROSSOUW
 OSHAKATI. — If Swapo sweeps the poll for a constituent assembly, it will be largely due to the enthusiasm of its supporters in marking their X's on ballot papers.

As the historic Namibian election got under way this week, polling stations throughout the territory were inundated with voters — most exercising a vote for the first time in their lives.

First in line at the Katatura polling station at the St Barnabas school on Tuesday morning was Karel Mbaha, 39.

He had left home at 4am and stood proudly at the gates with a Swapo flag in his hand. Shortly before the polling booth opened, the queue behind him had already stretched to about a kilometre.

Clutching his ID book, he strode confidently into the polling booth to cast his vote. He emerged grinning a few minutes later.

"That's the first vote for Swapo. I've done my duty for my country, now I can go home and sleep."

"I didn't sleep last night. I've been dreaming about this day for years," said Ms Cinthia Kashululu, 26.

An old man on crutches was brought to the front of the queue and given a chair near the entrance of the polling booth.

Across the street was a tent of Swapo's chief opponents in the elections, the South African-backed DTA, with a stage and musical instruments set up.

"We're not voting for discos, we're voting for freedom," a voter said.

A Swapo election officer said he had not slept the night before the start of the election.

At 4am on Tuesday morning teams

Birth of a nation

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of Swapo election officers went door-to-door in the township waking people.

"They didn't complain, they all got up and came here," he said.

Thousands of people seemed determined to vote on the first day, despite the fact that it was widely publicised that the election would last five days.

In the towns, villages and desert outposts, thousands of people waited patiently as queues shuffled slowly into polling stations.

Dressed in refined clothing and conspicuously not in party colours they are faced with making their crosses against the name of one of 10 parties contesting the election.

At stake are seats in a 72-member constituent assembly which will draw up a new constitution for Namibia.

There are 700 000 registered voters eligible to vote at 700 polling stations and all indications are that there will be a high percentage poll.

Tuesday seemed like a public holiday throughout Namibia. Voters had no intention of working and those who queued all day could not.

In the rural towns, most bottle stores and many shops were closed. For Swapo supporters, November 7 was independence day. They were finally given the opportunity to determine their own fate.

But the area where the election's significance was most obvious was in the north, around the town of Oshakati.

South Africa's military bases stood empty, or occupied by Untag personnel, while Swapo flags flew metres away.

Oshakati was the SADF launching pad in the bush war less than a year ago. The monuments remain — the airforce base at Ondangwa, the military hospital and the white housing settlement at Oshakati surrounded by barbed wire with sandbagged bomb shelters.

The contrast between the old order

and the ushering in of the new one is best represented by a Swapo flag flying a few metres from the legendary Koevoet base.

On Tuesday, removal vans rolled into Oshakati to transport belongings of SADF troops and their families back to South Africa.

Despite the raging war and experiences of oppression in the north, the territory is a Swapo stronghold.

On watchtowers where SADF troops once shot at anything that moved after curfew, Swapo flags were hoisted after April 1.

A solitary South African flag and two casspirs were the remaining symbols of the South Africa's occupation.

Untag soldiers from Australia, who were monitoring the elections from Buffels leased from the SADF and painted white, were greeted with friendly waves. As recently as April the vehicles were symbols of oppression.

At a small town called Engela a South African taxi driver, one of 375 who had come to Namibia to assist Swapo by driving voters to the polls, leant wearily against his minibus.

"It's been a long day, I've been on the road all day," said Mr Louis Komani, a South African Black Taxi Association (Sabta) member from Dobsonville.

"In some places there are no roads but we have pledged to help Swapo and maybe they'll come and help us one day."

At the end of the first day's voting, some polling stations turned away hundreds of people who had queued, some for more than 12 hours.

"Returnees"

At Oshikango, Nigerian Untag elections officers lit candles and continued the election until the last voter had dropped the ballot form in the box.

For the exiles, the vote held even deeper significance in the north. They stood in the queue, some with UN passports as the only form of identification.

Tepkla Shikola, 29, went to vote on Wednesday morning. She had left the country when she was 14 and was one of the first "returnees" back in Namibia.

On return to Ondangwa, she discovered for the first time that two of her brothers had also left the country. Fortunately, they had also returned.

A third brother who was nine-months-old when she left, was now a radiant youth of 13.

She was not a Plan fighter, but studied public administration in Hungary, Tanzania and Angola. Shikola is presently working with repatriots and detainees.

"I voted for Swapo, so they can decide when they become the government what my role will be."

At an Untag briefing on Wednesday morning an Untag official announced that more than 85 000 people voted in Ovambo on the first day.

"This represent more than one third of the registered voters and shows the polling has been a great success."

He said he had reported to the attorney-general's office in Windhoek that anti-Swapo activities were continuing in the north with fake pamphlets being



Pictures: Rashid Lombard

Waltzing to the polls:



First to vote: Karel Mbaha outside a polling station in Katatura



Voters everywhere: Outside the new Career Guidance Centre in Windhoek



Sam's ride to independence

South 9-15/11/89 (221)

From MONO BADELA and REHANA ROSSOUW KATATURA (Windhoek). — Sam Nujoma has emerged as Swapo's election trump card.

A widespread belief that he would harm Swapo's election chances by his lack of charisma and the missing detainee issue "hanging around his neck like an albatross", have proved unfounded.

A campaign-stomping Nujoma has been greeted by vast crowds at rallies held until last weekend in small and big towns stretching from the far north and the distant south of this arid territory.

And when he cast his vote at a polling booth here on Tuesday morning, he must have reflected on how he left the territory 30 years ago to wage an armed liberation struggle and how the wheel has come full circle as Namibia enters the last phase of its independence process.

A beaming Nujoma, flanked by his wife and Swapo secretary-general Andiba Toivo ja Toivo as he arrived at the polling booth on Tuesday, said: "Today we are finally burying apartheid colonialism".

Rounding off a dramatic campaign last weekend, Nujoma addressed three rallies in different parts of the country.

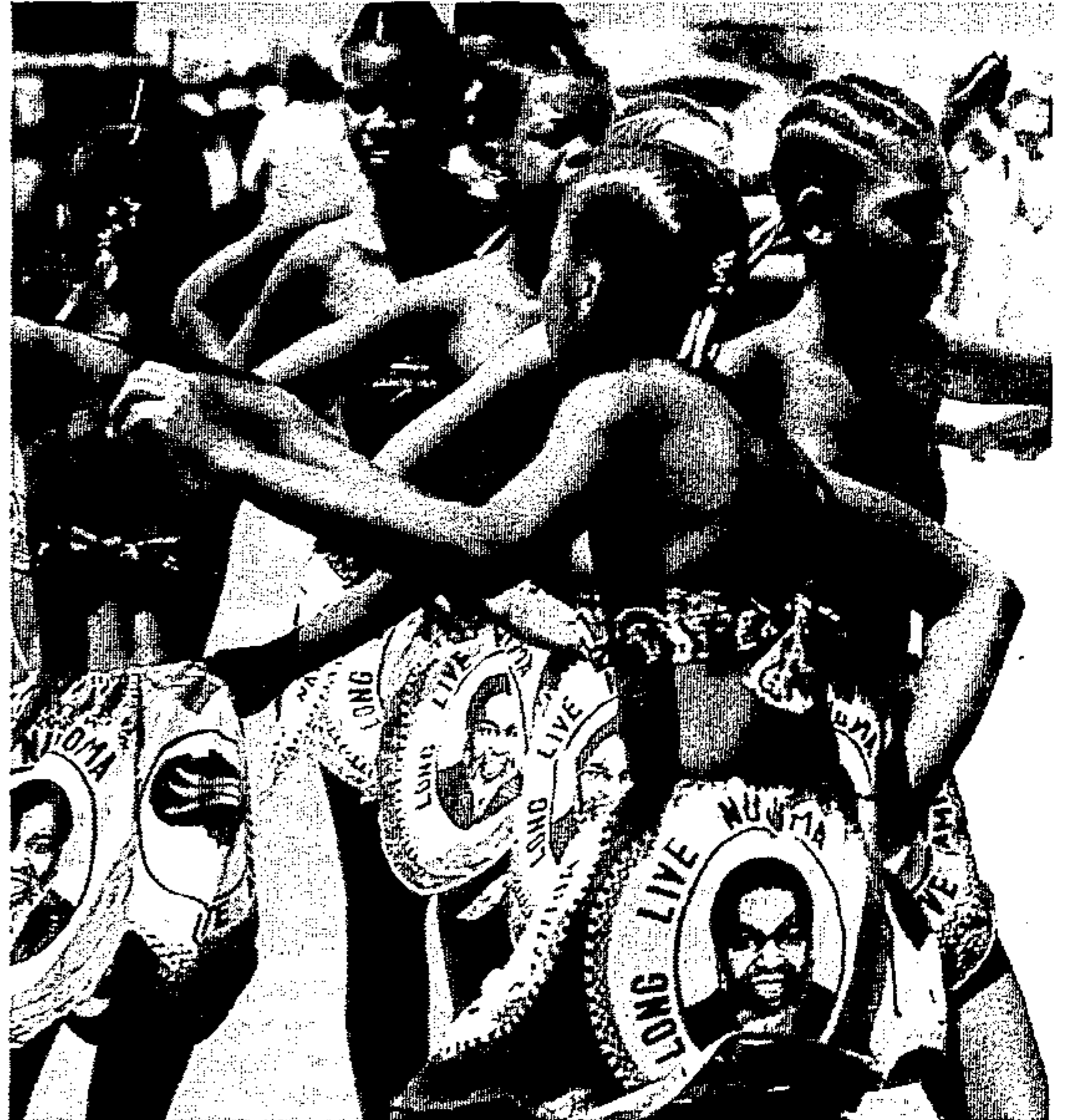
A typical last rally was held at the small town of Gobabis — known as a DTA stronghold — where a third of the town's population turned up to hear Nujoma speak.

Dressed in a garment that resembled a priest's cassock — in the green, blue and red Swapo colours — Nujoma spoke for about two hours.

A highlight of the rally was the presentation of several traditional gifts to Nujoma including a horse — given to him because of his status as a warrior.

At a rally last Saturday in the southern town of Keetmanshoop, whites were amazed as hundreds of Swapo supporters turned up to hear Nujoma speak.

The area was never considered to be a Swapo stronghold.



Youth dancers honour Nujoma

Nujoma held a press conference in the backyard of his home in Katatura township on Monday on the eve of the election, explaining to the world press what Swapo's policies in an independent Namibia would be.

At 7pm on Monday he arrived at a meeting in Khomasdal township, where 400 people had gathered for a final public show of support for Swapo.

The meeting was by no means a high profile event yet the man soon to be leader of the nation, made an effort to be there.

He was greeted and interrupted during his speech with enthusiastic "Viva's".

The gathering was silent during his address.

"We will bury apartheid and colonialism once and for all tomorrow," Nujoma said.

"We won't be sleeping tonight, from this hall we'll go from house to house, particularly to those who are not part of us, to tell them they have been misled and there is still time.

"There is a beautiful lady expecting a baby, our mother Namibia. We must take care of her because the specialists aren't there to ensure she is delivered properly.

"We have to make sure that those misled by Dirk Mudge and others are told to come into the big family of Swapo."

The fatherly leader, who has risen from the position of humble railway worker to the likely first president of Namibia, was optimistic.

He repeatedly thanked the people of South Africa and the African National Congress for the support given to Swapo during the liberation struggle.

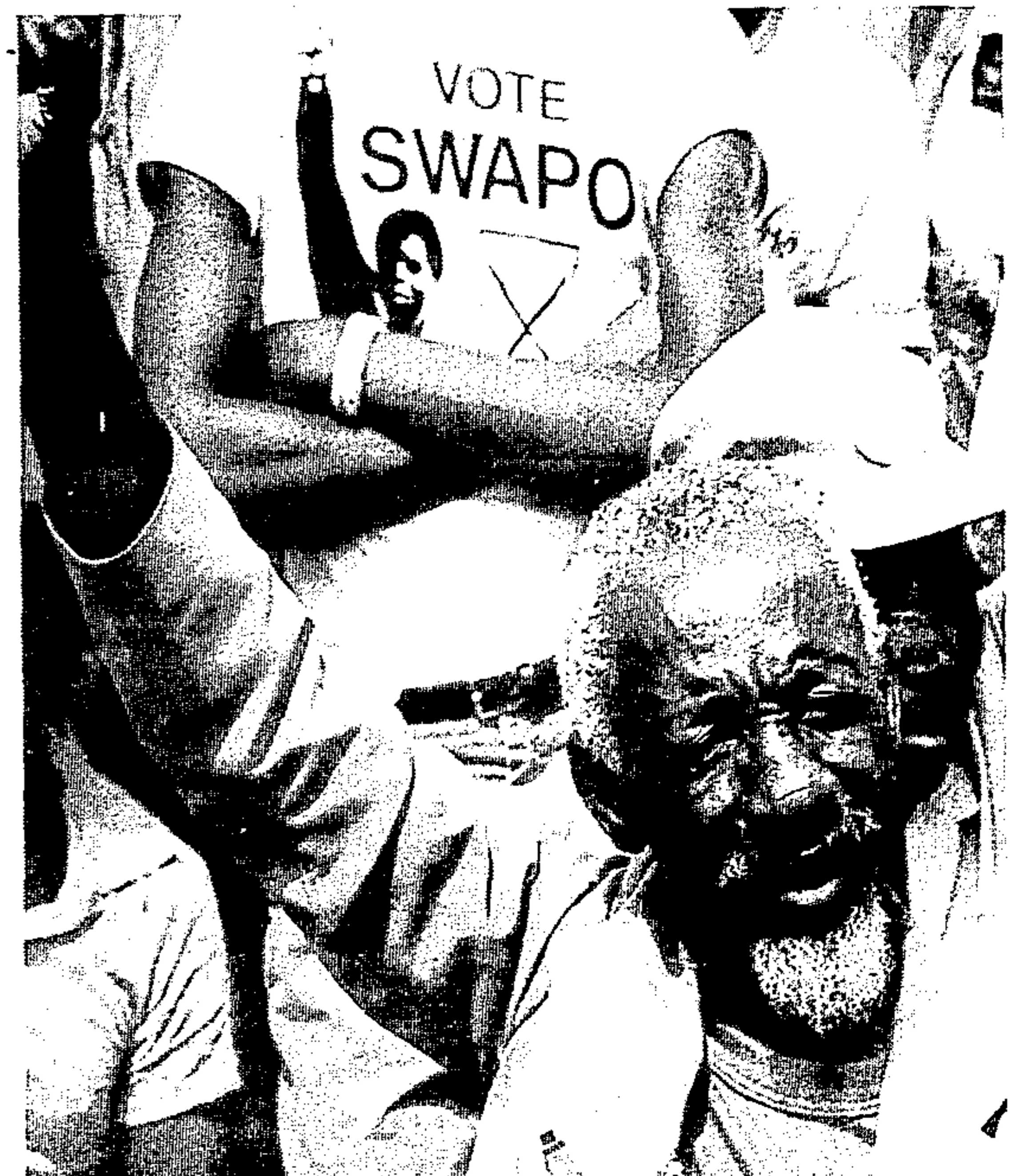
He reminded his people that freedom and independence meant hard work and responsibility.

"It is not going to be easy, you have to work hard to break our dependence on South Africa," Nujoma said.


By next April Nujoma is expected to ride his white horse to Windhoek's Tintin Palace as the first president of Africa's last colony.



Swapo supporters celebrate the independence elections



A hoax with a lot of local colour

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THOSE who have examined the finer details of last week's hoax about a Swapo "invasion" from southern Angola could not avoid the troubling suspicion that someone in the South African security establishment almost certainly must have known right from the start that the messages were fakes.

Let me cite some examples, proffered by an experienced and astute UN official, Mr Fred Eckhard, who has had sight of the "intercepted messages".

The central message which caused the furore began with two paragraphs of inconsequential data about everyday events in remote areas like Keetmanshoop, and only in the third paragraph did it mention that a massive Swapo "invasion" had begun in the north.

Surely somewhere in the extensive security establishment someone recognised the implausibility of a dispatch which first reported on trifling matters in far-flung corners of the territory and almost as an afterthought dealt with a massed "invasion", including tanks, which threatened the entire Namibian

peace process?

But the plot thickens. The South African security establishment has the capacity to intercept sophisticated coded radio transmissions. Its military and other experts have been monitoring Untag's activities for more than half a year, and Swapo's activities for more than a quarter of a century.

Surely someone in those illustrious ranks must have known the most elementary fact about Untag

radio communications in Namibia — namely, that they do not individually cover the whole territory. They cover only their own small ditch.

Thus it would have been impossible for a single dispatch from an Untag station to include reports of events in both the north and the south of the country, as did the key message of the "invasion".

It is also hard to believe that the experts did not know of the long-standing lines of UN military communication, whereby the Untag commander, General Prem Chand, had access to a radio net which links him only to infantry battalions. Yet a message which purported to come from him was addressed to "all stations" — in effect, another impossibility.

Anomalies

Pik Botha does not have the security background needed to identify the anomalies which, as Mr Eckhard points out, pointed to "a very amateurish fraud". Before he ventured onto the national airwaves with a theatrical flourish, he quite naturally would have accepted the assurance of the security establishment that the messages were authentic — assurances he has said he was given.

A question arises: Were the intelligence experts who "authenticated" this "very amateurish fraud" grossly, almost laughably, incompetent? Did they just check the radio frequency and codes (neither, I gather, a secret to members of the Joint Monitoring Commission) and then rush imprudently into the trap?

Or was there an element in the security establishment which was deviously wise to what was going on all the time and perpetuated the deception?

Here one needs to look at another detail which has emerged. While the "messages" were intercepted in South Africa, Untag itself knew nothing about them.



ISSUES

Hugh Robertson

This would raise the obvious possibility that the messages could have had their genesis in South Africa.

The evidence, thus, points strongly to the possibility that there is an element in the South African security establishment (a hunch would lead me to believe that it would embrace a sizeable chunk of the military, police and other security components) which is hell bent on resisting political change.

The Untag hoax cannot be seen in isolation. Not long ago, when the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group was in the country at the invitation of Pik Botha, we saw the whole exercise wrecked by simultaneous SADF raids on Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia. The justification provided by the security establishment was so threadbare as to be ridiculous. Clearly it was a crude political exercise deliberately aimed at ending the whole EPG initiative and embarrassing Pik Botha, the EPG's host and protagonist, while the EPG was here.

Mockery

Lately, we have had a spate of security crackdowns under the emergency regulations, which make a mockery of the "climate of trust" which purportedly President de Klerk is trying to create. It is almost as if someone has given the order to underlings to undo whatever good might have flowed from such gestures as the freeing of ANC prisoners and the permitting of mass marches and meetings.

Even the ANC "welcome back" meeting in Soweto, which was pronounced as "legal" at Cabinet level, has

drawn security action aimed against those who organised and publicised the "legal" gathering. What is going on?

The evidence shows that the split in Afrikanerdom and the Broederbond did not stop at a split in the National Party, but went right the way through to the churches, and the bureaucracy. It would be naive to believe that it did not equally cleave the security establishment, which has such a burning commitment to protecting the status quo.

It is understandable that men who have spent 25 years fighting Swapo, and who have seen hundreds of their comrades die in the process, should feel frustrated at the pointlessness of their effort in the light of the Namibia peace process and the probability of a Swapo victory in this week's election.

Indulgent

It is likely, too, that people who have spent most of their professional lives fighting the ANC, and who have been pampered by the indulgent attention of leaders like Vorster and Botha, should not take kindly to the release of men like Walter Sisulu, the imminent release of Nelson Mandela, the holding of an undisguised ANC-Communist Party public meeting in Soweto, and an incipient national debate in the media, all amidst talk at the highest level of negotiating with the ANC.

No doubt there is a bout of pouting going on over lost influence, wasted effort, dashed visions.

Indeed, President de Klerk felt the need recently to give a public assurance that he was not hostile to the security establishment, or aiming to clip its wings, in itself a revealing admission of rumblings within.

But these people are not determining policy and running the country. Or are they?

Dirty tactics, slower voting on day two

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — Dirty political tactics marred the second day of Namibia's election yesterday, but voting slowed to ease crowds who swamped polling points on the first day and cast a third of the nation's eligible ballots.

Electoral officials also streamlined balloting procedures, specially at Windhoek's 14 voting stations, and said pressure had eased considerably but voter enthusiasm remained high.

Untag overseers criticised the anonymous production of pamphlets falsely passed off as Swapo material that sought to discourage Swapo followers from voting and to sow suspicion of Mr Sam Nujoma, the party president.

UN spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard denounced the pamphlets as "scurrilous nonsense" and said Untag infantry battalions were under orders to tighten northern border surveillance amid unsubstantiated media reports of large numbers of Angolans crossing the frontier to vote fraudently.

Trends unclear

He said the pamphlets "degrade a process that is otherwise being carried out with self-control and dignity throughout the territory".

Analysts and observers have no pointers to track voting trends, but high voter participation will benefit Swapo, already the unquestioned favourite to secure at least a simple majority.

Administration officials and Untag overseers were jubilant about Tuesday's first-day turnout territorywide that notched up a 29,9% ballot in a rush that forced election managers to keep polls open until 11pm in places.

"Given the particular circumstances in this country, this is a mammoth achievement," government spokesman Mr David Venter told reporters.

"It would seem that we are on track to complete this election in the five days that are allocated."

Voting is scheduled to end at 7pm on Saturday.

In eastern Caprivi, more than half

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — Administration officials yesterday disputed accusations that poll supervisors at a crowded Windhoek Airport polling station favoured white Namibians who had flown in from South Africa to vote.

Officials set up the airport voting point, 48km from the city, largely to cater for planned charter flights bringing some of the 10 000 South African residents who qualify to vote.

But hundreds of local voters — mostly blacks — crowded the polling station on Monday, in line with a rush to polls everywhere, delaying by some five hours the first two chartered jets to arrive.

Swapo organisers claimed officials gave the white voters preference and witnesses said the arrangement ended up with a black queue and a white queue.

DTA organisers accused Swapo of bussing followers from Windhoek to the airport voting station intentionally to frustrate the visiting voters, many of whom indicated they supported Swapo's main rival, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA).

A spokesman denied that queues were demarcated for whites and blacks.

the district's registered voters cast ballots on Tuesday.

Mr Gerhard Roux, a spokesman for administrator-general Mr Louis Pienaar, attributed the 55% turnout on Tuesday to smoother handling of voters by experienced poll staff.

In Windhoek's Katutura township, where kilometre-long lines crowded polling points on Tuesday, queues were less visible yesterday as voters moved through ballot booths more smoothly.

Sapa reports that pressure of voting resulted in nine polling station in Ovambo closing early yesterday as they had run out of ballot papers and boxes.

A UN spokesman said that a special flight had already left the capital with extra election material to ensure voting resumed first thing today.



High percentage poll as voting in Namibia slows

ARGUS 10/11/87 221

From BRENDAN SEERY
and KEN VERNON
Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — As percentage polls in Namibia hovered around 75 percent, the tempo of voting dropped off dramatically in many areas.

Spokesmen said indications were that 75 percent of the electorate had cast their votes when polls closed yesterday, although results from a number of districts were outstanding and figures could well be higher.

Late last night results from 16 electoral districts out of the 23 showed that 71 percent, or 489 000 people, had been to the polls.

Shortages

Reports from all over the country described dramatic fall-offs in voting tempo yesterday. In some areas where there had been queues of up to two kilometres on the first day, only handfuls of voters turned out.

UN spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said 10 polling stations in Owamboland had problems with shortages of ballot papers and boxes yesterday, but these were quickly rectified and, overall, the election machinery was running smoothly.

● Two people were injured yesterday in a suspected landmine explosion near a polling station at Onkonkolo in Owamboland.

Mr Eckhard said there was no apparent link to the election. Reports said the explosion occurred near, but not at the polling station.

Earlier this week three children died when they detonated an explosive device in the same area.

● Thousands of Namibians are unwittingly spoiling their ballots because the basic mechanics of casting a ballot have not been explained to them.

Many voters, especially the elderly, do not know how to vote.

Inside polling booths are posters explaining how and giving an example of a ballot paper.

In many booths the space on the sample ballot, showing where the voter should make a cross, was covered in crosses.

Still folded

"We had to take the instruction sheet down because we were worried that no one would mark the ballot papers," said a UN official.

Many voters, after listening to instructions on how to vote, returned from the polling booth with a large cross on the outside of the still folded ballot paper.

"There is nothing we can do," said an Untag official. "We don't know if the voter has marked the ballot correctly, though we doubt it. But the vote is confidential and we can't even ask if they voted correctly. It is very frustrating."



Two hurt in Namibian 'landmine' explosion

Case Times 10/11/89 221
OSHAKATI — Two people were injured yesterday in a suspected landmine explosion near a polling station at Onkonkolo, east of Ondangwa, in the northern Namibian region of Ovambo.

Confirming the incident, UN spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said there was no apparent link to the election. Reports said the explosion occurred near, but not at, the polling station.

Sources said an Untag helicopter had been sent to the scene.

An Untag source said the landmine was probably one of many left in the former war zone. — Sapa

● '90%' verdict from UN chief — Page 2

Focus on Namibia - by Sowetan Africa News Service

SOUTH Africa's economic foot will be firmly placed on the windpipe of Namibia when it gains its independence sometime next year.

And in the past the Government has shown it is not adverse to using that economic muscle if a neighbouring state steps a bit out of line.

It did so in Lesotho bringing about a change of government.

But there are far greater restraints this time on South Africa.

Firstly, the international community has virtually adopted Namibia as its foster child and any perceived action by South Africa to destabilise the fledgling state would bring rapid reaction.

Secondly, South Africa is attempting to open corridors into Africa and Namibia would be an ideal avenue.

Already numerous South African companies have opened subsidiaries

SA (22) will still call tune after uhuru

in Namibia for exactly this purpose.

For the past 70 years South Africa has administered the territory virtually as a fifth province intertwining the infrastructure of Namibia with South Africa.

Namibia's lines of communication are mostly on an east-west axis,



Voting in Windhoek this week in the election that will lead Namibia to independence

namely through the port of Walvis Bay (firmly part of South Africa) or through to the Rand.

And despite the millions of rands earned in mineral exploitation (mainly diamonds) the territory has been dependent on massive amounts of budgetary aid from the central coffers of South

Africa.

South Africa has yet to indicate whether she will continue to give massive amounts of aid to the territory - much will probably depend on who wins the election this week, what type of constitution will be accepted and the attitude towards South Africa of the eventual govern-

ment of an independent Namibia.

South Africa has, however, already indicated by drastically cutting the budgetary aid from R350-million to a mere R120-million on this year's budget estimates that she does not intend to keep paying out at the same levels.

Second big shock

WHEN Foreign Minister Pik Botha waved a fistful of allegedly intercepted United Nations communications at a news conference in Pretoria last week he gave the Namibian independence process its second big shock this year.

But it looks as though this shock will not be as severe as the one delivered last April by Swapo's armed incursion from Angola which nearly wrecked the process.

In April there was little doubt about what was happening: Swapo and South African forces were out in the Owambo bush locked in violent conflict and tom bodies were visibly overflowing from the morgues.

This time it appears that Botha was trying to take pre-emptive action to stop the same thing happening again.

Whether there was a real threat of it happening again seems to be anybody's guess - outside of

Swapo, that is.

The communications Botha produced were said to be messages sent between units of the United Nations monitoring force, Untag, suggesting that Swapo forces were not only present on both sides of the border but acting aggressively and receiving reinforcements.

While Untag has dismissed the messages as fakes, there is evidence that elements of Swapo's armed force, Plan, are in fact stationed in Angola just north of the Owambo border.

It also seems probable that some Plan units have infiltrated Owambo and cached weapons.

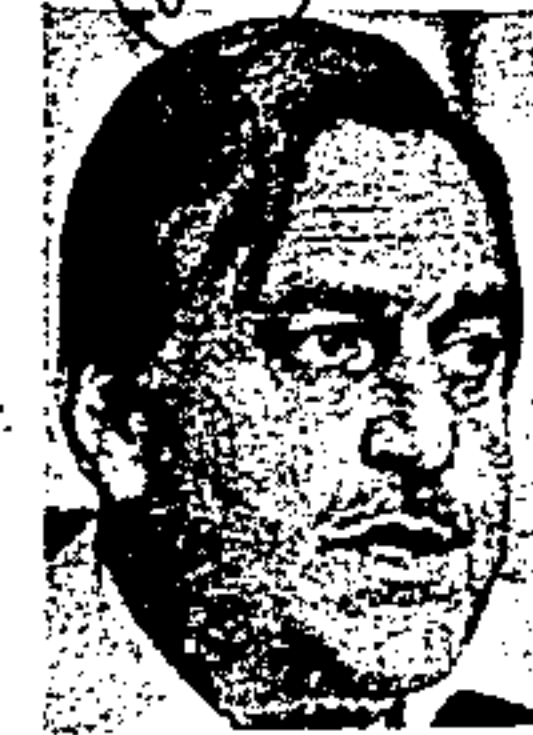
Forces

All of this would, if true, violate the independence plan.

The important question, however, is not whether the Plan forces are there but what their purpose would be.

Botha, advised by the SADF, appears to have decided to act on a "worst-scenario" basis which would assume Swapo's intention was to launch another incursion.

Such an incursion could have several objectives, ranging from a bid to seize power before the



Mr Pik Botha

election, to an attempt to influence voters to support Swapo at the polls.

Swapo, charging that Botha's messages were faked, accused him of pursuing an (undefined) ulterior motive - an allegation rejected by South African sources.

If combat-ready Swapo forces are indeed in the region in the numbers claimed by the SADF, they could be there for purposes other than the worst scenario one.

Expert observers see little sense in Swapo launching an incursion now, since that would almost certainly bring South African forces back into the territory in strength, probably without asking for UN permission as they did before going into action against the Swapo troops in April.

Swapo's forces would be destroyed and the independence plan would collapse into a shambles that might be beyond restoration. Swapo would have gained nothing.

A hostile incursion would make no sense even if Swapo has accepted that it will not win a dominant majority in this week's election - and there is no hard evidence that it has - knowledgeable opinion is that they might well win that majority.

It would be more logical for Swapo to be keeping its forces in readiness to seize power in Namibia if it did not win the election. Alternatively, it would not be unreasonable for Swapo to want to have armed forces on call outside Namibia in the event of it winning at the polls, for it might not feel comfortable with law and order being maintained only by the SWA Police.

Plotting

Another scenario that has been advanced is that Swapo's military commanders, having been pushed into the background by the movement's politicians in the election lineup in Windhoek, have become disgruntled and are plotting to seize power for themselves.

If the messages are genuine, then so would be the alarm expressed in them by Untag personnel at Swapo's aggressive movements. Whether that alarm was justified depends on Swapo's real intentions.

But if there is no Swapo incursion only Swapo will ever know whether Botha's pre-emptive action was necessary, and whether it succeeded.

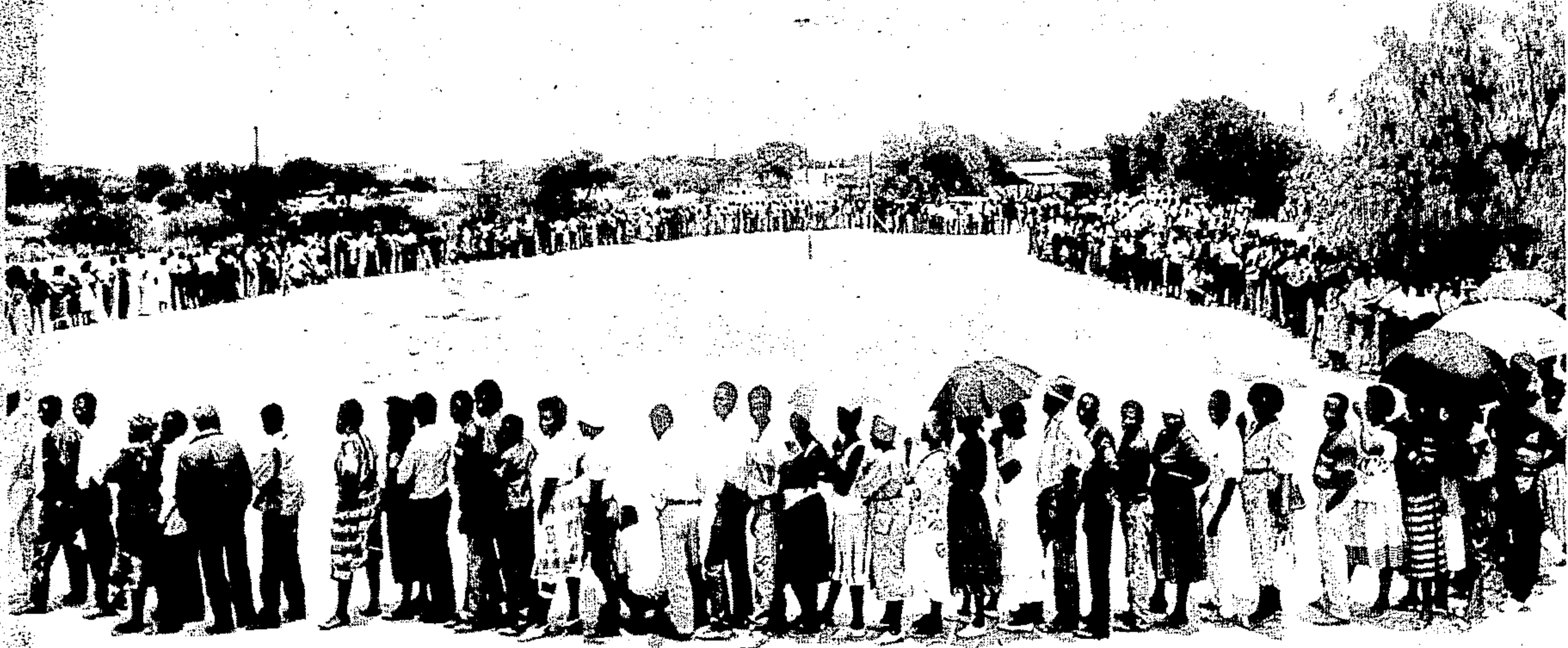


Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thloloe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Mailhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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The day of freedom dawns quietly as hundreds of Namibians queue to vote in Katutura township, Windhoek

Picture: JOHN LIEBENBERG, Afrapix

rican unionist.

On a more serious note, Swapo election director Hage Geingob told reporters on the eve of the elections that the South Africans' presence was "of course a gesture of solidarity ... But it is also a commercial venture". A deal had been negotiated with Co-satu "at very good rates", he said.

It is understood that the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce has subsidised the venture.

The South Africans cause a stir wherever they go in Namibia. It is not unusual for as many as a hundred MDM members dressed in full Swapo regalia to arrive for breakfast at a hotel, and there is an air about them which distinguishes them from their Namibian comrades.

"It's the Soweto Swagger," said one Swapo supporter. "These guys just look much more energetic and militant."

Their presence has not led to any major incidents. The Namibia National Front (NNF) accused MDM members of causing a confrontation in the "coloured" township of Khomasdal near Windhoek — NNF leader Vekuii Rikoro alleges he had to cut short his speech because of an "invasion" by minibuses with horns blaring — but the matter has not been taken any further.

Shaun Johnson

It requires some effort to discover where Namibia's least-remembered citizens — the labourers on remote farms — go to vote.

They are catered for by "mobile" polling stations, which travel hundreds of kilometres, setting up in pre-determined spots for only hours at a time before moving on.

Black farmworkers have to rely on white farmers for information about the location of the polling stations — and for transportation to and from them.

Nobody knows how many farmworkers there are in Namibia. But, as there are about 5 000 farms, the numbers of workers must run into tens of thousands. They are vulnerable to political pressure, being cut off from the urban centres and surviving on the sufferance of their employers.

The scene at Harmonie, deep in the Khomas Hochland mountains west of Windhoek, this week showed the Third World, and simultaneously colonial, face of the Namibian elections.

To the "Harmonie Saal", a plain, whitewashed brick structure atop a hill surrounded by desolate, sweeping valleys and mountains, came truckload after truckload of farmworkers to vote.

They jounced along noisily on the backs of their bosses' vehicles

Baas and workers, equals for an instant

Deep in the Khomas Hochland mountains, truckload after truckload of black labourers came to vote ... escorted by baas in the front seat

(farmer and wife invariably in the cab), and chattered excitedly as they waited in the queue to cast their ballots.

They were smartly turned out, adding to the strange "Sunday outing" atmosphere in this miles-from-nowhere, lunar-like place.

As whites took their places in the queue with their black subordinates, the decades-old divide dissolved momentarily: today, at least, they had equal influence.

Was there any intimidation of the farmworkers, any pressure on them as to who they should vote for? The question was put to as strange a pair as one could hope to come across in

the Khomas Hochlands. Polling officer Pieter Liebenberg and Untag supervisor Jean-Marc Recour shook their heads. "No," said Liebenberg flatly. "Not that we can see," said Recour diplomatically.

"I think this is going astonishingly smoothly," added Liebenberg. He had processed 80 ballots at another temporary station in the morning, and 150 that afternoon.

It was difficult to tell what form pressure on the farmworkers might take. On the surface, the black/white bonhomie seemed entirely genuine, despite the broadness of the smiles on the faces of the farmworkers whenever "baas" said anything.

Equally, one got the feeling that if you looked closely into their faces, you could move from a smile that said "I'm going to vote DTA!" to eyes that said "but don't believe that for a second."

"Most of them are Damaras, you know," local farmer Derek MacKinnon said with a friendly smile. "They are interested in the election, but very

few have political aspirations. I think that's because they're basically happy.

"I think they know what's going on. Of course, all the farmers around here took them to political meetings, and they have access to the radio in their own language."

The only party which had held public meetings in the area was the DTA, MacKinnon added, although Swapo representatives had been allowed on to farms to talk to labourers.

Not many of the farmworkers were keen to talk. One who would was Naphtali Eisseeb, and he was emphatic that the "baas" hadn't told him who he should vote for.

"No, they don't do that," he said. "They say 'you vote for any party you choose. But just remember which one is right for you, that will lead you on the right path.'"

"And of course we know that means only the DTA. We went to the DTA meetings together with our farmers."

It was impossible to tell, with Eisseeb, whether he had the impish twinkle in his eye as he spoke. That will only be known when the ballot papers have been counted, and MacKinnon's confident prediction ("this is a DTA area") is put to the least ambiguous test Namibia has known.

Shaun Johnson

THE ONLY ANSWER.

ma says he believes there should be some land redistribution. Whites — barely six percent of the country's 1,2-million people — occupy about 60 percent of Namibia's land.

But Swapo leaders state clearly they want whites to stay and participate in the new government, and that they have no intentions of staging any Nuremberg-type trials of former Koevoet commanders.

"We have a policy of forgiveness," said Swapo central committee member Axel Johannes, who said he has lost track of the times he was jailed before going into exile 10 years ago. "The Koevoet commandos didn't know what they were doing. They were just following orders."

The whites' defence network is quietly organised since under the UN agreement all forces must be disarmed. Last week, the local police chief in the central farming town of Outjo sent a note to white farmers warning them to keep their firearms "oiled, cleaned and ready", to stock up on food and to fill their bathtubs, in case water supplies were cut off.

White men interviewed last week in Oshakati, in the heart of Swapo's stronghold near the Angolan border, said they had sent their wives and children to Windhoek. As Alberts and others point out,

NCAR

National Committee Against removals

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST REMOVALS
(comprising AFRA, GRC, PARC, SCAR, SPP (Western Cape), TRAC)

NCAR, which is a national organisation dedicated to fighting forced removals and exploring issues relating to struggles around land, is creating two new positions. The organisation is moving to Johannesburg and new workers will be required to begin in March 1990. Workers must have driver's licences, preferably word processing skills and a sense of humour is essential. Salaries are negotiable and employment contract includes usual benefits.

1. CO-ORDINATOR

The co-ordinator will be responsible for the overall functioning of the organisation. This will include overseeing finances, liaising with affiliates and other organisations, and initiating and co-ordinating national projects and campaigns. The successful applicant must have:

- experience in working in progressive organisations and with communities
- a working knowledge of land issues and forced removals both practical and theoretical
- the ability to work flexible hours and spend time travelling nationally each month.

2. LAND PROJECT OFFICER

The Land Projects Officer will co-ordinate research into land questions, stimulate affiliates' internal research and publications programmes and liaise with other organisations doing similar work. This will entail extensive travelling to the regions in which affiliates work. The successful applicant must have:

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MEDICAL BENEFIT FUND

COMPUTER PROGRAMMER

The above-mentioned organisation requires the services of a Programmer to assist with the computerised operation of the Fund and Union.

The successful applicant should preferably meet the following requirements:

- have knowledge and experience as a Programmer
- knowledge of mini-computer environment
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- knowledge of PC/MS-DOS environment
- knowledge of computerised accounting methods will be an advantage
- previous 4GL experience would be an advantage
- have personal communication skills
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In-depth training in all aspects of our computer operation will be provided. Working hours are unfixed and the salary is negotiable. Benefits include medical and pension funds plus a 13th cheque.

All applications to be submitted in writing to:
The Principal Officer

DAW

IT TOOK YEARS OF BLOODY WAR TO GET THIS FAR ... YET THE DAWN OF INDEPENDENCE CAME QUIETLY TO NAMIBIA

The moment of freedom dawns rather demurely

IF black Namibians seem nonplussed by the searing heat of summer — standing in polling queues for up to seven hours at a time when several days of voting time remain — well, that's just something we have to learn to accept about this curious country. Not much turns out as expected. The fact that has most struck the thousands of observers who have descended on Namibia to see the penultimate stage of the independence process, is the populace's lack of overt passion.

After more than two decades of bitter war against South Africa, and a UN-brokered peace plan that has been in crisis more often than not, the days of freedom have dawned demurely.

No one takes the back-and-forth accusations of intimidation and skullduggery between the parties too seriously any more: the larger process moves on regardless. People stand in near silence, single-file at polling stations from Katima Mulilo to Keetmanshoop, and life continues.

One exasperated cynic remarked that the rumour — unfounded, as most are — which circulated this week about all liquor outlets being closed during the elections caused more heated debate on the streets than the state of the parties.

There is an element of fatigue in Namibia as election results are awaited, and it is easy to understand. This nation, black and white, is exhausted by what it has been through, though that does not mean a lack of interest in the outcome; on the contrary, there is a growing conviction that free-enough and fair-enough elections will be achieved.

Patient voter Zacharias Haino of Katutura voted to be an articulate reminder of this fact: "I will wait here for three whole days if it is necessary," he said, mopping his brow with one hand and holding a piece of cardboard above his head with the other.

What has surprised the hordes of observers who have descended upon Windhoek to watch history being made this week, is the lack of passion among the people who actually live there. By SHAUN JOHNSON in Windhoek

"I need this country to be free, and this is my first chance ... Anyway, Namibians know how to wait."

His stoicism was echoed at every polling booth visited by the *Weekly Mail*. The examples were innumerable. Herero grande-dames, in their beautiful but inappropriate heavy linen outfits, showed no signs of impatience at the polls.

A local newspaper captured the mood — possibly more accurately than it realised — in a reference to the "muted excitement which has gripped Namibia". The apparent contradiction in terms summed up the physical torpor that marks this political water-shed.

Even the ever-cautious UN officials senses, and welcomed, it. Looking more suntanned than when they arrived months ago, they finally allowed themselves a modicum of self-congratulation this week. Untag is privately confident it's all going to work out all right, after all.

Just about everyone is breathing a collective, deep sigh of relief, tempered by long experience of Namibia's capacity to spring last-minute surprises.

And who will win? Well, the answer is Swapo, as was clear long before UN Security Council Resolution 435 was drafted.

But the nature of a free Namibia is not so easy to predict. The expectant population will wait and see. Like one Richard Pakleppa, who wrote a



DTA workers hand out refreshments after voters queue for hours
Picture: GUY TILLIM, Afrapix

poem on the subject this week, the Namibian people have great hopes, but also bitter experiences.

Pakleppa, in a lengthy reflection, wrote these lines:

"As so many of us, I also have lain sleepless over the injustices committed in the name of our people's organisation ...

"I also have come to realise the secret shame, and secret fear, expressed in our silence ...

"(But) in liberation lies the promise of shedding the shapes, the traces and scars of colonialism that moulded

every one of us ...

"Vote Swapo, because every one of us may rejoice with the coming of a new era, where every one of us transforms silence and blindness into the fierce loyalty that directs our leaders, who are the servants of the people ...

"If this is also your struggle, vote Swapo ... knowing that leaders are given power (only) through you ..."

Pakleppa knows one thing at least: that next week, Africa's last colony will have its first assembly. And that after all, is what all of this pain has been about.

Convoys of wayward Zolas bring Soweto aid

PARKED under a large weeping wattle in the remote, semi-tropical eastern corner of the Caprivi Strip this week, was a minibus taxi.

It was not the fact that it was covered in Swapo flags and stickers that made it stand out, but its origin: "Roodepoort/Dobsonville" read the letters painted on its side.

The wayward "Zola Budd" was there for a specific reason. It was part of an extraordinary, 302-strong convoy of minibuses which brought hundreds of Mass Democratic Movement members — most from the Congress of South African Trade Unions — to Namibia to help Swapo ferry its supporters to the polls during the five days of elections.

The Dobsonville taxi, despatched to the Mafuta Secondary Primary School polling station near Katima Mulilo, only a few kilometres from the point where Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana meet, was probably the farthest from home — but its occupants shared a purpose with those operating in the more accessible central and southern regions.

"We are here to see that Swapo wins these elections," said an MDM member interviewed at the National Union of Namibian Mineworkers' centre in Katutura. "It is our historical responsibility."

The arrival of the "solidarity convoy" in Windhoek at the beginning of the week — it had left from Soweto and other townships early on Saturday morning — caused great excitement among Namibians, with reactions ranging from delight to outrage.

Swapo supporters lined the streets of Katutura shouting "welcome, South African comrades" at the riveting sight of an endless stream of vehicles flying blue, green and red flags coming over the horizon.

Opposition parties, however, accused MDM members of coming to Namibia to try to cast votes, and queried the funding of the operation.

"But if the Boers could trek north, why can't we?" joked one South Af-

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S POST

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES COUNCIL

The Educational Opportunities Council (EOC) has been involved in recruiting and selecting candidates for overseas scholarships and fellowships in the last ten years. During the past four years it has also administered bursaries for study at tertiary institutions inside South Africa. Most of its funding comes from international development agencies attached to a number of foreign embassies in South Africa as well as from some US foundations and firms.

The primary goal of the Council is the promotion of human dignity among the oppressed of this country through the sponsorship of education and human resource development. The ultimate goal is full and equal participation by all in the political economy of a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa. The Council wishes to invite applications from suitably qualified individuals to provide leadership in the realization of these goals. The Executive Director will oversee the activities of the national office in Johannesburg as well as the two regional offices currently operating in Durban and Port Elizabeth.

The successful applicant will be one who has vision, perception, and concern for the upliftment of the underprivileged black community of South Africa. S/He must have relevant management and administrative skills and qualities. An understanding of the South African and other systems of education abroad will be an advantage. S/He must be prepared to travel and interact effectively with other organisations and institutions, with sponsors, students and other interested parties.

SA CATHOLIC BISHOPS CONFERENCE

JUSTICE AND PEACE COMMISSION

PROJECT SECRETARY

Beginning 1 February 1990

The Justice and Peace Commission requires a person who is:

- committed to the struggle for justice in South Africa
- interested in building a movement for justice in the Church
- experienced in team work
- qualified to deal with issues of militarisation and peace
- prepared to travel

Applicants should preferably be Catholic. Media skills and an additional language an advantage

Applications should include a C.V. and 2 references and reach:

J and P Commission

FOR SOME, ARMS ARE

BY VIVIANNE WALT

SOME Namibian whites have been stockpiling weapons and emergency rations in preparation for what they predict will be bloody retribution under black rule.

"We are prepared. I do not want to say exactly, but we are prepared," said Gert Alberts, a cattle farmer in central Namibia, who for the past 10 years has led a force against Swapo guerrillas as part of a Koevoet unit.

"After what has happened, maybe they will kill us," Alberts said. "So if they come, we are prepared. We are preparing to store food, and we still have our weapons. All these years we have bought private weapons."

Maans Fourie, another farmer from the central district, said Swapo "only knows about the gun. If Swapo attacks, we will fight and we will have some losses, too."

Although Koevoet has been disbanded, the network of members remains intact, Alberts and other white farmers say. Black farm workers have been trained over the years to seek and kill Swapo guerrillas who venture on to white-owned land. And virtually every white farm is equipped with rifles and revolvers or pistols.

Alberts and many other whites believe that if Swapo does not win the two-thirds majority it needs to

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'90%' verdict from UN chief

From KEVIN JACOBS

ONGWEDIVA. — Three days into Namibia's landmark election, Untag supremo Mr Martti Ahtisaari gave the process almost full approval despite a Swapo leader's claims of a tainted poll.

Mr Ahtisaari's endorsement was echoed yesterday by a visiting senior United States official who holds a pivotal position in securing Washington funding that underpins much of United Nations spending.

"At present things are looking pretty good," said Mr John Bolton, assistant secretary of state for international organisations, who was awaiting the arrival of President George Bush's election observer group.

War zone

During a flying visit yesterday to polling stations in sweltering Ovambo and Kavango, the territory's populous northern region, Mr Ahtisaari told reporters: "It has been 90% free and fair."

At least 75% of the former Ovambo war zone's 248 000 registered voters had cast ballots by close of polls yesterday, most of them in the first two days that drew an unexpected voting flood nationwide.

Across the territory, more than two-thirds of voters on average had passed through polling sta-

DTA journalist thought abducted

WINDHOEK. — SWA police have gone to Oshikango on the border between Namibia and Angola to investigate the disappearance of journalist Mr Martin Erastus of the Republikein newspaper.

Police Chief-Inspector Kierie du Rand said police suspected that Mr Erastus was abducted on Monday when he crossed the border into Angola.

Mr Erastus's vehicle was found abandoned near Oshikango.

The Republikein is the party newspaper of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, the main rival of Swapo in United Nations-supervised elections. — Sapa

tions by sundown, although the pace of voting had tailed off considerably after the initial rush.

Despite the upbeat reflection by the Untag boss, Swapo general secretary Mr Andimba Toivo ja Toivo said yesterday: "A climate for free and fair elections does not exist."

He said in an interview in the Swapo-supporting Namibian newspaper that Swapo — fa-

voured to win at least a simple majority — would independently assess polling results when they were certified by Mr Ahtisaari.

"Swapo will accept the outcome if there was no rigging at all. But if we notice that there was rigging, as there is likely to be, we will not be able to accept the result," Mr Toivo ja Toivo said.

Swapo yesterday accused its main rival of "acts of desperation" as the five-day voting period passed its halfway point.

Swapo publicity secretary Mr Hidipo Hamutenya said bogus pamphlets intended to discredit the party had been dropped from an airplane over Katutura. He also said three-pronged spikes has been placed outside Swapo offices, damaging the tyres of party vehicles.

'Desperation'

"These are acts of desperation by the DTA, who know they are doomed," he said, referring to the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

Mr Ahtisaari would not be drawn yesterday on a clear endorsement after three days of polling, but insisted he was happy with the process so far.

"I am not going to pass a judgment day to day, but yes, it has been 90% free and fair," he said.

"In the most populous part of the country 75% of the people have voted. This is a remarkable achievement."



DTA leader Mr Dirk Mudge in Katatura township yesterday with some youthful supporters who had varying degrees of success giving the party's hand sign that appears as an identifying symbol on all ballot papers.

Spoilt ballot papers a problem in Namibia

By Ken Vernon,
The Star's Africa
News Service

OUTJO — About 80 percent of Namibian voters have already been to the polls — but thousands are spoiling their votes simply because the basic mechanics of casting a ballot have not been explained to them.

A tour of polling booths in Owambo, Damaraland and Outjo district has revealed that many voters, especially the elderly, do not know how to vote.

While Untag has spent millions on propaganda urging them to vote, less effort has

gone into showing what is largely an unsophisticated electorate what to do in a polling booth.

Inside booths throughout the country is a directive spelling out, in English and Afrikaans, how to vote and giving an example of a ballot paper.

In many polling booths visited in the past three days, the space on this "example" ballot showing where the voter must make a cross, was in fact covered in crosses.

"We had to take the instruction sheet down," said an official at the Etoshapoort polling station outside Outjo.

"We were scared that no one was actually marking the real ballots."

The voting of Mr Abel Sumewa (76) was a test of endurance for officials. Partially blind, deaf and infirm, he arrived at Etoshapoort to vote.

UNMARKED

Unable to listen to instructions, he had also not yet decided for whom he would vote.

After officials, with the permission of party observers, tried in vain to help Mr Sumewa, to the point of entering the polling

booth, his ballot paper eventually entered the box unmarked.

Many voters, after listening carefully to instructions on how to vote, were seen returning from the booth with a large cross marked on the outside of the still-folded ballot paper.

"There is nothing we can do," said one Untag official. "We don't know if the voter has marked the ballot correctly as well, though we doubt it."

● Two people were injured in a suspected landmine explosion near — but not at — a polling station at Onkonkolo, east of Ondangwa, in the Owambo region.

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~~221~~Email
10/11/89.

NAMIBIA AND DISINFORMATION

When Pik saw red again

How high does the conspiracy reach that led to the Untag tape fraud? Given the technical requirements of the operation — knowing the Kenyan contingent's allocated radio frequency, possessing the equipment and ability to feed disinformation into the SA intelligence network — it clearly involved more than a joker sitting in the veld, playing with a crystal set.

It fooled the Cabinet — and there is a collective humiliation there, though, of course, the hairy-chested Pik Botha has had to take the immediate rap. Did these people stop for one moment to wonder why Swapo would bother to present its soldiers to be shot again when it can probably have almost everything it wants once the election is over?

For a few hours the Cabinet was prepared to conduct foreign policy — in all its spheres — on the basis of false information. In this case there were enough objective observers around to persuade it otherwise in time; was this always so in the past?

Doubtless the culprits will be found. Meanwhile, the point is that there are elements in Namibia — and, certainly, SA — who do not wish independence to proceed and who would be happy to provoke a war to arrest the process. Indeed, all the warfare in that country and to the north was precisely designed to forestall independence. The politicians have apparently bowed to the inevitable — others have not, it seems.

This means, unfortunately, that they are almost certain to try again. There is unlikely to be full-scale civil war but there will be violence and rebellion — possibly for years, as there

was in Zimbabwe.

Pretoria needs to consider its options carefully. Re-involvement in an unwinnable war will be financially and politically disastrous. Far better to hope fervently that Swapo indeed wins an overwhelming electoral majority, since this would help it to move effectively against the ethnic fission Pretoria has fostered for years. The world must be the monitor of Swapo's forthcoming human rights policies, and judge accordingly.

Namibia really has to sink or swim by itself.

Of course, having lied about the situation in Namibia for decades, sinking one peace initiative after another until those lies became a wearisome farce, government would be incredibly remiss to disown responsibility for what occurs. It started the disinformation. One wonders how it will respond if a refugee problem arises, as it has in the eastern Transvaal with those who have clawed their way over the landscape — even climbing electric fences — in flight from Frelimo and Renamo.

It would also be naive to believe that Swapo has no armed cadres wandering around in the north — but finding and tagging them is not Pretoria's responsibility. Once the fragrant Untags have packed up and gone home — leaving their ladies — the security situation will be solely the responsibility of the new State.

But any malevolent attrition of Namibia directed from within our borders must never be countenanced — and swiftly finding those who perpetrated the dangerous hoax will be a profound act of good-neighbourliness. ■

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Mysteries and enigmas

Before Pik Botha was called from Cabinet last week to be told of "intercepted Untag messages" about a Swapo troop buildup, top Foreign Affairs man Herbert Beukes queried SADF chief Jannie Geldenhuys about the authenticity of the messages. General Geldenhuys was visibly annoyed at the scepticism of Beukes, who stressed how serious the consequences might be if the messages were proven false.

Beukes was right, but his minister has had to carry most of the blame for the haphazard way in which government's intelligence arm has handled the fiasco. The Namibian election process — and independence — were in the balance as a result.

However, as an upset Pik Botha asked the *FM* late on Monday night: "Should I, when the head of the Defence Force tells a minister that we have irrefutable evidence, go to the American intelligence service and ask them to check it ... should I tell them that I don't believe my head of the Defence Force?"

Botha says the evidence was presented to him as fact. "I asked whether we are not dealing with disinformation and that was denied. The situation was also described to me as imminent ... (I was told that) convoys were moving towards the border, that some 600 Swapo troops had already crossed the border and that the situation was becoming critical and could explode at any time."

Botha admits that he was tempted not to disclose the information. "But can you imagine if the situation had exploded that night, and troops had to be flown in? Can you imagine if soldiers had been killed? How could I have explained to the parents that I had known about the situation but kept quiet?"

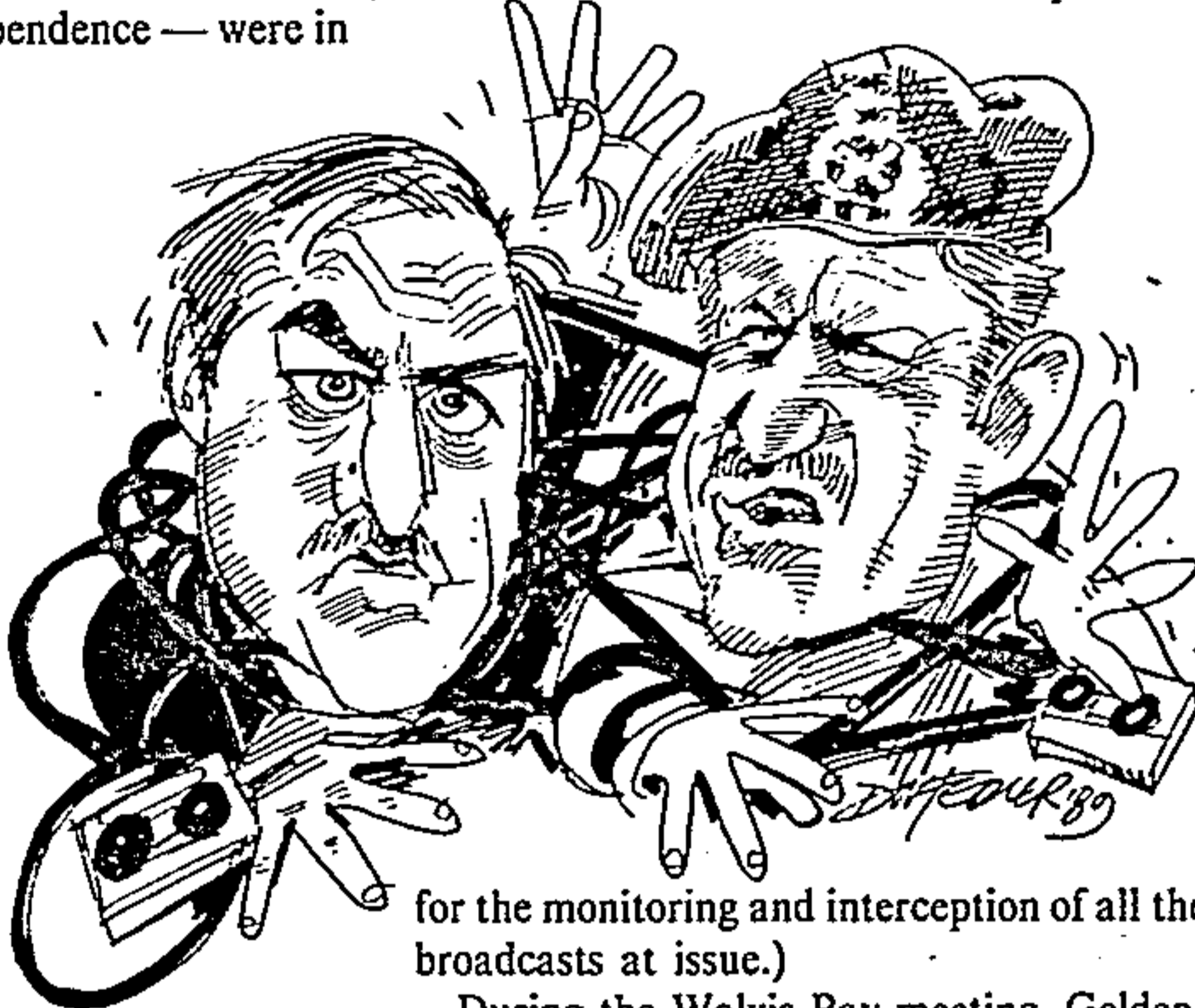
As Foreign Minister, Botha is ultimately responsible for the diplomatic credibility of government. In the same way, General Geldenhuys's position makes him accountable for intelligence provided by SADF units. There comes a point when ministers and generals simply have to trust the judgment and expertise of their subordinates. It seems certain that, somewhere down the line, someone screwed up badly — and someone else very nearly got away with the hoax.

As the *FM* went to press, investigators

were puzzled about the source of the messages. The SADF was still insisting they were genuine transcriptions of signals sent (and intercepted) on the frequency allocated to Untag's Kenyan contingent.

Why has Untag not been able to shed light on the possible source of these false messages? Another question: for how long did the SADF know about the supposed Swapo build-up?

Last week (Tuesday October 31) Geldenhuys briefed a number of military correspondents at Walvis Bay. (As it happens, an SADF unit based at Walvis was responsible



for the monitoring and interception of all the broadcasts at issue.)

During the Walvis Bay meeting, Geldenhuys (accompanied by Namibian Administrator-General Louis Pienaar) fully briefed correspondents about an alleged troop build-up by Swapo in southern Angola. He then requested the correspondents not to write about it, as any such reports before the elections would place the SADF in the middle of the political arena.

There can be no doubt that Botha acted on evidence which he was led to believe was true. The evidence was provided personally by Geldenhuys to Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan. Geldenhuys was accompanied by his Chief of Staff (Intelligence), Lieutenant General Witkop Badenhorst, and National Intelligence Service boss Niel Barnard. Foreign Affairs D G Neil van Heerden and his deputy Beukes were also present. Discussions lasted 40 minutes.

The Cabinet decided unanimously that Botha should disclose the information. This he did, after summoning ambassadors from some Western countries for briefing, and phoning UN representative Martti Ahtisaari in their presence. Botha said to the *FM*: "Condemn me about the political decision I had taken (to disclose), but do not condemn me for the facts at my disposal."

Fortunately, Botha was quick to travel to Windhoek to pick up the pieces. He was well received by Swapo's Sam Nujoma. "I explained to him and he thanked me for that. He gave me the assurance that no Swapo elements were making their way across the border. It was a friendly discussion. His reaction was more positive than what I can say about some others in SA."

Botha's role as negotiator during the Namibian peace talks is well known. He is committed to peace in the region, and so is his department. The attitudes of some members of the SADF, however, must be placed under scrutiny. In his initial reaction, the defence ministry's communications chief, Das Herbst, complained about references to certain members of the SADF as "mavericks and Rambos." These sorts of action — as now alleged by certain newspapers — do not represent the style of the SADF as he has come to know it, said Herbst.

His memory is short. The Renamo diaries, for instance, revealed an aggressive role by the SADF in Mozambique after the signing of the Nkomati Accord. And in the early Eighties, evidence was led in the Maritzburg hijack trial of certain SADF members' involvement in the aborted Seychelles coup; even the weapons were provided by someone in the force.

One thing's for sure: certain members of the security establishment are feeling very isolated. The acute embarrassment suffered by Pik Botha and government, at a vital stage of the Namibian peace process, should ensure that the culprits will be hunted assiduously.

Says government-supporting *Beeld*: "Whoever is responsible must be found and punished." The newspaper says it is chiefly the intelligence community which should examine itself. Has there been sufficient contact between these various authorities to verify the facts? asks *Beeld*. "We hope answers to these questions are found. It is not only in the interest of the country but also in the interests of the 'securocrats' whose esteem has undeniably received a setback."

Usually more conservative than its sister newspaper, the Cape-based *Die Burger* says only an investigation — proving beyond any doubt who was responsible, from whatever source — can heal the damage caused by this dangerous piece of disinformation.

We trust that government needs no such urging. Assuming that the SADF made transcriptions of messages in good faith, the mystery has two main components.

Who sent them? And why was their fraudulence not detected before they got to Pik Botha? ■

Namibia voters may get extra ^{ONE TIME} hours ^{11/11/87} 221

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — Namibian election managers and United Nations overseers go into the final round of nationwide voting today preparing to decide whether any polling stations should be kept open into extra time after tonight's scheduled 7pm deadline.

Officials at some 350 voting points expected a last-day rush by late-comers after the polling rate pushed towards 90% nationwide yesterday.

Amid general approval of the voting process, officials yesterday suggested that extended poll hours would be unnecessary and that election results apportioning seats in a constituent assembly could be known by Tuesday night.

Front-runner Swapo and its main rival, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), both claim to be heading for a majority hold on the 72-seat assembly. Capturing 48 seats will secure the two-thirds vote needed to pass a constitution.

Former US Secretary of State Mr Edmund Muskie arrived in Windhoek yesterday at the head of a 12-member observer mission assigned by President George Bush. Before flying to Ovambo, Mr Muskie said the visit was "a reflection of the long-standing interest of the US in this election".

The US was a founding writer of the independence plan embodied in UN Security Council Resolution 435.

Release of 600 people sought

WINDHOEK. — An urgent application was brought before the Supreme Court here yesterday for the release of about 600 people allegedly held by Swapo at Kwanza-Sul in Angola.

The hearing was postponed to next Friday.

The application was made by Headman Gottlieb Dan and a former Swapo member. — Sapa

Swapo may not get an overall majority

Star

11/19/89

(2)

DTA looks set to hold veto power

KEN VERNON

WINDHOEK — Namibia's independence election ends today with what is sure to be a more than 90 percent voter turnout.

Despite the high poll, the chances of Swapo attaining the magical two-thirds majority needed to write its own constitution seem more remote than ever.

Most informed observers give Mr. Sam Nujoma's party just 50 percent of the vote, with the second-running Democratic Turnhalle Alliance set to pick up around 35 percent.

With a two-thirds majority needed to approve any constitution the 72-member assembly comes up with this will give the DTA slightly more than the one-third needed to mainly the power to veto any provisions dislikes.

If these figures turn out to be correct, it will virtually ensure that another election will be needed some time in the new year to determine who will run the country.

● See Pages 2 and 11.

In that election a simple majority, just over 50 percent, would be enough for victory.

Swapo would probably win such an election, but could find any radical socialist redistribution policies hobbled by the provisions of a DTA-approved consti-

The possibility of any of the parties resorting to violence if frustrated in their election plans seems remote.

Yesterday Mr Nujoma gave his "personal assurances" to the National Party MP for Langsaagte, Dr Johann Vilonel, that there were no Swapo forces poised to enter Namibia from Angola.

Dr Vilonel was on a "private" visit to Windhoek to hold talks with Mr Nujoma.

He said Mr Nujoma had also assured him that Swapo would abide by the results of the election, no matter what the outcome.

There has been concern that former members of the South West African Territorial Force and Kooveet, who largely support the DTA, might also be planning violence.

It is known that former members of some SWATF battalions, such as 701 battalion in the Caprivi, have formed associations and have regular meetings to "keep in touch".

However if the DTA does as well as expected in the election, it is doubtful whether they will consider reactivating themselves.

A dark horse in the election could be the Namibian United Democratic Front, the party led by Mr Justus Garoeb.

With a solid 80 percent support base among the Damara people, the UDF is also reportedly securing a significant following in Kaokoland and the central white farming areas.

Valuable ally

It could secure up to 10 percent of the vote and constitute a valuable ally if it opts to join either Swapo or the DTA in any post-electoral alliance.

If there has been an unexpected turn of events in Namibia's election for a constituent assembly, it has been the fact that it has not been marred by violence.

The unexpected development has taken diplomatic observers and international journalists completely by surprise.

After a 23-year independence war that turned much of northern Namibia into an armed camp and that climaxed in the bloody mass incursion of Swapo guerrillas in April this year, leaving more than 350 dead, it was expected that anything could happen during this week's election — except peace.

One result has been an exodus of international pressmen from Windhoek.

"There's no story here," they say, packing their bags for East Germany or one of the world's other trouble spots.

But the real story has been the peace, and it augurs well for an independent Namibia.

Namibia's road to uhuru runs smooth

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BY BRENDAN SEERY

Weekend Argus

Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — The tired domestic worker was fed up with politics.

Democracy is about freedom of choice, she now knew. And her choice, she told her employer, would have been something other than spending eight hours in the hot sun waiting to vote on the first day of Namibia's long-awaited independence election.

She did so only because she thought voting was compulsory.

This woman was one of many Namibians who, never having voted before, had only the vaguest idea of how to go about it and even what it was all about.

Like the thousands of Namibians who are believed to have unwittingly spoiled their ballot papers simply because they did not know where to put the cross. Some were seen putting it on the outside of the folded ballot paper.

Tens of thousands like her, most of them willing if not excitedly enthusiastic in the wilting heat, had lined up patiently in queues that stretched as long as two kilometres on that first hectic day. UN and South African election officials,

cusations, but by the end of the week it looked as though most of the territory's 701 483 registered voters would have cast their ballots.

Reserved judgment

Most of those involved, from the political parties to UN Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari to Mr Pienaar to the observer groups, have reserved judgment on whether or not the whole procedure was free and fair.

Cynical political observers have remarked that parties in particular will hold fire on squealing about irregularities until it becomes obvious the results are not to their taste.

Both the DTA and Swapo hedged on the question when addressing voters in a nationwide television broadcast on the eve of the election. Swapo's Theo-Ben Gurirab made it clear his organisation believed that if things were free and fair, there would be a Swapo victory.

In such circumstances, Swapo would accept the result, he said. DTA's Katutire Kaura said things would all depend on whether or not the party's supporters had been intimidated or prevented from voting.



An Owambo woman from the wild, arid and inhospitable Kaokaland area in Namibia is given last-minute instructions on how to vote by a DTA party organiser.

Pictures: JOHN WOODROFF.

Argus

11/11/89

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and the hordes of foreign journalists here to cover 'uhuru' marvelled at the patience and good humour of voters.

There were hassles-a-plenty on the first day, but things ran much more smoothly after that, although there were still frequent reports of small polling stations running out of ballot papers or even ballot boxes as they were swamped by voters.

Administrator-General Louis Pienaar remarked that the conduct of the polls showed Namibians to be politically mature and an example to the rest of the world.

However, in one of the most monitored, supervised elections yet seen in Africa, Namibia's 10 political parties — covering the spectrum from right to left, via various ethnic stops in between — could not be seen to be trying to subvert the genuine will of the people.

There were disinformation campaigns, parties did undoubtedly break election ordinances, and there were plenty of accusations and counter-ac-



Picture: WILLIE DE KLERK Weekend Argus

Tired but in high spirits after their long journey to vote in the Namibian election were these DTA supporters, pictured at Cape Town station. The posters support many of the parties and the prize memento is a Swapo flag.

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Namibia poll attack scare

WINDHOEK — The United Nations despatched extra security to all polling stations in the populous northern Namibian region of Owambo following rumours that attacks would be launched on the booths by unidentified assailants, said UN spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard.

He said the rumours had become so prevalent that the UN ordered the Malaysian and Finnish battalions to immediately increase security at polling stations.

"Obviously, we are concerned by such rumours which have swept the northern area. Therefore, we do not want to take chances," Mr Eckhard said. — Sapa.

■ See page 5.

Swapo 'decisive win'

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S. Times 12/11/89

NAMIBIA 'INVASION' TAPES MYSTERIOUSLY DESTROYED

SECRET TAPES containing the "Untag messages" about an alleged Swapo incursion into Owamboland have been destroyed.

And no one in the SA Defence Force can explain why this vital proof was not preserved to support claims that an invasion of pre-independent Namibia was imminent.

Code

Highly placed sources confirmed this week that "not a single shred of evidence is available" to back up the transcripts of the alleged Untag messages that caused a diplomatic storm last week on the eve of the Namibian elections.

All that is available to the Government's team investigating the incident are about 700 transcripts of the phony messages transmitted on a frequency allocated to a Ken-

By DRIES van HEERDEN

yan battalion of Untag stationed near Tsumeb.

But the Sunday Times was told by a senior Government source:

"The Defence Force maintains it had the tape recordings. However, when pressed to produce them to substantiate its claims, it said the tapes had been destroyed within 24 hours — in accordance with standard procedures."

Sources said yesterday the SADF had been monitoring Untag wire traffic right from the outset of the UN expedition in Namibia. The messages were sent in a code which was broken by Defence Force experts with the help of computers.

"I think it is an open secret that we monitored their conversations," one source said. "They knew we were capable of breaking their codes."

The first "message" that Swapo was planning a last-gasp offensive in northern Namibia is said to have been picked up on October 26 — a week before the Foreign Minister, Mr Pk Botha, went public on the issue and put the army on red alert.

Over the next five days about 700 similar "messages" were intercepted. This led to top military men — including the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, and the Chief of Military Intelligence, Lieutenant-General "Witkop" Badenhorst — to believe Swapo was poised to launch a major armed incursion.

They in turn alerted the National Intelligence chief, Dr Niel Barnard, and the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden.

On Wednesday Mr Pk Botha and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, were called for an emergency meeting for an emergency briefing session.

They interrupted the Cabinet meeting to inform President F W De Klerk about the "gravity" of the situation. By yesterday no new light had been shed on who might have been responsible for the

elaborate hoax which severely embarrassed the Government. Two possibilities still remain:

● The hoax could have been perpetrated by "bored" members of the Kenyan battalion trying to stir up some excitement on the eve of the election.

Trespass

● Fingers still point to "dissident" army officers trying to dupe the Government into believing a Swapo incursion was imminent in an effort to wreck the Namibian elections.

Observers conclude that the authors of the alarmist messages either trespassed on the Kenyan frequency or fabricated the intercepts which were sent to Pretoria.

In an unprecedented move, President De Klerk announced this week that all future statements regarding the incident would be issued by his office.

This was seen in political circles as an attempt to prevent the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Defence Force from issuing conflicting statements which could further embarrass the Government.

By PETER KENNY: Windhoek

MR SAM NUJOMA's South West African People's Organisation was confident of a decisive win in Namibia's historic elections which ended last night after a whopping poll of well over 90 percent.

Swapo chief spokesman Mr Hiddpo Hamutenya told the Sunday Times: "We remain confident of a decisive victory — as we have been all along."

All indications are that Swapo will play the pivotal role in the formulation and policies of the new government once the newly elected Constituent Assembly has drafted a constitution for an independent Namibia.

Many Namibians are walking with bated breath to see who will be in charge of the world's newest nation — Africa's last colony — wondering whether Swapo will rule on its own or by coalition.

Swapo's main rival, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, remained cautiously optimistic it could pull in the most votes as the other eight parties wait in the wings for the pickings.

Rush

DIA vice-president Mshaka Muyongo said: "I expect the DIA to poll the most votes. But to talk of any party getting an overall majority with so many parties contesting is out of the question."

The Assembly being elected will have to obtain a two-thirds vote to pass the constitution, and should Swapo fail to obtain 67 percent of the votes it will have to rely on co-operation with other parties.

After a rush on the polls in blistering summer heat during the first two days of the five-day election, only a trickle turned up to vote yesterday. However, a more than 90 percent poll was already recorded by Friday.

981

boast

P.T.O



TOGETHERNESS: National Party MP Dr Johann Vilonel, shakes hands with Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma after they held talks yesterday. British Liberal-Democratic Party's Mr David Steele looks on. ● Picture by Jake Rykliff.

Kotze names environment watchdogs

OWN CORRESPONDENT

ENVIRONMENTAL Affairs Minister Mr Gert Kotze has named the members of the new environment council, which will act as an advisory body to the Government.

The chairman is Professor Roelf Botha, formerly of the department of architecture at the University of Pretoria.

Mr Eric Hall, a consultant engineer and the former city engineer of Johannesburg, is the vice-chairman.

Other members include Professor Richard Fuggle, Professor Raman Soni, Mr Jeffa Legetho, Mr Gawie Fagan, Dr Allan Heydorn, and Professor Roy Siegfried.

● See Page 5.

Lawyers wait for go-ahead on mock hangings campaign

PAT DEVEREAUX

PERMISSION to stage mock public hangings in city centres throughout the country, to bring home to the public the "barbarism" of the death penalty, is still being awaited from the authorities, says the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel).

Nadel has organised a week-long anti-death penalty awareness campaign.

Three more people were hanged in Pretoria on Thursday this week, bringing the total number of executions in South Africa this year to 52.

Nadel says the awareness campaign coincides with the 25th anniversary of the first political execution.

Tomorrow at midday, recently released African National Congress leader Mr Ahmed Kathrada will address an anti-death penalty protest meeting at Johannesburg's Nasrec centre.

The Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty in South

Africa questions how many people have been hanged in South Africa for crimes they did not commit, because they had no proper legal representation.

The society urged State President F W de Klerk and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, to institute an immediate moratorium on all executions, set up a judicial inquiry into the use of the death penalty and investigate methods of punishment, "which seek to cure rather than destroy".

A Nadel employee said the organisation's offices had been inundated with requests for petition forms calling for the abolition of the death penalty.

Forms are also available from trade union offices, churches and organisations such as the Black Sash, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee and the Five Freedoms Forum.

Nujoma hints at diplomatic ties with SA

WINDHOEK — Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma met a National Party MP yesterday and said he extended a hand of friendship to South Africa, and hinted at the possibility of opening diplomatic relations with the country.

He was speaking at the end of a meeting with Dr Johann Vilonel, MP for Langlaagte.

As Dr Vilonel left the Swapo leader's hilltop home in Katurua township outside Windhoek, the leader of Britain's Liberal Democratic party, Mr David Steele, arrived for talks with Mr Nujoma — another in a long line of international politicians making the pilgrimage to see the man expected to win the election.

Dr Vilonel said he told Mr Nujoma that since the election of President de Klerk "things have changed in South Africa". "Instead of a military approach to Namibia, South Africa has now adopted a justice approach," he said.

Dr Vilonel, who was born in Namibia, said that while he was

visiting Mr Nujoma in his private capacity, he had carried a "very positive message" about the South African Government to the Swapo leader.

He would be reporting back to his party on the talks — which he described as worthwhile.

On the question of future relations between the countries, Dr Vilonel said Mr Nujoma wanted good relations with South Africa and implied that this might include full diplomatic relations.

Mr Nujoma said peace and good relations with South Africa were central to the peace and prosperity of Namibia.

"As neighbours, we have no choice but to co-exist peacefully. President de Klerk can rest assured that Swapo is committed to peace and the implementation of Resolution 435.

"I would like to extend a hand of friendship to all whites to live in a free and independent Namibia."

KEN VERNON

R WATCH

Wits University lecturer David Webster was gunned down at his home. His killers are still

UN declares elections fair

By PETER KENNY

THE UN's Special Representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, last night gave the voting process in Namibia a clean bill of health.

"I have told the Administrator-General that I am satisfied that the voting process has been free and fair, and have agreed that the process of counting the votes should go forward, once all voting has concluded tonight," he told a press conference in Windhoek.

Mr Ahtisaari said the turnout for the poll had already reached a whopping 97 per cent. He said if there were still queues at polls last night, they would remain open to allow people to vote, but polling would not be extended beyond the deadline.

"This week the people of Namibia have given the whole world an exemplary lesson in democracy.

"I want to express my profound gratitude to all who have participated in the

organisation, running and supervision of the elections."

Mr Ahtisaari said that, apart from a few isolated incidents, the restrained conduct of political campaigns and the admirable co-operation with Untag's personnel, electioneering generally had been in accordance with high democratic standards which gave great hope for the future of Namibia.

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PERSPECTIVES 3

Pik: Man of Namibia

"DIPLOMACY" someone once remarked, "is the art of telling somebody to go to hell in such a way that he looks forward to the trip."

When the results of the Namibian election are announced on Wednesday, Africa's last colony will be irrevocably on the road to freedom — more, one would suspect, in spite of diplomats and their efforts at diplomacy than because of them.

However, one man's name will be written large over the last three decades of Namibian history — that of South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

The man pre-occupied for almost all his working life with the vexed problem of independence was assigned to the newly created South West Africa desk at the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1961 as a junior diplomat.

Letter

This week, as the territory entered the final phase of the independence process, he took some time off to savour reminiscences.

One of his most treasured possessions is a copy of a letter of recommendation written by the two leaders of the South African legal team during the World Court battle in The Hague in 1965, Advocates D P (Lang Dawid) de Villiers and G van R Muller. "Mr Botha," they wrote "impressed everybody with his exceptional competence and leadership qualities."



Dries

recounts highlights of P. W. Botha's remarkable link with Namibia

van Heerden

"There is no doubt in our minds that he is a man who will rise to the very top — and deservedly so."

The writers went on to greater things — Mr De Villiers became a senior counsel, chairman of the Nationale Pers Group and national chairman of the Democratic Party. Mr Muller served on the bench with great distinction. But Mr Botha, as predicted, surpassed them both. Never one con-

sent to languish in obscurity he entered politics as MP for Wonderboom where he immediately shattered centuries-old parliamentary traditions by making a highly contentious maiden speech — urging the Government to rethink its opposition to the concept of a Bill of Rights.

It took 18 years for the wheel to turn full circle. Only now is the issue of a Bill of Rights being seriously debated in National Party circles.

From the backbenches of Parliament he progressed to the high profile job of ambassador to the United Nations. The rough-and-tumble world of international intrigue, debate and counter-argument suited his brash style — even though back at home the Department of Foreign Affairs was still steeped in the stiff-upper-lip British tradition of diplomacy favoured by then Foreign Minister, Dr Hilgard Muller.

And the monkey of Namibia refused to climb off his back. No sooner had he reached New York than South African troops were involved in adventurist expeditions deep into



1974: Arriving in Capri

the heart of Angola.

The SA Defence Force hawks pre-empted foreign policy and the diplomats were left holding the baby. It was during one of his typically combative denials in a Security Council debate that Mr Botha was presented with proof that was thus far kept even from him — aerial reconnaissance photographs of South African troops en route to Luanda.

In 1977 he was recalled to South Africa and appointed Foreign Minister by Mr John Vorster. And like a lightning rod he attracted political trouble almost from the start.

A long simmering feud between the departments of Foreign Affairs and Information over whose views should prevail in external matters boiled over in the Info Scandal which eventually destroyed Mr Vorster's career.

Graveyard

Pressures were exerted on him in an ill-conceived run for the Prime Ministership. He lost dismally, but drew enough votes away from Dr Connie Mulder to enable Mr P W Botha to slip in by the back door. But the Namibian issue refused doggedly to go away. Very few people really believed it could be solved. It was destined to remain one of those hardy annuals on the United Nations agenda — Israel, Northern Ireland, Lebanon, Kampuchea and Namibia. For many a diplomat it was a



NOW: Man of the moment

graveyard of good intentions. Carlo, De Alva, U Thant, Escher, Waldheim, Andrew Young ... all came, saw and lost. P. W. Botha outstayed and eventually outsmarted them all.

When Don McHenry became US ambassador to the United Nations a West European diplomat predicted: "This is going to be a major blow-up. Both Botha and McHenry enjoy standing in a room forcing the rest

to listen to their speeches. Their big egos and impulsive characters will destroy the whole initiative."

It is now history that they did not. And when Dr Chester Crocker took over as US under-secretary for Africa, the negotiations on Namibia began in earnest. The calm and phlegmatic American proved to be the perfect foil to Mr Botha's propensity to shoot from the hip.

Legendary

But his encyclopaedic knowledge of the Namibian issue became legendary in the diplomatic community. There was just no way anyone could pull a fast one or slip something past him.

"That P. W. Botha," an exasperated American diplomat once confided. "He knows every comma and semicolon of every document ever drafted on Namibia. And he doesn't need much prompting to quote it back to you."

In his diplomatic endeavours Mr Botha was fortunate to be able to draw on the ability of some of the best career diplomats ever to serve

South Africa. Once the remarks about the Mafia" in the stuffy cc Union Buildings — a few youngsters who hitchhike to Mr Botha's coat-tail to the top.

But during the final Namibian negotiation their weight in gold. van Heerden, Hertzog, Derek Auret, André I late, Rusty Evans.

The history of months' shuttle diplomacy to be written. It will, things, show how oftenately close to the lapse. How late night heart of Africa or phone calls to friend Iron Curtalan saved the merous occasions.

Even with the goa the ball was nearly mystery "interception messages", claiming intentions to wreck nearly stopped the tracks.

But the wealth of back-door contacts over 30 years of dr and sleeping Namibia and sleeping Namibia, intricate both Mr Both Government from mess.

It is this experience stand Mr Botha in he has to start the di step with the fledgling of Mr Sam Nujorna.

AN ELDERLY black Lutheran pastor emerged from the killing fields of northern Namibia to vote for peace and declared: "This is the happiest day of my life."

In the distance, Angolan soldiers watched from the rubble of their shattered border post at Santa Clara, gazing across to Oshikango as Namibians scurried with purpose to the polls at nearby Engela.

Engela is a large Lutheran mission, one of many in the region started by Finnish missionaries who pioneered in the days when Namibia was a German colony before it was seized by South Africa during the First World War.

The dry and desolate scrubland in this area had been a major infiltration route for Swapo guerrillas in their 23-year war against Pretoria. The main road leading to Oshikango was also the invasion route South African forces used to enter Angola in their bid to stop Swapo at their launch pad.

Their acts led to Angola, Namibia, South Africa, Cuba and world super-powers — the United States and the Soviet Union — becoming embroiled in a vicious regional war that is over in Namibia but not in Angola.

The Owambo region, where almost half of Namibia's estimated 1.4-million people live, is Swapo country. The movement started there in the late '50s and launched its armed struggle there in 1966. Most of the fighting of the war took place there — 23 years of

terror, hardship and bloodshed for people living in areas like Engela.

Swapo is expected to win this week's five-day election for an assembly to write a constitution for an independent Namibia.

Namibians scurry to vote after years of terror and hardship

terror, hardship and bloodshed for people living in areas like Engela. Swapo is expected to win this week's five-day election for an assembly to write a constitution for an independent Namibia.

monitors in Namibia to ensure that the biggest and most expensive decolonisation exercise carried out by the United Nations is free and fair. "I think the elections will be declared free and fair. These people are so excited. This is a once-in-a-lifetime experience. This is the type of crash you would expect to see at a Disneyland show," he said.

Over 1 000 UN election supervisors from all over the world are part of the total task force of about 7 500. There are 4 400 UN troops in that complement.

Outside the Oshikuku polling station sat a sunburnt 21-year-old Lance-Corporal Michael Jones of an Australian Army engineering unit.

ECSTATIC

In Owambo, Swapo's support appears to be overwhelming, with its bright blue, green and red pendants fluttering from thousands of rural huts.

Pastor Nathaniel Shinana, a lanky, stooped man of 65, was ecstatic that peace has come to his area. The exuberance of his parishioners thronging to the polls was reflected in his bearing.

"I can walk straight now and share the joy of the people as they go to vote. We can now speak freely. The beatings and the torture have now stopped," he said.

The dusty polling station in a sizzling-hot classroom was guarded by a member of Swapo's former enemy, the South West Africa Police, watched cursorily by a Nigerian police sergeant, a Canadian mountie and a Dutch officer.

STAMPEDED

Pastor Shinana did not hide his sympathies. On his wall hung a picture of Swapo's bearded 60-year-old leader Mr Sam Nujoma, who was born in Owamboland and returned two months ago after 29 years in exile.

In the first day of voting in Owambo the people almost stampeded the polls, and in the first three days in that region more than 80 percent of the 249 000 registered voters cast their ballots.

At Oshikuku, in central Owambo, a mountie helped rescue an old man crushed in a voting queue, propping him up next to the poll and leaving him to cast his vote.

The man then collapsed and was taken to a nearby hospital with a woman and a baby who were also crushed.

Sergeant Harold Baydak of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police is one of 1 500 police

RUMOURS

He was resting after six weeks of furiously building car parks and bell-pads for voting stations and four mobile helicopter polling stations that reached out to the outlying areas of this vast land.

It appeared all is quiet in peaceful Owambo during the scorchingly hot election, despite pre-election rumours of a pending round of bloodshed from both Swapo and the DTA.

"We are sure we will win. We have not even considered losing. If we do it will mean the election has been rigged," said Swapo's deputy director of elections in Oshakati, Mrs Pashekuni Shoombe.

DISBANDED

Whites in Namibia's north fear that Swapo will resume the war if it does not match its election expectations.

However, many blacks fear they face the same misfortune from former soldiers of 101 Battalion and disbanded members of Koevoet if Swapo wins.

On Wednesday, after those who could had voted, the women and children of white policemen and officials in Oshakati were flown to South Africa as a "precautionary measure".

12/11/89
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S. Myers

Long wait nearly over as Namibians make their mark for freedom

US team to monitor votes

A 12-MEMBER delegation representing United States President George Bush arrived in Windhoek on Friday to observe the final days of voting and the counting process in the Namibian election.

The US Information Service said in a statement the delegation was headed by former Secretary of State Edmund Muskie and included three US Congressmen.

"We are here observing the election. We are not here to make pre-judgments," Muskie said on his arrival.

"We are here as a reflection of the long-standing interest of the US in this process."

The delegation arrived aboard a special US Air-force flight and transferred immediately to two smaller aircraft for departure to northern Namibia. They will visit polling stations throughout the country and return to Windhoek at the end of their visit early next week.



Thousands flock to a pre-election rally held by the National Patriotic Front of Namibia (NPF). Now the question is: who will win the election?

FIVE DAYS OF HEAT AND HOPE

Tension as snags threaten poll

By ZB MOLEFE

BY Monday Namibian voters didn't know where they were going to cast their votes.

The hours were ticking away. Somewhat belatedly, the office of the Administrator-General sprang into action on Monday and printed three daily newspapers with detailed descriptions of the more than 350 voting points.

Observers in Namibia to monitor the five-day elections said the situation was "unheard of". Voters should have been told well in advance where they could vote.

Swapo supporters were disappointed Winnie Mandela and Albertina Sisulu did not arrive. The two had been expected to give moral support to the Swapo campaign. Tuesday, the first voting day, was a headache for all concerned. Lengthy, sometimes unmanageable queues were the order of the day. Some voters complained they were obstructed by "overzealous" party supporters.

The Keetmanshoop mayor solved this problem by marching to the polling points in his town, asserting his mayoral authority - and the voters fell into orderly queues.

Swapo president Sam Nujoma was expected to cast his vote at the St Barnabas Primary school in Windhoek's Katutura township.

Record poll UN report

THE United Nations has reported that "an all-time percentage poll record may be achieved for fully democratic elections in Namibia."

Voting was scheduled to close at 7pm last night but both the UN and the administrator-general's office indicated the deadline could be extended if queues remained outside polling stations.

Addressing a media briefing, UN spokesman Fred Eckard said more than 80 percent of the territory's electorate had cast their vote by late on Friday.

"We are expecting a turnout of more than 90 per cent, which we believe will be saturation point."

Eckard said several election irregularities had occurred.

"The main irregularity took place at the Omega polling station - a former Bushman base - in Western Caprivi where we discovered about 100 voters had been helped by the presiding officer there.

"In terms of the election proclamation, the chief electoral officer can only assist illiterate voters outside the booth and in the presence of Uhagoficials and other monitors."

Two cases of attempted

bribery of voter officials in Tsumeb have also reported to the South African Police. Eckard described "somewhat of accusations by national aid or Oxfam, that they were not genuine as Swapo had more of a role than Unta

"Our press been full from the administrator and UN representatives on legislation to creating of the assembly."

More than of registered voters in northern Ovambo - Swapo strong their votes three days of

Percentage er areas have high, with L cent. the polling Latest figures Windhoek he poll with 77 corded.

It was the would pick when work who were off to vote, w to flock to when their 12pm. - Sat



CPress 12/11/89



At dawn on Tuesday, the first day of the polls, thousands of first-time voters lined up in a queue that stretched several kilometres down Katutura township's main street. Those who had not slept in the queue to ensure that they cast their ballots early in the day endured sweltering heat, as there was no shelter from the harsh desert sun.

Patience marks last steps to independence

By SUE BROWN

"WERE voting early so that we can win," said a cheerful woman in the queue.

"We have waited so many years for this, we can stand and wait a little longer now that we are in this line," an old man said.

And wait they did, mostly patiently, under a blindingly hot midday sun.

The first two days saw queues thousands strong in many places across the country. Swapo had called on people to vote early in the week.

At dawn on Tuesday, the first day of voting, a queue of voters stretched several kilometres down the main street in Windhoek's Katutura township.

At Ongwediva the crowd nearly broke down the the polling station door an hour before it was due to open.

There was chaos at Windhoek Airport polling station, where registered voters from SA had two hours to vote before their flights returned home.

Swapo had bussed in supporters and white farmers turned up with their labourers. One farmer wanted his crew to jump the queue so they could get back to work fast.

Eventually farmers let the fly-in voters take their places, saying they would come back another day.

The airport gates later were shut to all but those with plane tickets, and the queue turned lily-white. Polling stations were supposed to open at 7am and close at 7pm, but

Scores of overseas and local journalists, photographers and TV crews descended on the school long before the booth opened at 7 am.

South West African and Untag police kept strict order as the voters queued for more than three kilometres.

It soon became clear that Nujoma would not arrive. He had cast his vote at another polling point.

Crippled voters dragged themselves to the polling station. Thobias Hangula, 65, assisted by his South African born wife Mamaminbela, had been at the polling station since 5 am.

"We are going to get our independence," was his reply when asked what the elections meant to him.

The authorities had a hard time enforcing the 500-metre perimeter rule, which states no party may put up posters or other material within 500 metres of a polling booth.

A flood of fake pamphlets surfaced at Ongandjera in northern Namibia, the birthplace of Swapo leader Sam Nujoma. They were supposed to be a confidential memorandum to fighters of Plan, Swapo's military wing, in the area.

The pamphlets promised Plan members key positions in a new government.

Some of the incidents that marked the elections included:

■ Armed men in northern Namibia made sure voters cast their votes by sjambeking them.

■ A group of men in northern Namibia attempted to steal full ballot boxes at a voting point;

■ Nine polling booths in Ovamboland had to be closed 24 hours after voting opened because of a shortage of ballot papers and boxes;

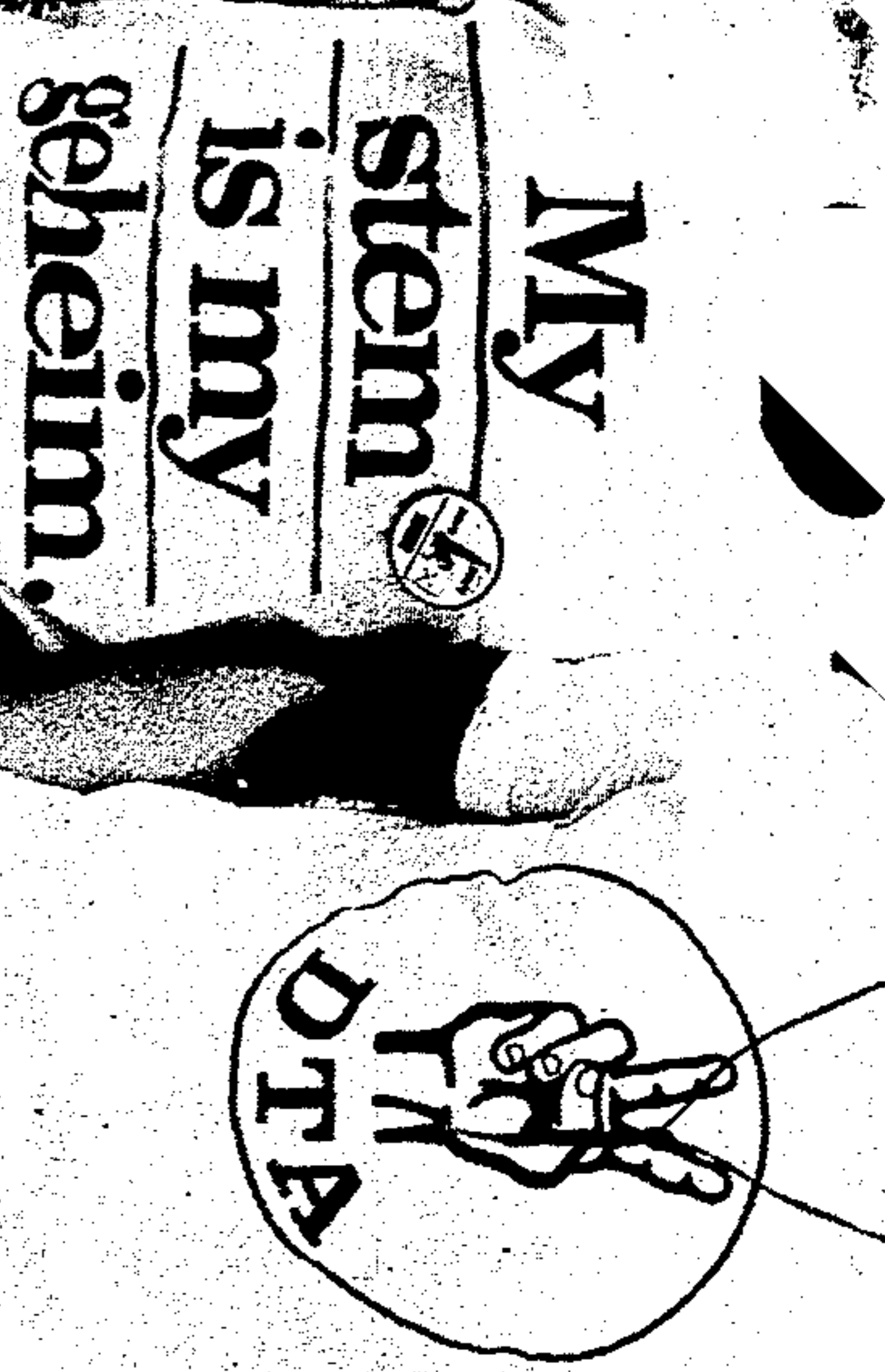
■ Unconfirmed reports said Malaysian members of Untag shouted "Viva Swapo. Aluta Continua" on a public address system at an Oshakati polling point, in violation of election rules; and

■ A journalist showed colleagues a number of spikes which had been planted on the road to a polling station in Katutura.

Spokesman for the Administrator-General Gerhard Roux said at a media briefing on Friday morning: "We must agree with Marti Ahtisari (UN Special Representative) that this is one of the best elections held anywhere."



Age, colour and creed made no difference to the voters who waited patiently together to cast their ballots. Apart from "minor" rule breaches and failed dirty tricks, things went better than hoped.



A nice election. My vote is my secret although I wear a Swapo

Other news swam Namibian election

THE East German crisis and Thursday night's shock opening of the infamous Berlin Wall has buried reports sent home by hundreds of foreign journalists covering Namibia's elections deep inside their newspapers.

In London, most of the "quality" Fleet Street newspapers dutifully recorded the start of voting on Tuesday with photographs and descriptions of the long queues and generally peaceful atmosphere amid the dust and heat.

British television treated viewers to a brief spectacle of ochre-streaked traditionally-dressed Ovahimba tribesmen practicing drawing crosses — for many the first time they had ever held a pencil — on mock ballot papers.

Stately Herero women in their brightly coloured and multi-layered dresses and headgear were filmed sailing like ships across shimmering flatlands as they "trekked for days" to the polling booths.

A beaming Sam Nujoma was shown casting his vote in Katutura and proclaiming victory with a raised clenched fist.

But the Namibian election was quickly swamped by imported closer to home.

Angry East Germans took to the streets in their hundreds of protesting their right to freedom of communism, and the bitter balance's strike worsened police and camouflaged troopary vehicles ferrying patients to hospitals.

The efforts of newspaper editors, many of them entering colourful articles from far posts in Namibia, as well as reports, were slashed by a handful of paragraphs with a picture, before relegation to the middle of inside pages.

The *Financial Times* commented only a handful of African coalition multi-party democracies, an were doubts whether Namibia an exception to the rule outside world continued to support the democratic process the election.

It should be made clear government that aid would its human rights record, the said. — Sapa.

Namibia and free vote

CAPT Tim's
13/11/89

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From KEVIN JACOBS
WINDHOEK. — Namibians will hear first results today from a historic election for independence that has begun cutting the territory loose from 74 years as South Africa's fifth province.

In a declaration to offset possible challenges to last week's polling, United Nations special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari declared the election "free and fair" as voting stations prepared to close on Saturday.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said South Africa stood ready to recognise the results of the election as certified by Mr Ahtisaari and was ready to work constructively with the future Namibian government.

With statistics from 38 voting points outstanding yesterday, 95.5% of the territory's

701 437 registered voters had cast ballots in the five-day election, prompting Mr Ahtisaari to claim that "the people of Namibia have given the whole world an exemplary lesson in democracy".

"They have waited many years for this opportunity to take their future into their own hands," he said.

Administrator-general Mr Louis Pienaar also gave his approval.

Gaslight voting

"We are completely satisfied that every Namibian who was entitled to, had the opportunity to vote," his spokesman, Mr Gerhard Roux, said yesterday. "We cannot believe that anyone can express dissatisfaction."

A flood to the polling points continued up to the voting deadline and officials working by gaslight kept some rural stations open beyond Saturday's scheduled 7pm shutdown to clear lines of latecomers.

First results by district were expected from smaller areas today, but are unlikely to signal trends.

"All the ballot boxes are now in transit, from far afield," Mr Roux said. "It's a vast expedition that is now taking place."

Under a proportional representation system, party candidates on lists already submitted to Mr Pienaar will be allocated seats according to total votes gained by each party.

Overall seat allocation, showing up party strengths and thus the loose shape of Namibia's first sovereign government, may be made known by late Wednesday, Mr Ahtisaari and Mr Roux said.

On Saturday, Mr Ahtisaari gave his crucial first endorsement to the voting process in terms of UN Security Council Resolution 435 that blueprinted the independence programme.

"I have told the administrator-general I am satisfied the voting process has been free and

fair, in accordance with Resolution 435, and have agreed that the process of counting the votes should go forward," he said soon after the scheduled close of polls.

As UN supervisor, Mr Ahtisaari has also to certify the vote-counting process before finally ruling the landmark election as "free and fair" to ensure world recognition of Namibia's independence.

Nujoma's goal

Sapa reports that Mr Sam Nujoma, the leader of Swapo which is expected to win most of the votes in the election, said his organisation's ultimate goal was to see apartheid eradicated in South Africa and that it would support "liberation movements".

He told the Zimbabwean national news agency Ziara that the Namibian elections were not only for the Namibian people but "the whole of Africa and an inspiration for blacks in South Africa still under apartheid".

Latest

DTA draws first blood in Namibian election

17/06/89
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WINDHOEK. — First blood in the Namibian election has been drawn by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, who gained the most votes in Namibia's smallest voting district, Bethanie, whose results were announced first.

The DTA polled 1 153 votes, Swapo 398, Action Christain National 258 and the United Democratic Front 69.

The total number of ordinary votes cast was 1 990 and 33 were spoilt.

There were 319 tendered votes which still have to be verified by the central voters' registry in Windhoek.

Bethanie is in the sparsely populated arid part of southern Namibia and includes a part of Namaland.

BIG COUNT

Meanwhile the Big Count is under way in elections that have drawn 98 percent of voters.

As the most expensive and closely monitored election in African history ended, South African Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar appealed to Namibians to "remain calm" during the vote-counting, which began at 7am today.

Mr Pienaar's chief spokesman, Mr Gerhard Roux, told Namibians yesterday: "We have come a long way over a difficult road and it would be tragic if we were to stumble at the last hurdle."

The leading players in the elections — chief United Nations special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari, Mr Pienaar, South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Pik Botha, Swapo and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — all agree that the polls have been free and fair.

TIGHT SECURITY

Mr Roux said UN and South African teams were imposing tight security measures at the 23 counting stations, where ordinary votes were being tallied.

As counting is completed electoral officers are to confer with the chief electoral officer, Mr A G Visser, and his Untag counterpart, Mr Hisham Omayad. They in turn are to confer with Mr Pienaar and Mr Ahtisaari, who is to authorise the release of each result.

Windhoek (108 382) and Owamboland (248 272) will probably be the last to complete their counting.

The results of all ordinary votes are to be forwarded to the central counting centre in Windhoek, where the results of tendered ballots are to be included.

If all goes well, the counting could be completed by Wednesday. — Argus Africa News Service and Sapa.

The Namibian election

Five momentous days

By JON QWELANE, Argus Africa News Service, in Oshakati

It was five days of voting, disinformation, peace and uncertainty as Namibians went to the polls for most of last week.

And South Africa's townships, from Soweto to Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town, came to Namibia in the form of more than 300 mini-bus taxis which volunteered to ferry voters to the polls — most of them serving in northern Namibia.

The counting of votes began today and by Wednesday night Namibians will know which way the five-day independence elections, which ended on Saturday, went.

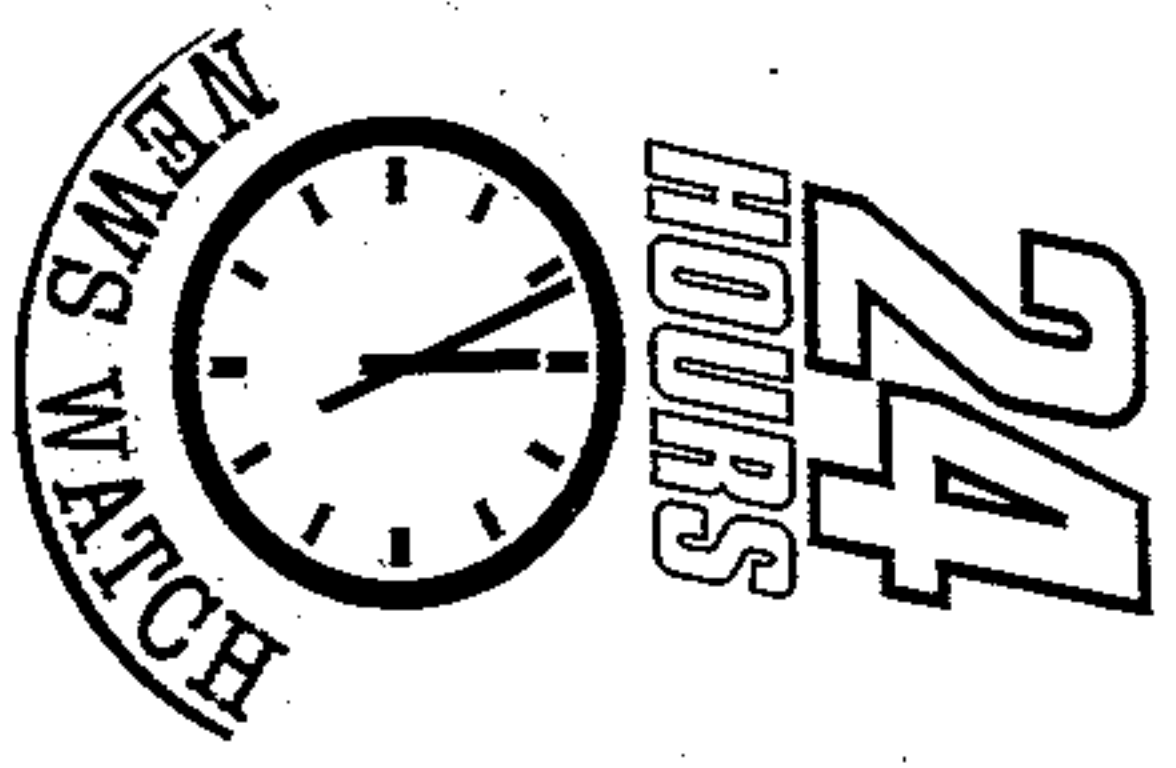
It was the world's most closely watched election, with scores of observers in place to see if the 10-cornered contest was free and fair.

Observers

The observers came from all over the world, representing governments and various agencies, as well as political blocs such as the Frontline States, the Organisation for African Unity and the Commonwealth.

Among them were fairly prominent personalities such as Mr David Steel, former leader of the Liberal Party in Britain and Dr Esther Lagagan and Mr Tiaan van der Merwe of the Democratic Party in South Africa.

The elections were the culmination of six months of intense preparation which, after having been put off several times in the last few years by bickering and disagreements, finally got off the ground on April 1 this year — to be immediately threatened by large-scale incursions of armed Swans



guerrillas in Northern Namibia.

About 700 000 Namibians registered to vote and at the close of the polling stations on Saturday night the vast majority of voters had cast their ballots.

The greatest enthusiasm was shown perhaps in the north where, many believe, the contest will eventually be won or lost.

Voting rate

On more than one day in various polling locations voters had to be turned back because electoral officers ran out of ballot boxes and papers. The rate of voting in many instances was at an average of one and a half ballots a minute for the 12 hours of voting each day.

The elections were the task for which United Nations Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari came to Namibia in the first place. His job was to control and supervise the process.

He travelled for two days around the northern polling stations by helicopter, seeing at first hand some of the problems which, while not

threatening to disrupt the elections, held up proceedings considerably.

The rotund Finnish diplomat, nicknamed "Martti-on-Safari" by journalists accompanying him through his tour of the voting locations, has one major task left now.

He must, after all the votes have been counted, certify the result as the product of free and fair elections.

Free, fair

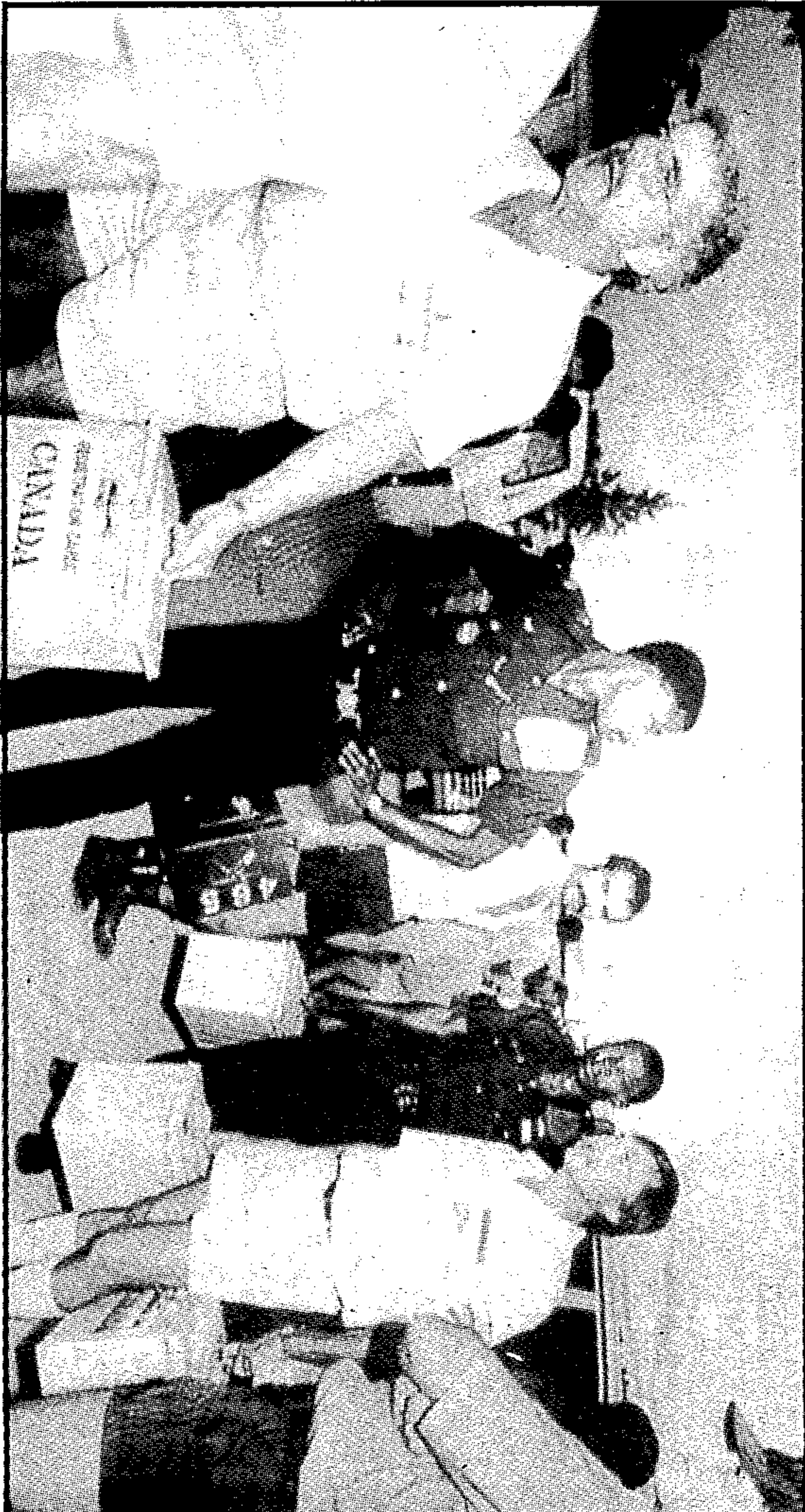
When voting ended on Saturday night Mr Ahtisaari indicated that thus far the elections had been free and fair.

The violence of three weeks before in Owambo, which had ended four lives and threatened to disrupt the elections in this part of the country, was mercifully absent throughout the five days of voting.

A child was killed and two others injured in a grenade explosion, and two men died when a buried landmine detonated. Both incidents happened during the elections in Owambo, but both explosives were old weapons apparently buried in the soil during the war which led to the independence elections.

Pamphlets sowing disinformation were a prominent feature of the elections and the target of the compliers was Swapo which, most observers here believe, should do very well when the result is announced.

In Oshakati, Ongwediva and Ondangwa a group of men sitting in the back of a bakke bearing the name of a security firm travelled around dropping the pamphlets. A common feature of the men was an olive green



Ballot boxes are carried by United Nations monitors to a storage strongroom in Oshakati at the end of voting in the Namibian town.

canvas belt such as worn by the military and the police.

Pamphlets were also thrown out of a moving bus and earlier in the week two young boys in Oshivelo said they had seen two white men in a four-wheel drive vehicle dumping leaflets by the roadside, while thousands of others were dropped all over Owambo from a light aircraft.

Most of the pamphlets remained where they were dropped. It does not look as though the "propaganda" about detain

ees allegedly still being held in Zambia and Angola by Swapo did any great damage to the party at the elections.

But less than a week before the elections a nasty bit of disinformation almost scuttled the independence process at the last minute.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, quoting from fake "intercepted messages", alleged that there was a massive buildup of Swapo fighters on the northern frontier and warned that South Africa would take whatever steps it

tain any cross-border violations. For good measure, the South African Defence Force was placed on full alert.

'Backfired'

The bogus messages have since been linked by some observers here with the bombarding of voters with the anti-Swapo smear pamphlet.

And, say other observers, the tactic may well have backfired — it could have driven even more voters into Swapo's arms once the messages were proved as fakes. Mr Botha's sudden tri of

appassment to Namibia after his outburst was seen in some quarters as a boost to Swapo's prestige. Among those the Minister saw when he came to Windhoek was, not insignificantly, Swapo's president Mr Sam Nujoma.

Until Wednesday it will be three days of nailbiting for most of the 10 parties which contested the elections.

After the result, the country will know for certain which 72 elected representatives will meet next week to form the Constituent Asserhrly

Namibians urged to remain calm

By Brendan Seery and John Ryan,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — As the most expensive and closely monitored election in African history ended with a voter turn-out of more than 95 percent, South African Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar appealed to Namibians to remain calm during the vote-counting, which started at 7 am today.

Mr Pienaar's chief spokesman, Mr Gerhard Roux, told Namibians yesterday: "We have come a long way over a difficult road and it would be tragic if we were to stumble at the last hurdle."

With results from 38 polling stations still outstanding, 95,55 percent of registered voters had cast their ballots in the election, said Mr Roux. He said the outstanding results were from northern polling stations and would not drastically affect the percentage poll.

Mr Roux said UN and South African teams were imposing tight security measures at the 23 counting stations countrywide.

RESULTS

The first results, from smaller centres such as Bethanie (2 464 registered voters) and Mal-tahöhe (2 635 voters), may possibly be out late this afternoon.

The districts of Windhoek (108 382 voters) and Owambo (248 272 voters) will probably be the last to complete their counting.

The results of all ordinary votes will be forwarded to the central counting centre in Windhoek, where the results of tendered ballots will be included.

If all goes well, the final counting could be completed by Wednesday.

The final result will be announced on the steps of the Windhoek Showgrounds counting hall.

● See Page 3.

40-year dispute ⁽²²⁾ over Namibia has now ended - Pik ^{Stow}

The South African Government stood ready to recognise the results of the Namibian election as certified by UN special representative Mr Maarti Ahtisaari and was ready to work constructively with the future Namibian government, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

"The most important phase of the independence process of Namibia has come to a successful conclusion," Mr Botha said in a statement from Pretoria.

"As far as I am concerned it ends the international dispute that has raged for more than forty years since the inception of the United Nations, and which, aside from apartheid, constituted the most important line of attack against South Africa.

SMOOTHLY

"I am grateful the elections proceeded as they did, so Mr Ahtisaari could declare that the electoral process fulfilled the requirements of Resolution 435."

Mr Botha expressed his gratitude to Mr Ahtisaari and his staff for their co-operation that had enabled the election to proceed as smoothly as was humanly possible.

"Mr Ahtisaari and I have been working towards the execution of a peace plan for Namibia for eleven years. I have come to know him as a man of integrity and Namibia can be glad that such a person could play umpire during the difficult final phase of the electoral process," said Mr Botha.

He said three important phases remained: the counting of the votes, which would hopefully be completed by Wednesday; the composition of the 72-member constituent assembly who would write the constitution for an independent Namibia; and independence for the territory.

"The South African Government trusts that these three phases will be concluded peacefully and wishes success to all the parties that will work on the new constitution," he said.

"Namibia's independence is of great historic importance for the whole of Africa; it is the last country of the colonial era to gain independence.

"I am thankful that the election in this particular country, with its many contrasts and turbulent history, took place peacefully," Mr Botha said. — Sapa.

It's a lesson in democracy for the world - Ahtisaari

WINDHOEK — Thirty minutes after Namibia's election ended, UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari called the balloting "free and fair" — a declaration necessary for the counting to begin at 7 am today in the 23 regional centres.

"The people of Namibia have given the whole world an exemplary lesson in democracy," Mr Ahtisaari said on Saturday night, commenting on the lack of violence, few incidents of intimidation, the patience and the enthusiasm of the voters, most of whom were casting a ballot for the first time.

"We are completely satisfied that the election process was free and fair and that each and every Namibian had the chance to cast his vote," Administrator-

General Mr Louis Pienaar said yesterday.

The main election contestants — Swapo and the DTA — have also agreed.

When the counting is completed, Mr Ahtisaari will decide whether the entire election process met UN requirements. He will then make a recommendation to the UN Security Council.

Once the UN certifies the election as having been free and fair, there will be one week before the first official sitting of the Constituent Assembly elected by the voters.

The 72 members will be chosen on a proportional representation and party list system similar to that used in Zimbabwe's 1980 independence election. — Associated Press.

13/11/89

AFRICA

Namibians hear first poll results today

881 B. Young 13/11/89

Journalist detained in Angola
 WINDHOEK — Die Republiek's editor, Des Erasmus, said at the weekend confirmation of staffer Martin Erasmus's detention in Angola was received from a colleague in northern Namibia on Saturday, although it was still not clear why he was detained.
 Colleagues said it was unlikely Erasmus, a former high-ranking officer in the SWA Territory Force's 101 Battalion, would unwillingly cross the border.
 Erasmus said Erasmus was on a round-up of election events in the north when he disappeared. — Sapa.

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announce the following highlights from the year 1989.

| 1989 | 1988 | Percentage Increase |
|-----------|-----------|---------------------|
| R'000 | R'000 | |
| 27 386 | 24 230 | 13 |
| 1 427 650 | 1 306 432 | 9 |
| 30,5% | 32,7% | |

year, recording a 13% growth in taxed income excess of 30%.
 sion reaching a total of assets under management

WINDHOEK — Namibians will hear first results today from an historic election for independence that has begun cutting the territory loose from 74 years as SA's fifth province.
 In a pre-emptive declaration to offset possible post-result challenges to last week's polling, Unlag chief Martti Ahtisaari ruled the five-day election "free and fair" as voting stations prepared to close on Saturday.

SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha said the voting "ends the international dispute that has raged for more than 40 years since the founding of the UN".

With statistics from 38 voting points outstanding yesterday, 95,5% of the territory's 701 437 registered voters had cast ballots in the five-day election, prompting a beaming Ahtisaari to claim that "the people of Namibia have given the whole world an exemplary lesson in democracy".

KEVIN JACOBS

"They have waited many years for this opportunity to take their future into their own hands," he said, hailing a high point of the billion-rand operation — the UN's biggest, most costly and most ambitious.

Administrator-General Louis Pienaar also gave approval. Spokesman Gerhard Roux said yesterday: "We are completely entitled to, had the opportunity to vote."

A flood to polling points for Namibia's first, world-watched, national election continued by gashlight kept some rural stations open beyond Saturday's scheduled 7pm shutdown to clear lines of late-comers.

First results, by district, were expected from smaller areas today. While they are unlikely to signal trends, the reports will be received enthusiastically by functionar-

ies of the 10 parties seeking places in the 72-seat constitutional assembly.

"All the ballot boxes are now in transit, from far afield," Roux said. "It's a vast expedition that is now taking place."

Under a proportional representation system, party candidates on lists already submitted to Pienaar will be allocated seats according to total votes gained by each party.

Overall seat allocation showing up party strengths, and thus the loose shape of Namibia's first sovereign government, may be made known by late Wednesday, Ahtisaari and Roux said.

On Saturday the Unlag boss gave his crucial first endorsement to the voting process in terms of UN Security Council Resolution 435.

"I have told the Administrator-General that I am satisfied that the voting process has been free and fair, in accordance with

resolution 435, and have agreed that the process of counting the votes should go forward," he said soon after the scheduled close of polls.

Ahtisaari must also certify vote-counting before finally ruling the landmark election as "free and fair" to ensure world recognition of Namibia's independence.

UN officials and foreign diplomats see Unlag's operation as a model for problem-solving in other world friction points such as Cambodia and Western Sahara.

Ahtisaari said of the foreign force: "Their dedication, expertise and stamina have been an inspiration and beyond praise."

"They have performed in the very highest traditions of the organisation and have shown, once again, how vital the role of the UN is in helping resolve the world's intractable problems."

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DTA

SURPRISE

CAP TIPS 14/11/89 221

From KEVIN JACOBS and Sapa
WINDHOEK. — Namibia's election for sovereignty moved towards a climax as hard-pressed vote-counting officials worked overtime to tally results that could show Namibians later today the face of their first independent government.

Swapo and its arch-rival, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, both proved vote-pulling power in early results, with the DTA holding a surprising lead over Swapo after 14 of 23 voting districts had reported poll results.

Swapo alleges dirty tricks

WINDHOEK. — Swapo alleged dirty tricks against the party yesterday as the first poll results began trickling in.

It accused unnamed opponents of preparing to use military force to prevent what it called its inevitable victory.

Swapo also said it was angered by a report in a newspaper controlled by the DTA suggesting Swapo would resume its war if it did not win.

"We are going to win a landslide election," said top Swapo official Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab.

The report about which Swapo complained alleged that Swapo chief Mr Sam Nujoma had made a dash to Zambia for talks with President Kenneth Kaunda on ways of continuing the armed struggle in the event of defeat.

DTA man 1st representative

WINDHOEK. — The DTA's senior vice-president, Mr Mshaka Muyongo, was beside himself with joy yesterday at having become the first representative to the Namibian constituent assembly.

"That is good news, but is it possible?" he asked.

Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma became the second representative to be elected to the 72-member constituent assembly.

Mr Nujoma could not be reached for comment yesterday. Inquiries at Swapo headquarters were met with a curt

reply that Mr Nujoma was not available to speak to the media.

"I hope this trend continues," Mr Muyongo said, but added Ovambo — the largest voting district — was the big question.

Nobody knew what the voters of Ovambo had been thinking at the polls, he said.

Mr Muyongo said he thought voters in southern Namibia had rejected Swapo, particularly in the Namaland area, thought to be the stronghold of Swapo vice-president Mr Hendrik Witbooi.

But crucial tallies from populous Windhoek and Ovambo — that could swing heavily in the former guerrillas' favour — were still unreported last night.

It is possible the final result will be known this morning, according to Untag's computer systems manager, Mr Harry Neufeld.

This would depend on whether votes were in from the districts, he said late yesterday from a top-security co-ordination centre at Windhoek's showgrounds.

Based on votes gained nationwide, political parties will be allocated seats in the 72-member constituent assembly under a proportional representation system.

With an estimated 670 000 acceptable votes, every 9 300 votes will secure a seat in the assembly, which is charged with writing a constitution and passing it into law by a

EARLY RESULTS

— Page 2

two-thirds majority.

Leaders of both front-runners were predicting convincing victories, but DTA officials have said they would be happy to secure one-third of the national vote that would give the party veto power.

"Swapo will win a landslide victory," party official Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab told reporters yesterday as first regional vote-counts were broadcast.

Late last night the results of nine of the 23 voting districts were still outstanding, including those of the key election districts.

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance was retaining its lead in the number of votes cast, but a discernable trend will emerge

only once the results are announced in Windhoek and Kavango.

The DTA had 68 943 of the ordinary votes polled and Swapo 45 154.

Calculated on the basis of 9 300 votes for every representative, the DTA has already won at least seven seats and has a few thousand votes in hand for its next, Swapo at least four seats and well on its way to a fifth seat, and the United Democratic Front at least one seat and on its way to a second.

The DTA has polled to date 45.2% of the votes allowed against Swapo's 29.6%.

The UDF — a coalition built on Damara foundations that has picked up momentum and support in the past six weeks — ran an expected third place with 15 872.

Slightly behind the UDF was Action Christian National (ACN), the whites-only remnant of the once-powerful National

Party, with 6 816 votes. The Federal Convention had 6 250 and the National Patriotic Front 5 669.

It appeared last night that the Christian Democratic Action, the Namibian National Democratic Party, Swapo-Democrats and the Namibian National Front would lose their deposits.

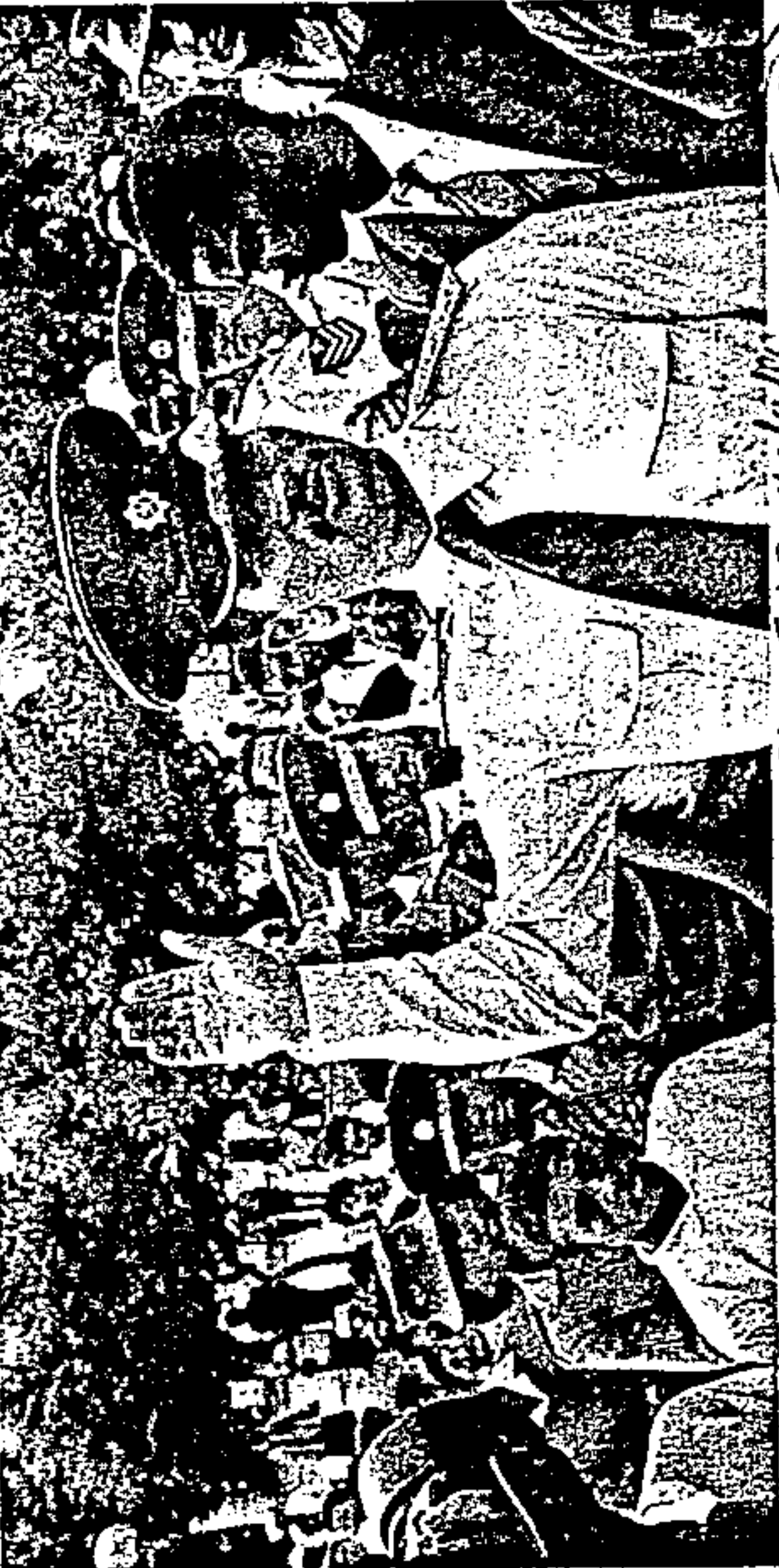
The cumulative total of votes cast in the districts where results have been announced are 15 251 ordinary votes and 27 175 tendered ballots.

Tendered ballots are offered by voters who arrived at polling stations without registration cards or identity documents, or both, and are identified by sworn statements.

Personal details of those voters are verified in a computerised list before their ballots are placed in a pool to be counted.



TOP RIGHT: Lt Gregory Rockman with members of his union at Mitchell's Plain yesterday morning. ABOVE: Lt Rockman is hoisted aloft after his court appearance in Mitchell's Plain yesterday. Picture: Abil Bradlow



Rockman in court

By YVETTE VAN BREDA

REDEL policeman Lieutenant Gregory Rockman was released on warning after a brief appearance in the Mitchell's Plain Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with attending an illegal gathering and defeating the ends of justice.

Lt Rockman, who was not asked to plead, faces charges under the Internal Security Act.

Immediately after his appearance, a policeman, three civilians and 11 prison warders appeared in connection with attending an illegal gathering.

Lt Rockman and the 15, most of whom are prison warders and

transfer from the Mitchell's Plain police station to the police quartermaster in Pinelands. He was arrested after addressing a crowd from a platform at the square.

About 120 people crammed into court yesterday and waited for more than an hour before the magistrate, Mr S Du Toit Malherbe, adjourned both matters to November 23.

People in the public gallery clapped and shouted "Amandla" as the other men left the dock soon after.

Two of these men were granted bail of R200 each and the rest released on warning.

Miss J.H. Shuter represented Mr Malherbe and Mr T. Pappas appeared for the accused.

Observers outshine voters in Namibian election

EVEN if all the participants do not agree that the Namibian elections have been "free and fair", or alternatively, should they prove to be the last free elections in the country's history, no-one can doubt that these are certainly among the most closely observed elections of all time.

There is nothing like an old-fashioned exercise in African democracy to bring earnest public figures flocking out from Europe and America.

They have arrived in their funny hats and their bush gear, their safari shorts and their bulbous four-wheel drive vehicles. Former Liberal leader David Steel stole the show with an inexcusable khaki safari suit and sun-block smeared all over his face. In spite of his precautions, he still managed to turn a livid pink.

When a Namibian voter arrived at his local polling station last week, he was confronted by at least seven UN officials and the same number of South Africans. Inside the station sat observers from the 10 participating political parties.

The party observers were ensuring the SA officials were playing fair. The South Africans and party observers were at the same time being

monitored by the UN officials.

Meanwhile, the UN observers were being observed by Scandinavian civil rights groups, by American Lawyers' foundations, by Oxfam, the OAU, British Conservative MPs, American Congressmen and a delegation of European parliamentarians.

This crowd, in turn, was being observed by a portion of the 1 200-strong Press corps. As the country had a population of just over a million people, this allowed for one journalist per thousand locals.

Observing therefore became the key issue — indeed almost an end in itself — during the past week.

On Tuesday, the day the polls opened, Namibian elections became the victim of their own success — too many people wanted to vote and huge queues formed outside polling stations all over the territory.

The political parties screamed "foul", the UN supervisors were

branded incompetent fools and the Finnish official in charge of the process, Martti Ahtisaari, was forced to charter a plane to the north of the country to ensure all was free and fair. He was observed by 70 journalists who travelled with him in his aircraft.

Ahtisaari rushed to two polling stations. The UN observers were there all right, the South Africans, and the Press of course.

The only problem was that by the time the Finn arrived, no fewer than 90% of the locals in Owamboland had already voted. There were plenty of observers, just no voters to observe.

Nevertheless, Ahtisaari felt confident enough to pronounce his elections "90% free and fair", which on the evidence of most observers' experience, would seem to be true. A 90% fairness achievement, in a country the size of western Europe, where a majority of the population is

illiterate, would seem a commendable record for the UN.

The UN does indeed appear to have been successful in eradicating serious intimidation of voters. Most importantly, the UN managed to maintain peace in Owamboland, which until only 12 months ago was the battleground in a 23-year bush war between SA security forces and Swapo guerrillas.

What the UN could not guard against was the eccentric voting habits of many of the voters: some Nama tribeswomen in the south of the country preferred to write the name of their favoured party on the wall of the polling booth rather than merely mark a cross on the ballot paper provided.

It was a certain bet that at least a few thousand of Namibia's 700 000 voters had inadvertently chosen a party they did not intend to vote for, but then there was little the UN could do to stop that.

Whether the first independent Namibian government will justify the cost of £300m for the UN operation remains to be seen. The bill amounts to almost half of Namibia's annual GNP. Somehow, one cannot help thinking the money might have been better spent on shoring up Namibia's struggling economy.

Namibia's long-postponed elections have been a well-staged piece of theatre which have to be performed before the world can leave Namibia in its obscurity.

Everyone knows that Swapo is going to win a simple majority. But Swapo desperately wants to secure the two-thirds of the popular vote to allow it to write the independence constitution itself.

The trouble is likely to begin later this week when the results are announced and Swapo is found to have done worse than it has hoped, or better than whites have feared.

But UN officials are justified in claiming that the elections have been a success so far. Either way, it seems inconceivable that anyone will be prepared to pay another £300m to repeat the whole exercise.

— The Daily Telegraph.

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STEPHEN ROBINSON in Windhoek

Business day

LETTERS

Namibia! The results

GOBABIS

DTA 10 539
 Swapo 2 119
 ACN 1 801
 UDF 374
 Total votes: 15 823 (139 papers were spoilt and an additional 2 104 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 94,88.

REHOBOTH

DTA 6 590
 Swapo 2 460
 FC 4 499
 UDF 326
 Total votes: 14 583 (219 ballots rejected and 2 590 tendered votes that have to be verified by the central registry in Windhoek).
 Percentage poll: 100,26.

OUTJO

DTA 2 658
 Swapo 984
 ACN 719
 UDF 1 186.
 Total votes: 5 723 (145 ballot papers were rejected).
 Percentage poll: 96,05.

KARASBURG

DTA 7 729
 Swapo 1 830
 ACN 3 588
 UDF 651
 Total votes: 14 363 (107 papers were rejected and an additional 4 400 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 103,35.

MALTAHOHE

DTA 579
 Swapo 758
 ACN 355
 UDF 344
 Total votes: 2 204 (62 ballot papers were spoilt and an additional 324 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 98,29.

MARIENTHAL

DTA 6 584
 Swapo 2 411
 Aksie Christelik Nasionaal 1 319
 UDF 878.
 Total votes: 11 750 (133 ballots were rejected and 2 257 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 96,65.

HEREROLAND

DTA 8 440
 Swapo 1 853
 NPF 1 573
 Namibian National Front 486.
 Total votes: 12 706 (106 ballots were rejected and an additional 2 834 votes tendered ar awaiting verification).
 Percentage poll: 96,25.

OKAHANDJA

DTA 3 672
 Swapo 3 256
 ACN 611
 UDF 993.
 Total votes: 8 959 (76 were rejected and an additional 1 449 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 93,33.

KEETMANSHOOP

DTA 8 229
 Swapo 4 778
 ACN 1 312
 UDF 1 314.
 Total votes: 16 752 (271 ballots were spoilt and an additional 2 301 votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 96,43.

TSUMEB

DTA 3 452
 Swapo 6 476
 Aksie Christelik Nasionaal 848
 UDF 1 085.
 Total votes: 12 108 (125 ballots were rejected and an additional 1 683 tendered votes were awaiting verification).
 Percentage poll: 94,98.

KAOKOLAND

DTA 6 699
 Swapo 1 025
 NPF 2 152
 Federal Convention 83
 Total votes: 10 206 (250 ballots were rejected and 2656 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 96,79.

BETHANIE

DTA 1 153
 Swapo 398
 ACN 258
 UDF 69.
 Total votes: 1 990 (33 ballots were spoilt and 319 tendered votes still have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: —

LUDERITZ

DTA 1 890
 Swapo 5 422
 ACN 453
 UDF 342.
 Total votes: 8 466 (22 ballots were rejected and an additional 2 814 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 105,3.

DAMARALAND

DTA 2 040
 Swapo 3 407
 ACN 140
 UDF 6 944
 Total votes: 12 715 (133 votes were spoilt and an additional 2 447 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 101,11.

OTJIWARONGO

DTA 4 274
 Swapo 3 194
 ACN 626
 UDF 1 540
 Total votes: 9 932 (105 ballots rejected and 233 tendered votes that have to be verified by the central registry in Windhoek).
 Percentage poll: 93,10.

KARIBIB

DTA 1 637
 Swapo 1 932
 ACN 344
 UDF 1 289.
 Total votes: 5 467 (78 ballots were rejected and an additional 1066 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 95,05.

SWAKOPMUND

DTA 4 998
 Swapo 11 479
 ACN 1 020
 UDF 1 400
 Total votes: 19 618 (117 votes were rejected and an additional 4 397 tendered ballots have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 95,14.

OMARURU

DTA 2 538
 Swapo 1 022
 National Patriotic Front 280
 UDF 499
 Total votes: 4 778 (64 ballots were rejected and an additional 953 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 96,45.

Swapo

Victory

AK6W 14/11/89 221

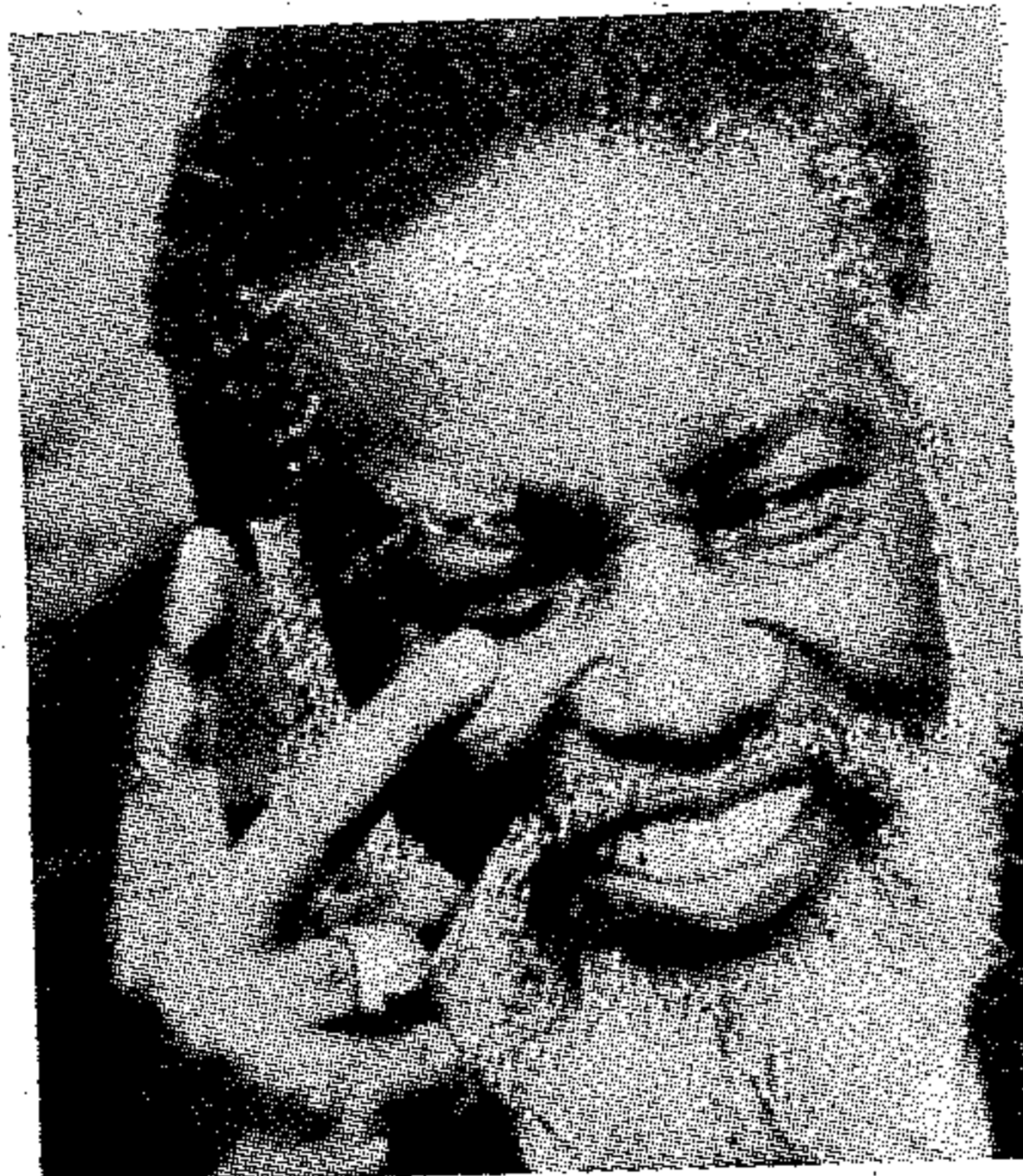
Landslide win in Owambo for Nujoma — but he's short of two-thirds majority

WINDHOEK. — Voting results from Owamboland have sharply reversed the fortunes of the main contenders in the Namibia constituent assembly elections and Swapo has swept ahead to secure a 57,3 percent simple majority countrywide.

The pro-Swapo results from the populous Owamboland voting district have put paid to the lead taken by Democratic Turnhalle Alliance with the first results early yesterday and maintained until the Owambo result came in at the end.

Swapo obtained 196 169 ordinary votes in this key Owamboland electoral district, followed by the DTA with 9 000, the UDF with 4 674 and Swapo-Democrats with 1 172.

99.85 poll



Mr Sam Nujoma

24
HOURS NEWS WATCH

**Some
Namibians
signed with
their feet
and one even
voted with
his nose**

— page 15

The percentage poll in Owamboland was 99,85. These figures bring the number of ordinary ballots cast for Swapo countrywide to 577 974.

Runner-up DTA polled 28,5 percent of the ordinary ballot, followed by the UDF with 5,7 per cent of the poll, and Action Christain National with 3,5 per cent.

The results for Swapo remain short, however, of the 66,6 percent needed to write its own constitution for Namibia.

● **Latest results — page 3.**

Swapo's performance fell short of predictions by international analysts that it would comfortably obtain the two-thirds majority.

Final results for the parties are expected to be announced by Namibia's chief electoral officer, Mr Gert Visser, later today and it is expected that United Nations special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, will certify the elections as free and fair later as well.

Swapo's failure to win a controlling two-thirds majority for the 72-member constituent assembly will trigger intensive dealing behind the scenes between the parties with the biggest shares of the votes.

"Horse-trading"

The "horse-trading" will be aimed at securing a dominant influence in the writing of the constitution, which could begin as early as next week.

Since Swapo has failed to secure the two-thirds majority by which the assembly must approve the constitution, it will have to seek support from other parties to gain the controlling majority.

The minor parties thus have the capability to assume a kingmaking role and will be in a position to exert an influence over the shaping of the constitution in return for their votes in the assembly.

As Swapo has the largest vote tally, they will be in the strongest position to form a majority coalition with one or more of the minor parties in the assembly.

While the DTA's vote also gives it the potential to form a powerful bloc with other parties, it is not possible that such a coalition could outnumber a Swapo coalition to achieve a two-thirds majority.

The stated policies of many of the ten parties that contested the election are sufficiently close on broad constitutional issues as to make it seem unlikely that the assembly will have much difficulty in writing a constitution acceptable to the majority.

Therefore, the main "horse-trading" could take place not so much in the framing of the constitution as in the forming of the government afterwards — and in deciding the crucial question of whether the government should be formed from the members of the constituent assembly or whether this week's constituent assembly election should be followed a general election to elect a parliament.

White support

The parties with the largest number of assembly seats after Swapo and the DTA are the United Democratic Front of Namibia (UDF), which is an amalgam of Damara and other ethnic groups, and Action Christian National (ACN), which is commonly regarded as the SWA National Party in disguise and has strong white support.

An important factor in determining the future course of Namibian politics is whether the DTA, which is an amalgam of 11 different political groups, can stay together through the wheeling and dealing that will now take dominate the political scene.

Namibian election results

ARGUS 14/11/89

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THE results of the Namibian elections are:

(Tendered votes still have to be verified.)

WINDHOEK

DTA 30 475
 Swapo 39 060
 UDF 6 147
 ACN 4 153
 Total votes 84 717
 Spoilt papers 629
 Percentage poll 92,54
 Tendered votes 12 183

GROOTFONTEIN

DTA 7 226
 Swapo 5 336
 UDF 1 094
 ACN 1 418
 Total votes 15 796
 Spoilt papers 448
 Percentage poll 96,40
 Tendered votes 3 528

OTJIWARONGO

DTA 4 274
 Swapo 3 194
 UDF 1 540
 ACN 626
 Total votes 9 932
 Spoilt papers 105
 Percentage poll 96,40
 Tendered votes 233

SWAKOPMUND

DTA 4 998
 Swapo 11 479
 UDF 1 400
 ACN 1 020
 Total votes 19 618
 Spoilt papers 117
 Percentage poll 95,14
 Tendered votes 4 397

KARASBURG

DTA 7 729
 Swapo 1 830
 UDF 651
 ACN 3 588
 Total votes 14 363
 Spoilt papers 107
 Percentage poll 103,35
 Tendered votes 4 400

REHOBOTH

DTA 6 590
 Swapo 2 460
 UDF 326
 FC 4 499
 Total votes 14 583
 Spoilt papers 219
 Percentage poll 100,26
 Tendered votes 2 590

CAPRIVI

DTA 12 782
 Swapo 9 350
 (No other details)

KAVANGO

DTA 22 046
 Swapo 27 756
 UDF 1 202
 CDA 413
 Total votes 52 709
 Spoilt papers 1 747
 Percentage poll 96,4
 Tendered votes 7 402

OUTJO

DTA 2 658
 Swapo 984
 ACN 719
 UDF 1 186
 Total votes 5 723
 Spoilt papers 145
 Percentage poll 96,05

HEREROLAND

DTA 8 440
 Swapo 1 853
 NPF 1 573
 NNF 486
 Total votes 12 706
 Spoilt papers 166
 Percentage poll 96,25
 Tendered votes 2 834

TSUMEB

DTA 3 452
 Swapo 6 476
 UDF 1 085
 ACN 848
 Total votes 12 108
 Spoilt papers 125
 Percentage poll 94,98
 Tendered votes 1 683

OMARURU

DTA 2 538
 Swapo 1 022
 NPF 280
 UDF 499
 Total votes 4 778
 Spoilt papers 64
 Percentage poll 96,45
 Tendered votes 953

MARIENTAL

DTA 6 584
 Swapo 2 411
 ACN 1 319
 UDF 878
 Total votes 11 750
 Spoilt papers 133
 Percentage poll 96,65
 Tendered votes 2 257

KARIBIB

DTA 1 637
 Swapo 1 932
 ACN 344
 UDF 1 289
 Total votes 5 467
 Spoilt papers 78
 Percentage poll 95,05
 Tendered votes 1 066

MALTAHOHE

DTA 579
 Swapo 758
 ACN 355
 UDF 338
 Total votes 2 204
 Spoilt papers 62
 Percentage poll 98,29
 Tendered votes 324

GOBABIS

DTA 10 539
 Swapo 2 119
 ACN 1 801
 UDF 374
 Total votes 15 823
 Spoilt papers 339
 Percentage poll 94,88
 Tendered votes 2 104

KEETMANSHOOP

DTA 8 229
 Swapo 4 778
 UDF 1 314
 ACN 1 312
 Total votes 16 752
 Spoilt papers 271
 Percentage poll 96,43
 Tendered votes 2 301

KAOKOLAND

DTA 6 699
 NPF 2 152
 Swapo 1 025
 FC 83
 Total votes 10 206
 Spoilt papers 250
 Percentage poll 96,79
 Tendered votes 2 656

OKAHANDJA

DTA 3 672
 Swapo 3 256
 UDF 993
 ACN 611
 Total votes 8 959
 Spoilt papers 76
 Percentage poll 96,33
 Tendered votes 1 449

LUDERITZ

Swapo 5 422
 DTA 1 890
 ACN 453
 UDF 342
 Total votes 8 466
 Spoilt papers 22
 Percentage poll 105,3
 Tendered votes 2 814

OWAMBO

DTA 9 000
 Swapo 196 169
 UDF 4 674
 Swapo-D 1 172
 Total votes 212 505
 Spoilt 2 656
 Percentage poll 99,85
 Tendered votes 32 759

BETHANIE

DTA 1 153
 Swapo 398
 ACN 258
 UDF 69
 Total votes 1 990
 Spoilt papers 33
 Percentage poll
 Tendered votes 319

DAMARALAND

DTA 2 040
 Swapo 3 407
 ACN 140
 UDF 6 944
 Total votes 12 715
 Spoilt papers 133
 Percentage poll 101,11
 Tendered votes 2 447

The Namibian election

'Signed with a nose'

By BRENDAN SEERY of The Argus Africa News Service and Sapa in Windhoek

TEAMS checking the validity of voter registration cards in Namibia have found that footprints and even a nose-print have been used in place of signatures in the registration of some voters.

According to the Untag chief election supervisor for verification of tendered ballots, Mr Hugh Brophy, one of the teams checking registration cards could not quite verify a signature on one of them.

It was only after translating a notation next to the signature that they discovered that it had been "Signed with a left foot".

The registration card was accepted, because the "signatures" were similar. The team also discovered a nose-print and other odd prints during their checking of the registration cards received so far.

There were 58 Untag and 50 Administrator-General fingerprint specialists checking the registration cards.

Only 300 of the 250 000 registration cards were rejected but the ballots cast by even those which were rejected would be counted because they were anonymous, he said.

"The checking of the registration cards is just to ensure that there has not been any successful fraud by people who cast their votes," Mr Brophy said.

Untag's man in the middle of the complex vote verification and counting process — cheery Canadian election expert Harry Neufeld — describes it as "absolutely incredible".

The professional election official from British Columbia spoke to reporters against a background of organised chaos, as South African police and their UN counterparts sat at plain desks, grinding away on the tedious process of verifying tendered ballots. (Tendered ballots are those cast in a district other than that in which the voter registered, or in which there is a problem of identifying the voter).

"It's amazing. Every single voter registration card is checked by four people," said Mr Neufeld.

Once the fingerprint and handwriting experts from each side had verified that the registration card was correct, the corresponding ballot (in its own separate envelope) was approved for counting.

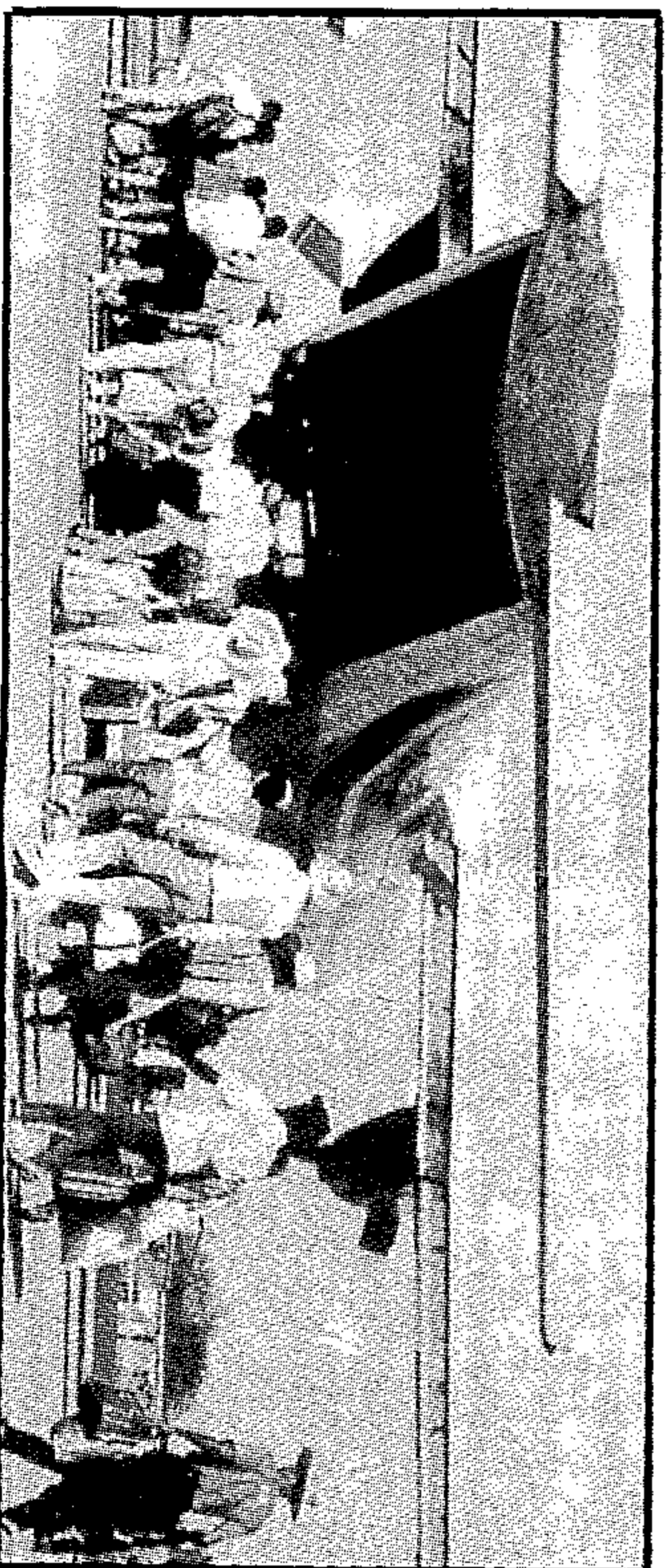
In checking more than 250 000 registration cards, the experts found less than 0.2 percent were used fraudulently, which was a minuscule amount in terms of significant election fraud, Mr Neufeld said.

The results of the counting of the 75 500 tendered ballots — about 11 percent of the total — have been added to the main total of "ordinary" ballots counted in the various districts.

The system has been under "heavy political pressure" to get the results out quickly, said Mr Neufeld, adding that there were six teams of 12, equally split between the South Africans and Untag, doing the counting and that "we



United Nations Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisari and his deputy Mr Joseph Legwala discuss the progress of the ballot count in Windhoek.



The voting is over and UN officials board a plane at Oshakati to return home.

will probably go through until we're finished."

His teams were hoping to have the use of a ballot counting machine, similar to those used to count paper money in banks, and being used to count the 100 000 or so ordinary votes cast in the Windhoek district.

As a result of the highly involved process appeared, it had not been without its errors and embarrassing foul-ups, Mr Neufeld admitted.

He cited the case where two ballot boxes containing tendered votes arrived for verification without official Untag seals, although they had official seals from the Administrator-General's election staff in place.

The 700 votes in the two boxes were not disqualified, as it was felt there was nothing sinister in that particular case.

Rather it was an incident where "Untag screwed up"

Mr Neufeld admitted frankly.

He spoke also of thousands of voters who had their thumb prints from their left hands imprinted on their registration cards, but thumb prints from their right hands imprinted at the polling station when they voted.

"There was nothing we could do about that other than to give those people the benefit of the doubt."

Those affected comprised about 1 500 voters, he said.

In the end no one even bothered to turn up

By KEN VERNON, of the Argus Africa News Service in Outjo

IN the end no one even bothered to turn up to listen to the result of the independence election in Outjo.

So chief electoral officer Mr Pedro Maritz solemnly announced the result on the back steps of the magistrate's court to a group of exhausted officials and observers, all of whom knew it by then anyway.

Thus did "independence" come to Outjo, not with a bang or even a whimper — just with indifferent resignation.

There had been constant whispers that whites in this supposedly "conservative heartland" of Namibia were prepared for anything yesterday. They were not prepared for indifference.

An hour before the result was known a white South West African electoral official whispered through an open window to a waiting policeman: "Die kind se naam is Wit Willem."

This brought immediate smiles to a quartet of gun-toting white policemen in the magistrate's courtyard and soon all the SWA electoral officials were smiling.

The UN officials looked perplexed. The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance had managed to outpoll Swapo by almost three to one in Outjo.

Questioned later about his whisper, the official concerned said they referred

only to a licence he was trying to arrange for a "hunting" rifle.

"I'm worried about what might happen here. We're all worried," he said.

Earlier an Untag army officer had repeated rumours that a great many white farmers in the area had managed to arm themselves with automatic weapons.

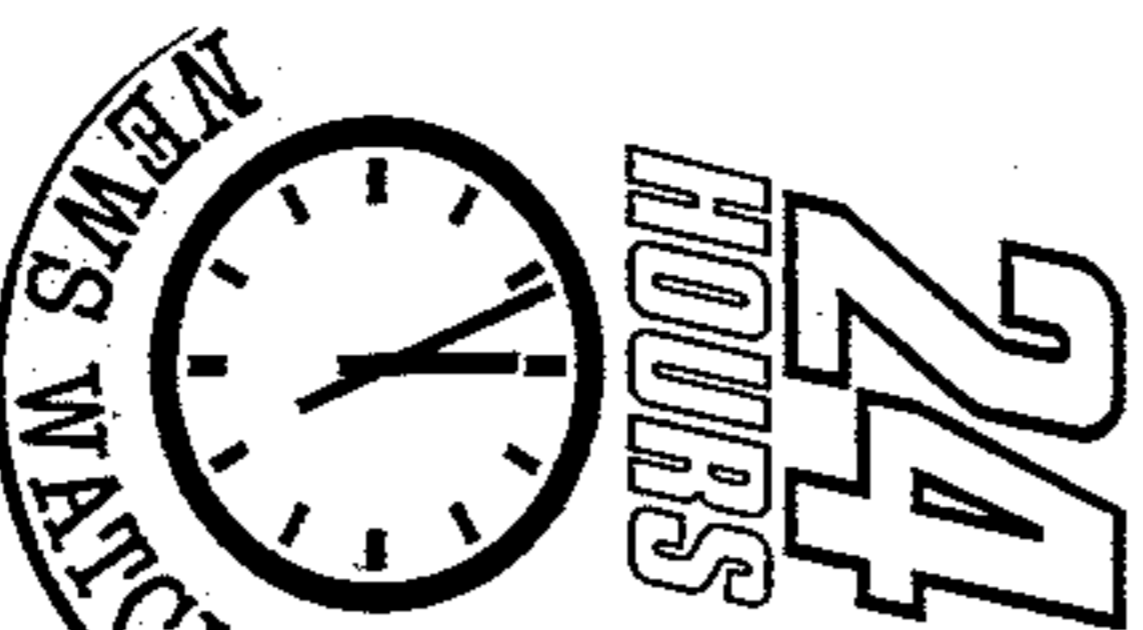
"They have identified safe farm houses and can all converge on them within hours of any trouble. In a way I don't blame them although I don't think there will be any trouble," he said.

Soon after the Outjo result was announced over national radio a tour of the Etosha-poor township outside Outjo revealed that the indifference in the town was complete. Children played in the streets, mothers gossiped over fences and not a single celebrant was to be found anywhere. The DTA and Swapo offices were both deserted.

Back outside the now also deserted magistrate's court, a small knot of Swapo observers conducted a post mortem. The verdict — the white farmers had "intimidated" their workers into voting DTA.

"We will still win in the north and get our two-thirds," one man confidently predicted.

But no one in Outjo seemed to care.



Namibia: The results

GOBABIS

DTA 10 539
 Swapo 2 119
 ACN 1 801
 UDF 374
 Total votes: 15 823 (339 papers were spoilt and an additional 2 104 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 94,88.

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 Swapo 2 460
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OUTJO

DTA 2 658
 Swapo 984
 ACN 719
 UDF 1 186
 Total votes: 5 723 (145 ballot papers were rejected).
 Percentage poll: 96,05.

KARASBURG

DTA 7 729
 Swapo 1 830
 ACN 3 588
 UDF 651
 Total votes: 14 363 (107 papers were rejected and an additional 4 400 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 103,35.

MALTAHOHE

DTA 579
 Swapo 758
 ACN 355
 UDF 344
 Total votes: 2 204 (62 ballot papers were spoilt and an additional 324 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 98,29.

MARIENTHAL

DTA 6 584
 Swapo 2 411
 Aksie Christelik Nasionaal 1 319
 UDF 878
 Total votes: 11 750 (133 ballots were rejected and 2 257 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 96,65.

HEREROLAND

DTA 8 440
 Swapo 1 853
 NPF 1 573
 Namibian National Front.. 486.
 Total votes: 12 706 (166 ballots were rejected and an additional 2 834 votes tendered or awaiting verification).
 Percentage poll: 96,25.

OKAHANDJA

DTA 3 672
 Swapo 3 256
 ACN 611
 UDF 993.
 Total votes: 8 959 (76 were rejected and an additional 1 449 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 93,33.

KEETMANSHOOP

DTA 8 229
 Swapo 4 778
 ACN 1 312
 UDF 1 314.
 Total votes: 16 752 (271 ballots were spoilt and an additional 2 301 votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 95,43.

TSUMEB

DTA 3 452
 Swapo 6 476
 Aksie Christelik Nasionaal .. 848
 UDF 1 085.
 Total votes: 12 108 (125 ballots were rejected and an additional 1 683 tendered votes were awaiting verification).
 Percentage poll: 94,98.

KAOKOLAND

DTA 6 699
 Swapo 1 025
 NPF 2 152
 Federal Convention 83
 Total votes: 10 206 (250 ballots were rejected and 2656 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 96,79.

BETHANIE

DTA 1 153
 Swapo 398
 ACN 258
 UDF 69.
 Total votes: 1 990 (33 ballots were spoilt and 319 tendered votes still have to be verified).
 Percentage poll:

LUDERITZ

DTA 1 890
 Swapo 5 422
 ACN 453
 UDF 342.
 Total votes: 8 466 (22 ballots were rejected and an additional 2 814 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 105,3.

DAMARALAND

DTA 2 040
 Swapo 3 407
 ACN 140
 UDF 6 944
 Total votes: 12 715 (133 votes were spoilt and an additional 2 447 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 101,11.

OTJIWARONGO

DTA 4 274
 Swapo 3 194
 ACN 626
 UDF 1 540
 Total votes: 9 932 (105 ballots rejected and 233 tendered votes that have to be verified by the central registry in Windhoek).
 Percentage poll: 93,10.

KARIBIB

DTA 1 637
 Swapo 1 932
 ACN 344
 UDF 1 289.
 Total votes: 5 467 (78 ballots were rejected and an additional 1066 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 95,05.

SWAKOPMUND

DTA 4 998
 Swapo 11 479
 ACN 1 020
 UDF 1 400
 Total votes: 19 618 (117 votes were rejected and an additional 4 397 tendered ballots have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 95,14.

OMARURU

DTA 2 538
 Swapo 1 022
 National Patriotic Front..... 280
 UDF 499
 Total votes: 4 778 (64 ballots were rejected and an additional 953 tendered votes have to be verified).
 Percentage poll: 96,45.

Business Day 14/11/89
DTA, Swapo prove their popularity in early results

WINDHOEK — Namibia's election moved towards a climax yesterday as hard-pressed vote-counting officials worked overtime to tally results that could show Namibians the face of their first independent government later today.

Swapo and its arch-rival, the DTA, proved vote-pulling power in early results, with the DTA holding a surprising lead over Swapo after 12 of 23 voting districts had reported poll results.

But crucial tallies from populous Windhoek and Owambo — that could swing heavily in the former guerrillas' favour — were still unreported last night.

"If everything was in from the districts, we could have the final result on Tuesday

third of the national vote that would give the party veto power.

A last-minute row clouded the first day of tallying, with Swapo official Theo-Ben Gurirab charging SA had raised another false allegation of imminent guerrilla action on the northern border.

Recalling Foreign Minister Pik Botha's climb-down on the previous accusation, Gurirab said Pretoria's Foreign Affairs office in Windhoek claimed to have information that guerrillas of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) had returned to Angola to ready themselves for a victorious homecoming.

But Foreign Affairs chief in Administrator-General Louis Pienaar's office, Carl

KEVIN JACOBS

morning," Untag computer systems manager Harry Neufeld said at a top-security co-ordination centre in Windhoek.

Based on votes gained nationwide, political parties will be allocated seats in the 72-member constituent assembly under a proportional representation system. With an estimated 670 000 acceptable votes, each 9 300 votes will secure a seat in the assembly charged with writing a constitution and passing it into law by a two-thirds majority.

Leaders of both front-runners predicted convincing victories, but DTA officials said they would be happy to secure the one-

von Hirschberg, said no such allegations had been made.

With 12 voting districts reporting last night, the DTA was leading Swapo by 17 239 votes — 47 531 to 30 297.

The United Democratic Front (UDF), a coalition built on Damara foundations that picked up momentum and support in the past six weeks, was in an expected third place with a quarter of Swapo's total.

Slightly behind the UDF (which has no links with the SA anti-apartheid movement) was Action Christian National (ACN), the whites-only remnant of the once-powerful National Party of SWA.

● See Page 6

Thoroughness of verification process impresses official

It's unique, says Canadian expert

By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Untag's man in the middle of the complex vote-verification and counting process — cheerful Canadian election expert Harry Neufeld — describes it as absolutely incredible.

"It's unique, like nothing I was used to in Canada."

The professional election official from British Columbia speaks to reporters against a background of organised chaos, as South African police and their UN counterparts sit at desks, grinding away at the tedious process of verifying tendered ballots. (Tendered ballots are those cast in a district other than that in which the voter registered, or in which there is a problem of identification.)

"It's amazing. Every single voter registra-

tion card is checked by four people," says Mr Neufeld.

Once the fingerprint and handwriting experts from each side have verified that the registration card is correct, the corresponding ballot (in its own separate envelope) is approved for counting.

In checking more than 250 000 registration cards, the experts found less than 0.2 percent were used fraudulently, which is a minuscule amount in terms of significant election fraud, Mr Neufeld reckons.

As he speaks, experts are working on the last batches of cards for verification. Once that process is complete, the operation will convert to a counting operation.

The results of the counting of the 75 500 tendered ballots — about 11 percent of the total — will be added to the main total of "ordinary" ballots which are being count-

ed in the various districts.

The system has been under heavy political pressure to get the results out quickly, says Mr Neufeld, adding that there will be six teams of 12, equally split between the South Africans and Untag, doing the counting and that "we will probably go through until we're finished".

Embarrassing moments

His teams are hoping to make use of a ballot-counting machine, which is similar to those used to count paper money in banks and which is being used to count the approximately 100 000 ordinary votes cast in the Windhoek district.

Astounding as the highly involved process appears, it has not been without its errors and embarrassing foul-ups, admits Mr Neufeld.

He cites the case where two ballot boxes containing tendered votes arrived for verification without official Untag seals, although they had official seals from the Administrator-General's election staff in place.

The 700 votes in the two boxes were not disqualified, as it was felt there was nothing sinister in that particular case.

Rather, it was an incident where "Untag screwed up", Mr Neufeld admits.

He speaks also of thousands of voters who had their thumb-prints from their left hands imprinted on their registration cards, but not thumb-prints from their right hands imprinted at the polling station when they voted.

"There was nothing we could do about that, other than to give those people the benefit of the doubt."

Those affected comprised about 1 500 voters, Mr Neufeld believes.



Viva victory ... Democratic Turnhalle Alliance supporters in Okahandja react yesterday to the news that their party had obtained slightly more votes than Swapo in the district poll.

Picture by Jake Rykliff.

Post-poll boredom follows week of voting excitement

By John Ryan,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — After Namibia's huge poll last week, a strange lack of interest appears to have fallen over voters as far as the counting stage of the constituent elections is concerned.

Around the country yesterday public offices where the ballot papers were being counted, and district results announced, drew very few members of the public.

Almost the only spectators standing by

were Untag army personnel, policemen and journalists.

No doubt there will be celebrations and mutual commiserations when the final outcome is announced. But yesterday was a curiously limp time after all the excitement of the polling days.

It has also emerged that voters have not grasped the fact that the election is a cumulative one, with all votes cast for a party counting towards a final total.

At Okahandja, supporters of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance were ecstatic to

hear their party had polled 3 672 votes to Swapo's 3 256.

With slightly fewer than 700 000 voters, having participated in the proportional vote, a party will have to poll something in excess of 9 000 votes to return one representative to the 72-member constituent assembly. A total of 28 000 votes would secure that party three seats, and so on.

On that basis, the DTA and Swapo gained roughly one-third of a seat each at Okahandja.

D I N G

Stow 19/11/89

Surprisingly strong showing by DTA

Swapo battles for two-thirds majority

By John Ryan,
The Star's Africa
News Service

Windhoek

Swapo's quest to secure a two-thirds majority in Namibia's constituent assembly elections seems doomed to failure.

With results in Swapo's stronghold of Owambo still outstanding, Swapo is still trailing the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance by more than 20 000 votes.

Late results to hand today include the second largest district in the territory, Windhoek, where Swapo obtained 39 060 votes, and the DTA 30 475.

In Kavango, Swapo obtained 27 256 votes and the DTA 22 046.

The DTA has obtained 156 230 votes or 42.66 percent of the total number of votes polled. Swapo has obtained 135 788 votes or 37.08 percent.

So far the United Democratic Front has obtained 28 273 votes or 7.72 percent of the total and Action Christian National Party 19 829 votes or 5.41 percent of the total number of votes cast.

Owambo crucial

Swapo will need to win overwhelmingly in Owambo and also score heavily among the 75 000 tendered votes to achieve its aim.

Tendered votes are ballots cast by voters outside the district in which they originally registered.

Swapo need 37 seats to be able to dictate the terms of the constitution, but appears likely to fall short of this total.

The United Democratic Front (UDF) looks likely to get at least three seats and the Action Christian National Party (the National Party clone in Namibia) two seats.

Indeed, it appears now Swapo will be fortunate to get 60 percent of the votes.

Swapo's failure to dominate the election to the degree it was boasting of will come as a shock to its supporters. However, it would certainly be of benefit to Namibia not to have the constituent assembly dominated by one party.

The main thorn in Swapo's side has been the DTA, which has performed very much better than election forecasters expected.

Switched allegiances

The modest performance of the ACN, by comparison, suggests that many Nationalist voters switched allegiance at the last minute in the hope that the DTA might better be able to forestall Swapo's ambitions.

The UDF, the third runner in the contest, is a coalition of four ethnically based parties with strong support from the Damara and coloured people.

The six other parties have virtually been swept aside in this election. The National Patriotic Front, which spent extravagantly on its campaign, looks unlikely to get a single seat.

Despite Swapo's reduced showing overall, it performed surprisingly well in certain districts.

It won well in Windhoek, where many thought the DTA would gain the majority and also scored good victories in areas like Luderitz, Swakopmund and Tsumeb.

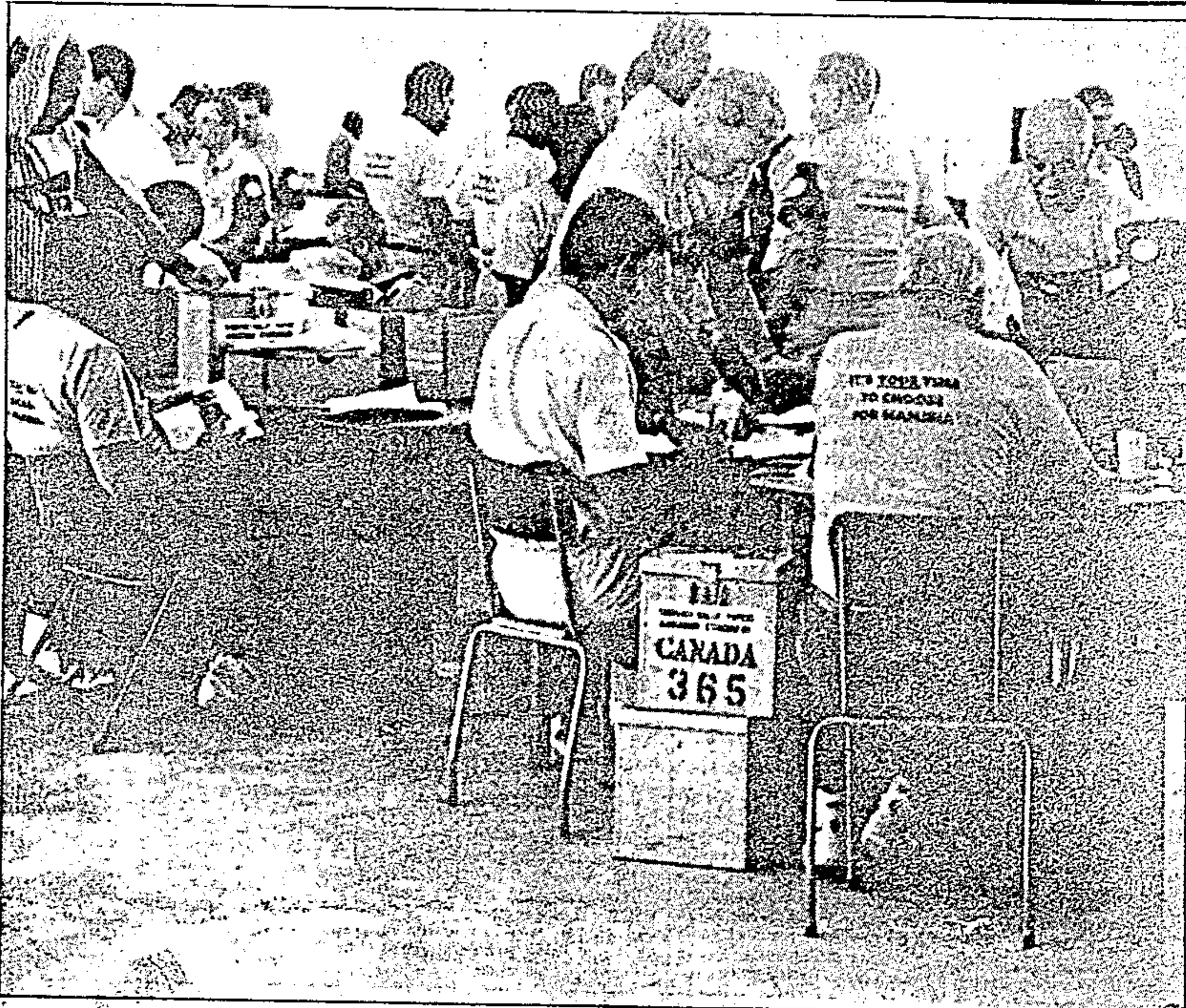
A failure in the north was delaying the transmission of results from Owambo. These final results are likely to be out later today.

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Star 14/11/89

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| | | |
|--|-------|---------|
| | DTA | 156 230 |
| | Swapo | 135 788 |
| | UDF | 28 273 |
| | ACN | 19 829 |



The countdown . . . United Nations officials counting votes in Oshakati, Ovamboland, in Namibia's constituent assembly election. Picture by John Woodroff

RESULTS

| | | | |
|---|--------------|-------------|--------|
| ACN — Action Christian National | HEREROLAND | Swapo | 758 |
| DTA — Democratic Turnhalle Alliance | DTA | UDF | 334 |
| FC — Federal Convention | NNF | MARIENTAL | |
| NNF — Namibia National Front | NPF | ACN | 1 319 |
| NPF — National Patriotic Front | Swapo | DTA | 6 584 |
| Swapo — South West African People's Organisation | KAOKOLAND | Swapo | 2 411 |
| The election is being run on a proportional representation system in which the total number of votes decides how many seats a party will win. | DTA | UDF | 878 |
| | FC | OKAHANDJA | |
| | NPF | ACN | 611 |
| | Swapo | DTA | 3 672 |
| | 1 025 | Swapo | 3 256 |
| | KARASBURG | UDF | 993 |
| | ACN | OMARURU | |
| | DTA | DTA | 2 538 |
| | Swapo | NPF | 280 |
| | UDF | Swapo | 1 022 |
| | 3 588 | UDF | 499 |
| | 7 729 | OTJIWARONGO | |
| | 1 830 | ACN | 626 |
| | 651 | DTA | 4 274 |
| | KARIBIB | Swapo | 3 194 |
| | ACN | UDF | 1 540 |
| | DTA | OUTJO | |
| | Swapo | DTA | 719 |
| | 1 637 | ACN | 2 658 |
| | 1 932 | Swapo | 984 |
| | 1 289 | UDF | 1 186 |
| | KEETMANSHOOP | REHOBOTH | |
| | ACN | DTA | 6 590 |
| | DTA | FC | 4 499 |
| | Swapo | Swapo | 2 460 |
| | 1 312 | UDF | 326 |
| | 8 229 | SWAKOPMUND | |
| | 4 778 | ACN | 1 020 |
| | 1 314 | DTA | 4 998 |
| | LUDERITZ | Swapo | 11 479 |
| | ACN | UDF | 1 400 |
| | DTA | TSUMEB | |
| | Swapo | ACN | 848 |
| | 453 | DTA | 3 452 |
| | 1 890 | Swapo | 6 476 |
| | 5 422 | UDF | 1 085 |
| | 342 | | |
| | MALTAHOHE | | |
| | ACN | | |
| | 355 | | |
| | DTA | | |
| | 579 | | |

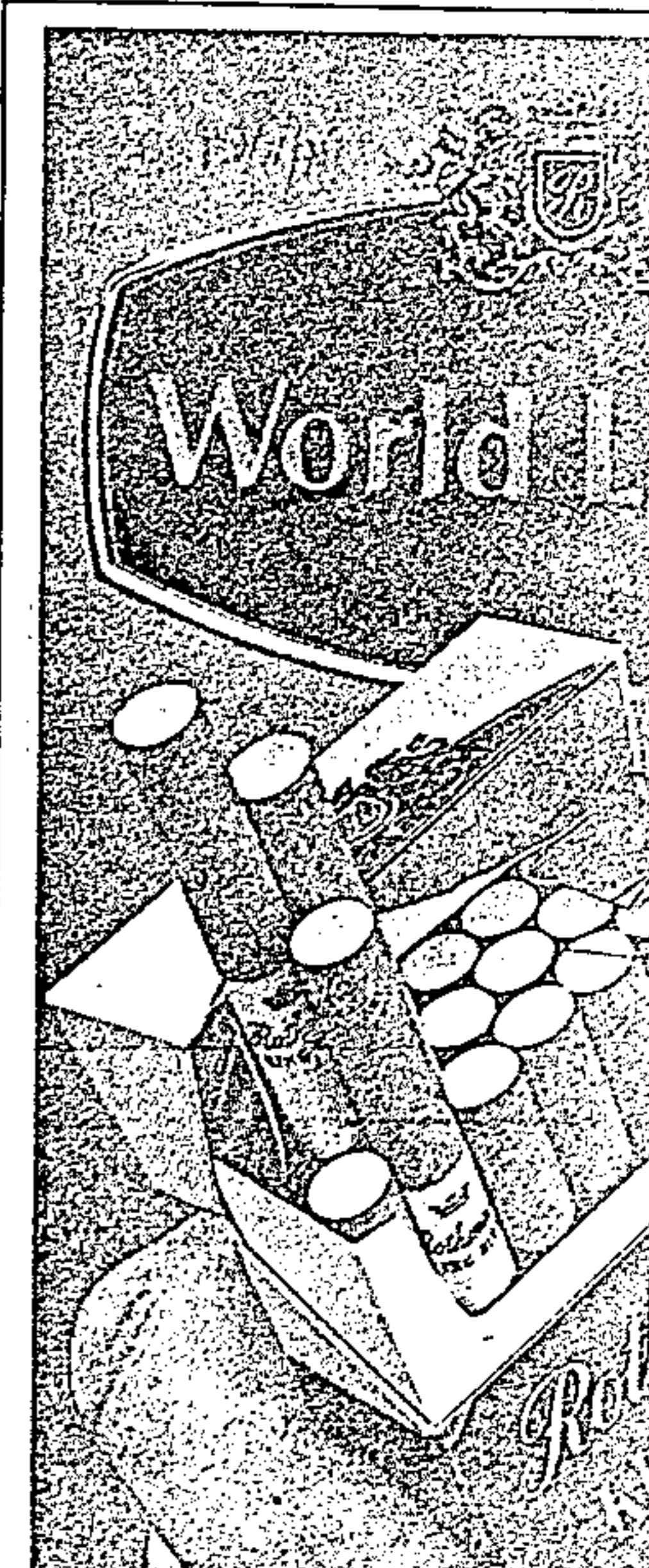
Uhuru in Outjo without a bang

OUTJO — In the end no one even bothered to turn up to listen to the result of the election in Outjo.

So chief electoral officer Mr Pedro Maritz solemnly announced a DTA win at the magistrate's

court to a group of exhausted officials and observers, who knew the result anyway.

Thus did independence come to Outjo without a bang. — The Star's Africa News Service.



SA lauds fairness of election *B/day 15/11/89*

UN approves Swapo ²²¹ govt for Namibia

KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari put his stamp of approval on Namibia's election last night, setting the territory on course for independence under a future Swapo-led government.

Namibians had given the world "a shining lesson in democracy", restraint and tolerance, Ahtisaari told reporters an hour after final poll results had been announced.

Administrator-General Louis Pienaar, also lauded the election and urged Namibians to "hold thumbs and pray for the future of this country."

"We have witnessed a decisive and historic step in the constitutional development of this territory."

Ahtisaari's endorsement of the poll guarantees world recognition of Namibia's electoral results.

Official tallies disclosed that 670 830, or more than 97% of the territory's 701 438 registered voters, participated.

Under a proportional representation system, allocation of seats in a 72-member assembly gave Swapo 41 seats, the DTA 21, the United Democratic Front four, Action Christian National three, and one each to the Federal Convention of Namibia, Namibia National Front and National Patriotic Front.

Swapo secured 57% control of the assembly with the rival DTA holding 28% influence.

The constitutional assembly will meet for the first time next Wednesday.

Swapo's leadership offered no public comment on the election results last night.

However, the jubilation of thousands of party followers touched off street celebrations in downtown Windhoek which jammed lunch-hour traffic yesterday. And revellers were still partying in Katutura



NUJOMA ... greets supporters yesterday

township late last night.

The final tally fell far short of Swapo's predicted landslide. Only in northern Owambo, heartland of Swapo's Owarambo-based support, did the party sweep the polls with a 94% regional victory that turned around an earlier lead by the DTA.

Swapo's performance finally ends its status in the UN General Assembly as "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people."

Swapo will have the majority power to form a government, but lacks the two thirds required to pass a constitution into law. But Swapo leaders, among them party president Sam Nujoma, have committed themselves to seeking consensus on the nation's founding law.

"In this election there have been no losers," Ahtisaari said last night, flanked by

□ To Page 2

P.T.O.

1 500 SADF troops to leave

Star
SWAPO
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — The last South African troops in Namibia will be withdrawn within the next few days.

Earlier rumours of a Swapo military force lying in wait in southern Angola remained officially unconfirmed yesterday.

Swapo's failure to win a two-thirds majority may increase fears of a Swapo military incursion. But nothing said by Swapo leaders yesterday supported any such fears.

Under the Resolution 435 independence plan, the 1 500 SADF troops allowed to remain in Namibia during the election must be out within seven days of certification of the election result by UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

This means the South African troops could be out by early next week.

Shock as Swapo's legend bites the dust

WINDHOEK — The political legend of Swapo being the "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people" lay in tatters across the desert territory yesterday.

It is plain now that 40 to 50 out of every 100 Namibians have not heeded Swapo's siren call of "liberation" and that despite the cachet of having taken up arms for freedom, the organisation does not appeal to a proportion of the Namibian people.

Although Swapo will still emerge from the election with a simple majority, it will not come anywhere near attaining the two-thirds it and its backers thought would be a foregone conclusion when the Resolution 435 peace and independence plan finally went ahead.

The fact that Swapo has political

feet of clay inside its own country must surely have surprised many of its supporters among the African and non-aligned blocs at the UN — the countries which pushed through the "principle of sole and authentic representation" back in 1973. (There could still be a outcry from these countries about the results, but it seems fairly certain now that UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari cannot but declare the process as having been free and fair.)

Fait accompli

Perhaps it was the comfortable feeling of unquestioned supremacy in the international arena — engendered by the "sole and authentic" label — which led to complacency on Swapo's part. Certainly, Swapo's leaders

The fact that Swapo has political feet of clay will do much to assist President F W de Klerk's reformist policies. By **BRENDAN SEERY** of The Star's Africa News Service.

seemed unable to comprehend a situation where they did not emerge hugely victorious.

Mr Sam Nujoma has spoken on many occasions of the organisation polling 80 or even 90 percent in the election, while none of the top hierarchy has been prepared to think about anything less than two-thirds.

Whatever the cause, the decline of Swapo is now a fait accompli. What that means in Namibian terms remains to be seen, but the organisation

will be under heavy international pressure (at least from Western donor countries who will provide the vital post-independence aid and investment) to accept the result.

Glib assumption

However, the humbling of Swapo will be just what the doctor ordered for the reformist policies of South African State President de Klerk.

Since the Portuguese coup in 1974, conventional wisdom has been that liberation movements would topple white governments in a southward-moving domino effect. Frelimo in Mozambique and Zanu (PF) in Zimbabwe converted their battlefield prestige into strong political victories, while the MPLA in Angola

used force of arms to secure its seat in power.

It was glibly assumed that Swapo would do the same, and that the radical and violent winds of change would eventually blow across South Africa.

The strong showing of the DTA, and the votes gained by the ACN and UDF, will be regarded by Pretoria as a triumph for the moderate point of view. It will also be viewed as a blow to the politics of violence espoused by liberation movements like the ANC.

It will also strengthen Mr de Klerk's hand when he tells the international community that South African political opinion — like that in its neighbour Namibia — has many shades of grey between the black and white extremes.

April 2 may be independence day, marking end of colonialism in Africa

Namibian election results welcomed

Star 15/11/89

By Peter Fabricius and Sapa

The Namibian election results have been widely welcomed in South Africa and the South African Government said it expected "realistic and cordial" relations with an independent Namibia.

And, hailing the results, United Nations Secretary General Dr Javier Perez-de Cuellar said yesterday that Namibia must now become a united nation where people of all political persuasions would be able to enjoy their rights without fear or favour.

April 2 1990 has been mentioned as a likely date for nationhood.

On the recommendation of the Security Council and endorsement by the general assembly, Namibia would become the 160th member state of the world body, marking the end of colonialism in Africa.

State President Mr F W de Klerk said: "The election process was free and fair and democracy won the day."

"The South African Government is grateful that the election proceeded peacefully and thus accepts the outcome."

The Democratic Party said Namibians had "completed the first lap on the road to independence with flying colours".

Interdependent

Only the Conservative Party condemned the results.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday he believed from his recent meetings with Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma that South Africa could expect "cordial and realistic" relations with an independent Namibia.

The two countries were interdependent through common rail, telecommunications and civil aviation systems.

Swapo's overall victory, but failure to win the two-thirds majority which would have allowed it to write its own constitution, was the "best possible basis for constitution building", Unisa constitutional expert Professor Marinus Wiechers said from Windhoek yesterday. The results would make Swapo "captives of democracy".

The Mass Democratic Movement yesterday said the results were a triumph for the Namibian people under the leadership of Swapo in their struggle against apartheid and colonialism.

In a statement over UN television, Dr Perez de Cuellar said: "I am confident that the members of the constituent assembly will address themselves to the most crucial task of framing and adopting the constitution for the country with the same degree of enthusiasm and patriotism that they displayed during the course of the electoral process."

Fear or favour

"For Namibia must become a united nation where the inhabitants of all political persuasions will be able to enjoy their inalienable rights without fear or favour."

These were the aims of the United Nations 43 years ago when the issue of Namibia first came before the General Assembly, he said.

"The United Nations will continue to discharge its obligations to the people of Namibia until the territory achieves independence," Dr Perez de Cuellar pledged.

He also paid tribute to "the effective arrangements made by the South African electoral authorities and the excellent performance of the Untag electoral officials," his special representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, and other senior UN officials.

WINDHOEK

We struggled all the years for this day - Sam Nujoma (98)

WINDHOEK - Swapo was yesterday declared the winner of the internationally-supervised elections for a constituent assembly, with the party taking 41 of the 72 seats.

This was revealed in a statement by the chief electoral officer, Mr A G Visser, outside the main counting hall at the Windhoek show-grounds.

Sowetan Correspondent and Sapa

Visser revealed that Swapo pulled 384567 of the 670830 votes cast during the elections. Official representation of the Namibian parties in the 72-member constituent assembly are: Swapo 41 seats, DTA 21 seats, UDF 4 seats, ACN 3 seats, NPF 1 seat, FCN 1 seat.

Last night, Swapo decided that its leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, will be the first president of the independent state of Namibia. The party also said it already had a draft con-

stitution which entrenched all the basics required - an entrenched Bill of Human Rights, the right to life and liberty as well as to ownership of property, freedom of movement and of association, and other rights.

Nujoma himself was in an expansive mood after he learnt of his party's healthy performance at the polls, declaring the occasion a great day for Namibia. He told reporters: "This victory is a vindication of our strug-

Praise

Showering praise on the party leader, who had earlier in the day conferred with the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, and was told of his party's success at the polls,

gle, and it is a victory for the Namibian people."

The news about Nujoma being the new head of state was given by senior politburo member and also the man tipped to become the new country's first Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Theodor Ben Gurirab.

He did that as a leader of a movement that succeeded in bringing together the Namibian

people in the face of division and fragmentation represented by apartheid and colonialism," Gurirab said.

JON QWELANE reports that a belated carnival atmosphere overtook Katutura township yesterday after Swapo's victory became known.



Sam Nujoma

● To page 2

Swapo victory

● From page 1

Huge placards bearing the smiling portrait of Nujoma, president of Swapo - at the time he was conferring with the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar - were held high by chanting and dancing youths while women and girls ululated.

Just down the road from the Swapo enclave another street celebration, on a much smaller scale, was taking place in front of the DTA office.

● See page 4

-famous VIENNA

09/05/89
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Big vote count starts

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Sowetan 14/11/89



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WINDHOEK. - After Namibia's huge poll last week, a strange lack of interest appears to have fallen over voters as far as the counting stage of the constituent elections is concerned.

Around the country yesterday public offices where the ballot papers were being counted, and district results announced, drew very few members of the public.

Almost the only spectators standing by were Untag personnel, policemen and journalists.

The explanation may be that, since Namibians have never had a national poll before, they are not aware of the razzmatazz that should follow one of the fine traditions of cheering results.

No doubt there will be celebrations and mutual commiserations when the final outcome is announced. But yesterday was a curiously limp time after all the excitement of the polling days.

Final

It also emerged during the day that Namibian voters have not grasped the fact that the election is a cumulative one, with all votes cast for a party counting towards a final total.

At Okahandja, supporters of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance were ecstatic to hear their party had polled 3672 votes to Swapo's 3256. They reacted as if it was outright victory.

With slightly less than 700 000 voters having participated in the proportional vote, a party will have to poll something in excess of 9000 votes to return one representative to the 72-member Constituent Assembly. So, a total of 28 000 votes would secure that party three seats, and so on.

On that basis, the DTA and Swapo gained roughly one third of a seat each at Okahandja.

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NAMIBIA

Joyful blacks choke CBD in Windhoek

KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — Thousands of Namibians in traffic-choking crowds thronged Windhoek's business district yesterday to celebrate a Swapo election victory that apparently pleased party leaders less.

Jogging and chanting, a mass of mainly black Swapo supporters took over Kaiserstrasse at lunch-hour in a jubilant parade that disrupted traffic for more than an hour.

Similar celebrations crowded the dirt-lined streets of Katutura township amid dust clouds whipped up by the sharpest winds of summer.

Many in the downtown crowds appeared to be celebrating independence already and some seemed unaware of the actual election outcome.

Mobile police patrols tried to divert the celebrating crowd from the business centre, but appeared to give up and took up street-corner positions to watch the exuberance.

Whites seemed to mark the DTA's election performance — securing at least 17 seats in the constituent assembly — with smugness and relief.



Swapo supporters take time off to celebrate their party's victory in Namibia's elections yesterday with a jubilant drive through Katutura township, outside Windhoek.

Picture: REUTERS

Nation-building has to begin right away

KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — Namibia's 72 constitution writers have little time for celebration before their nation-building task begins.

Charged with creating and passing the country's founding law, they are required to call their first meeting within the next week.

Administrator-General Louis Pienaar's proclamation setting up the structure of the assembly obliges it to do the following:

- Draw up a constitution;
- Adopt the constitution by a two-thirds majority;
- Declare the state independent "on a date determined by it and on which date the constitution adopted by it shall come into force";
- Establish a government for the independent state.

Swapo has failed to achieve the two-thirds majority that would enable it to pass its own draft constitution.

But party leaders have frequently said they would seek consensus on the founding law and had no intention of railroading it through the assembly.

Swapo leaders have also committed themselves and the party to writing a bill of rights and a code of fundamental democratic principles into the constitution.

While jubilant Swapo supporters jammed the streets of Windhoek yesterday, celebrating the victory, DTA leaders undertook not to obstruct passage of a constitution unnecessarily and urged its adoption by consensus.

"We are not going to be responsible for derailing the democratic process," DTA chairman Dirk Mudge told reporters.

He said aspects of a Swapo draft constitution circulated during the past few months were mildly abrasive to his party, but a final document should not be held up.

"On certain issues they are very vague, especially on the question of fundamental rights.

"We would insist that a bill of fundamental rights acceptable to the people and to the international community should be part of it."

But in conciliatory tone, Mudge said: "If the things they (Swapo) say come from the heart, it may not be difficult to come to an agreement."

Wearied

"I cannot foresee that we will sit here for months and years and delay the independence process.

"We should not delay writing a constitution, but we have to give people time to express themselves," Mudge said.

Mudge also suggested the constituent assembly could continue as a legislative assembly for a few years to avoid pressing another election on a thinly populated nation wearied by the eight-month Untag passage to independence.

"Not one of us is looking forward to another election immediately," Mudge said.

Meanwhile, scores of hooting cars and trucks drove down Kaiserstrasse in Windhoek to continue for several laps around the central district, passing the Administrator-General's offices in Tintenpalast government complex as they went.

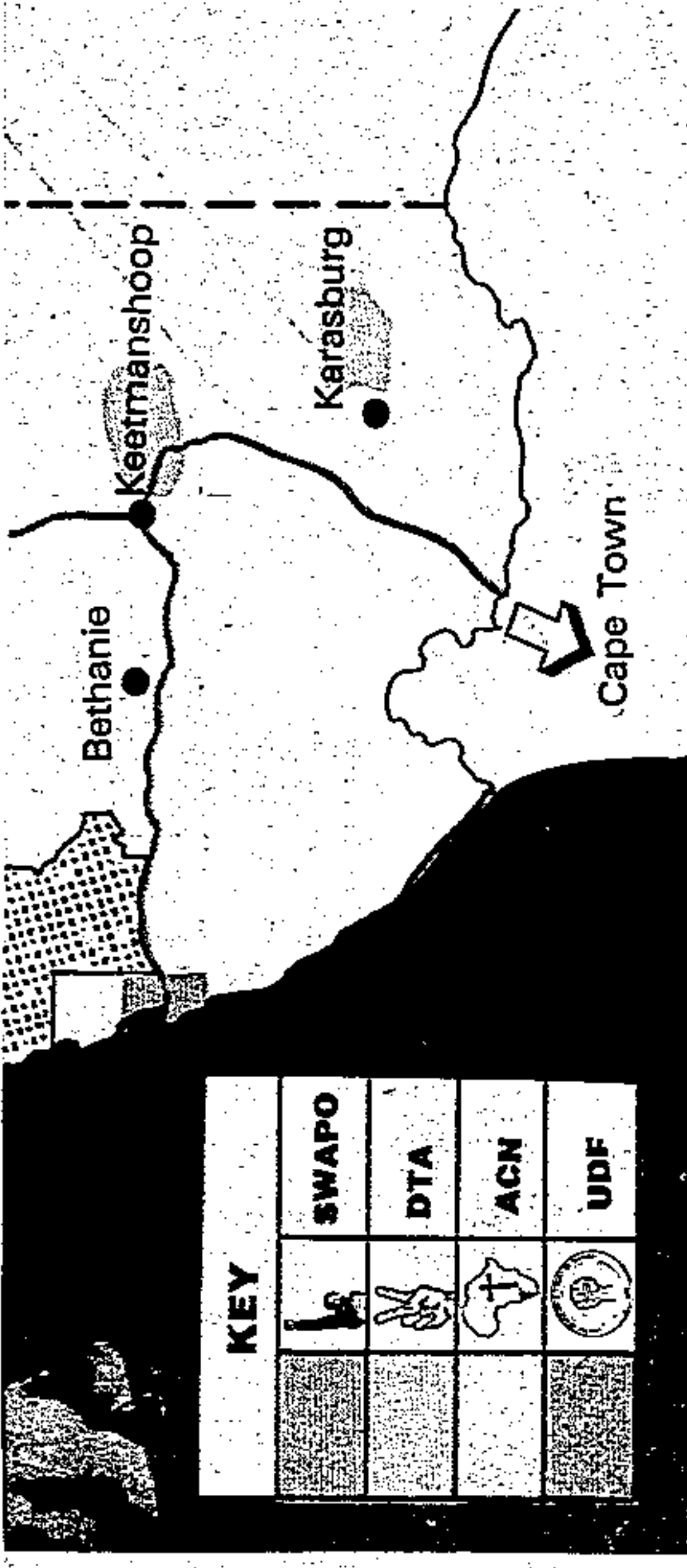
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NORTH VS SOUTH
 ... The vast northern Owambo support won Swapo the election compared to the south and centre, where they only scored in the industrial areas of Luderitz, Swakopmund and Tsumeb, and scraped in at Maltahohe. The DTA made a surprising showing in cosmopolitan Windhoek, where Swapo only beat them by about 9 000 votes and in Kavango, where Swapo won by 5 000. Swapo's 57% of the vote gave them 41 seats compared to the DTA's 21, the four of UDF and three of ACN.

F W welcomes election result

PRETORIA. — President F W de Klerk yesterday welcomed the outcome of the Namibian election, saying democracy had triumphed and it was one of the most historical events in many years.
 "The South African government is grateful that the election proceeded peacefully and thus accepts the outcome," Mr de Klerk said in a statement issued here.
 He said South Africa would co-operate with an independent Namibia "in a spirit of good neighbourliness, in order to enhance and develop peace and prosperity in the sub-continent".
 It was clear, he added, that the election process was free and fair and that democracy had won the day. He also thanked all those who had a hand in making the election a success. — Sapa and Own Correspondent



THE VICTORS ... Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma, left, is all smiles as he leaves the Tintenpalast, the seat of previous Namibian governments, with fellow official Mr Theo-Ben Guribab after being officially informed of the election results yesterday.
 Picture: REUTER

Ahtisaari: Shining lesson

From KEVIN JACOBS
WINDHOEK. — Untag representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari, brimming with superlatives, last night put his stamp on Namibia's historic election, setting the territory on course for independence under a future Swapo-led government.
 "This youngest democracy has given the world a shining lesson in democracy, exemplary as to commitment, restraint and tolerance," he told reporters outside Untag's Windhoek headquarters an hour after final poll results were announced.
 Administrator-general Mr Louis

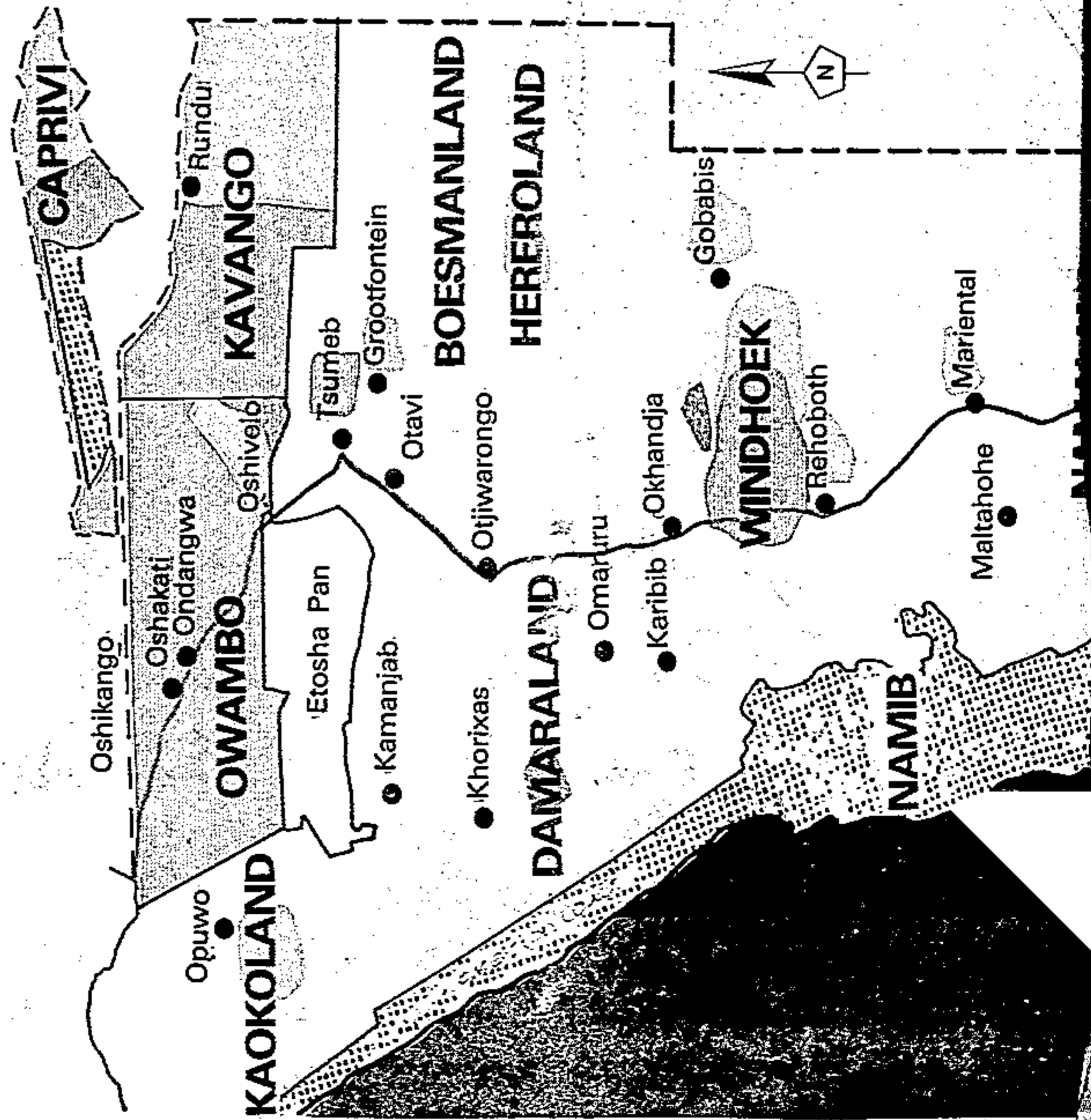
Pienaar, manager of South Africa's fading 74-year authority until independence, also lauded the election and urged Namibians to "hold thumbs and pray for the future of this country".
 "In this election there have been no losers," Mr Ahtisaari said last night, flanked by senior officials who have headed the 6 500-member Untag force for the past eight months.
 "The whole people of Namibia have been victorious, united in their dedication to peace, reconciliation and the future."
 Mr Ahtisaari appealed for "maximum restraint and calm at this time".

NEWBATTLE

Swapo fails to win

Caprivi 15/11

How the vote was cast



From **STEPHEN ROBINSON** and **KEVIN JACOBS**

WINDHOEK. — Namibia was set for a protracted period of political horse-trading after final results announced yesterday showed Swapo had won a simple majority in independence elections, but failed to win the two-thirds of the vote which would have allowed it to write a new constitution.

Apart from a landslide victory in Owamboland, Swapo fared far worse than had been expected and polled poorly in regions where rival tribes to the Owambo are dominant.

Victorious Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma said last night he was "very happy" that his party had won the election for a constituent assembly.

"We struggled all the years for this day," he said.

In scenes of jubilation yesterday, thousands of Swapo supporters thronged Windhoek's Kaiserstrasse and the streets of Katutura township in a victory parade.

Official tallies announced at a central election co-ordinating headquarters in a showground exhibition hall recorded that 670 830 — more than

97% — of the territory's 701 438 registered voters participated.

Under a proportional representation system, allocation of seats in a 72-member assembly charged with writing the first constitution gave Swapo 41, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance 21, the United Democratic Front 4, Action Christian National three and one each to the Federal Convention of Namibia, Namibia National Front and National Patriotic Front.



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● **Now to build a nation,**
● **Joyful stop to traffic,**
— PAGE 2

Swapo has secured 57% control of the assembly, with the rival DTA holding 28%.

The constitutional assembly will meet for the first time next Wednesday at Tintenpalast, the German colonial government complex that has served as headquarters to administrator-general Mr Louis Pienaar since the Untag mission kicked off in April.

The final tally fell far short of Swapo's predicted landslide nationwide. The results will come as a considerable relief to the South African government and to white Namibians, who have long feared the consequences of unfettered Swapo rule.

To page 2

The Namibian election

30 years in exile

Sapa-Reuter reports from Windhoek

BLACK nationalist leader Sam Nujoma spent 30 years in exile roaming foreign capitals before returning home to win an election expected to make him independent Namibia's first president.

The left-wing policies of his South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo), which waged a bush war against Pretoria's rule for 23 years and was declared the winner of the pre-independence elections, made him a familiar figure at the Kremlin and in Scandinavia.

These influential friends made the bearded Nujoma one of the most prominent of southern Africa's nationalist leaders as he tried to convince the world his was the true voice of Namibia. The mineral-rich former German colony is due to achieve independence from South Africa next year under a UN peace plan and Nujoma is almost certain to be president.

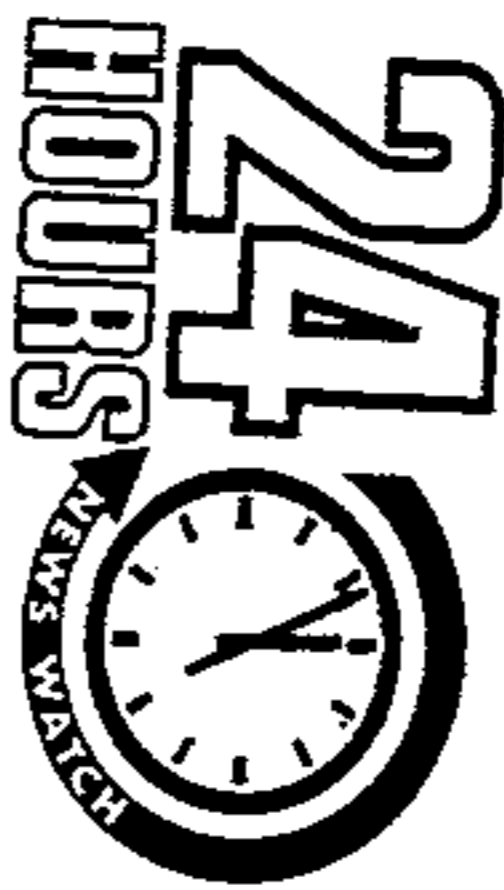
Cuban troops
Pretoria agreed to this in exchange for the withdrawal from neighbouring Angola of 50 000 Cuban troops which it said were a potential threat to the region.

Sam Nujoma went into exile in 1960 and his absence raised his status to that of a mythical hero among Swapo supporters.

Disaffected members paint a different picture.

Former Nujoma lieutenant Andreas Shipanga, now one of his most outspoken opponents, wrote in a book: "From 1974, (Swapo) commanders were travelling more than 300 miles from the front ... to complain of neglect by Nujoma".

Ex-guerrillas allege that



Swapo imprisoned and tortured hundreds of its own people on suspicion of being South African spies, allegations denied by its leaders.

Shafishuna Samuel Nujoma was born on May 12, 1929, in a village in the re-Owamboland near the Angolan border.

His political awareness was born in the late 1960s when he joined other Owambos in a Cape Town barber's shop to organise resistance to South Africa's apartheid labour laws.

In 1957 they formed the Owamboland People's Congress to fight the injustices of a contract labour system which forced blacks to work hundreds of miles to work for months at a time under harsh conditions.

He was fired that year from his job as a steward on the South African Railways because of his interest in politics and Namibian nationalism and he returned to Windhoek.

Accepted

There he became a leading opponent of plans to evacuate all blacks from their homes into the sprawling Katutura township, well away from Windhoek's white residential areas.

The resistance campaign, including a boycott of municipal services, led to a clash between blacks and police in December 1959 in which 13 blacks were killed.

Nujoma was arrested but fled the country after being released on bail.

It was the start of nearly three decades in exile, mostly in Ghana, Zambia and Tanzania, and more recently as a frequent visitor to the Soviet Union, Scandinavia and other centres where he could find political and financial support.

Shortly after Nujoma fled Namibia, Swapo was founded as a non-violent anti-South African pressure group and he was declared president, a post he has held ever since.

Swapo dropped non-violence in 1966, launching a bush war after South Africa defied the United Nations and refused to relinquish the mandate to rule Namibia it was granted during World War I.

Welcomed

Stalinated negotiations over the territory's future resumed in 1988 and South Africa, Cuba and Angola signed an independence accord, tacitly accepted by Swapo.

The agreement paved the way for independence under UN supervision in exchange for the Cuban withdrawal.

Nujoma's guerrillas brought the process close to disaster only hours after it began on April 1 this year when they staged an incursion from Angola.

Francis diplomatic negotiations saved the accord, and Swapo fighters withdrew to camps deep inside Angola.

Nujoma returned home in triumph in September this year, kissing the tarmac as he was welcomed by thousands of supporters wearing the red, green and blue colours of Swapo.

Nujoma is married, with three sons and a daughter.



Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma and Mr Theo-Ben Guribab leave the Tintenpalast government building in Windhoek after being officially informed of the election results.

Owamboland won the day for Swapo

By BRENDAN SEERY, Argus Africa News Service in Windhoek

SWAPO can be thankful for its ethnic Owambo base for saving its electoral bacon in Namibia's UN-monitored independence polls.

That is the overriding impression from an analysis of the ordinary votes cast in the 23 electoral districts, which shows that Swapo's claim of a broad-based following is somewhat hollow, and also that Namibians remembered their ethnic loyalties going into the voting booths.

The analysis shows that the DTA, the moderate "rainbow coalition" of 12 different ethnic groups — often vilified by Swapo as "South African puppets" — did better than many political pundits expected.

Fully 60 percent of the Swapo total of 331 987 ordinary votes were garnered from Owambo, while Owambo migrant workers in Windhoek, Luderitz and Swakopmund were probably the foundation of decisive Swapo triumphs in those districts.

While Swapo managed to win some support and beat the DTA in the Karango region, it was soundly trounced in areas like Kaokoland, Hereroland and Gobabis, which are the homes of the Herero people who are strong DTA supporters, but even more strongly anti-Swapo.

Hereros apparently also voted for the Namibia National Patriotic Front, which are homes to remnants of the old Herero-dominated Swannu NPF. However, only the NPF managed to squeeze in and get a seat in the Constituent Assembly.

In Damara land it was the United Democratic Front of Namibia (UDF) — one of

whose components is the tribally-based Damara Council — which triumphed.

The UDF also did surprisingly well in Owambo and in Windhoek, a showing which observers are attributing to the depth of feeling on the Swapo detainee question, a major campaign issue for the UDF.

In Caprivi, there was a close tussle between the DTA and Swapo, with the former emerging on top.

DTA showed strong support in the farming areas of the deep south, where it also apparently won over considerable numbers of Nama voters.

Whites appeared to go with their previous political convictions to a large extent, with the Action Christian National (ACN) — the election front of the National Party of South West Africa — gaining 20 077 ordinary votes.

Disorganised

However, the total number of eligible white voters would have been considerably higher than this, so it appears possible that some white NP-SWA supporters may have thrown in their lot with the DTA in the "lesser of two evils" scenario posed by a black majority government. Thousands of politically inactive or uncommitted whites probably threw their lot in with the DTA.

Swapo, while not lacking money for its campaign, was at many times disorganised and its advertising — particularly for important rallies — left much to be desired.

But more than that, it now looks as though Swapo was almost fatally complacent.



Swapo supporters throng the streets of Windhoek after the election results were announced

Is Swapo itself a colonial relic?



So it
goes...

ARNOLD
BENJAMIN

In timeless Namibia, some things still change more slowly than others. Like official South African terminology for the territory.

Have you noticed that the SABC has only recently got round to using the double-barrelled version generally abandoned by everyone else a few years ago, "SWA/Namibia"?

And the Post Office is about to issue yet another set of stamps, as it has doggedly been doing all along, under the "South West Africa" title.

For that matter, when does Swapo — the SWA People's Organisation — intend dropping that colonial relic from its name?

Almost as surprising as the Namibian election result was the peace in which the operation went off. Still, one eve-of-election incident last week served as a reminder of how different, how larger-than-life the country still remains.

There may well be other lands where a political party (the DTA in this case) uses aircraft for election campaigning.

But where else except Namibia would the plane be brought down by hostile machinegun fire?

Big thinkers

Even in small business, you gotta think big. Over the past couple of years I've been watching with interest the development of the JSE's pet example of informal enterprise, the two shoeshine men who set up shop outside the august portals of the Exchange.

Starting off as quite simple operations, both now seem to have diversified into shoe repairs and a certain amount of retailing. Their stalls have become considerably bigger, and competition runs hot.

"Mr Nugget", on the left as you go in, is holding his price at R1,50 a shine. His competitor on the other side charges R2 — but he is Doctor Nugget and has a poster advertising the "Dr Nugget Experience".

Just around the corner is another example of thinking big. In what's left of old Diagonal Street is a multi-shop festooned with the usual odiferous array of strange herbs, skins

and just-don't-ask medicaments.

One side of the shop front displays the title "kwaZulu Muti" — the other, "Museum of Man and Science". Which, I suppose, the place is in its own way — even if that title is a direct crib from a more orthodox museum.

A few blocks away, in Harrison Street, is a small shoe repair establishment which proclaims, in both shop windows: "Same time while you wait". Huh?

And cruising around the city is a car whose business shingle shows it's from the "My Struggle Driving School". Everybody's struggle, maybe, once those learners are licensed for the road.

That's history

All this upheaval in the communist world recalls the story of the leading Soviet politician interviewed early on in the Gorbachev era.

Did he think, he was asked, that the course of history might have been different had it been Khrushchev and not Kennedy who was shot by a lone sniper?

The politico pondered a moment before answering: "Yes".

"How so?"

"Well," he replied, "Aristotle Onassis would never have married Mrs Khrushchev!"

Business is business

Some East Germans seem to have got the wrong idea altogether about the capitalist system. When the barriers came down at the weekend, many curious easterners poured into Hamburg's red-light district, the Reeperbahn.

One or two prostitutes complained that the visitors were trying to obtain their services for free. What's the German for "socialist cheapskate"?

CHANTAL

Deposit from as little as R700. Easy finance. Trade-ins welcome. Tel 953-1190

Chantal advertises regularly in The Citizen in this fashion. Lest anyone get any wrong ideas, or be attracted by the idea of a trade-in, she's in the used car business.

The Star

Swapo's lesson of the polls

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Star
15/11/89

SO OFTEN full of surprises, Namibia has followed up its peaceful and democratic general election with a result that confounds most predictions. A number of important consequences are likely to flow from the strong minority representation in the new constituent assembly.

The first will become evident very soon. Swapo will have to horse-trade for allies among the other parties to secure the two-thirds majority for its preferred constitution. It will have to make compromises instead of calling the tune. This is bound to be a healthy learning experience for a party which has spent decades telling the world that it is the sole authentic spokesman for the Namibian people.

Swapo's most likely coalition partner, the United Democratic Front, shares essentially the same ideals but has come out more clearly than Swapo in favour of some basic democratic rights, including freedom of speech, a multi-party structure, free enterprise and private ownership. Swapo — not that it really had much choice in the matter —

will also have to temper its stance on relations with South Africa.

With more than a quarter of the total vote, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance has good reason to be satisfied with the outcome. It has no chance of forming its own coalition and excluding Swapo, but it has — if it holds together — the potential to be an influential opposition. However, the unity of the 11 different groups constituting the DTA may not survive the wheeling and dealing to come. It could come under considerable strain, in part because of the party's strong identification with white interests.

But whatever happens, and whatever the makeup of the future government, the elections ought to have administered a lesson for Swapo to remember — not to mention its supporters and sponsors abroad. Namibia is a land of many diverse and anxious minorities and it will have to be governed with their concerns in mind. The whites may be only 6 percent of the population but to retain their goodwill and trust will be vital.

Nujoma returns

NAMIBIAN ELECTION RESULTS

How the parties fared in the fight for the 72 seats in the constituent assembly:

Swapo — 41 seats
 Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — 21
 United Democratic Front — 4 seats
 Action Christian National — 3
 National Patriotic Front — 1
 Federal Convention of Namibia — 1
 Namibia National Front — 1

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WINDHOEK. — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma will be the first president of the independent state of Namibia, the party has announced as it celebrates its triumph in the constituent assembly elections.

"This victory is a vindication of our struggle, and it is a victory for the Namibian people," said the president-designate last night in expansive mood after his party's healthy performance at the polls in which it secured 41 of the 72 seats in the assembly.

The Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, met Mr Nujoma last night and announced he would be forming a liaison committee comprising members of his office and Swapo to "promote a constructive relationship" with the "majority party". Swapo in turn indicated it would be happy to work with Mr Pienaar. "We think he is a gentleman we can do business with," said a senior party official today.

Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and the No 2 performer at the polls with 21 seats, said he would be prepared to work in a coalition with Swapo.

"Namibians must at all costs avoid racial polarisation," he said. He and Mr Jan de Wet will be the main white voices in a black-dominated constituent assembly. Swapo has six whites in its line-up, but they are not likely to depart from the party's policies.

Pretoria to Havana

As DTA leader, Mr Mudge could influence the affiliates of the alliance, most of whom are black, while Mr De Wet could, as potential minister in a Swapo Cabinet, bring the aspirations of his constituency to the ruling party's notice.

The constituent assembly, a multi-racial group of 72 men and women who include former guerrillas and former Robben Island prisoners, should meet for the first time next Tuesday. Swapo's simple-majority victory has been widely welcomed internationally with leaders from Pretoria to Havana hailing the outcome as a triumph for democracy.

And constitutional experts believe that Swapo's failure to secure a two-thirds majority in the assembly, which would have enabled it to draw up the new state's constitution unilaterally, made the winning party a "captive of democracy" and set a solid basis for negotiating a broad-based constitution.

The South African government said it expected "realistic and cordial" relations with an independent Namibia. President Mr F. W. de Klerk assured South African co-operation "in a spirit of good neighbourliness, in order to enhance and develop peace and prosperity in the sub-continent".

It was clear, he added, that the election process was free and fair and that democracy had won the day. United Nations special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari said in Windhoek last night he was satisfied that the election and counting process had been free and fair.

On the crucial issue of the economic welfare of the independent state, SA Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pk Botha said it was time that members of the UN fulfilled their promises of considerable financial contributions.

SA government spending cuts would make continued financial aid to Namibia difficult.

Mr Botha predicted a period of hard bargaining and negotiations between South Africa and the new Namibia as the two countries attempted to unravel the "almost endless list of mutual relations" which had been interwoven over many years.

These ranged from Namibia's role in the SA Customs Union to matters such as civil aviation, rail links and banking.

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis indicated today that continued financial assistance would depend on Namibia maintaining friendly relations with SA but not on the new government's ideology.

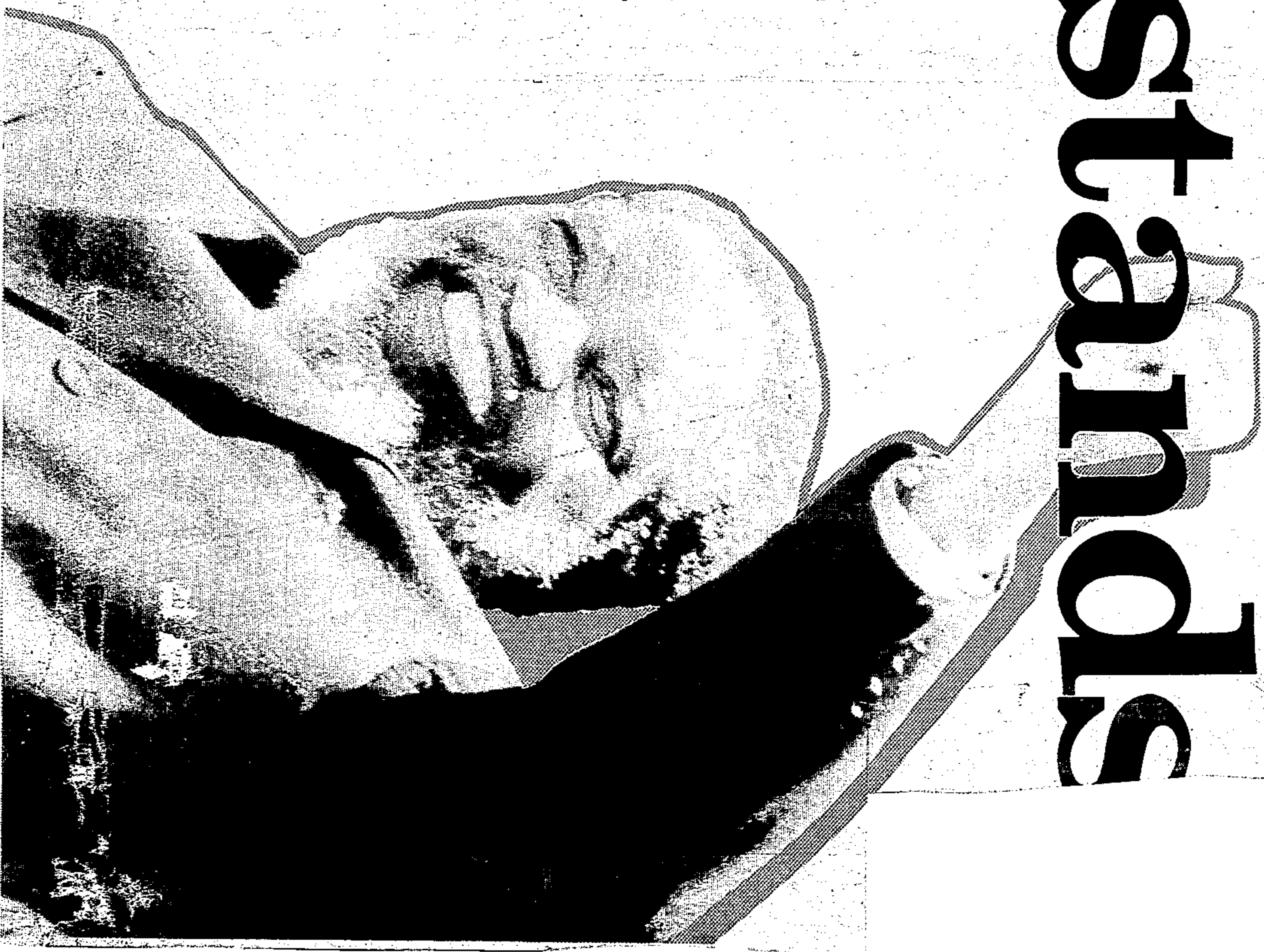
Flying colours

The SA Democratic Party foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Colin Eglin, said Namibians had "completed the first lap on the road to independence with flying colours".

Speaking for the Mass Democratic Movement, United Democratic Front national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia welcomed the result and hoped South Africa "learns from the lesson of Namibia and takes the necessary steps urgently which will set South Africa on the road to democracy".

In South Africa, only the Conservative Party condemned the result. Leader Dr Andries Treurnicht planned to hold a press conference today.

The only report of violence in the wake of the election result came from Oshakati where more than 20 people were hurt in a Swapo-DTA clash, according to a local doctor. — Africa News Service. Political Staff, Sapa and Sapa-Reuter.



■ A jubilant Mr Sam Nujoma.



Nujoma triumphant after 30 years in exile — page 17

April 2 may be independence day, marking end of colonialism in Africa

Namibian election results welcomed

By Peter Fabricius and Sapa
The Namibian election results have been widely welcomed in South Africa and the South African Government said it expected "realistic and cordial" relations with an independent Namibia.

And, hailing the results, United Nations Secretary General Dr Javier Perez-de Cuellar said yesterday that Namibia must now become a united nation where people of all political persuasions would be able to enjoy their rights without fear or favour.

April 2 1990 has been mentioned as a likely date for nationhood.

On the recommendation of the Security Council and endorsement by the general assembly, Namibia would become the 160th member state of the world body, marking the end of colonialism in Africa.

State President Mr F W de Klerk said: "The election process was free and fair and democracy won the day."

"The South African Government is grateful that the election proceeded peacefully and thus accepts the outcome."

The Democratic Party said Namibians had "completed the first lap on the road to independence with flying colours".

Interdependent

Only the Conservative Party condemned the results.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday he believed from his recent meetings with Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma that South Africa could expect "cordial and realistic" relations with an independent Namibia.

The two countries were interdependent through common rail, telecommunications and civil aviation systems.

Swapo's overall victory, but failure to win the two-thirds majority which would have allowed it to write its own constitution, was the "best possible basis for constitution building", Unisa constitutional expert Professor Marinus Wiechers said from Windhoek yesterday. The results would make Swapo "captives of democracy".

The Mass Democratic Movement yesterday said the results were a triumph for the Namibian people under the leadership of Swapo in their struggle against apartheid and colonialism.

In a statement over UN television, Dr Perez de Cuellar said: "I am confident that the members of the constituent assembly will address themselves to the most crucial task of framing and adopting the constitution for the country with the same degree of enthusiasm and patriotism that they displayed during the course of the electoral process."

Fear or favour

"For Namibia must become a united nation where the inhabitants of all political persuasions will be able to enjoy their inalienable rights without fear or favour."

These were the aims of the United Nations 43 years ago when the issue of Namibia first came before the General Assembly, he said.

"The United Nations will continue to discharge its obligations to the people of Namibia until the territory achieves independence," Dr Perez de Cuellar pledged.

He also paid tribute to "the effective arrangements made by the South African electoral authorities and the excellent performance of the Untag electoral officials," his special representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, and other senior UN officials.



Victory ... Some of a group of about 9 000 Swapo supporters who celebrated their party's election victory yesterday in a march from Katutura township through the streets to central Windhoek.
Picture by Jake Rykliff.

Violence between rival parties - 19 admitted to hospital
The Star's Africa News Service OSHAKATI - Violence between rival political parties broke out last night and 19 people were admitted to hospital after fighting, several in a serious condition with gunshot or knife wounds.
Head of the Untag police force in Oshakati, Chief Inspector Peter Fitzgerald, said

that all 19 had been identified as Swapo supporters. The fighting broke out shortly after dark when flares lit the night sky and gunfire was heard coming from the Okatana squatter township - a DTA stronghold.
Shortly afterwards a group of seven men staggered into Untag's Oshakati headquarters of the area.

Violence between rival parties - 19 admitted to hospital
The Star's Africa News Service OSHAKATI - Violence between rival political parties broke out last night and 19 people were admitted to hospital after fighting, several in a serious condition with gunshot or knife wounds.
Head of the Untag police force in Oshakati, Chief Inspector Peter Fitzgerald, said

Jubilation in Windhoek at Swapo victory

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

WINDHOEK - The streets of Windhoek belonged to Swapo for a few noisy hours yesterday after about 5 000 of its supporters marched in from Katutura township in celebration of the movement's victory in the independence election.

It was a bitter-sweet victory - Swapo having won only a simple majority in the constituent assembly - but the fervour of the crowds suggested either they had not yet grasped that Swapo had not won the two-thirds majority it had hoped for - or they didn't really care.

Holding aloft the organisation's banners and flags, the crowds marched into the city. It seemed to be more than just the outcome of the election that was being celebrated. In a sense, Windhoekers were also celebrating that the election had been successfully completed without major hitches or violence - and that independence was really on its way at last.

FISTS RAISED

Large groups of Swapo supporters, fists raised, surged through the streets in a toyi-toyi tide.

Windhoekers celebrated as they had voted peacefully. Traffic lights were obeyed and so were the traffic police who sealed off part of the city's main street, Kaiserstrasse, and diverted the celebratory traffic.

Outside the main post office in Kaiserstrasse, a dense throng of singing Swapo supporters did not miss a beat as several SWA Police vehicles filled with policemen forced their way through. Even the police were smiling through the wire mesh on their windows.

The only ones who were not smiling were the blue-bereted members of the United Nations police contingent who watched in stolid silence.

There was a moment of tension when some in the crowd tried to pull down the South African flag outside the post office. Policemen materialised and formed a line between the post office and the crowd, and the assault on the flag was abandoned. So, too, were the celebrations shortly afterwards.

By knocking-off time it looked like just another Tuesday on Kaiserstrasse, except for the torn posters and Swapo flags that littered the tar-mac.

Freedom this year is Namibian target

gov 15/11/89 (271)

The Star's Africa News Service
Windhoek

Some Namibian politicians want independence for their country by Christmas. But even if that target date is too soon, the major parties share the goal of independence as soon as possible.

This emerged today following the announcement of the outcome of last week's elections, from which Swapo will dominate the 72-member constituent assembly with 41 seats, with the DTA winning 21 seats.

Both parties have expressed themselves in favour of turning the constituent assembly into a parliament once the constitution has been agreed on, obviating the need for further elections.

Although the parties are impatient for independence, and wish to finalise the constitution without delay, knowledgeable analysts doubt whether the details can be completed before early next year.

Some see early April as a more likely date for nationhood, and point to the fact that the United Nations monitoring force, Untag, expects to remain in Namibia until the end of March.

Constructive relations

The constituent assembly which will draw up a constitution for the new Namibia is due to start its work next Tuesday or Wednesday.

Yesterday, South African Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar met Swapo President, Mr Sam Nujoma, for discussions even before it became common knowledge the organisation had emerged victorious in the election.

Earlier, Swapo had confirmed that, as far as they were concerned, Mr Nujoma would be the first president of an independent Namibia.

Mr Pienaar said he would shortly be forming a liaison committee from representatives of his office and Swapo to "promote a constructive relationship" between South Africa and Namibia.

Swapo indicated it would be happy to work with Mr Pienaar. A senior official said yesterday: "We think he is a gentleman we can do business with."

Swapo yesterday appeared unconcerned about the movement's failure to gain the two-thirds majority necessary for adoption of the constitution.

Bill of rights

The organisation's information secretary, Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, said Swapo's draft constitution would entrench all the things the other parties were worried about, including a bill of human rights, the right to life and liberty as well as to ownership of property, freedom of movement and of association.

"The only thing we are not prepared to do is entrench apartheid laws," he said.

DTA leader Mr Dirk Mudge said he would be prepared to work in a coalition with Swapo.

He said: "Namibians must at all costs avoid racial polarisation."

Mr Justus Garoeb, president of the United Democratic Front which won four seats in the assembly, said his party was in a position to influence the proceedings of the constituent assembly and would use its influence to ensure democratic principles were incorporated into Namibia's constitution.

Action Christian National, which was allocated three seats in the assembly, would want to contribute positively to the sovereign government of Namibia, its leader Mr Jan de Wet said.

"We even want to be accommodated in the future government," he said.

● See Pages 3, 5 and 15



Evidence ... Boondock Nature Reserve employee Mr Fabia Timane with two dead eels. Hundreds of bass, canary bream and other fish died in the dam.



A yellow mess ... rocks are Louw's

Pollution

By Clyde Johnson
Lowveld Bureau

BARBERTON — The drinkin' village has been threatened at fish, at least 40 eels and sever of aquatic life have died in the ern Transvaal river-pollution l

Waste, allegedly from a d test tunnel, has washed into stream near Louw's Creek, Barberton.

Rocks and plants along a 1,5 Revolver Creek have turned, and what was clear water is a mess.

Mr Luke von Johnstone, of dock's Nature Reserve near Louw's Creek, said fish started dying in his dam on Sunday.

By midday yesterday 30 eel and hundreds of dead fish had been removed from the dam and trees were wilting.

Water from Revolver Cree in the Crocodile River's catl ment area, flows past an abandoned mining test tunnel o Bien Venue farm. Close by is a dump, apparently of waste matter from the tunnel.

It is two years since wor was done on the tunnel and appears that during a storm last week about 10 percent of the dump was washed into the stream.

Louws Creek police, the Department of Water Affairs and the Directorate of Nature Conservation have taken water and other tests, and the Lydenburg Fisheries Department was called in to assess the damage.

CONCERN

Public affairs manager of the gold division of Anglo American Corporation, Mr Adrian Plessis, said operations at Bien Venue were curtailed in 1986.

Since then Anglo Prospecting Services continually ensure the area posed no threat to the environment, he said.

Tests taken in 1988 had indicated no pollutants. The reported contamination of the dam had caused the company great concern, and it had sent an environmental expert to the site.

"Should the tests indicate any responsibility by the compas

Poachers fire at rangers

Own Correspondent 15/11/89

DURBAN — Natal Parks Board staff operating against poachers in the Drakensberg are being armed following a recent incident in which a patrol was fired on by poachers in the Giant's Castle game reserve.

Dr John Scotcher, chief conservator, Drakensberg, said today that an officer and two guards had lain in ambush for poachers in the Injasuthi Valley in the game reserve.

"It was daytime but very misty, ideal for poaching," he said. "Two hunting dogs came through the ambush and were both shot by the game guards, whereupon they were fired on by the poachers who were following the dogs."

"Our men returned the fire but no one was hit."

He said the poaching party had come from a kwaZulu area to the east. Eland was the prime target of poachers in the area.

"Poaching of game is an ongoing problem throughout the Drakensberg, but this is the first time to my knowledge that a patrol has come under rifle fire. Naturally we are very concerned and will monitor the situation very closely."

"We've stepped up patrols and, where previously some men carried knobkerries and such weapons, they are now being armed with rifles or small arms."

School plan still secret

The Department of Education and Culture and the management council of Johannesburg High School for Girls are both still keeping mum on plans to save the school.

A report-back meeting by the management council to members of the Save Our School Committee on Friday resulted in a memorandum

Kruger Park blaze

The shopping complex at the Pretoriuskop camp in the Kruger National Park was burnt out on Monday night. The fire caused damage estimated at about R1,5 million.

Scores of people assisted the local fire-fighting unit, but they were unable to save the thatched building.

Namibia: Talk is cheap but blood is expensive

THE Namibian election having come and gone, the next question is whether all that war talk that has been going on is going to come true. No one knows — but if it does it will probably happen in the next couple of weeks.

The war-will-come scenario holds that if Swapo was unable to organise a two-thirds majority it would activate the insurgents who have been lying up in the shallow area these past three months or more, timing it so that the incursion will take place as or after the remaining 1 500 SADF soldiers leave, as they must do after (and if) Mr Martti Ahtisaari approves the election results.

The alternate war-will-come scenario holds that inter-ethnic violence is a possibility, particularly if (as happened) Swapo's political support was heavily tribal in nature. Here, too, talk is cheap but blood is expensive.

sive.

Southern Africa being a place where anything can happen, perhaps we should not rest too easy just yet, and hope there are lots of cool heads up there.

Meanwhile, now that the election is out of the way, we can address the matter of the notorious alleged Untag messages, on the subject of which this newspaper posed some pretty strong editorial questions this week. Rightly so, in my opinion.

Enough time has passed for the government to provide a full report-back. It has not done so, presumably because the matter is so embarrassing. But if it does not, it can only blame itself if people harbour dark suspicions; assuming one is innocent, it is surely better to admit to having been a bit of a clot than have onlookers think you are a crook.

Much digging has yielded no more than the following conclusions:

● Were the messages monitored or simply dreamt up somewhere in Pretoria?

My sources say they were sent, alright. Who sent them is another matter. The Division of Military Intelligence is a much-cited villain, but I wonder — most rising military stars do a stint at DMI, and one way to wreck a career is to publicly embarrass a senior minister by telling him an easily-exposed lie.

● Why were the taped messages not kept?

This remains a mystery. According to one of my good sources something like 700 messages were taped, about 10 of which were what one might call contentious. These were transcribed and the tapes were erased. Why? Because the monitoring operation did not have enough tapes and they had to be re-used!

This sounds so daft that it might well be true — anybody who has had dealings with the SADF knows how fond it is of penny-pinching on small items.

One might well ask why, if such explosive messages were recorded, someone did not decide to keep them, tape shortage or no tape shortage. Well, perhaps the monitoring personnel had no orders about this and therefore did not use their initiative (this often happens in the military, as all veterans know).

It is also possible that because such monitoring had always been top-secret, whoever was responsible did not foresee that Mr Pik Botha would ever go public — and therefore require indisputable evidence.

● Why was the location of the transmitter not pin-pointed?

All I can think of is that the monitoring operation had been scaled down to such an extent, in line with the general diminu-

tion of the SADF presence, that it was not feasible to pin-point the exact location of the transmitter.

● Were the messages in code?

I have no clarity on this. One would think the messages were. On the other hand, since they were interspersed among workaday logistic messages, it could be that they were transmitted in clear. This is very unprofessional, to be sure, but many of the Untag components are extremely lax by SADF standards.

Footnote: The most puzzling thing is this: What did the government stand to gain which was so important that it was worth wrecking its credibility and humiliating Mr Botha in the worst possible way? Until — and if — some secret agenda is revealed, this old military correspondent is going to stay puzzled.

● Willem Steenkamp is a reservist in the Citizen Force.

CAT - 7/14/85 15/11/85

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Britain excited by poll conduct

IAN HOBBS

*Blair
16/11/89* (22)

LONDON — Britain yesterday congratulated the people of Namibia and said the result and conduct of the elections would contribute to peace and stability in southern Africa.

"It is very exciting indeed. It promises the hope of stability and democracy for the first time, which is marvellous news," said William Waldegrave, Foreign Office Minister responsible for Africa.

British national newspapers were also impressed with the conduct and management of the elections — and the outcome.

The conservative Daily Telegraph said the final test for democracy in Namibia had yet to be faced, but the result of the election was "nicely balanced".

Brutal

Given Swapo's mediocre leadership, its brutal treatment of dissidents and its commitment to socialism, it was "as well that the voters have placed checks on its powers". Yet Swapo had won enough support to remove the temptation for it to "cry foul and resort to violence".

The Guardian said Swapo's victory was sizeable, but they were denied a landslide by revelations of their brutal treatment of prisoners in Angola, which had not yet been satisfactorily explained.

The Independent said it was in SA that Namibia's evolution would be most closely followed.

"SA liberals argue that the swift introduction of similar reforms at home would weaken the more militant elements of the ANC," said The Independent. "Equally, if Swapo abuses its position in independent Namibia, the hand of SA's reformers and of moderate ANC leaders will be weakened."

□ Sapa-Reuter reports from Washington that the US on Tuesday also hailed Namibia's first universal suffrage elections as free and fair and said it would recognise the results certified by the UN secretary-general's special representative.

Nujoma promises big shake-up in security forces 221

WINDHOEK — A Swapo government in Namibia would probe every policeman's record before allowing him to continue serving as a law-enforcer, Swapo president Sam Nujoma said yesterday.

But the country's most-likely first president sought to still nervousness among government workers, urging them not to leave their jobs.

"I want to reassure the civil service that its services will continue to be needed, as will the productive efforts of all sectors of the economy," he told reporters at his first post-election news conference at Swapo headquarters.

KEVIN JACOBS

"Certainly there is going to be a commission to re-examine whether those in the service are fit to maintain law and order. Koovoet and the SWA Territory Force are not fit."

Refusing to acknowledge Swapo's 57% poll victory as a disappointment, Nujoma said voters had mandated the party to lead Namibia to independence.

"The Namibian people have spoken. The victory that Swapo has won is not just an historic achievement for Swapo. It is a victory for the whole Namibian nation."

The nation had "won its long-denied right to self-determination and independence. For this reason there are no losers. We are all victors."

He committed his party's 41 constituent assembly members to "the democratic principle of open discussion and decision by majority", saying constitutional debate next week should involve all parties represented in the 72-seat House.

"Swapo has been giving considerable thought to the principles and ideas which should be included in the constitution for an independent Namibia. "However... we are prepared to give

ample time to the other parties to put their views. We have no intention of imposing our views on others, and we anticipate no serious disagreements on this."

Nujoma said Swapo believed political independence without economic independence was not possible.

Therefore its first priority as a government, Sapa reports, would be to encourage agriculture and rehabilitate fishing resources to feed the nation.

He accused SA of deliberately stunting food production in Namibia so as to use the territory to dump surplus fruit and vegetables. To Page 2

Nujoma

tables from SA's markets.

Swapo would encourage irrigation projects to reverse this process and would concentrate on more local processing of its meat exports.

Nujoma said Swapo would only ask the UN to lift economic sanctions against Namibia once it had become an independent sovereign state.

Namibia would set up committees to investigate the country's membership of the Customs Union and the establishment of its own currency and central bank.

Meanwhile, after a meeting of the UN Security Council in New York yesterday, SA ambassador Jeremy Shearar maintained that, in spite of UN denials, SA had received consistent but unverified reports

of armed guerrillas infiltrating from Angola.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha was unavailable for comment last night.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said in Pretoria yesterday his party had from the start — with government — considered and "rejected" Swapo as a "communist-oriented" organisation, and still did.

He rejected the "contempt for ethnicity and the difference between nations" shown. Swapo's victory meant that an "Ovambo majority is now extending itself to the Orange River".

What had happened in Namibia was not democracy but a "mass demonstration".

● See Page 5

From Page 1

■ PEOPLE'S PRESS

Where City Press readers speak out

Preference will be given to short, neatly written or typed letters. While pen names will be used on request, all letters must include the writer's full name and address.

The Editor
P.O. Box 57473
Springfield
2137

Namibia the model for SA's future

IT is our duty to congratulate Namibia on its independence.

We look at Swapo enviously, hoping that one day our Swapo-like organisation will win elections in South Africa and give us the independence in South Africa we dream of.

Freedom began hitting Africa from the north of the continent. It has hit Namibia - now South Africa is on freedom's hit list. Whether we are ready or not, scared or not, freedom is going to attack us like armed robbers. It will get us un-awares. Freedom is better than captivity.

I suggest that there should be a mass party by the people for the people in support for Swapo victory. May all the churches pray honestly for the people of Namibia including the white NG Kerk.

We salute Swapo and hope that one day - sooner than later - we will be saluting the new government in South Africa.

It is now time for God to act. He will crush South Africa's strong army, he will smash batons, sjamboks in all directions and bring down the mighty down in their conceit. Rich farmers who kill our brothers and sisters will be sent away empty and forbidden. - Christopher Uoane, Chiawelo

C.P. Press
1/6/1989

Nujoma to brief neighbours

HARARE — Leaders of six southern African countries will meet in Lusaka today to decide whether Namibia's successful election marks a new dawn for the region or just a truce in their trial of strength with SA. *B/DAM 16/11/89*

Swapo leader Sam Nujoma, now earmarked as Namibia's first president-to-be, is expected to fly to the Zambian capital to brief President Kenneth Kaunda and his neighbours on the election.

Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe said yesterday he hoped Swapo's victory would give it a mandate to lead the country to independence. — Sapa-Renter.

(221)

Nujoma in frontline talks

HARARE — Mr Sam Nujoma, regarded as Namibia's first president-to-be, is expected to attend a meeting of frontline states in Lusaka today.

The leaders of the six frontline countries will decide whether Namibia's election marks a new dawn for their region or just a truce in their trial of strength with South Africa.

Mr Nujoma is expected to brief President Kenneth Kaunda and other leaders on the election.

President Robert Mugabe said yesterday he hoped Swapo's "resounding majority victory" would give it a mandate to lead the country to independence on April 1, 1990. He advised Swapo to follow Zimbabwe's example and pursue a policy of internal reconciliation as "a very effective

moral instrument for achieving permanent peace".

Diplomats said Dr Kaunda, Mr Mugabe and the presidents of Botswana, Tanzania, Mozambique and Angola would have no difficulty in endorsing the election result and would not be concerned by Swapo's failure to win a two-thirds majority.

Yesterday Mr Nujoma pleaded for national reconciliation and pledged Swapo to work in coalition with other political groups.

Mr Nujoma sought to allay the fears of Namibia's 70 000 whites and prevent a possible exodus of skilled professionals.

Adopting a marked conciliatory stance, Mr Nujoma described the election results as "a victory for the whole Namibian nation".

He promised Swapo would seek agreement

ment with the smaller parties in the new 72-seat constituent assembly which will convene next week when it must begin to draw up the constitution. He said Swapo's majority was based on "a form of pluralism".

Swapo has 41 seats in the assembly, while its biggest rival, the more conservative Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, won 21. The independence constitution must be adopted by a minimum of 48 members of the assembly.

One of Swapo's most pressing priorities is to convince businessmen and South African civil servants to stay put. Many are alarmed by Swapo's election manifesto which stresses "the moral superiority of socialism over capitalism" and calls for

To page 2

Nujoma

he seizure of land owned by absentee landlords.

At present, there are no exchange controls between Namibia and South Africa, rendering the world's youngest democracy vulnerable to a disastrous flight of capital should Swapo unsettle the white community.

According to bankers in Windhoek, substantial amounts of money left the territory during April, when the UN settlement plan came into force and Swapo guerrillas swarmed across the border from southern Angola.

Mr Nujoma said English would be the official language of the country and children would be taught in that language.

He accused South Africa of deliberately stunting food production in Namibia so as to use the territory to dump surplus fruit and vegetables from South African markets.

Asked if his message to civil servants also included the SWA Police, Mr Nujoma said a committee would be established to investigate if police members were fit to carry out law and order duties.

Asked about contact with South Africa, Mr Nujoma said: "I have always said there are two South Africas — one led by white minority settlers there. That one we will certainly not deal with, but we respect non-racial South Africa, that's why we will deal with it." — Sapa-Reuter and Daily Telegraph

Quiet Namibia belies pre-election fervour

WINDHOEK. — Namibia's 1.3-million people yesterday reacted to Swapo's victory at the polls with a calm that gave little indication of the heady exuberance that prevailed in the run-up to the five-day elections.

"It is almost as if the independence they so craved over the years doesn't mean a thing. One would expect the people, especially in black townships, to celebrate in high fashion. But this is not the case," commented Mr John Gachie, editor of the foreign page of Kenya's largest newspaper, the Daily Nation.

"Instead, a few thousand people took to the streets on Tuesday, and that was it. No parties, no street dancing and nothing that smacked of a victory during the course of the night," he added.

In Katutura, the main black township on the outskirts of Windhoek, people went about their business as usual. Few displayed Swapo flags or showed the clenched-fist sign most associated with the victory.

At Swapo's headquarters in the township, only about 50 people

TRIUMPHANT... Namibia's ruler-in-waiting, Mr Sam Nujoma, exultant winner of pre-independence elections, addresses a news conference yesterday in his first official reaction to the victory of his party.

were gathered under trees and little activity went on inside the main hall.

The only fresh indication of Swapo support was three flags hoisted atop poles at a taxi rank.

Down the street, only 20 people remained outside the DTA headquarters in the area, with most lounging on the ground while others cleared up. All flags had been removed from the building and several of-

fices were bolted. Overnight, the clusters of Swapo and DTA posters on lampposts disappeared. Only a few torn remains of banners for the smaller parties remained.

Rumours in Windhoek say celebrations will begin at the weekend when workers end their shifts, but if the revelry on Tuesday night was anything to go by, the parties will be low-key and private. — Sapa



From IAN HOBBS LONDON. — The "quality press" here were unanimously impressed yesterday by the conduct and result of the Namibian election.

The conservative Daily Telegraph said the final test for democracy in Namibia had yet to be faced, but the election result was "nicely balanced".

Given Swapo's mediocre leadership, its brutal treatment of dissidents and its commitment to socialism, it was "as well that the voters have placed checks on its powers".

Yet Swapo had won enough support to remove the temptation for it to "cry foul and resort to violence".

The liberal Guardian said that with a 96% turn-out, the people of Namibia had "triumphantly dispelled the myth that they were not ready for the vote — and established a very useful precedent for democracy next door".

It said Swapo's victory was sizeable, but they were denied a landslide by revelations of their brutal treatment of prisoners in Angola, which had not yet been satisfactorily explained.

In consequence, the DTA had been able to project itself to a substantial minority as a party with a chance.

UK welcomes LONDON. — The pre-independence elections in Namibia promised the hope of stability and democracy in the former South African territory for the first time. Foreign Office Minister Mr William Waidegrave said yesterday.

In a BBC radio interview, he said that the elections were a tribute to the Namibian people.

Mr Waidegrave said: "It promises the hope of stability and democracy

Nam: UK's 'quality press' impressed

16/11/89

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The Independent said the election result was "encouraging" and Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma appeared to have shed much of his old Marxist rhetoric and the policy now discredited in Eastern Europe.

Mr Nujoma was anxious to project himself as a "benign elder statesman" committed to human rights, an independent judiciary, mixed economy and multi-party democracy. But, asked the Independent: "Has the old tiger really changed his stripes?"

The type of reforms seemingly envisaged by President F W de Klerk had been pioneered since 1985 in Namibia, and helped undercut Swapo's appeal, the Independent said.

"South African liberals argue that the swift introduction of similar reforms at home would weaken the more militant elements of the ANC."

Namibian result

there for the first time, which is marvellous news."

On the same programme, Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said that the newly-elected politicians had to guard against "polarisation" in the country.

Swapo support had come mainly from one ethnic group, Mr Mudge said. But he said he foresaw no problem working with Swapo. — Sapa-AP

Nojuma speaks

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Sowetan 16/11/89

WINDHOEK - "The Namibian people have spoken. They have given Swapo a democratic mandate to lead Namibia to independence," Swapo president Sam Nujoma said in Windhoek yesterday in response to his party's victory in the election for a constituent assembly.

Introduced as "the president of Namibia-in-waiting", Nujoma thanked voters for the confidence and trust they had put in Swapo.

"Swapo's victory is not just an historic achievement for Swapo. It is a victory for the whole Namibian nation," he said.

Nujoma said there were no losers in the election and even those parties which had failed to gain a seat would be able to enjoy the fruits of freedom.

Imposing

"We are looking forward to the co-operation of the other parties in the constituent assembly," he said, adding they would be given full opportunity to express their views on Namibia's future.

"We have no intention of imposing our views on others," he continued, but the Namibian nation was eager for independence so that it could have a sovereign government to address its urgent socio-economic needs.

It was the responsibility of the constituent assembly to move speedily in its deliberations so as not to delay in-



A Swapo supporter shows who he regards as his leader during Namibia's election week.

dependence any further, he said.

Nujoma reiterated Swapo's policy of national reconciliation and specifically re-assured civil servants they would still be needed after independence.

"We reiterate our readiness to co-operate with all sectors of our society, including those in the public service, the farmers and the workers, to move our society forward," he said.

Swapo believed political independence without

economic independence was not possible, Nujoma said.

Therefore its first priority as a government would be to encourage agriculture and rehabilitate fishing resources in order to feed the nation.

He accused South Africa of deliberately stunting food production in Namibia so as to use the territory to dump surplus fruit and vegetables from South African markets.

Police

Swapo would encourage irrigation projects to reverse this process and it would concentrate on more local processing of its meat exports, he said.

Asked if his message to civil servants included the SWA Police, Nujoma said a committee would be established to investigate whether police members were fit to carry out law and order duties.

He said "Koevoet murder squads" and former members of the SWA Territory Force were not fit for ordinary police work, as had been proved when Koevoet was disbanded and they went on the "rampage", allegedly throwing handgrenades

into primary schools.

Nujoma said Swapo would only ask the United Nations to lift economic sanctions against Namibia once it had become an independent sovereign state.

Troops

Asked about contact with South Africa, Nujoma said:

"I have always said there are two South Africas: one led by white minority settlers - that one, we will certainly not deal with it. But we respect non-racial South Africa, that's why we will deal with it."

He said South Africa and UN Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari had a duty in terms of Resolution 435 to ensure that the remaining 1500 SADF troops in Namibia were withdrawn within a week.

Nujoma said an independent Namibia would support the people of South Africa in their struggle against racial oppression.

Walvis Bay

It would also set up committees to investigate Namibia's membership of the Customs Union and

the pros and cons of establishing its own currency and central bank.

Namibia would never recognise South African control over the enclave of Walvis Bay as this would be against international opinion and would amount to endorsing an act of colonialism, he said.

Swapo's policy was that Walvis Bay town had to be handed over to the people of Namibia.

He said other political parties would be free to remain separate or "join the people in Swapo" - but Swapo would not impose a one-party system on the country.

"If the Namibian people choose to go one-party and it is done at the polls democratically, it will certainly be so, because that is the express wish of the Namibian people," he said.

Freedoms

It was up to the constituent assembly to decide on the question of a possible coalition government, Nujoma said, and he hoped Namibians from all walks of life, such as business, church and traditional leaders, would be included in a future government.

Asked about freedom of the press after independence, he said: "Yes, certainly there will be freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of movement, freedom of association, and there will also be freedom of religion."

Nujoma also said there

Frontline talks for Nujoma as DTA grumbles

WINDHOEK. — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma arrives in Lusaka today for a frontline states meeting, while at home the runner-up party in the constituent assembly election has rejected the idea of a Swapo government.

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, which has 21 seats in the constituent assembly to Swapo's 41, says it cannot accept the implicit recognition of Swapo as the future government of Namibia in an announcement by the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, that he is forming a liaison committee between his office and the winning party.

The DTA says that even though Swapo won the election, its status is not, at this stage, different from that of the representatives of other parties in the assembly.

FIRST SESSION

Mr Pienaar's office confirmed today that the 72-member constituent assembly will sit for the first time at 10am next Tuesday and that its first business would be to elect a chairperson.

And while Mr Nujoma attends the frontline summit convened to discuss the implications of the election in the country of which he is expected to be first president, Angola-Namibia border monitoring operations by the Joint Verification Commission begin today.

The commission was established by South Africa, Angola and Cuba with Untag and the

South West African Police after South African allegations that large numbers of armed Swapo guerrillas remained in southern Angola poised to enter Namibia.

Security sources in Oshakati have alleged that a Swapo column is planning a "triumphal entry" into Namibia following the organisation's electoral victory in the area.

Sources believe the outbreak of violence in Oshakati on Tuesday night between rival Swapo and DTA supporters in which 22 people were wounded, adds substance to the rumour.

Suggestions are also being bandied about in this northern town that Swapo will seek to avenge the 19 of its supporters injured in the clashes.

Swapo sources have denied this.

In Pretoria, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has reacted to statements by Mr Nujoma on the contentious subject of the status of Walvis Bay.

Mr Nujoma said Namibia would never recognise South African control of the enclave as this would be totally against international opinion and would amount to endorsing an act of colonialism.

Mr Botha said the status of Walvis Bay had not featured in any of the international settlement talks or agreements. The use of Walvis Bay might, however, be discussed. — Argus Africa News Service and Sapa.

NAMIBIA

Small parties hold the key

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D.P. Dwy 16/11/89



Sam Nujoma makes his first public reaction to the poll at a news conference yesterday

WINDHOEK — Five small parties trailed far behind the leaders in Namibia's pre-independence elections but could play a crucial role in shaping the territory's future.

The groups, which are likely to find themselves wooed next week by the major players, range from hardline left-wingers linked to the United Democratic Front of Namibia (UDF) to the whites of the Action Christian National (ACN).

Sam Nujoma's nationalist Swapo was the undisputed winner with 41 of the 72 Constituent Assembly seats.

Second was the white-led centrist Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), which took 21 seats with a platform of pragmatic non-racialism, free market economics and limited protection for the established privileges of Namibia's 80 000 whites.

Swapo fell seven seats short of a controlling two-thirds majority in the assembly that will begin next week to write Namibia's independence constitution. Nujoma will have to find some support

for his mainly socialist ambitions either from the DTA or from the some of the five smaller parties that won places in the assembly.

The biggest is the UDF, a progressive alliance that took four seats and 5.6% of the vote.

It incorporates parties ranging from Justus Garoeb's tribal Damara Council to the Communist Party of Namibia and the Marxist-Leninist Patriotic Unity Movement.

ACN, representing conservative whites allied to SA's NP and CP, took three seats on a strongly anti-communist platform.

Trailing

However, ACN leader Jan de Wet said in Windhoek on Tuesday he was prepared to serve a Swapo government provided it respected his principles.

He said the ACN had plenty to offer the new government. He was prepared to contribute to the

Constituent Assembly and to put his knowledge, administrative knowhow and capital at the disposal of his country.

While the UDF shared some of Swapo's goals, ACN was the refuge for Namibia's most conservative whites, the strongest anti-Swapo block in the territory's elections.

Trailing with one seat each came three smaller alliances, the social democrat Namibia National Front, the centrist National Patriotic Front and the ethnic Federal Council of Namibia, which demands special rights for the Baster minority.

Most likely to align themselves with Nujoma are the UDF and the Namibia National Front.

Based on their election platforms, the DTA seems likely to forge a blocking one-third faction in alliance with the conservatives of the ACN and the single votes of the Patriotic Front and the Federal Council. — Sapa-Reuter.

B/Daw 16/11/89

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Sanctions on Namibia stay for now

WASHINGTON — There is little movement in Congress to lift US sanctions on Namibia despite UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari's declaration that last week's elections were free and fair.

Senator Paul Simon, Senate Africa Subcommittee chairman, told Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen last month that he would be willing to take the necessary steps to amend the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act once the elections had been certified.

But staff members said yesterday he now believed such a move would be "premature".

SIMON BARBER

Sources close to the House Foreign Affairs Committee said they believed the sanctions — identical to those in place against SA — would remain in place until Namibia was formally independent.

The CAAA's sanctions apply to Namibia because it is "a territory under the administration, legal or illegal, of SA".

With Congress due to recess before the end of the month, time is running out for any action until next January at the earliest.

Am

Troops out next week

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Soweta
10/11/89

WINDHOEK- The last 1500 South African troops would be withdrawn from Namibia next Wednesday or Thursday, SA Defence Force spokesman Brigadier Johan Louw said here yesterday.

In terms of the UN settlement plan for Namibia, SA forces have to leave the country a week after the election for a constituent assembly has been certified as free and fair by the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

Brig Louw said that because rail transport arrangements had to be made well in advance, it had been agreed that the date of certification would be taken as November 17.

He said the troops — confined to base at Grootfontein and Oshivelo for the duration of the election campaign — would leave by plane and trains, while equipment would be railed out.

The bases would be handed over to the Department of Civic Affairs and Manpower, Brig Louw said.—Sapa.

Nujoma silent on independence date

Swapo pushes reconciliation line

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Star 16/11/89

By Jon Qwelane,
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Swapo pushed its policy of national reconciliation further yesterday when it said it would invite other Namibian parties to join it and form a government after a constitution for the new state has been adopted.

At the party's first media conference after winning the elections, Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma did not give away anything regarding the possible date for independence. He said it was a matter to be decided by all members of the assembly.

History book launch

A collection of papers from the University of the Witwatersrand's fourth History Workshop held in 1987 is to be launched at 7.30 pm on Saturday at the Market Theatre as part of the Weekly Mail Book Week.

The book is entitled "Holding their Ground". — Education Reporter.

There would be a mixed economy in a multiparty state and a Swapo government would encourage joint undertakings with foreign investors and would invite outsiders to put their money into the new state.

Mr Nujoma said Swapo would not ask the UN and other countries to lift sanctions on South Africa just yet — Namibia is also directly affected by the measures — because the country was not yet independent.

Law and order

A commission would be instituted after independence to investigate the present police force to determine whether its members were fit to maintain law and order.

"But all members of the former SWA Territory Force and Koevoet are not fit to be in the police force of Namibia," Mr Nujoma said.

Namibia would have its own currency, and would investigate whether organisations such as the Southern Africa Customs Union benefited the country.

All "fascist" place-names such as Paul Kruger Street, HF Verwoerd Park and Leutwein Street would be changed in an independent state, he said, without hinting with what they would be replaced.

To whites he said: "We offer a hand of friendship to all whites, and we invite them to stay with us in an independent Namibia."

The new Swapo government would abolish all racially segregated education and replace it with one department, one syllabus and one method of teaching.

Mr Nujoma said Swapo had released all those it had detained for "spying" for South Africa and they were back inside the country and had joined the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and South African intelligence services "to prove they were South African spies".

Namibia was not a "banana state" and would not go out begging for aid. It would utilise to the maximum its natural resources, but would accept foreign aid where projects had to be undertaken.

● See Page 19.

Border monitors ready

The Star's Africa News Service

OSHAKATI — The Joint Verification Commission established by South Africa, Angola and Cuba with Untag and the South West African Police to monitor the Angolan/Namibian border is set to begin patrol operations today.

The commission was set up after South African allegations that large numbers of armed Swapo guerrillas remained in southern Angola poised to enter Namibia.

Security sources here say plans are afoot for a "triumphal entry" into Namibia of a Swapo column following the organisation's overwhelming electoral victory in Owamba announced on Tuesday.

The rumour has been strengthened since the outbreak of violence in Oshakati on Tuesday night between rival Swapo and DTA supporters which left 22 wounded, some seriously.

It has been suggested Swapo will seek to avenge the 19 Swapo supporters injured in Tuesday night's clashes, a suggestion which has been denied.

Representatives of the SWA Police, UN police monitors and Angolan government representatives with other unnamed "observers" are to patrol the border by helicopter to monitor any attempts by Swapo to move large numbers of fighters across the border.

Issue may sour SA-Namibia relations

Walvis Bay must be handed over — Nujoma

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Star 16/4/84

WINDHOEK — Ownership of Walvis Bay has already arisen as an issue which could sour relations between South Africa and an independent Namibia.

Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma, earmarked as the first Namibian president, said yesterday that Namibia would never recognise South African control over the enclave of Walvis Bay.

Such recognition would be against international opinion and would amount to endorsing an act of colonialism, he said at the party's first formal media conference since its election victory was announced.

Swapo's policy was that the town had to be handed over to the people of Namibia, he said.

Walvis Bay has belonged to South Africa since union in 1910. It was formally annexed by Britain in 1878 and passed into the hands of the British Cape Colony. It is the only major port on the Namibian coastline.

The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Pretoria yesterday that the status of Walvis Bay had never featured during any of the international settlement talks.

The use of Walvis Bay by an independent Namibia may, however, be discussed, he said.

Mr Nujoma also accused South Africa of deliberately stunting food production in Namibia so as to use the territory as a dump for surplus fruit and

vegetables from South African markets.

Swapo believed political independence without economic independence was not possible, so its first priority as a government would be to encourage agriculture and rehabilitate fishing resources in order to feed the nation.

Mr Nujoma said it was the responsibility of the constituent assembly to move speedily so as not to delay independence any further.

It emerged yesterday that the major parties share the goal of independence as soon as possible, and some Namibian politicians would like to see independence by Christmas. The target date had earlier been set as April 1.

Summit meeting

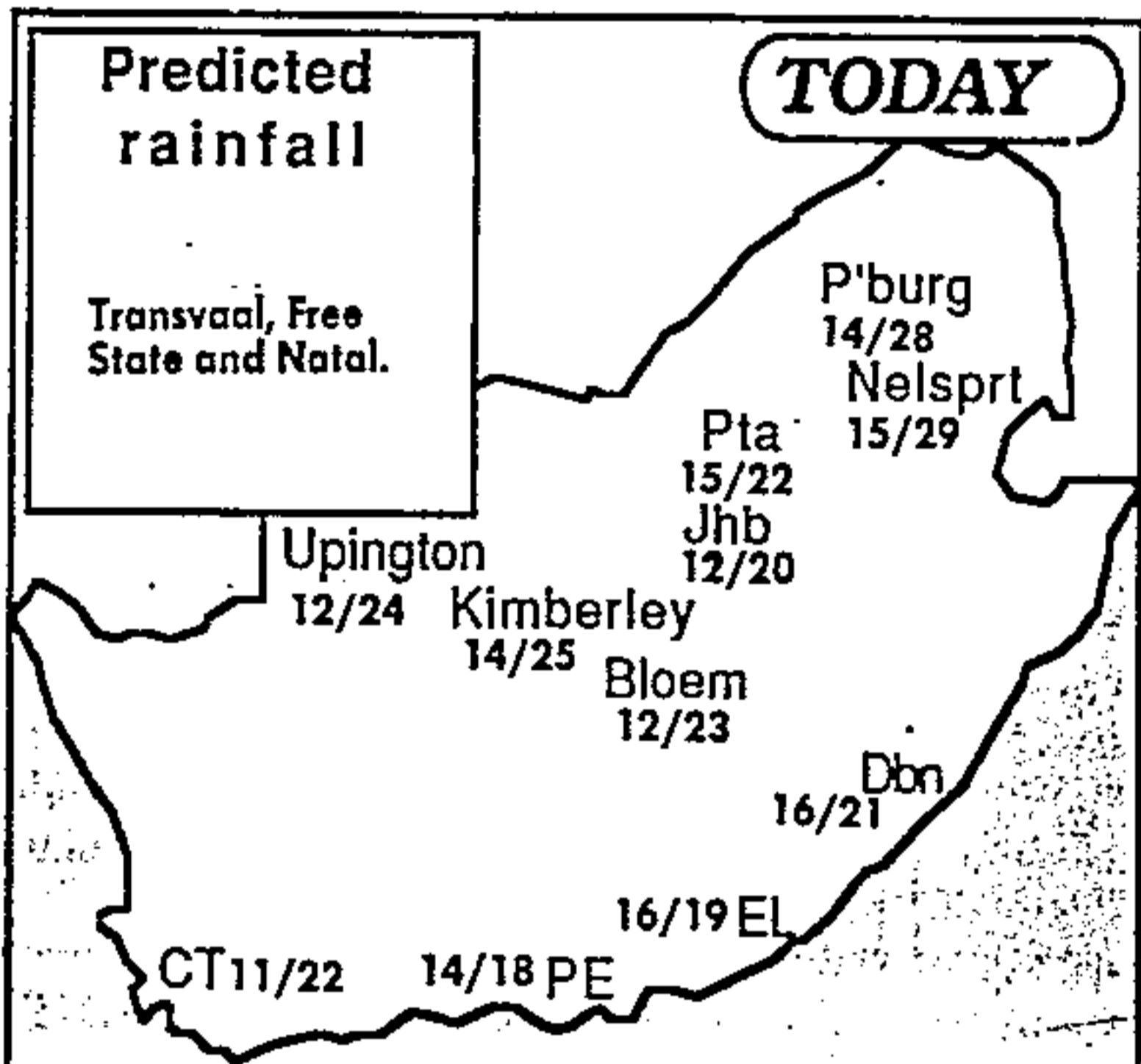
Mr Nujoma travels to Lusaka today for a summit meeting of leaders of the Frontline states convened to discuss the implications for southern Africa of Namibia's election results.

● The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, has said his party, together with the South African Government, has always rejected Swapo as a communist-inspired organisation.

The CP has supported military action in Namibia for years in an effort to prevent Swapo from governing the territory but the organisation has now been allowed a foothold in Namibia. — Sapa-The Star's Africa News Service.

● See Pages 13 and 19.

WEATHER



TRANSVAAL — Cloudy and cool with scattered thundershowers except in the north-east where it will be isolated. It will be partly cloudy and cooler over the lowveld.

By SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN
WINDHOEK. — Thousands of Swapo supporters ran jubilantly through the streets of Windhoek this week, celebrating their party's election victory.

Sam Nujoma, named as the first president of independent Namibia, said: "This victory is a vindication of our struggle, and it is a victory for the Namibian people."

After the tension of Monday night's results, when Swapo's victory seemed uncertain, dancing in the streets of the capital was infectious. Soon after the decisive Owamboland result was announced, hordes of people left Katutura, Windhoek's black township.

They marched proudly down Windhoek's main Kaiser Street, and as they went along, people poured out of side streets to join them. Cars hooded and people hung out of the windows to show the clenched fist salute. Swapo flags flew from car aerials and buildings. Adults and children waved small and large flags until the city centre was one big swirl of blue, red and green.

Business and traffic in the centre of the town came to a virtual standstill. Most whites looked either sick, surprised, or both. "Hulle is so naar (They feel sick)", said one man. One young woman wearing Swapo colours leapt up and down, shouting "Viva comrades!" to a white man and

Cartoonists in Kaiser Street

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then changed derisively to "Viva baasi!"

There was a minor stand-off when a group of Swapo supporters were dancing near the five-star Kalahari Sands hotel, closely watched by the grey-clad members of the South West African Police (Swapol).

To the delight of hundreds of black bystanders the group of dancers shouted: "No more boerewors, no more oppression!" — alluding to the more oppressive tendency of the opposition Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) to lure people to their rallies with braais.

The Swapol men looked anxious as the crowd started shouting: "Down Koevoet dogs, down!" Then a group attempted to toyi-toyi past the Swapol men but lost courage at the last minute and melted into the crowds.

A traffic policeman tried to clear Kaiser Street as rush hour in this small city descended, but his Afrikaans appeal — ending with a "dankie vir julle ko-operasie" — was lost on the revellers.

There were a few incidents when white people tried to harass the Swapo supporters.

One car with white occupants and a Transvaal registration tried to plough into the marching, chanting people.

The three people in the car underestimated the size of the crowd because it was rounding a corner at the time.

In no time at all the car was surrounded by the marchers. At the same time the car was trapped behind the bakkiets leading the convoy.

When the crowd parted about 500 metres further on to allow the South Africans out of their midst, the relief

on the faces of the men was almost comic.

At another stage, white people in an open-topped car rode through the crowd of thousands, waving Swastikas and raising Nazi salutes.

Nearby two fat white men in safari suits sat in a car, drinking beers and looking mean. On the back seat was a large suitcase.

Meanwhile, in Katutura township, there were parties everywhere.

A Swapo official admitted openly that they had been worried before the decisive Owamboland results came in Tuesday morning.

South Africans in Windhoek joined in the celebrations with a mixture of joy and relief, fully aware of how important this day was for their own freedom.

Courting an ally



SWAPO's simple majority in the Constituent Assembly does not allow it to write a new constitution for an independent Namibia. It will have to woo support from one of the three other parties which gained seats in this week's elections.

None of the other three parties with seats in the Assembly are natural allies, although Swapo could attempt to persuade the United Democratic Front (UDF) to form an alliance with them.

The left-of-centre UDF, with four seats, is the third largest party in the Constituent Assembly, with the runner-up Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) gaining 21 seats.

On paper, the UDF would be the most likely ally for Swapo when it looks for the two-thirds majority needed to pass the constitution.

SA connections

The DTA has too many connections with the South African government and the Action Christian National (ACN) is an all-white party.

The UDF, a coalition of smaller parties, is the least ideologically distanced from Swapo. But it represents many former Swapo detainees, and the party's president, Justus Garoeb, was quick to say that presently they had no plans to form a coalition.

However, he added that the UDF would "stand ready to play a constructive role in initiating, discussing and supporting issues of vital interest to the people of Namibia", an indication, observers believe, that Garoeb is prepared to negotiate with Swapo over the constitution.

The election has also helped allay fears, particularly among the country's white minority, that Swapo would immediately declare a one-party state.

"We even want to be accommodated in the future government," said the leader of the ACN, Jan de Wet, whose party secured three assembly seats.

Until the Constituent Assembly sits next week, parties will be jockeying for maximum influence in the assembly, Swapo for a two-thirds pact and the DTA for an effective opposition front.



Rightwing supporters show their colours



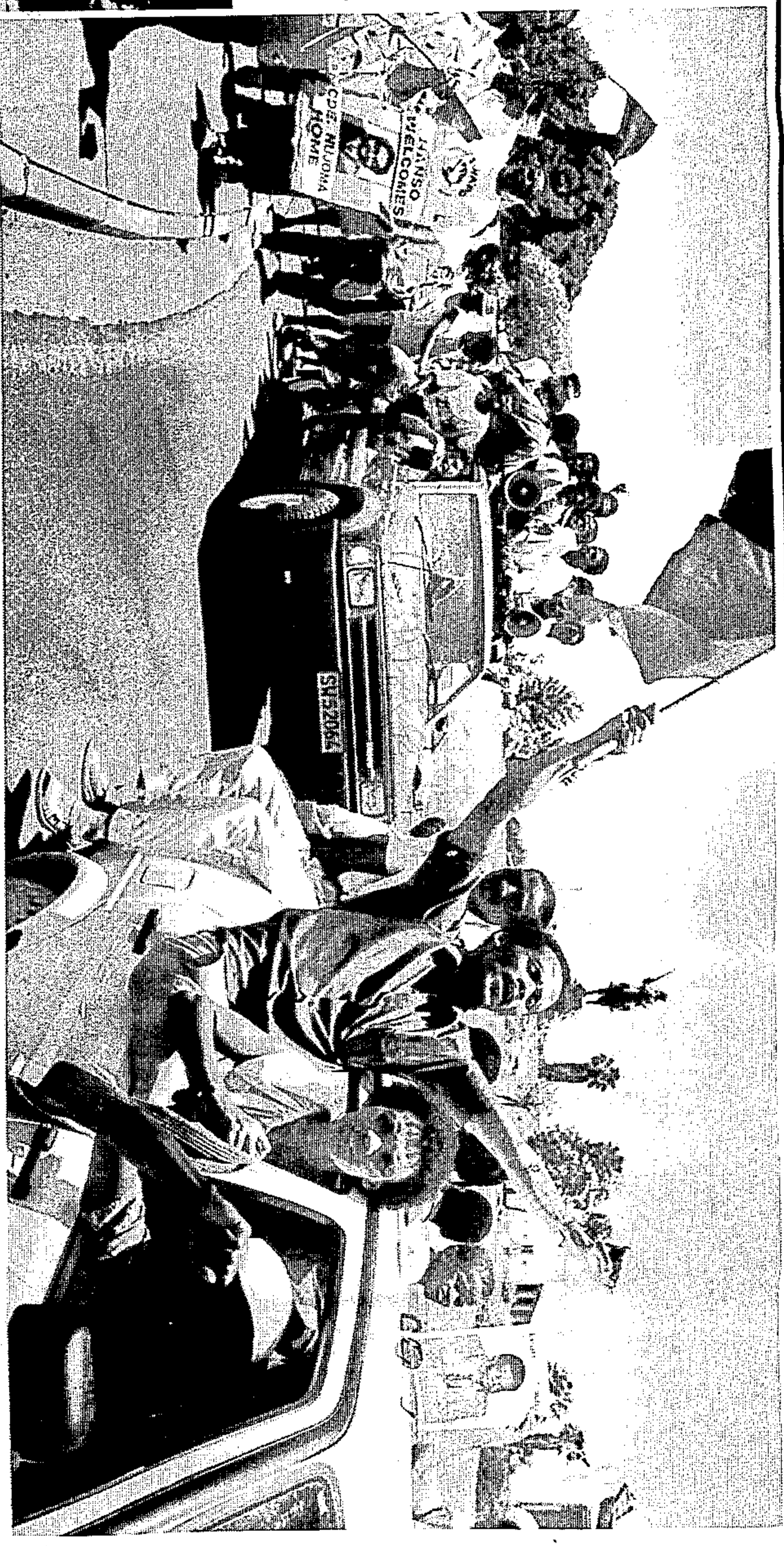
Swapo general secretary Herman Toivo Ja Toivo and a supporter celebrate Swapo's victory



Swapo supporters celebrate in Windhoek's main

Pictures:
Rashid
Lombard

Part



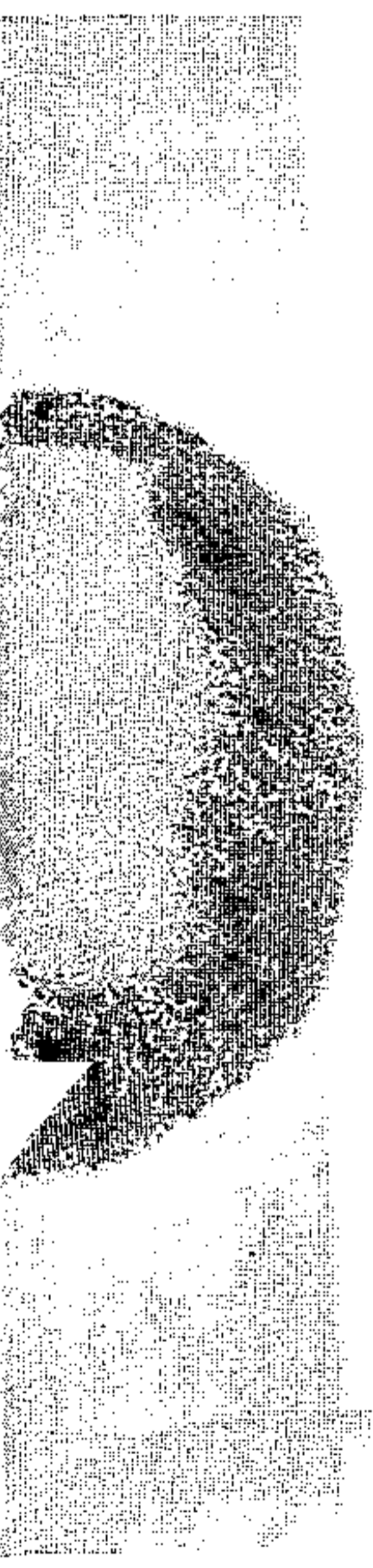
Part of the spontaneous motorcades in Windhoek following the announcement of Swapo's election victory

Nujoma's olive branch

South
16 - 22/11/89

SWAPO president Sam Nujoma has extended an olive branch to all Namibians.

In the first full interview after Swapo swept to victory in the territory's historic UN-supervised elections, Nujoma said.



The Swapo president adopted a remarkably moderate approach towards South Africa. He refused to be drawn on his attitude to South Africa's attempt to destabilise the election process by releasing false information on a Swapo troop build-up. He said he had met with Foreign



Katatura to central Windhoek

nary Namibians had sacrificed their lives to attain self-determination and national independence.

Asked whether Swapo was satisfied with the election results, he said: "In the struggle you do not admit that you are satisfied, unless you have taken over the reins of power.

"We are in the process of achieving that objective."

Nujoma said he hoped that the other parties elected to the Constituent Assembly would play a positive role in the drafting of the national constitution.

"Swapo welcomes them in working closely to ensure that the future constitution of independent Namibia is quickly drafted and adopted," he added.

The Swapo leader said the presence of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) in Namibia was an expression of genuine solidarity with the cause of the Namibian people.

"We thank them for coming to our country under the directives and mandate of the UN Security Council. I would like to assure the UN Special Representative, Mr Marti Ahtisaari, and his colleagues that they will receive full co-operation from Swapo and the Namibian people."

Nujoma thanked the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the heads of African states for the perseverance and persistence in ensuring that the continent of Africa was liberated from the "yoke of colonialism, imperialism, racism and foreign domination".

He also thanked the Non-Aligned Movement for the vital role it played in promoting the cause of oppressed people, particularly the Namibian liberation movement under the leadership of Swapo.

Nujoma called on all "Namibian patriots" to not respond to any violence or provocation.

"Remain calm. Obey all the directives issued by Swapo, so that together we can move forward towards drafting the constitution of Namibia and the proclamation of independence and freedom of the motherland."



Nujoma: Called on Namibian patriots to work together

He said that with the Swapo victory everyone had much to gain, and that no one had lost any of their rights.

"We will all work together for a brighter future for our children," Nujoma said.

Swapo stresses that their first priority in a free Namibia will be a vigorous policy of national reconciliation — including "Namibian patriots" in the DTA, Nujoma said.

"Namibian patriots regardless of political affiliation would be included in my Cabinet," he said.

"But I must emphasise that we will only include patriots. Dirk Mudge can hardly be described as a Namibian patriot."

Brimming with confidence and adopting a strongly conciliatory tone, Nujoma said there would be no mass nationalisation.

"Swapo believes in a mixed economy. There have been no negotiations with multinational companies, but we have had some contact with them."

Although there is no provision for large-scale nationalisation, almost half the country's local capital stock would be state-owned assets.

Land reform and some redistribution of the ownership of farmland, specially those owned by absentee

landlords, are important policy priorities.

"We will give the people an opportunity to live on the land and utilise it — although no white farmer would be robbed of his land," Nujoma said.

"But we will not accept land owned by South Africans or any other foreigners living elsewhere."

Nujoma said Swapo would not form a one-party state. The elections were conducted by the United Nations under a multi-party system. This was a decision of the Namibian people and had to be respected.

"If the people choose another way, we must respect that too."

Nujoma refused to comment on the unresolved disappearance of former Swapo detainees.

He said Swapo was still receiving the same international support that it had in the past.

At the recent Commonwealth summit, Swapo was received as an honoured guest, he said.

"I do not regret anything we have done. We lost thousands of our combatants in the war when they were massacred by South African troops because of information given," Nujoma said.

sue, but wanted "to leave that sad past behind" and adopt a more flexible approach to all Namibia's neighbours, including South Africa.

Swapo still holds the view that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia and was made an enclave of South Africa through "imperialism and colonialism dating from 1879".

Swapo would fight for the integration of Walvis Bay into mainland Namibia, Nujoma said.

It would also struggle to repair the divisiveness generated by the "ethnic governments" that South Africa established in the country, along the lines of its own bantustans.

"Swapo broke the tribal barriers. We fought the war as a united people."

Nujoma said that while a Swapo government would support the struggle in South Africa, it would not get directly involved.

He said it was up to the people of South Africa to work together and find their own solution.

Though he added: "They have to fight with arms to force their adversaries to the negotiation table."

Nujoma said it was unlikely that his government would allow the African National Congress to open an office in Namibia. He was not in favour of allowing the ANC to establish military bases there.

Namibia would support South Africans' struggle through the channels of the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations, he said.

On Swapo's economic policy, Nujoma said Swapo had adopted a policy of a mixed economy and that agriculture would be a priority to break the nation's dependence on South Africa.

He said Swapo would destroy all structures which were "anti-Namibian" and build education, health and freedom of speech and association for all Namibians.

He did not have a special message for white Namibians, as Swapo policy statements are non-racial.

A Swapo government would guarantee "responsible" freedom of the press, he said, but all newspapers which were "anti-Namibian must go. So too must the South West African Broadcasting Association".

Independence increases risk Parsons

PRETORIA — An independent Namibia would not only create new opportunities for SA businessmen but would lead to an era of increased risk, Assocom's Raymond Parsons said yesterday.

SA, he warned, could not take its market position in the new country for granted.

The immediate reaction of business to the outcome of the election was positive.

Although the transmission period

economic interdependence between Namibia and SA.

"If positive political perceptions of Namibia emerge in the post-independence phase, SA business would have an advantage over other countries."

Parsons said the key economic decisions facing an independent Namibia would revolve around the choice of monetary system, participation in the Customs Union with SA, and the role of foreign aid.

would be one of uncertainty for many businessmen, the election results suggested a substantial degree of pragmatism and compromise would prevail in the framing of a new constitution.

While an independent Namibia would eventually seek to strengthen its economic links with the outside world, there was a high degree of

GERALD REILLY

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Sowetan
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Namibian ex-cop shot

WINDHOEK - BLACK nationalists shot dead a former paramilitary policeman in Namibia's first political violence since independence elections, police said yesterday.

Ananus Johannes, a former member of Koevoet (Crowbar), the South African-backed police unit, was gunned down by members of the South West Africa Peoples Organisation (Swapo) near the northern town of Oshakati on Wednesday evening.

Three days ago Swapo won UN-supervised elections, paving the way for Namibian independence after 74 years of South African rule.

Marti Ahtisaari, the head of the United Nations peacekeeping force, held an emergency meeting about the violence with a senior official of Namibia's outgoing South African-appointed authorities.

A police spokesman in Oshakati said

armed Swapo members had ordered Johannes to pull down a flag of Swapo's main rival, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA).

Johannes, who is black, refused, and was shot dead with an automatic rifle, the spokesman said.

Swapo has accused the DTA, which came second in the election poll, of employing former Koevoet members to intimidate Swapo supporters during the election campaign.

The shooting was the first politically-related killing for several weeks but UN peacekeeping forces reported that 20 people had been injured in incidents of "hooliganism and thuggery" in the Oshakati area since the election.

Tension was also high in the northern town of Ojivawango and UN police and military patrols had been stepped up throughout the north, a spokesman for Ahtisaari said. - Sapa-Reuter.

Pair must never return to Namibia

Amnesty for two on murder charges

WINDHOEK — The Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, has granted two former members of the security forces amnesty on charges of murder arising from acts committed in the operational area during 1985.

Mr Leon Wessel Lotz and Mr Pieter Dirk Bouwer were granted amnesty on condition they left Namibia immediately, Mr Pienaar said yesterday.

The pardon will lapse should they ever return to the country.

"In my opinion these acts, committed in the heat of armed struggle, are comparable to those committed by 24 Swapo political prisoners (released on July 20)," Mr Pienaar said.

Mr Pienaar also said he had agreed with UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari to regard Mr Eino Mule, sentenced to nine years for murder by the Windhoek Supreme court on August 25, as a political prisoner in terms of the settlement plan.

Mr Mule was released yesterday. He was a soldier in Swapo's

People Liberation Army of Namibia and was convicted of shooting dead a SWATF soldier whom he had captured.

Mr Mule's defence was that he was under orders to take security force members captive for interrogation and that the deceased had tried to escape.

Other developments in Namibia yesterday included:

● Mr Ahtisaari held talks with an official from the office of the Administrator-General about a flare-up of violence in northern Namibia, Untag spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said.

Hooliganism

Untag's information was that 20 people had been injured in acts of "hooliganism and thuggery," he said.

Untag police monitors reported tension at Otjiwarongo and had stepped up police and military patrols in the area.

● Police questioned Swapo members in connection with the shooting of a former-SWA Territory Force 101 Battalion member, Mr Johannes Ananias (28),

near Ondangua on Tuesday.

According to reports, the shooting occurred after Swapo members allegedly tried to force Mr Ananias to remove a DTA placard from a tree.

● The Windhoek Supreme Court issued a declaratory order urging Swapo to release five political detainees still being held in camps in southern Angola.

The court action was launched against Swapo by the Parents Committee of Namibia.

Namibia's Judge President, Mr Justice Hans Berker, said the detainees were being unlawfully held by Swapo at the time the legal proceedings were instituted, and if they were still being held, they were entitled to be released immediately.

Further, if the detainees had been released, Swapo should provide the date of release, the name of the camp from which they were freed, the organisation to which they were handed over, and the military unit of Swapo if they were re-enlisted.

Swapo was ordered to pay 50 percent of the costs. — Sapa.

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NOTAS DE LA REUNION DE LOS DIAS 17 Y 18 DE NOVIEMBRE DE 1989

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Walvis Bay 'to remain part of South Africa'

Political Staff

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, has reiterated that Walvis Bay will remain part of South Africa, but that the Government was prepared to negotiate with the government of an independent Namibia about the use of the port.

Mr de Klerk made the statement when he addressed a President's Council session in Cape Town yesterday.

He was reacting to a statement by Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma that Walvis Bay was an integral part of Namibia, that it did not belong to South Africa and that it should be transferred to Namibia.

Mr de Klerk said Walvis Bay had never formed part of a Namibia settlement plan and he

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wanted to reassure inhabitants of the enclave that it would remain part of South Africa.

The Government accepted the election result and was thankful that the election had been free and fair.

He had made it clear that South Africa wanted good neighbourliness and co-operation with Namibia in the interests of both countries.

If Mr Nujoma thought that South Africa needed Namibia he was making a mistake, said Mr de Klerk. All the countries of southern Africa needed each other and the era of ideological conflict had to be buried.

South Africa's position as a regional power willing to co-operate with others, but not at all costs, had to be recognised.

NAMIBIA

Early days yet

221 Email 17/11/89.

Having won at least 57% of the vote in Namibia's momentous five-day election, there was no doubt that Swapo was well on its way to forming the country's first independence government.

With the final results due to be announced as the *FM* went to press, Swapo was assured of 42 seats in the 72-member constituent assembly. It failed by six seats, or 10% of the vote, to achieve the two-thirds majority which would have enabled it to promulgate a constitution single-handedly. The percentage poll was no less than 97%.

Led by the DTA — which seemed to have won about 23 seats (28%), making it by far the next most important party after Swapo — the other nine parties were congratulating themselves on having prevented an outright Swapo victory.

Of the minor parties, Chief Justus Garoeb's UDF appeared to have secured four assembly seats; Jannie de Wet's all-white ACN, two; Moses Katjiongua's NPF, one; and the FCN, one.

Few observers expected the remaining 80 000 tendered votes (by those who'd registered in one district but voted elsewhere) to make a significant difference.

Before the official imprimatur of the UN's Martti Ahtisaari, everyone including the ACN and Swapo expressed satisfaction that the election was free and fair. The ACN's Kosie Pretorius says he doesn't intend leaving, "but it all depends on Swapo's attitude."

The next step in Namibia's protracted journey towards independence centres on adopting a constitution by a 67% majority (at least 48 seats) of the elected assembly — which is to meet in a week.

Dr Kenneth Abrahams, whose NNF failed to win a seat, says: "It ought to be easy to reconcile the various parties' constitutional positions, which don't differ much, especially as all parties have accepted, and recently reaffirmed their adherence to, the 1982 UN constitutional principles which have to be embodied in the new constitution." And, in an interview with the *FM* last month, DTA leader Dirk Mudge said he did not believe the assembly would get bogged down over this matter; rather, problems could arise over policy issues afterwards (*FM* October 20).

The SA Institute of International Affairs' Andre du Pisani expects all parties in the assembly will adopt a "consensual approach" in framing the constitution. Bargaining had already begun and the players were aware of what was negotiable. Indeed, various parties met with Swapo's Sam Nujoma before the election.

All are agreed on certain principles, such

as a mixed economy and the eventual re-integration of Walvis Bay as part of Namibia. The DTA is expected to play an important role in framing the constitution. There seems to be general agreement, too, that the assembly will be converted to the country's first parliament (rather than going through another round of elections).

There are, however, two important questions on the horizon. First, will Swapo be able to make the change from being and acting like a liberation movement, to being a political party? It's also an open question whether all elements in Swapo will pull together. Secondly, there is the question of the re-integration of the Namibian army, which could present a problem.

The election itself has certain interesting implications for SA. For instance, voting and mobilisation took place, quite remarkably, along ethnic lines. However, it is suggested that it would be a mistake to deduce that the same would happen in similar elections here.

Du Pisani emphasises the point that it was international, especially UN, involvement that created the conditions conducive to the free expression of political opinion. The Third World hadn't seen an election so sophisticated. Without that involvement, the outcome may very well have been quite different. Even the DTA benefited from this, as it came to be perceived as "de-linked" from SA. The UN has been invited to play a role in Latin American elections next year.

Might it have a role in SA in the future? ■

Court orders release of Swapo detainees

WINDHOEK — The Supreme Court here yesterday issued a declaratory order urging Swapo to release five political detainees still being held in camps in southern Angola.

The court action was launched against Swapo by the Parents Committee of Namibia, an organisation founded about four years ago when the alleged detention of scores of Swapo cadres — and their torture — caught the international spotlight.

Handing down judgment, Namibia's Judge President, Mr Justice Hans Berker, said the five detainees were being unlawfully held by Swapo at the time the legal proceedings were instituted, and if they were still being held, they were entitled to be released immediately.

Further, if the detainees were released, Swapo should provide the date of release, the name of the detention camp from which they were freed, the organisation to which they were handed over, and the military unit of Swapo if the detainees were re-enlisted.

The judge made it clear the order was declaratory and not mandatory as the UN settlement plan "certainly does not, by implication, endow this court with that authority".

The judge also ordered Swapo to pay 50% of the costs. — Sapa.

MDM helped get voters to polls

POPULAR support can be difficult to convert into votes, the MDM delegation which assisted Swapo in the Namibian elections said in Johannesburg yesterday.

The MDM's Namibian Solidarity Committee said that it managed to assist Swapo in getting rural people to the polls with 300 minibuses and financial support.

"Swapo had and still has traditional support; all we did was take that support to the polls and converted it to votes," Mr Jackson Mthembu of the NSC said.

Besides the vastness of the country two factors contributed to the ignorance of the electoral process, he said.

"Sixty percent of the people are illiterate and Swapo has had very little time to canvass for the election," Mr Etienne Marais of the NSC said.

"If you consider too, that Swapo has had an of-

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN

office in Keetmanshoop since June and the DTA's office has been there for eleven years, you will realise the work that had to be done," Marais said.

Lesson

"The lesson we learnt is that it is not only the rallies which will determine how many votes you will get. I think we also learnt that we have to go back to the masses inside the country. At the present moment I would say we cannot wait for an election day," Mthembu

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said. 17/1/89
Mthembu said that smear tactics by opposition parties in Namibia also lost Swapo many votes. The leader of the NSC, Mr James Motloatsi, described a DTA tactic of catching votes.

"The DTA would tell Swapo supporters: 'See, if you don't want the DTA, just put a cross here next to DTA.'"

In terms of financial support, the group said this was "beyond half-a-million rand."

The group stressed that their support contributed "decisively" and Swapo was extremely appreciative of their help.

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Nujoma repeats pledge to unite Namibian people

LUSAKA — Swapo president Sam Nujoma has repeated his pledge to work to improve the lot of all Namibians and to strive to unite his country's people.

Addressing a summit of Frontline heads at State House yesterday, the Swapo leader paid tribute to the UN for its commitment to his country's independence.

He said his party would prepare a programme to rehabilitate more than 6 000 Namibian youths, aged from 12 years upward who, he claimed, were trained by the SA administration to kill and maim.

Nujoma said the SA forces had converted thousands of unemployed Namibian youths into its war machinery without giving them basic education.

— ANO. (221)

Namibia's Afrikaners trek on without apartheid



Victory ... joyous supporters outside Swapo's headquarters in Namibia's capital city of Windhoek celebrate their organisation gaining the majority of votes in the country's elections for a constituent assembly this week

Picture: JOHN LIEBENBERG

In Namibia even the most right-wing groups reject minority representation for whites.
By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE road to Namibian independence is littered with apartheid notions. They were jettisoned by Namibia's Afrikaners as encumbrances calculated to slow down the trek into the future.

Talk to Afrikaner notables, from Swapo's Daniel Botha to the National Party's Jannie de Wet, and the response is the same: specially reserved seats for whites in the legislature, along the lines of the 20 seats for Zimbabwe's whites, are out.

So, too, by extension, are racially separate voting rolls, another of the once non-negotiable axioms in apartheid ideology.

Botha's views are a product of his political odyssey from a traditional Afrikaner home, where he was taught people of different races must be separated to stop them from tearing at one another's throats, to his position as one of Swapo's 41 deputies in Namibia's constituent assembly.

De Wet's are a little startling when one remembers he is still a senior member in the National Party of South West Africa and, with NP chairman Kosie Pretorius, one of Namibia's two most senior spokesmen for conservative Afrikaners.

Once Namibia's premier apostle of apartheid, De Wet today relies on classically liberal ideas to defend Afrikaner interests.

A former MP in South Africa's parliament, De Wet, who once carried the grandiose title in Namibia of Commissioner General for the Indigenous Peoples of South West Africa, is a staunch advocate of proportional representation, freedom of association and a Bill of Rights.

Universal adult suffrage and a single common roll are axioms in his political philosophy today. He seeks to temper them with a respectable liberal precept: proportional representation, a device which tends to favour smaller parties, irrespective of their ethnic or racial composition.

Subject only to that qualification, he says whites should exercise their right to freedom of association by organising politically to win seats in the legislature.

"Whites must stick together." He immediately adds a rider: "But they must make themselves acceptable to Africa ... We are part of Africa."

Implicit in his approach is the assumption that he as an Afrikaner is an African. One hears in it an echo of Daniel Botha's words: "By calling ourselves Afrikaners we linked our identity to the African continent. Now it is time that we go one step further and commit ourselves to the people of South Africa."

De Wet is convinced that his advice to Afrikaners to look after their own interests is acceptable to Africans of different colours and culture. They respect, he avers, men who say: "I am a man. I will protect by own interests first."

Dirk Mudge and Eben van Zijl, who were once members of the NP with De Wet, have moved even further down the road from apartheid.

Mudge, who describes himself as a

"Namibian nationalist", does not seek a special niche for whites in the legislature; he was the first member of the NP of SWA — which was once an autonomous part of the NP in South Africa — to realise that the name of game in Namibia was win enough black support to compete in a one man, one vote election against organisations with a deeper, more radical nationalist tradition.

Van Zijl, who today is a vice-chairman of the Namibian Patriotic Front, goes a step further than De Wet: he contends that white interests do not have to be represented by whites; blacks with similar values can do so as effectively.

Move further back chronologically along the road and, beyond the abandoned notion of separate voters rolls and reserved seats, lies another discarded apartheid concept: "black homelands".

Namibia's South African rulers tried to solve the "native problem" by establishing tribal territories. Somewhere on the road into the past lies the Odendaal report which provided a blueprint for the creation of a mosaic of partially autonomous territories.

The central objective of the Verwoerdian-inspired Odendaal report was to lead these territories to independence; Owamboland, with its large number of black people on the Angola border, was the centre piece in Odendaal's grand plan.

If Owamboland had been excised as an independent territory from South West Africa, as Namibia was called then, the black population would have been reduced by half.

To that end, an Owamboland Independence Party was nurtured by the authorities, a state of emergency declared in Owamboland to crush resistance from Swapo; tribal courts sentenced grown men who dared to raise their voices in protest to be publicly flogged on the bare buttocks.

It was to no avail. The bid to divide Namibia into tribal enclaves, and to excise the northern territories of Owamboland, Kavangoland and East Caprivi from the south, was challenged and defeated Swapo; its commanders and commissars mustered their legions for struggle — political and military — with the battle cry: "One Namibia, one nation."

Thebantustan notion was eventually ditched as ideological junk.

The legacy manifested itself in last week's United Nations-supervised election. Mudge's DTA was in the lead with results of 22 of the 23 electoral districts known and only one to go; then Owamboland, by far the biggest electoral divisions, came in, to ensure a Swapo triumph.

Looking back at the hard lessons learnt by Namibia's Afrikaners, one wonders whether they will be noted and pondered on by the neo-apartheid ideologists in South Africa's National Party.

Weighing up the odds after the elections

SO it wasn't a landslide. But after a brief hesitation, Swapo hailed the results: "The people voted for Swapo, there is victory," Sam Nujoma said.

Swapo supporters and organisers grew shellshocked during the long Monday when the election results across the country had the party first trailing, then neck and neck with the "puppet collaborator" DTA: before the crucial Owamboland result, Swapo had 40 percent and DTA 38 percent of the vote.

When Owamboland, with over one-third of the electorate, boosted Swapo to 57 percent, there was a surge of jubilant relief.

Swapo now has 41 representatives, or 57 percent, of the seats in the 72-seat Constituent Assembly, which will meet for the first time on Tuesday next week — but already discreet contacts are being made.

The DTA has 21 seats, or 29 percent. Though it looked close for a while, it didn't make its objective of one third. To its right, the Action Christian National (ACN) has four, and the Rehoboth-based Federal Convention of Namibia (FCN) has one.

From the left to the centre are the United Democratic Front with four seats; and the Namibian National Front and Namibian Patriotic Front, each with one seat.

To pass a constitution and go on to form a government, two-thirds — 48 votes — is needed. A veto one-third

The party's over. Now Namibians get down to the business of working out what the election results really mean.
SUE BROWN reports

plus one is 25 seats. DTA plus ACN plus one other is a blocker. Swapo, plus the UDP and the three single-seat parties, makes two-thirds.

So the little parties are in a very powerful position — though if they overplay their hand, they will force Swapo into a deal with the DTA.

The idea sets Swapo leaders' teeth on edge but nothing is impossible here. Even before the election, Swapo and ACN met, though both vehemently denied discussing any deal.

What constitutional plan Swapo will put forward is an open question. Though the leadership is said to have at least two draft constitutions, when asked about them, Secretary for Publicity and Information Hidipo Hamutenya said: "We will put forward ideas to the Assembly. We have ideas, but no draft."

The party's position on key policy issues is vague, with different officials putting forward differing positions. But for the foreseeable future it seems unlikely there will be a party congress to re-elect leadership and seek a mandate for policy.

Said Hamutenya: "For now we are going to deal with urgent matters,

like passing a constitution and proceeding on to independence."

Asked how Swapo interpreted the pattern of voting, he said the leadership was working on an analysis.

Senior Swapo officebearers on local and regional levels are uneasy. One said flatly that the weakness of Swapo results in most areas across the country south of the red line was directly proportional to the number of returned, or unreturned, Swapo ex-detainees from those areas.

So too was the showing of the UDP, an alliance which includes a party formed by ex-detainees, though he estimates that at least as many votes went off to the DTA.

It is mainly, but not exclusively, local and regional officials, or the non-exile leadership, who are speaking privately about the need for a congress. The last one was in 1973.

Without policy guidelines from a congress, the issues may have to be fought out in the Constituent Assembly. All the parties say they want quick agreement and independence soon. But much depends on the balance of power within Swapo.

The Stalinists, dominant in exile for the last decade, seem to be declining in power, especially since their base in the Plan Security apparatus is neutralised for the moment. A progressive grouping, returned and local, may be gaining strength, but the situation is fluid.

Sabta salutes Swapo victory

THEO RAWANA

SABTA wrapped up its successful 1989 annual meeting by hailing Swapo's victory in the Namibian elections, deputy marketing MD Jabu Maduza said yesterday.

The two-day conference, held at Sun City, had the highest attendance, with 3 500 delegates from all over southern Africa.

Mabuza said: "The Sabta AGM acknowledges and salutes the victory of Swapo at the elections, and now sees the end of suffering and strife for the Namibian people.

"We wish Sam Nujoma and the party he has led over the past decades all the power and success in the task that lies ahead."

Mabuza said this year's conference also showed that Sabta members had matured, since they had sat and listened to speakers criticising them on issues such as road safety and violence, and had decided to act on recommendations given.

Sabta president James Ngcoya said in an interview that Sabta would create a safety department, headed by a member chosen from its executive committee, to look into the whole question of road safety.

Ngcoya said the department would be assigned the task of researching, acting on and working to prevent accidents involving its members throughout southern Africa.

"In areas where the authority of a local disciplinary committee is undermined and in cases where an operator is found to have had too many accidents, the department will, with the authority vested in it by the Department of Transport, have the power to withdraw licences," Ngcoya said.

BIP
12/11/89
Violence *221*

On claims that the accident rate was high because taxi owners were using youngsters from the homelands and underpaying them, Ngcoya said he had stressed to members that this had to stop and that drivers would be upgraded through training.

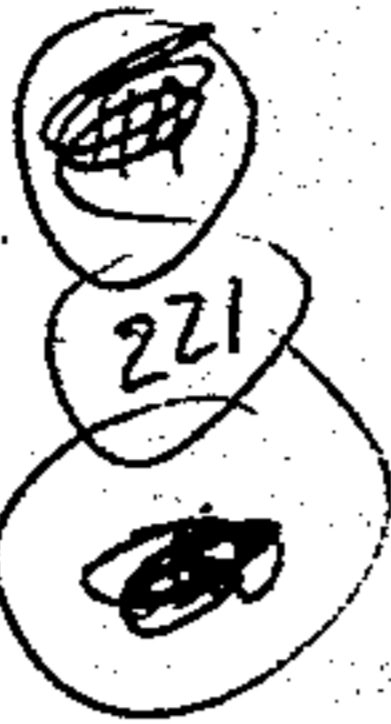
Ngcoya said he and the leaders of other taxi associations had agreed to work for an end to the violence gripping the industry.

At the same time, Sabta would use its influence, through its membership in liaison committees in local authorities, to get more taxi ranks in every city and town.

He said one of the most important developments was that government had agreed not to go ahead with further deregulation without consulting Sabta.

Kaunda warns Nujoma on ANC

CMT TUES
17/11/87



LUSAKA. — President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia who is chairman of the frontline states, warned Swapo leader and Namibian president-in-waiting Mr Sam Nujoma to be cautious in consolidating the Namibian revolution.

"As a freedom fighter, obviously you will be thinking of freedom fighters in South Africa. It will be less than realistic that you should accept ANC cadres (in Namibia). That would be asking you to commit suicide.

"You are not in a position to host ANC forces in Namibia. Your entire economy is tied up to South Africa. All those who have invested in Namibia are supporters of South Africa," Dr Kaunda said.

"So they will not let you have ANC or PAC on your soil and we will not urge you to do that," Dr Kaunda told Mr Nujoma during the opening session.

Leaders of the frontline states began their one-day meeting here yesterday by observing a minute's silence in honour of people who died in the Namibian conflict.

Frontline leaders also called on Swapo to be cautious in consolidating independence, Ziana, Zimbabwe's news agency, reported.

Mr Nujoma told the opening session that one of the major problems facing his country were the 35 000 Namibian youths who were members of the South-West Africa Police (SWAPOL) and 6 000 others who

To page 3

From page 1

Kaunda CMT TUES 17/11/87 (221)

were members of the notorious Koevoet crack force who had to be rehabilitated.

He said the "colonial regime" had not allowed them to do any other training "besides shooting".

"There is a problem at hand. We have to embark on an immediate programme to rehabilitate them through the setting up of agricultural projects and try and make them useful Namibians," he said.

Mr Nujoma said although South Africa had spent billions of rands supporting "puppet parties" in the recent elections, Swapo had won without even being allowed to campaign in the commercial farming areas.

The Swapo chief said with 41 seats out of the 72 in the constituent assembly, his party would have no problems in having bills passed.

"On that one we have no problem."

He said there were technical problems which he would discuss privately with the heads of state.

Mr Nujoma thanked the frontline states and the Organisation of African Unity for showing the world that Africans were prepared to fight and liberate themselves. — Sapa

Owambo clashes: Untag on the alert

8/10/89
17/11/89 KEVIN JACOBS (221)

WINDHOEK — Untag bosses strengthened police and military units patrolling northern Owambo amid post-election violence that soured relations between the overseeing force and territorial police.

Sketchy reports from the tense Oshakati region late yesterday said open violence had abated, but armed gangs claiming allegiance to the DTA were threatening retaliation for the murder a DTA supporter two nights earlier.

Untag head Martti Ahtisaari yesterday sent a senior aide to the region and UN officials met Administrator-General Louis Pienaar's representatives in efforts to calm the region.

Johannes Ananias, reported to have been a member of Koevoet, was shot dead near Ondangua in fighting following the announcement of election results.

Police Chief Inspector J C van Zyl yesterday said about 18 Swapo supporters had been questioned but freed after the killing.

The fighting left up to 40 people injured.

Swapo officials accused SWA police of raiding the Oshakati home of a party organiser and assaulting and detaining several followers.

DTA leaders failed to turn up for a peace-making meeting with Swapo officials and Untag regional director John Rwambuye yesterday.

While UN officials chided SWA police for reacting "tardily" when the violence flared, witnesses criticised Untag police monitors for not intervening to stop excessive action against Swapo supporters.

THE NAMIBIAN ELECTION

Learning from Mudge

There was jubilation in certain quarters in Namibia (and Pretoria) when it emerged on Tuesday that Swapo was unlikely to get the 48 seats needed for a two-thirds majority in the constituent assembly.

It seemed strange to be treating this as a "victory" for the other parties — but it means that Swapo will not be able to draw up a constitution on its own. Deals will have to be made, compromise will be necessary — and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) members are well-placed to be influential. Most observers are startled at the solid performance of the DTA — once regarded as Pretoria's puppet.

Swapo could, of course, simply take power by force. But then it would immediately forfeit moral advantage and whatever aid it might expect from international agencies. The South Africans, despite some shaky moments, have behaved themselves and are committed to honouring the result. The elections are declared free and fair by the UN. The world wants to be rid of the endless headache.

Investors are waiting for indications of political stability. Eastern European backers of Swapo now have their own more immediate problems to solve. The Scandinavians are suspicious of its human rights record and the bogus refugees they have been funding. In short, Swapo would alienate what could be critical international support if it were to deny the election's outcome.

The surprisingly good showing of the moderate DTA should be pondered carefully by Pretoria. Its electoral performance was a vindication of the rejection by its leader, Dirk Mudge, of guaranteed minority — or ethnic — group rights as a means of avoiding exploitation by a majority.

Once an old-fashioned National Party man, he gradually came to accept that he was a Namibian first and a white man second — and he started taking political risks. As long ago as 1982, Mudge led the way in abolishing the Group Areas Act in Namibia; in 1985 he supported the proclamation of a Bill

of Rights which forbids racial discrimination. In recent years, he has wasted no time on attempts to secure "guarantees" for minority (that is, white) rights.

As Mudge himself has argued, and as most African countries have shown, constitutions that are not "written on the hearts of the people" are easily purloined by the politically unscrupulous. Mudge once told the *FM* (July 3 1987) that "minority rights can only be guaranteed by the majority." The system of ethnicity, he said, had been given a chance in Namibia — and had proved to be unworkable.

A broadly based party which can muster the support of a third of an electorate is a party with which to be reckoned. If a minority group's influence is based on its numerical strength, that influence is limited forever; if the minority is part of an alliance based on common principles, it can exercise leverage that is telling and sometimes decisive. And an alliance as strong as the DTA is in a powerful position, relative to a majority party which (like Swapo) is burdened with barely disguised leadership divisions and — literally — skeletons to hide.

The lessons for SA must surely be clear by now: abolish racial discrimination in all its forms, allow people to form parties according to their beliefs and work out an electoral system which depends on proportional representation, not geographic constituencies. It is not inconceivable that, once apartheid has ceased to confuse the issues, the Democratic Party (for instance) could get at least as much popular support as the DTA has in Namibia.

The DTA will, moreover, have a critical role to play in the next Namibian election. Without the expensive Untag force to ensure fair play, that task will fall to the DTA. For Swapo has neither said nor done anything to persuade us it wouldn't try to intimidate itself into absolute power. If that should happen, the chances are that Namibia, like so many of its neighbours, will have seen the last of an electoral process.

Death in Ovambo violence

OSHAKATI. — Violence has erupted in the north of Namibia, with a former Koevoet member shot dead, allegedly by Swapo supporters.

For two straight nights, gangs of the DTA and Swapo have roamed townships armed with weapons ranging from shotguns and handgrenades to sticks and stones.

Most of the serious incidents occurred in Ovambo. The main offenders were allegedly DTA supporters, venting their fury on

jubilant Swapo members. The violence on Tuesday evening, was preceded by six South-West African Police (Swapo) helicopters flying low in formation over Oshakati.

Later, gunshots and grenade blasts were heard ringing out from all directions, while flares and fireworks lit up the sky, exposing figures scattering in all directions.

The Swapo riot squad were summoned and took over an hour to respond. They then headed off in Casspir armoured cars into the

depth of Okatana township. They were not accompanied by UN police monitors.

By midnight over 20 people — including a police constable and a three-year-old child — had been admitted to Oshakati Hospital, suffering from a variety of wounds. One local businessman and Swapo supporter, Mr Lucas Nujoma, was shot in the lung by a 9mm pistol.

On Wednesday the atmosphere was calm, but by nightfall the clashes started again. According to police reports, one DTA supporter and former mem-

ber of Koevoet was shot dead after Swapo supporters had tried to make him eat a red, white and blue DTA flag.

In the Sky and Arumhambya townships there were numerous reports of DTA elements ordering Swapo supporters to eat their red, blue and green flags.

A spokesman for the UN said that special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari was concerned about the situation in the north and has sent a senior official to look into what can be done to restore calm. He stressed that the

problem was only one of "hooliganism and thuggery", but that the UN has stepped up military and police patrols.

Under the terms of the Namibian settlement plan, all members of the South African military forces have been demobilised and have to withdraw from the country within a week of the certification of the election results. This leaves the sole responsibility for the keeping of law and order of the whole country in the hands of Swapo, who number about 6 000. — Daily Tele-

Nujoma wrong in thinking SA needs Namibia — FW

Political Correspondent

SWAPO leader Mr Sam Nujoma was "making a mistake" if he thought that South Africa needed Namibia, President F W de Klerk warned yesterday.

In delivering a broadside against the probable president of an independent Namibia, Mr De Klerk dismissed Mr Nujoma's demand that Walvis Bay be handed over to Namibia.

Addressing the President's Council, Mr De Klerk said good neighbourliness and co-operation was in the interests of both countries.

However, the pronouncements made by the Swapo leader about future relations "were not a good beginning".

South Africa was not forcing any country to accept its hand of friendship.

However, those who rejected it should realise that the salvation of Southern Africa lay in the co-operation of all its states and in the ending of conflict.

Southern Africa could only become a success in the economic and other fields if its leaders recognised that the area was an economic unit and South Africa was a regional power.

The countries of Southern Africa needed one another and the era of ideological conflict should now be buried.

The SA government would ensure that existing agreements on Walvis Bay would still be carried out after independence. However, South Africa was certainly prepared to negotiate over the use of the facilities at Walvis Bay, Mr De Klerk said.

Syfyets Cape Times

DAILY LISTING

Share Challenges

WRITE in the price movement as shown in today's JSE Prices for each share, in the panel below, corresponding to the 10 numbers on your Challenge Card. Add or subtract the movements, depending on whether they are up or down, and compare your total with the Challenge Index published in today's Cape Times. If your total equals the index, you have won the daily prize or a share of it. Make your claim by calling between 9am and 2pm today.

TODAY'S INDEX: (+) R0,31



POWER-FUL WELCOME

... Newly-announced victor in the Namibian elections, Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma, is held shoulder-high on his arrival in Lusaka for a meeting of the frontline state leaders. The results of the election were announced on Wednesday. Picture: HEUTER

Pienaar banishes 2 Koevoet cops

Free detainees, court urges

WINDHOEK. — The Supreme Court yesterday issued a declaratory order urging Swapo to release five political

CAPE PENINSULA and vicinity and Western Cape coastal belt: Partly cloudy and cool, becoming warmer. Wind fresh southerly moderating and becoming westerly to south-westerly. The minimum and maximum temperatures will be between 11 C and 23 C.

Coastal belt Cape infants to Plettenberg Bay: Cloudy and cold, clearing and becoming somewhat warmer.

Coastal belt Plettenberg Bay to Port Alfred: Cloudy and becoming partly cloudy and becoming warmer.

Namqualand and the south-western Cape interior: Partly cloudy and cool, becoming somewhat warmer.

Transvaal: Cloudy and cool with isolated thunderstorms. Becoming slightly warmer.

Free State: Partly cloudy and cool with isolated thunder showers.

Natal: Cloudy and cool with showers or thunderstorms, clearing partially.

Namibia: Partly cloudy and cold, becoming warmer.

Botswana: Fine and cool.

YESTERDAY'S READINGS
Barometer 1013,9 1013,8
Humidity 44,0 62,0
Temperature 18,8 15,2
max 20,4 min 13,3
(At O F Malan 24 hours to 8pm)
Hours of sunshine: 12,7
Wind (O F Malan) gpm: Southerly 14 knots

ALECO
CALL BRING PS: TH
45A CASTLE ST, CAPE TOWN.

Fresh charges on missing detainees
LONDON. — Fresh allegations on the whereabouts of missing Swapo detainees were made here yesterday by the International Society for Human Rights. "Thousands of the detainees are still not accounted for and are reported to have been last seen in Angola and Zambia under Swapo jurisdiction." The ISHR said the recent UN mission on

WRITE in the price movement as shown in today's JSE Prices for each share, in the panel below, corresponding to the 10 numbers on your Challenge Card. Add or subtract the movements, depending on whether they are up or down, and compare your total with the Challenge Index published in today's Cape Times. If your total equals the Index, you have won the daily prize or a share of it. Make your claim by calling between 9am and 2pm today.

TODAY'S INDEX: (+) R0,31

| No | Company | Price Change (plus or minus) | No | Company | Price Change (plus or minus) |
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| MINING | | | | | |
| 1. | ERGO | | 23. | FED VOLKS | |
| 2. | M C M | | 24. | SENTRICHEM | |
| 3. | PRIM G M | | 25. | LUCEM | |
| 4. | BARMINE | | 26. | BASREAD | |
| 5. | CENGOLD | | 27. | CONCOR | |
| 6. | ORYX | | 28. | ADVTECH | |
| 7. | BABROOK | | 29. | SMITHMAN | |
| 8. | RANDEFONTN | | 30. | TITACO | |
| 9. | MODBEE | | 31. | TPN | |
| FINANCIAL | | | | | |
| 10. | JMF12%UCD | | 32. | FURNGRO | |
| 11. | MARSHAL | | 33. | NEI AFR | |
| 12. | CONFED | | 34. | CADSWEP | |
| 13. | AMAPROP | | 35. | YELLAND | |
| 14. | RETPROP | | 36. | KOPP | |
| 15. | TEMPORA | | 37. | INDUSTRIAL C PENPIN | |
| 16. | VOGELS | | 38. | SURGRO CD | |
| 17. | RANDMIN N | | 39. | ANJLET | |
| 18. | FEDFUND | | 40. | HORTORS | |
| INDUSTRIAL A | | | | | |
| 19. | RICHMONT | | 41. | METRO | |
| 20. | STERLING | | 42. | QUICKCO | |
| 21. | TECHIRE | | 43. | BOWCALF | |
| 22. | ROYHOLD | | 44. | AROMA | |
| | | | 45. | FRASERS | |

Pienaar banishes 2 Koevoet cops

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — Administrator-general Mr Louis Pienaar has pardoned a Swapo killer and banished two former policemen charged with murder, under the threat of prosecution if they ever return to the territory.

Swapo officials said amnesty for the policemen would trigger widespread anger.

Mr Pienaar granted the amnesty under a law required by the resolution of 435 independence plan to free jailed Namibians deemed to be political prisoners.

In July, 24 Swapo followers imprisoned under now-defunct security laws during years of conflict were released from Windhoek Prison in terms of the proclamation.

Mr Pienaar yesterday ordered former Swapo guerrilla Mr Eino Mule freed from prison and quashed his nine-year sentence imposed in August for the murder of a captured SWA Territory Force soldier.

Free detainees, court urges

WINDHOEK. — The Supreme Court yesterday issued a declaratory order urging Swapo to release five political detainees held in camps in southern Angola.

The court action was launched by the Parents' Committee of Namibia, an organisation founded four years ago when the detention of scores of Swapo cadres caught the international spotlight.

Accusations of brutal treatment of supporters arbitrarily jailed as spies have plagued Swapo since some 200 were freed and flown back to Namibia from Angola under a refugee repatriation programme run by the UN.

Handing down judgment, Namibia's Judge President, Mr Justice Hans Berker, said if they were still being held, the detainees were entitled to be released immediately.

Further, if the detainees were released, Swapo should provide the date of release, the name of the detention camp from which they were freed and the organisation to which they were handed over.

He also urged Untag chief Mr Martti Ahtisari and the Angolan government to assist in achieving freedom for the five. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Pienaar clears desk as army moves south

WINDHOEK. — Administrator-general Mr Louis Pienaar cleared his desk at Tintenpalast yesterday as military vehicles rolled southwards out of Namibia in the closing chapter of South African control over the territory.

Reports of politically linked violence in northern Ovambo marred post-election calm throughout the rest of Namibia.

Mr Pienaar moves today from Tintenpalast, the German colonial building overlooking the city, to his official residence, SWA House, a few hundred metres away, in preparation for next week's inauguration of the constituent assembly.

But he does not relinquish his position, remaining in place until formal independence as executive authority over the territory's administration.

Desks, files, typewriters and papers were piled in Tintenpalast's entrance portico yesterday as staff prepared for the move to

clear offices for officials and party leaders who will sit in the 72-member constitutional writing assembly from Tuesday. Officials had earlier tagged Wednesday for the first session.

"The chairman of the constituent assembly will be accorded accommodation in Tintenpalast," administration spokesman Mr Gerhard Roux said.

"We are talking of a process that could take a couple of weeks, or a couple of months."

DTA slams Pienaar on Swapo

WINDHOEK. — The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) says at this stage it cannot accept that the administrator-general of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, can consider Swapo to be the future government of the territory by implication, even though it won the election.

The DTA referred in a statement to a liaison committee established by Swapo and the office of the administrator-general and said this was contradictory to independence process agreements.

WANTED FOR CASH

VINTAGE WRISTWATCHES

Top prices paid by collector for Gentlemen's Wristwatches 1920's to 1950's

ROLEX PRINCE
MINIMUM OF R4000 PAID

PATEK DATE OYSTER

Budget drives a hard bargain

on Wednesday. Picture: HEUREN

about 01 missing Swapo detainees were made here yesterday by the International Society for Human Rights.

"Thousands of the detainees are still not accounted for and are reported to have been last seen in Angola and Zambia under Swapo jurisdiction."

The ISHR said the recent UN mission on detainees had not visited four major locations "where it is believed Swapo is still holding many prisoners."

"Furthermore, reliable reports that detainees are still being held in prisons in Tanzania have not been investigated by the UN."

The ISHR said other reports suggested more than 200 Namibian orphans were airlifted to Berlin, in East Germany, in August.

"The UN High Commissioner for Refugees is reported to have been involved in this operation."

The ISHR's British section secretary-general, Mr Robert Chambers, said the first major task of the new assembly in Namibia had to be to try to resolve the issue of the missing people. — Sapa

for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, here.

Cops deny Webster link

221

Cops link 18/11/83
PRETORIA. — Rumours that Donald Acheson — had appeared in a Johannesburg court yesterday in connection with the assassination of Dr David Webster, were devoid of all truth, police said here yesterday.

Nam policy 'must aid nation-building'

CML Times 18/11/84 (221)
WINDHOEK. — The Namibian constitution must not only establish and define the institutions and powers of government, it must also make a contribution to nation-building and reconciliation, United Nations Special Representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari said last night.

Opening a human rights symposium organised by the Namibia Peace Plan Study and Contact Group, Mr Ahtisaari said in order to do that, the constitution must enshrine the standards of human rights, thus ensuring Namibia's commitment to the principles of equality and justice for all.

"The 1982 principles stipulated by the UN Security Council will be an integral part of the constitution, and those principles have, as their essence, the maintenance and upholding of the human rights of all Namibians," he said.

Mr Ahtisaari's statement came as the West German Government yesterday offered assistance to Namibia's political parties in drawing up the fledgling state's constitution. — Sapa

Nujoma returns for talks

WINDHOEK. — The president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, returned to Windhoek yesterday after holding talks with leaders of the frontline States in Lusaka on Thursday, SWABC radio news reports.

Mr Nujoma was due to hold talks later in the day with Nigerian Foreign Minister, Major-General Ike Nwachukwu. Gen Nwachukwu, the first foreign minister to visit Namibia since the election, will also hold talks with other political leaders.

The head of Swapo's liaison division, Mr Eddie Amkongo, has confirmed Swapo's Central Committee will meet over the weekend to discuss the disbandment of the election directorate. — Sapa

Namibia calmer after flare-up

WINDHOEK. — United Nations police monitors report the situation in Namibia is generally peaceful, with some improvement in areas where tension flared after Swapo's victory in the election, Untag spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said yesterday.

The situation in the Oshakati area of northern Owambo region was calmer and no major incident had been reported since midnight on Thursday.

● Hundreds of UN officials are due to leave Namibia this weekend, but tensions will keep the UN army in place. — Sapa

Walvis set to be thorn for years

(22) Star 18/11/89

WINDHOEK — The South African enclave of Walvis Bay seems likely to be a political thorn in the side of independent Namibia for some time to come.

With a Swapo-dominated government demanding that the enclave be incorporated into Namibia and Pretoria refusing point blank, the issue seems set to become the most abrasive point in Namibia's relations with South Africa.

Instant rejection

This was emphasised this week when, within days of the independence election, Swapo's view that Walvis Bay was an integral part of Namibia was reiterated by the movement's leader, Mr Sam Nujoma.

The demand was instantly and firmly rejected by President de Klerk who said Walvis Bay had never formed part of any Namibian settlement plan and he reassured the enclave's inhabitants that it would remain part of South Africa.

His Government's attitude was underlined by reports that some of the 1500 South African troops remaining in Namibia and which must be out by next week will be moved to Walvis Bay.

South Africa has long maintained a military and naval base in the 1124 sq km enclave and its continued presence — and perhaps even reinforcement — will undoubtedly irritate the Namibian government.

that makes Swapo indignant so much as the fact that it is the country's only viable port. This, together with the fact that Namibia's only rail links with the outside world pass through South Africa, means that all Namibia's imports and exports are subject to being clamped off by Pretoria if it chooses to do so.

The threat of doing this will give South Africa enormous power to influence political decisions by Mr Nujoma's government. It could, for in-

stance, enable Pretoria to discourage Windhoek from permitting African National Congress insurgency bases without having to risk international censure by launching cross-border raids on these bases.

No legal basis

Mr Nujoma has made it clear that his government will do all it can to get Walvis Bay incorporated into Namibia and he will obviously try to get strong international pressure exerted on Pretoria to this end.

Such pressure would

have no strong legal basis, however, Walvis Bay having never been part of the politically defined territory that is Namibia. It was annexed by Britain in 1878, before what is now Namibia was colonised by Germany in 1884, and became part of SA with the formation of the Union in 1910.

Pretoria is unlikely to give up Walvis Bay unless the advantages of doing so outweigh the disadvantages and it could be some time before this situation arises.

However Pretoria seems prepared to negotiate an agreement with Windhoek for the use of the port — a "second prize" Mr Nujoma might have to accept.

Own airfield

The base is large enough to accommodate a substantial force, is self-sufficient in water, can be supplied by sea and has its own airfield. SA forces stationed there would enable Pretoria to practise effective "gun-boat diplomacy" aimed at influencing the policies and actions of the new Namibian government.

Since South African vessels would have to pass through Namibian territorial waters to enter or leave the port their passage could in theory be interdicted by Namibia. It is extremely unlikely, however, that Namibia will attempt adventures so rash against overwhelmingly stronger South Africa.

But it is not Walvis Bay as a military base

'Voorloper' — or just a traitor?

WINDHOEK — Daniel Petrus Botha, a young South African-born Afrikaner, finds himself at the centre of a controversy, attracting admiration as a hero and vilification as a traitor.

A quietly-spoken theology lecturer at the University of Namibia, Mr Botha is one of 41 Swapo members in Namibia's constituent assembly, having been elected in last week's poll.

When he takes his seat in the constituent assembly next week, it will be an important stage in the political odyssey of one Afrikaner.

Jettison

Mr Botha has moved further than most Afrikaners in Namibia, who constitute the biggest Afrikaner group outside South Africa.

But even some of the most conservative of his co-Afrikaners have moved far down the road from apartheid, jettisoning its underpinning axioms — often reluctantly, occasionally joyously.

Sitting in his modest house, he talks of the voyage which led him to Swapo's camp, recalling stoically that it aroused the wrath of some of kinsmen who — as anonymous telephone callers

remind him — view him as a traitor.

As a traditional Afrikaner, he recalls, he believed "separation of people was the only way to keep them from one another's throats". Today he is opposed to enforced separation and an advocate of racial equality.

The bridge for Mr Botha's transition are his Christian values: having seen the war in northern Namibia through the eyes of the South African Defence Force in 1980, he came to see it through the eyes of his black students at the University of Namibia and through those of his black friends in Namibia.

As a young philosophically-minded man — he is 35 — Mr Botha was metamorphosed politically by his religious beliefs and by contact with blacks.

Commit

"By calling ourselves Afrikaners we linked our identity to the African continent," he says. "Now it is time that we go one step further and commit ourselves to the people of Africa."

Mr Botha may be further down the road but he is not alone. Even the mainstream Afrikaner leaders in Namibia who have fought Swapo

Turning point

THIS article by PATRICK LAURENCE examines the remarkable changes that have taken place in the political thinking of some Afrikaners in Namibia. And to read about a banker who has come to terms with sanctions as a political weapon — even though he is opposed to them in principle — turn to PAGE 9.

fiercely have traversed a great distance — politically speaking — in the past few years.

One is Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA). It is fashionable in pro-Swapo circles to deride Mr Mudge as a neo-colonialist and an Afrikaner nationalist who has changed his strategy but not his aims.

The truth, however, is a bit more complex. The DTA had a mere four

whites on its 72-member list in last week's election, the same number as Swapo. It is committed to universal adult suffrage in a non-racial state. It specifically rejects all forms of apartheid.

Mr Mudge, too, has moved a long way from the NP — the party which still rules South Africa today — even if he is conservative in comparison to Mr Botha.

A talk to Mr Jannie de Wet, chairman of Action Christian National (ACN), is instructive. ACN is an alliance, which has the NP as its dominant component. But the NP in Namibia on the eve of independence has moved away from — or ahead of — its counterpart in South Africa.

Organise

ACN, Mr de Wet explains, does not want whites to be given special communal representation along the lines of, say, the 20 seats allocated to whites when Zim-

babwe became independent in 1980.

He thinks whites should organise to gain representation in the legislature. He wants no greater guarantee, however, than a system of proportional representation and a Bill of Rights.

He believes black people will not object to whites organising politically to protect their interests through the election of whites to the legislature.

ACN does not seek to reserve some government schools for whites only, a non-negotiable for South Africa's NP. It does, however, champion the right of any cultural group to have its own private schools.

Mr de Wet, a former MP in South Africa's Parliament and a former apartheid functionary who carried the grand title of Commissioner General of the Indigenous Peoples, says: "We must stick together but make ourselves acceptable to Africa."

Who's who in Namibia power bloc

ALL eyes are now on the smaller parties in Namibia's Constituent Assembly — which begins its sessions on Tuesday.

Swapo's 41 seats in the Assembly are seven short of the two-thirds majority it needs to dictate a constitution, so some deals will have to be struck with the other six parties.

Representing a wide range of viewpoints, the six parties seem to have only one thing in common — fear of domination by Swapo.

Most people know of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, which forms the main opposition group with 21 seats in the Assembly. The other five parties are less well-known.

After the DTA in the pecking order, with four seats, is the United Democratic Front of Namibia (UDF). No relation to the South African UDF, the party is an amalgam of a number of parties, from the ethnically based Damara Council, through the coloured Labour Party, to the Trotskyite Workers Revolutionary Party. Included are former Swapo detainees, who on their return from prisons in Angola, formed the People's Consultative Council.

THE UDF is led by Mr Justus Garoeb, the paramount chief of the Damaras, with Labour Party leader Mr Reggie Diergaardt as vice-president. The party fought a hard campaign with a central theme of human rights abuses in Swapo. However, it would largely agree with Swapo that the new Namibia should be a unitary state, with a mixed economy.

With three seats, Action Christian National (ACN) is the electoral front of the white National Party of South West Africa (NP-SWA) and accordingly had the most conservative outlook. The group favours the protection of "group rights" and repeats the NP-SWA's oft-said slogan of "No forced racial discrimination, but no forced integration either".

THE National Patriotic Front of Namibia will be represented in its sole seat in the Constituent Assembly by its leader, Mr Moses Katjuongua. A former professed Maoist, Mr Katjuongua would now be classed as a moderate. He would probably agree with many of Swapo's policies, in principle at least.

"Kaptein" Hans Diergaardt — leader of the Federal Convention of Namibia — will occupy that party's one seat. A "Baster" from the Rehoboth area 80km south of Windhoek, Mr Diergaardt will probably side with the ACN in pushing for regional and possibly ethnic autonomy.

The Namibia National Front has one seat which will be filled by its President, Mr Vekuui Rukoro. A London-trained barrister, Mr Rukoro is a highly articulate politician whose beliefs fall on the left side of the political spectrum. While his party has been even more outspoken than Swapo on issues like land redistribution, the NNF has been one of the sternest critics of Swapo's human rights record.

Softly, softly Swapo, DTA

THE two main antagonists in the Namibian independence elections — Swapo and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — accepted the result with good grace and seemed genuine in their desire to work together to compile a constitution and take the country to independence as quickly as possible.

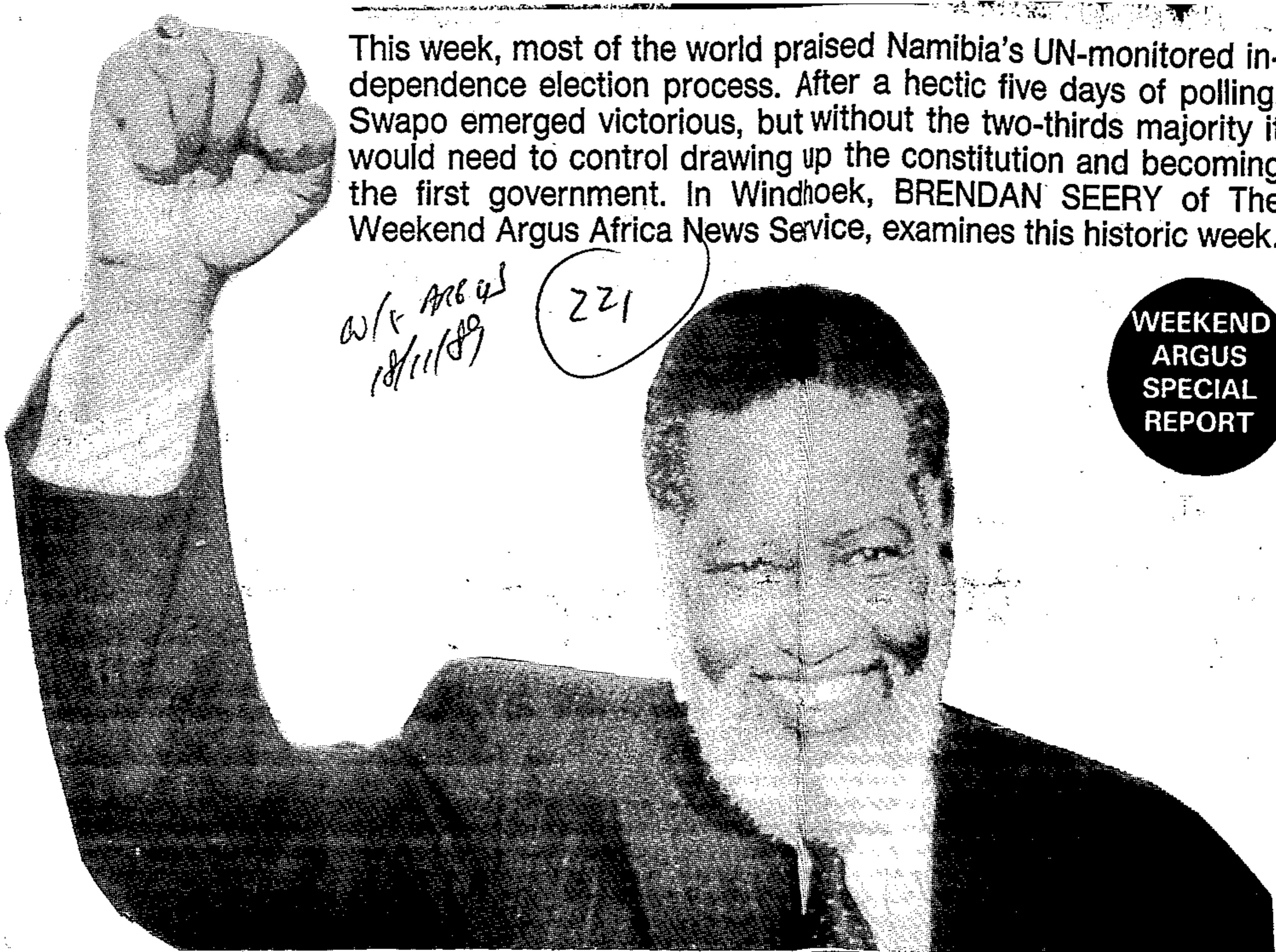
Swapo president Sam Nujoma promised a policy of reconciliation and pledged that even the losers in the election would "enjoy the fruits of freedom."

He offered a "hand of friendship to all whites" and assured them they were welcome to stay in Namibia.

THE Swapo leader seemed unperturbed by not having won over two thirds of Namibia's people to his organisation's way of thinking. He believed his party had been given a mandate to "lead Namibia to independence." He promised that Swapo would not impose a one-party state "against the will of the people."

DTA vice-president Mishake Muyongo described the election result as an indication that Namibians had voted along ethnic lines. But he congratulated Swapo as the overall winner.

This week, most of the world praised Namibia's UN-monitored independence election process. After a hectic five days of polling, Swapo emerged victorious, but without the two-thirds majority it would need to control drawing up the constitution and becoming the first government. In Windhoek, BRENDAN SEERY of The Weekend Argus Africa News Service, examines this historic week.



WEEKEND ARGUS SPECIAL REPORT

Sam's words need his deeds

SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma pledged to form a government of national reconciliation that would include non-Swapo members, following his party's victory in the Namibian independence elections this week.

Already looking presidential as he arrived for a victory Press conference in a black Mercedes-Benz flying a pennant in his party's blue, red and green colours, Mr Nujoma sought to strike a statesman-like tone and to sound conciliatory towards the parties that had lost.

Describing the poll as "an election for freedom rather than an election of parties", he said he would invite capable people from all walks of life, including the business sector, the clergy and other "Namibian patriots" to join the government.

BUT he stopped short of accepting a suggestion by the UN Secretary General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, that he should form a coalition government with the other parties that won seats in the election. He said it would be up to Swapo's Central Committee to decide that.

Mr Nujoma went out of his way to allay white fears.

"We think a mixed economy is best for this country. And we will not impose a one-party system on the Namibian people who have just voted for different parties in a multi-party system."

He stressed that the government would need to work in cooperation with the predominantly white business and farming communities, and that Namibia badly needed civil servants to remain.

The final result of the election gave Swapo a comfortable, if unspectacular, majority of five in the 72-seat constituent assembly that begins work next Tuesday on the draft independence constitution, sets the independence date and then

From ALLISTER SPARKS in Windhoek

transforms itself into the first parliament.

SWAPO gained 57.3 percent of the total vote to secure 41 assembly seats.

Second was the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, a coalition of 12 ethnic parties, with 28.6 percent of the vote and 21 seats. Another coalition, the United Democratic Front, won four seats.

A white alliance called Aksie Christelik Nasionaal, made up of the Afrikaner National Party and a German group, won three, and three other parties, with elements from Swanu, a forerunner of Swapo, and the Rehoboth Basters of central Namibia, one each.

Swapo's failure to win a two-thirds majority means it will not be able to write its own constitution for Namibia.

This could lead to the entrenchment of a Bill of Human Rights, the curbing of some of the powers of a Swapo president, and general safeguards against Namibia following the general African pattern and moving towards becoming a one-party state.

Theoretically, opposition parties could hold Swapo to ransom by obstructing agreement on the constitution and delaying independence, but Mr Dirk Mudge, co-leader of the DTA, said his movement would not do this.

"We will not play a negative role," he said. "If Swapo comes with proposals we can live with, we shall support them, but we will strictly guard the interests of our people and of the country."

THE most striking feature of the election was that the DTA led right until the last of the 21 results were announced. Then its lead was swamped by a massive Swapo majority in the populous northern provinces of Ovamboland, where nearly half the total population live.

Swapo gained 92 percent of the vote there, turning its losing percentage of 37 to a winning one of 57.

This imbalance has some sobering implications. It means that outside of Ovamboland — an undeveloped region that covers only one-eighth of the total land area — Swapo is a minority party. It will have to live up to Mr Nujoma's rhetoric of reconciliation if it is to build an adequate basis of nationwide support.

The strength of the anti-Swapo vote also presents Namibia with the challenge to become Africa's first genuinely multi-party democracy. The new Swapo-led administration will have to settle down and live with a strong and viable opposition.

FROM the start it will have to develop tolerance of opposition and cultivate the art of compromise and coalition-building.

These have not been Mr Nujoma's or Swapo's strong points in the past. Mr Nujoma has got where he is through uncompromising determination and it was a perception of the party as intolerant and authoritarian which prevented it from doing better in the election. Many non-Owambos were fearful of what they thought would become an "Owambo dictatorship" and voted for the ethnic parties of the DTA instead.

Swapo has also been characterised by fragmentation during its long years in exile: a number of the men who started the movement with Mr Nujoma — Mr Andreas Shipanga, Mr Mburumba Kerina and Mr Moses Katjuongua — are in opposition to him today. And the movement was clearly hurt in the election by allegations of detention and torture made against it by members who fell foul of its leadership and security chiefs.

A senior Swapo member, Mr Theo-Ben Guirab, said that the party might make gestures of reconciliation towards people like Mr Kerina and Mr Shipanga as well "to send a signal to the nation that we mean what we say when we talk about burying the bitterness of the past and looking to the future".

London Observer News Service

A flush of victory sets with the sun

THE fevered celebration after Swapo's election victory passed through Windhoek like a mid-summer shower ... swirling, vibrant, but quickly over.

From mid-morning on Tuesday, when it became clear Swapo had attained an overall majority, the celebrations began building like rain clouds. Cars on Kaiser Street flew the red, green and blue colours of Swapo. Hooters blew, black powder salutes were exchanged and cries of "aluta" filled the air.

By lunchtime a colourful crowd of more than a thousand singing, dancing and ululating Swapo supporters jammed the CBD. Traffic came to a halt as masses of bodies doing toyi-toyi dances swept through the city. In the heavy mid-day heat, the crowd surged up Peter Muller Street and swirled around the picturesque Christuskirche Lutheran church on the hill.

THEY clambered on and over the "Reiter" statue of a German trooper on his horse draping Swapo flags and pictures of Sam Nujoma over the colonial past.

But, by 3pm, the crowd had gone and the hooting had become a background noise.

Well, if that was freedom, so what?

Compared to the sea of people that swamped central Salisbury on the announcement of the Zanu(PF) victory in the Zimbabwe elections in 1980, Windhoek's enthusiasm was laid-back, to say the least.

Perhaps because — as the poll results showed — only four out of

every ten people in the Namibian capital are Swapo supporters. Perhaps because Namibians tend to get less excited about things.

In Oshakati, however, there were reports of vicious clashes between Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and Swapo supporters, with at least one man killed and as many as 30 injured. According to reports here, knives, pangas, sticks and even pistols were used in the fracas, which Swapo-supporting newspapers have blamed on DTA supporters.

STILL, police in Windhoek were surprised by the peaceful manner in which celebrations went off countrywide. SWA Police liaison officer Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said the force expected far more trouble. Windhoek's Katutura township was the scene of frenzied rejoicing for most of the day, but there were few reports of violence. In at least one case, senior party officials from the DTA and Swapo ordered some of their rowdier supporters to get to bed and let Katutura's workers get their rest on Tuesday night.

International observers and newsmen and cynical locals were struck by the atmosphere of warmth, if not quite reconciliation, after the results were announced. By the end of the week, it looked highly unlikely that Namibia would explode into violence. The deeply cynical may even have felt a little disappointed that Africa's last colony was yawning and whimpering its way into independence.

But, most conceded that tranquillity augurs well for the future.

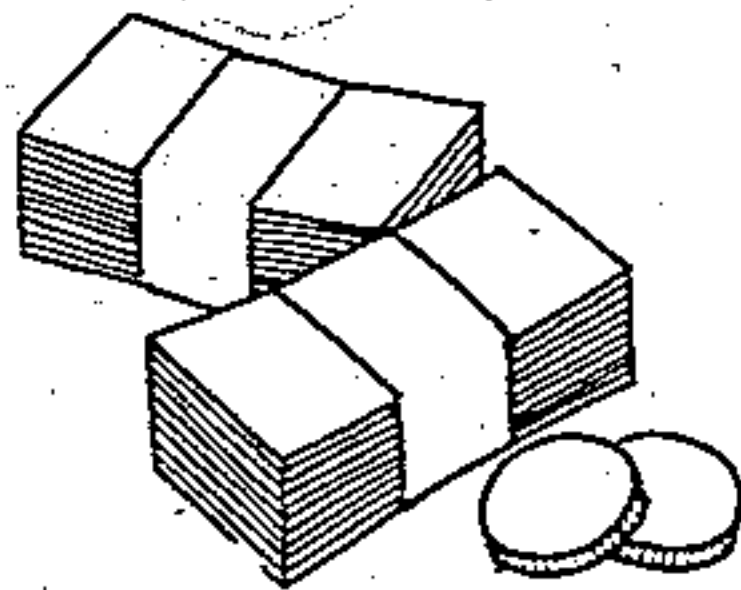
Swapo's economic policies critical

19/12/89
e.press

SWAPO'S economic policies will be closely studied by both local and international business communities.

So far, party spokesmen, including leader Sam Nujoma, Namibia's most likely president, have done little to scare off foreign investors, only upsetting a few white farmers with vague threats that the land of absentee landlords will be utilised "more productively".

Africa has paid dearly in the past for wrong economic policies applied by politicians. The economies of large parts of the continent, including Mozambique, Angola and Zambia, are in ruins.



MONEY TALK

By Jacob Mokana

The real tragedy is that hardly anybody is prepared to help these countries rebuild their roads, communication and distribution systems, and medical services. Without an infrastructure, international business is not interested.

West Germany, for example, is a massive exporter of capital, but with East Germany, Poland, Hungary and other countries on Bonn's doorstep opening up for possible lucrative investment opportunities, why should West Germany be interested in economically unstable African countries?

Nevertheless, there are indications that large amounts of German and other Western investment funds will be made available to Namibia, but only on condition that there is a stable multi-party democracy after the election.

Nujoma assured the world in his first Press

conference after the election that a Swapo government would ensure just that.

Namibia is, therefore, starting with a clean slate. In international terms, it is a tiny country whose mineral-based economy could be strongly stimulated by relatively small foreign investments.

Botswana has shown that it is possible to create wealth in Africa under stable and sensible management.

One hopes Nujoma and his advisors will act wisely. If not, Namibia will undoubtedly become just another poverty-stricken state in which the world will soon lose interest.

Free the prisoners



A victory for women

Four of the 41 Swapo members in Namibia's constituent assembly are women. They are Penukeni Ithana (Swapo politburo), Dr L Amathila (first Namibian doctor of medicine to be trained with Swapo funds); Pashukeni Shoombe, (Swapo Central Committee), and Michaela Huebsche.

SWAPO was found this week to be criminally holding a number of Namibians in Angolan jails. Thursday after the Parents Committee (PC) of Namibia brought an action that Swapo was detaining over 600 Namibians in Angola. The release order by the court specifically referred to five Swapo prisoners - Philemon Mbaeva, Gerson Ruhumba, Hetjevi Boas a "declaratory order" on

Herunga, Bootjie Muukua and Deon Boois. Swapo was also ordered, should it have released the prisoners, to prove by December 15 the following: the date on which they were released; the name, place and location of the camp; the name and address of whoever the

prisoners were handed to - or the name of the military unit should the prisoners have preferred to join Swapo's military wing after their detention. Judge-President Berker's judgment also said interested parties must co-operate to free the detainees.

These include UN special representative Martii Ahtisaari; UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Swapo and the Angolan government - which facilitated the detentions.

A declaratory order means a person has a valid case before the law, whether or not the judgment can be executed.

This is opposed to an "order of the court" which must be enforced if contempt of court is to be avoided.

Judge-President Berker said an order of the court could not be applied in another country - in this instance Angola.

Namibia should not accept ANC cadres, says Kaunda

IT would be suicidal for Namibia or PAC on your soil. And we will not urge you to do that. "Obviously as a freedom fighter you will be thinking of freedom fighters in South Africa. It will be less than realistic to accept ANC cadres in Namibia. We would be asking you to commit suicide."

Also in Lusaka for the one-day talks to warn Nujoma to be cautious in consolidating the "Namibian Revolution" were Nigerian Foreign Minister Maj-Gen Ike Nwachukwu, Egyptian ambassador to Zambia, Sayed Soliman, and ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo.

It would be suicidal for Namibia if the Frontline States encouraged it to accept ANC cadres in its territory, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda said this week. Kaunda, who is also chairman of the Frontline States, was hosting Swapo leader Sam Nujoma, who was in Lusaka for talks with Frontline leaders.

"You are not in a position to host ANC forces in Namibia. Your entire economy is tied to South Africa. All those who have invested in Namibia are supporters of South Africa," said Kaunda.

"They will not let you have ANC

by SUSAN BROWN

RECONCILIATION was the line Swapo president Sam Nujoma took the day after Namibia's final election results came in. He spoke of the need for co-operation between all parties in the constituent assembly; of commissions of inquiry into the fitness of the police, and into the benefits of membership of the Southern African Customs Union; and of development and the need for foreign investment.

And he spoke of speedy independence. That depends on the constituent assembly finding a constitutional formula which two-thirds of them can accept - and then being able to put together a government. Swapo did not get the two-thirds majority which would have allowed it to unilaterally pass its constitution and form a government without forming an alliance with one or more of its opponents.

Now the shouting is over - Swapo has 57 percent of the votes, or 41 of the 72 seats in the Assembly. Its arch-rival, the DTA, with 29 percent, has 21 seats.

On the right, the mainly white Action Christian National has three seats, and the Rehoboth-based Federal Convention of Namibia has one.

From the centre to the left are the Namibia Patriotic Front and the Namibia National Front, each with one seat, and the United Democratic Front, with four seats.

The only area in the country where Swapo had landslide support was Ovamboland, where 92 percent of voters supported the movement. Before that result came in, the results for the other 22 districts of the country had Swapo at first running behind, then coming level with the DTA. Without Ovamboland, Swapo had 40 percent of the vote and the DTA 38 percent.

This was a shock, not only to Swapo leaders who returned from exile speaking confidently of 80 percent support nationwide, but also to long-time local supporters and organisers in southern and central Namibia.

Important centres where Swapo gained majorities - but still not more than half the vote - were Luderitz, Swakopmund, Tsumeb and Windhoek, where it got 46 percent. All are centres with significant numbers of workers, many of them unionised - and many migrants from the north.

Many observers were startled as well at the DTA's showing. Realists knew it had a core of support, with heartlands in Hereroland and Kaokoland - but these districts had a combined total of only about 30 000 of the total 670 000 votes cast. The surprise was that the DTA gained majorities, some large, some slender, in 15 of the 23 districts, from the far south to Caprivi.

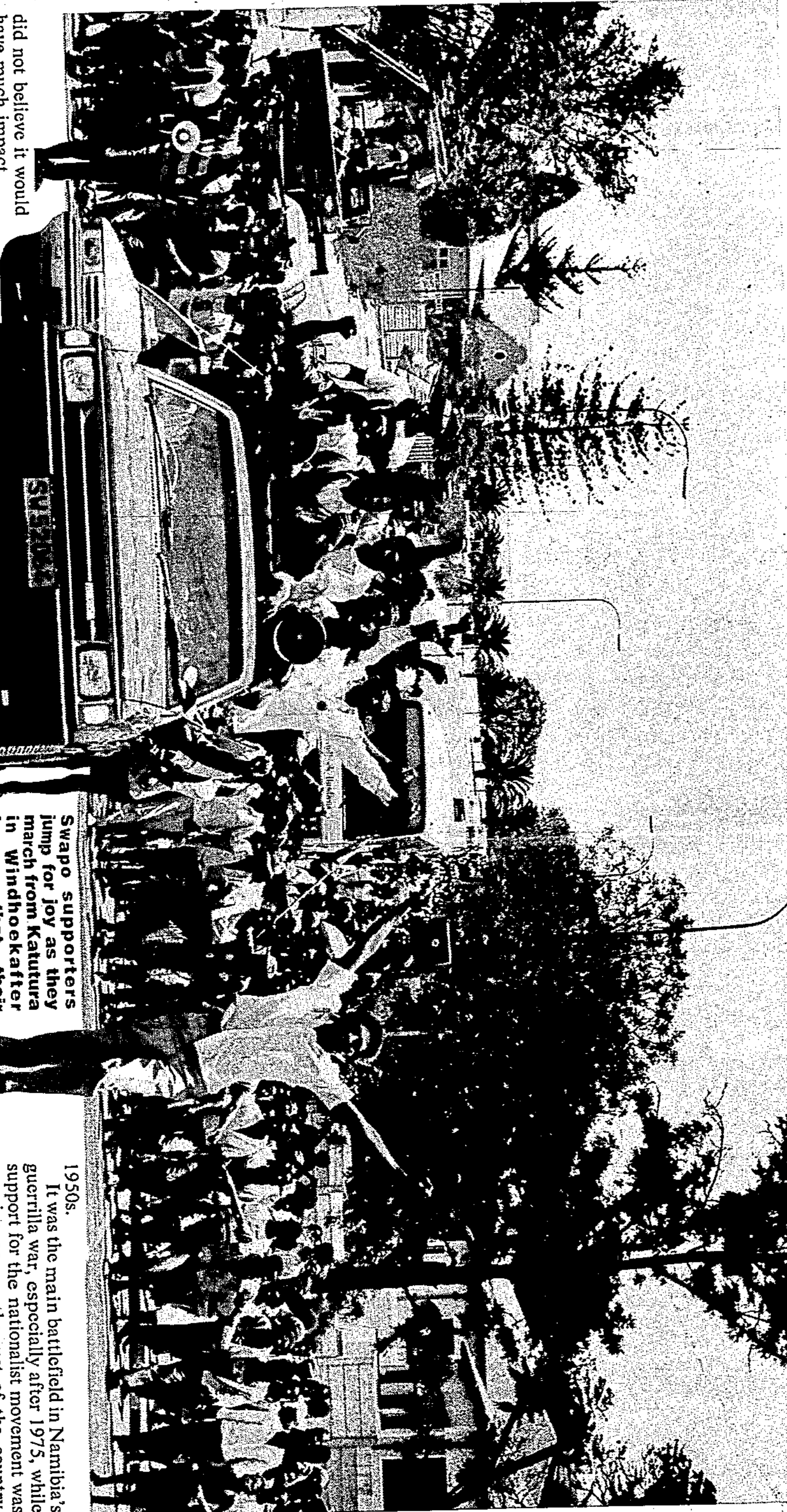
True, it had millions to spend on its campaign, but then so had Swapo. True, it notoriously fed voters after its rallies, but the slogan for years was "Ons eet by die DTA maar ons stem by Swapo".

The notion that Nambians, however poor, could remember no further back than their last meal was a joke until a few days ago, when Swapo apologists began to bring it out in earnest.

The DTA, too, had the stigma of being the establishment through which Namibia

Nujoma calls for full co-operation Constitutional formula needed now

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did not believe it would have much impact.

Media stories probably had less effect than personal contact. In an area like southern Namibia, which includes the Namaland Bantustan, there were probably about 20 000 black voters, many rural, or living in villages where almost everybody is linked in an intricate network of church connections, family and clan.

A disproportionate number of detainees came from this region, the base of Swapo

including the DTA. The UDF collected about 10 percent.

The returned leaders' line on the Swapo detainee issue - after some hesitation - was that there was nothing to investigate: the many detentions and deaths, especially of southern and central Nambians

Swapo supporters jump for joy as they march from Katurura in Windhoek after hearing that their party had won the highest number of votes in the election.

ned were spies.

Several local Swapo officials say privately that the percentage of ex-detainees in a given district was directly proportionate to the number of votes - often between a half and a third - which Swapo lost. Whatever the causes, 40 percent outsi-

1950s.

It was the main battlefield in Namibia's guerrilla war, especially after 1975, while support for the nationalist movement was growing across the rest of the country, especially among the young.

Swapo is now in the position of having to forge a constitution and a government in an assembly where the one factor common to the other parties is deep suspicion of Swapo's intentions.

It has been a long and punishing campaign. The administration is running out of money, and there will be little new aid until Namibia has a sovereign government

bian independence was deferred since 1978, the "puppets of South Africa," whom the real nationalist movement would sweep aside as Mugabe did Muzorewa in Zimbabwe.

What happened? There were two main factors, perhaps. One was that when the first of the exiled leaders returned to Namibia in June this year, they came with a list of membership of the Election Directorate. This included a minority of office-bearers who had been in Namibia all along.

There was not much consultation with local and regional branches, some of which were shaky after years of detentions and attrition by the South African-backed administration. But it was these grassroots networks that had for years maintained and — against the odds — extended Swapo's presence in southern and central Namibia.

Liberation movements in exile usually have military-type discipline and powerful hierarchies. At first, the tone of the returned leadership was autocratic, although that moderated towards the end of the campaign.

Then, too, the widespread belief that the issue of the Swapo ex-detainees would have little impact on the election was wrong. Even leaders of the Patriotic Unity Movement, the political party formed by ex-detainees and affiliated to the UDF,

vice-president Hendrik Witbooi. Here Swapo could have expected at least half the vote, but got about one-third. The rest were scattered among the other parties,

were regrettable but legitimate. This put local Swapo organisers in the odd position of assuring voters that respected young leaders who had not returned

de Ovamboland is still significant. About one-third of the country's voters come from Ovamboland. It was the base from which Swapo was launched in the

and independence. A workable formula for the reconciliation which Swapo has called for so often is the essential next step.



An Urtag official watches proceedings at a Tsumkwe polling station.



A Swapo trucks brings Ju-wasi Bushmen to a Tsumkwe polling station.

The nail-biting victory

NAMIBIA held its Saturday night, more than 95 percent of the territory's 701 483 registered voters cast their votes. Counting started on Monday morning. In the five-day elections, which closed last

nightfall, Swapo's main rival, the DTA, was notching up impressive wins. In Hereroland, the DTA took 8 440 votes against Swapo's 1 835; in Kaokoland the DTA made 6 699 with Swapo at 1 025; and in Keetmanshoop, the DTA pulled 8 229 against Swapo's 4 778.

The Outjo district didn't help. The DTA walked off with 2 658 votes against Swapo's 1 186. In Okavangoland it was 3 367 against Swapo's 3 256.

In Omaruru, the DTA notched 2 538 and Swapo 1 022. Of course there were eight other parties in the race, but their votes were low. The dark horse, the UDF of Namibia was gradually moving into third position.

Not too far behind was the Action Christian National (ACN) which had earlier been dismissed as a "no-hoper". By midnight on Monday many felt Swapo was in for a drubbing. Hope returned on Tuesday morning when

Swapo polled 5 422 votes against the DTA's 1 890 in Luderitz. In Tsumeb Swapo swept the board with 6 476 votes against the DTA's 3 452. By 4am Swapo was closing in. Abraham Visser told of delays in the crucial Shakati and Rundu areas.

Bleary-eyed reporters heard Windhoek had seen taken by Swapo with 39 060 votes against the DTA's 30 475. Swapo was closing the gap and faced a neck-to-neck race with the DTA. The territory woke up on Tuesday morning with the news that the decisive area was Ovamboland.

At about 11am on Tuesday, the Ovambo results were announced. Swapo had taken the district by a whopping 196 169 votes against the DTA's 9 000. Swapo had won.

Nujoma's policy plan

By ZB MOLEFE
T'S Been Sann Nujoma's week. On Tuesday he learnt Swapo had won this week's Namibia elections.

On Wednesday he called a Press conference at Swapo headquarters in Windhoek. "The Namibian nation has won its long-denied right to self-determination and independence," Nujoma told journalists. "For this reason there are no losers. We are all victors. Even those who did not gain seats will have the opportunity to enjoy the fruits of independence."

He outlined the principles and ideas Swapo would include in the constitution for an independent Namibia. "Swapo wants to reassure the nation that it will stand by its policy of national reconciliation," he stressed.

Some of the other highlights:

■ Economic independence — Swapo believes no country can be politically independent unless it is economically independent.

■ The future of civil servants in an independent Namibia — a commission will investigate two police elements, Koovoot and the South West African Territorial Force.

■ Education — apartheid has imposed Bantu Education in Namibian schools. Swapo would scrap this system.

■ Coalition with the DTA and other parties — the Swapo central committee will meet and decide on this.

■ Fears of a Swapo one-party Marxist state in Namibia — "Our elections took place under a system of multi-parties. Swapo will not impose a one-party state."

SA settlement now priority

CP Correspondent
WITH pre-independence elections over in Namibia, South Africa will strive for a negotiated settlement within its own borders.

But it will try to do so by keeping out the ANC, according to Oupa Ngenya, senior research officer at the Johannesburg-based Centre for Labour and Community Research.

Ngenya points out that Namibia's peace plan was negotiated with foreign superpowers, but without all Namibian parties.

South Africa, he says, will do its utmost to seek re-acceptance by the international community.

"The South African Government could well evade the issue of talking to the ANC. It could be expected that it will release jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and hope his release results in such euphoria that the ANC in exile is eclipsed," says Ngenya.

"Then, in the absence of the ANC, the government will perhaps push for a negotiated settlement."

But, stresses Ngenya, unity within the ANC will definitely torpedo the government's plans.

He says the US and Soviet Union plan to impress on people worldwide the need for a peaceful resolution of their problems, rather than armed conflict. "This is what they did quite successfully in Namibia. And there is nothing to stop them doing the same in South Africa."

However, whether the liberation forces give the negotiation option a favourable nod will depend largely on how much power they can muster.

In Namibia, the exclusion of liberation movements from deliberations cost Namibians Walvis Bay and the 12 surrounding islands off the coast of Namibia.

"These areas will still remain under South African control even after independence," says Ngenya.

"What this means is that the South African Defence Force will maintain its military presence in Walvis Bay."

Swapo's hands tied by 1982 independence agreement

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

WHEN Swapo president Sam Nujoma begins leading moves to design a constitution for an independent Namibia, his options will be narrowed by an undertaking he made seven years ago.

For the basic constitutional principles on which an independent Namibia will be based have already been laid down, and Swapo and other parties in Namibia have endorsed them.

In essence, they hold the parties to the

creation of a multi-party state in which the freedom and rights of individuals are upheld in a system of law above politics.

In 1982, in order to build confidence in Resolution 435 which laid out the route to independence, an agreement was drawn up on what that independence would look like.

The agreement stated, among other things:

- The constitution would be the supreme law of the independent state;
- The legislative, executive and judicial branches of government would be separate

and the authority of the law would be supreme;

- Freely operating political parties would compete in regular elections, on a proportional representation or constituency basis, or both;
- Private property would be protected from arbitrary confiscation without proper compensation;
- Individuals would have recourse to a Bill of Rights based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- The creation of retrospective criminal

offences was forbidden;

- Local and regional elected councils would be created.

Swapo initially criticised the electoral proposals, favouring a simple proportional representation system. Its wish was accommodated and this month's historic election took place on those lines.

The Constituent Assembly, consisting of 72 public representatives elected two weeks ago, is expected to sit for the first time in the coming week to begin designing a constitution.

Sam Nujoma:

By PETER KENNY
Windhoek

Just who is this man?

POWERHOUSE or puppet? This was the question on many lips this week as a former South African Railways messenger emerged as Namibia's president-in-waiting.

For Mr Sam Nujoma, who returned to his native land in triumph two months ago after 29 years in exile, is as much an enigma now as he was before.

His party's election win has given him a mandate, but he has yet to prove himself — to supporters and opponents alike — as worthy of the office he will hold.

The majority of Namibia's 80 000 whites will have difficulty in accepting the man they have known only as a terrorist leader as the country's future ruler.



SAM NUJOMA
Political enigma

Messiah

But to hundreds of thousands of blacks, especially those from the northern Owambo region, he is a messiah who has rescued them from the yoke of South African colonialism.

Somewhere in between the two extremes is the picture of an autocratic and ruthless party leader painted by founding members of Swapo who have since broken away and found their way into the ranks of the multitude of parties that contested the election.

In international diplomatic circles, in whose lobbies Mr Nujoma has spent a lot of time, he is renowned for frequently putting his foot in his smiling mouth with slogan-riddled utterances.

And, as his customary vitriolic attacks on Pretoria have given way in recent weeks to diluted if ambiguous rhetoric, observers have questioned whether he is indeed the powerhouse in Swapo, or a mere figurehead dominated by a coterie of people known as the "Kwanyama Mafia".

Revered

The group includes his publicity secretary Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, his defence secretary Mr Peter Mueshange and Mr Dimo Aamambo, commander of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia.

Mr Nujoma does not belong to the largest Owambo tribe, the Kwanyama, but to a smaller tribe from the Ongandjera district. But there is no doubt that he is revered by

the people of Owambo. Amid accusations that Swapo is an Owambo-dominated organisation, Mr Nujoma now faces the test of proving his mettle as a national leader.

Some of the bitter people who left Swapo after being detained by their own organisation on the pretext of being South African spies say they were jailed on tribal grounds or because they were intellectuals or radicals.

Question

The question they are asking now is: Can a man who appears not to care for his own followers really care for his nation?

He has extended the hand of friendship to Namibia's whites with as much conviction as to his former enemies in the South West Africa Territorial Force and Koevoet.

But diplomats, even from countries or organisations sympathetic to Swapo, shudder when negotiating with or broking for him.

His lack of formal education — he did not go beyond primary school but holds an honorary doctorate from Kaduna University in Nigeria — has caused the Swapo leader to be labelled by some as a political dunce.

But those who have dealt with him agree that he has considerable political acumen.

68/11/81
S. Yimes

Exit the last SA troops in Namibia

By PETER KENNY: Grootfontein

THE FINAL pull-back of SA military personnel from northern Namibia to south of the Orange River began yesterday when a massive convoy of armoured vehicles left this garrison town.

The silence of sleepy Grootfontein was shattered by the rumbling of South African armour moving south.

But residents knew that the roar of Ratel armoured cars and Casspir troop carriers was not the sound of war but the end of it.

For two decades Grootfontein has been the main supply route for thousands of SA national servicemen guarding the northern Namibian border.

In terms of the the United Nations independence plan for Namibia the remaining 1 500 SA Defence Force troops had to leave a week after the announcement of the election results.

Since July the troops have been confined to two bases — in the farming town of Grootfontein, and Oshivello in the southern Owambo region.

A few hundred military personnel in civilian clothes will continue to perform necessary services such as medical, airport administration and teaching until full independence.

Delighted

Yugoslavian Lieutenant-Colonel Ismet Malsumic, accompanied by Kenyan Major Peter Manyara and two Sudanese officers, counted the vehicles lumbering out.

Lt-Col Malsumic said: "I am surprised at how co-operative the South Africans have been. We expected a lot more trouble than we have had. Things are going very well."

"The largest convoy of vehicles is leaving today and the remaining troops will leave during the week."

The last massive withdrawal of SA troops was around June 24 when the forces which hunted infiltrating Swapo guerrillas in April were scaled down in terms of the UN plan.

On Friday night troops celebrated "min dae" in Namibia, saying they were delighted to be returning to "the States" for Christmas.

Yesterday the streets of Grootfontein were almost deserted when the convoy began moving. The departure was devoid of ceremony. A few of the vehicles hooted and some drivers waved to the few passers-by.

At Otjiwarongo, 200km to the south, mid-morning traffic was jammed by the 106 vehicles in the convoy, escorted by UN scouts bearing the blue flag of the international body.

A few teenagers gave the clenched fist salute of Swapo as the vehicles passed and a few hundred yards up the road two whites gave the "V" for victory sign of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

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S. Times 19/11/89

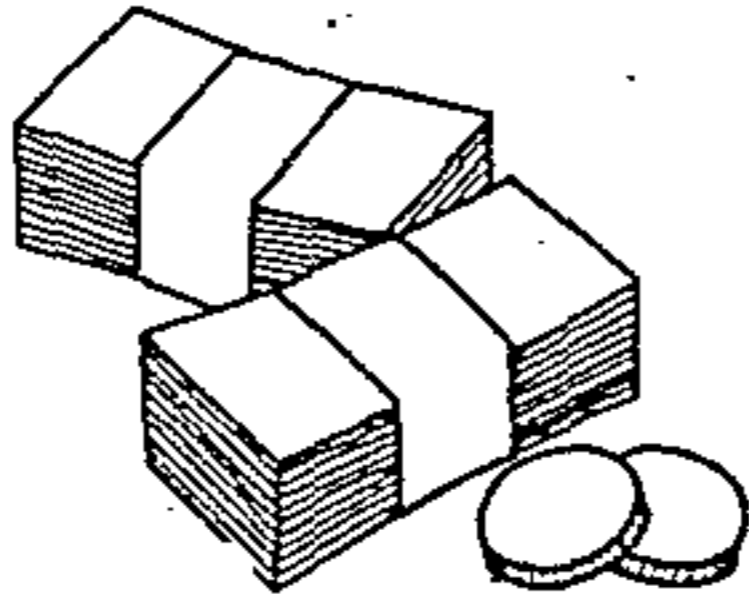
Swapo's economic policies critical

19/12/89
C. Press

SWAPO'S economic policies will be closely studied by both local and international business communities.

So far, party spokesmen, including leader Sam Nujoma, Namibia's most likely president, have done little to scare off foreign investors, only upsetting a few white farmers with vague threats that the land of absentee landlords will be utilised "more productively".

Africa has paid dearly in the past for wrong economic policies applied by politicians. The economies of large parts of the continent, including Mozambique, Angola and Zambia, are in ruins.



MONEY TALK

By Jacob Mokana

The real tragedy is that hardly anybody is prepared to help these countries rebuild their roads, communication and distribution systems, and medical services. Without an infrastructure, international business is not interested.

West Germany, for example, is a massive exporter of capital, but with East Germany, Poland, Hungary and other countries on Bonn's doorstep opening up for possible lucrative investment opportunities, why should West Germany be interested in economically unstable African countries?

Nevertheless, there are indications that large amounts of German and other Western investment funds will be made available to Namibia, but only on condition that there is a stable multi-party democracy after the election.

Nujoma assured the world in his first Press

conference after the election that a Swapo government would ensure just that.

Namibia is, therefore, starting with a clean slate. In international terms, it is a tiny country whose mineral-based economy could be strongly stimulated by relatively small foreign investments.

Botswana has shown that it is possible to create wealth in Africa under stable and sensible management.

One hopes Nujoma and his advisors will act wisely. If not, Namibia will undoubtedly become just another poverty-stricken state in which the world will soon lose interest.



UN officials leaving Namibia

WINDHOEK — Hundreds of UN civilian officials flew home from Namibia at the weekend, but tension in the territory's northern region will keep Untag's army and police personnel in place.

Untag monitors in Owambo have reported no further violence as police and political leaders sought to end post-election clashes that left one man dead and up to 40 people hurt. Most of the friction on Tuesday night in Owambo involved rival supporters of Swapo and the DTA.

Almost 900 civilian officials drafted from dozens of countries to act as election monitors began leaving the capital on Thursday.

The departures will continue today. A further 300 officials from UN headquarters in New York, Geneva and other UN centres have been trickling home since Monday last.

Untag spokesman Fred Eckhard said last week a personnel review under way in Wind-

hoek would probably lead to a reduction in overall Untag civilian staff numbers soon.

"You can safely assume that there will be some reduction in the civilian presence, but not for the military or police monitors," he said.

A multinational force of about 4 650 soldiers has been deployed across Namibia, with the strongest concentration in the north, in a low-key peace-keeping role. In addition, about 1 500 civilian police are posted as watchdogs over SWA Police, still the official law-enforcers under the UN independence plan.

The billion-rand overseeing job in Namibia has been the biggest and most costly mission in the UN's history.

Sapa-Reuter reports from Grootfontein that SA troops began their final withdrawal on Saturday after 74 years of military occupation.

Shepherded by white Untag vans, 106 SA ar-

moured trucks and personnel carriers rumbled south from Grootfontein and Oshivello.

SA is obliged under international agreements on Namibia's independence to withdraw the last 1 500 troops by Wednesday. Pretoria refused to relinquish control until last year, when it accepted a US-brokered accord linking independence to the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

Grootfontein, once SA's biggest garrison in Namibia and its main military railhead, was woken before dawn by the roar of trucks firing up for the 1 000km journey to the SA border, but no-one turned out to watch the trucks leave in a convoy covering several kilometres.

"Things are going very well. I am surprised at how co-operative the South Africans have been," Yugoslav Col Ismet Malsumic said as he counted the departing trucks.

The withdrawal marked a milestone in Namibia's transition to independence next year.

KEVIN JACOBS

221 B day 20/11/89

Compensate victims, urges Sash president

WINDHOEK — Human rights violations should be exposed and a form of compensation paid to victims to help them cope with their experiences, South African Black Sash president Mrs Mary Burton said in Windhoek at the weekend.

She was speaking on Saturday at a human rights symposium organised by a Windhoek study and contact group, Namibia Peace Plan 435.

While she did not believe society was built on revenge, some process had to be found to expose and understand human rights abuses, to aid in the healing of victims, she said.

PROTECT

In spite of sections of populations being denied their inalienable rights for centuries, there was a strong move to protect those rights, Mrs Burton said.

Because governments sought to entrench themselves and diminish the rights of the people they ruled, legally enforceable protection given by declarations and bills of rights was essential, she said.

This need for protection was multiplied in countries with divided societies, she said. — Sapa.

Remaining 1 500 SA troops leave as 74 years of military occupation comes to end

Namibia pull-out ends this week

By Brendan Seery, The Star's Africa News Service
WINDHOEK — The withdrawal of the remaining 1 500 South African troops from Namibia will be completed on Wednesday, according to the SADF.

A senior SADF officer in Windhoek, quoted by the SWABC, said the withdrawal of men, vehicles and equipment from bases at Grootfontein and Oshivelo started at the weekend and would be completed by Wednesday. It ends 74 years of SA military occupation of the territory.

Under the terms of the UN Resolution 435 settlement plan, all remaining South African troops must be withdrawn from Namibia within seven days of the certification of the election results. This certification was given last Tuesday by the UN Special Representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

The UN accepted that the SA withdrawal would be slightly delayed because of the rearranging of plans following the possibility that the election might have been extended.

The withdrawal operation is being monitored by UN military observers.

In addition to convoys of men and material leaving the bases in northern

Namibia, Safair airlifts are ferrying men, documents and equipment from the redundant Windhoek headquarters of the SWA Territory Force.

It is understood that 61 Mechanised Infantry Brigade, previously stationed in northern Namibia, will be moving to a new base in Walvis Bay.

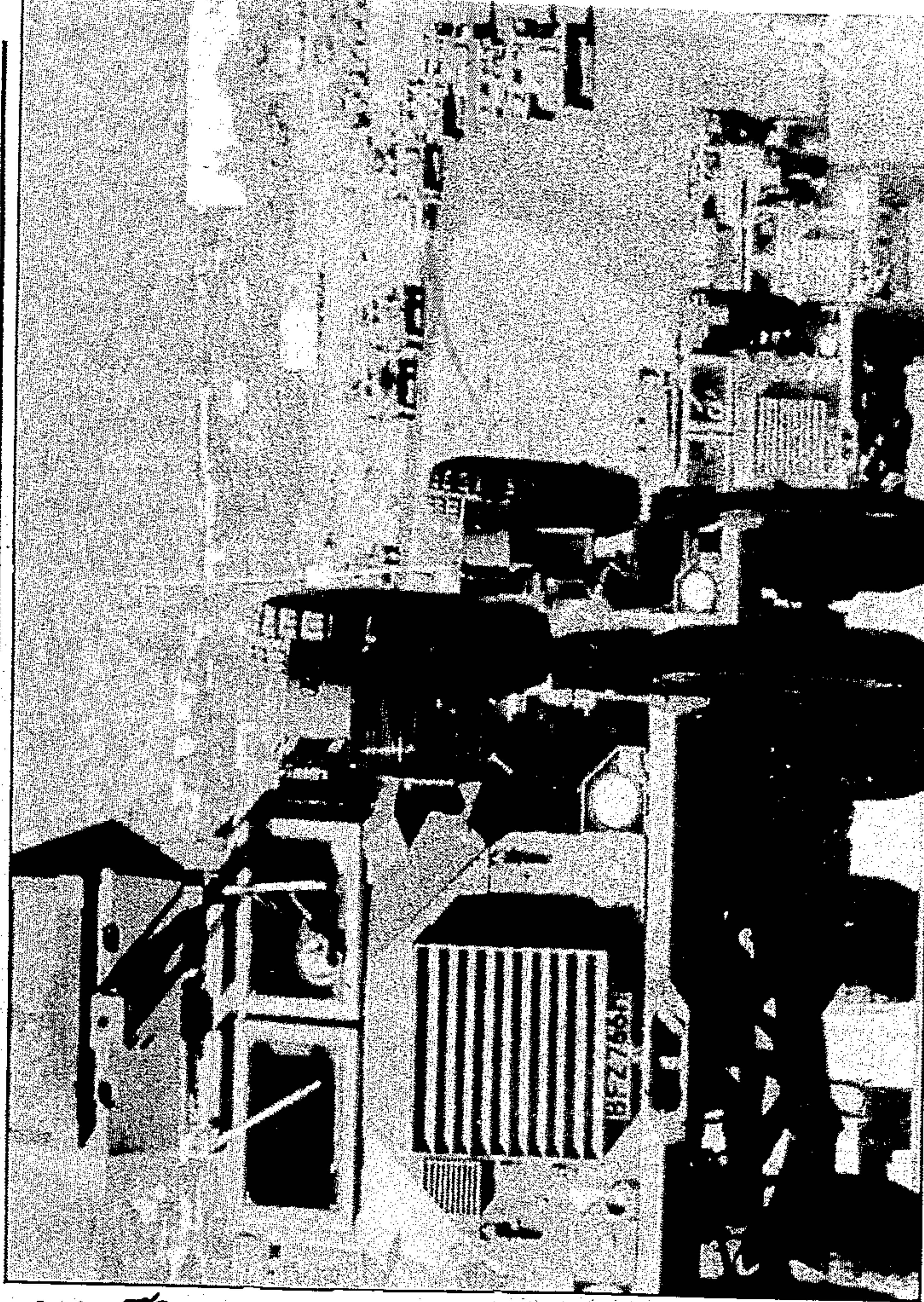
The withdrawal of the last of the South African troops poses serious problems in a number of areas for Namibia.

For example, SADF air traffic controllers are the mainstay of the air-space control network in Namibia and SADF doctors have been lending a hand in areas where qualified medical staff are scarce.

Lure away

Swapo has alleged that South Africa is trying to lure away former members of military units like the SWATF's 101 Owambo Battalion and 201 Bushman Battalion, as well as former members of the police Koevoet counter-insurgency unit, to jobs at South African bases.

Swapo called on the former soldiers to remain in their homeland and promised they would be treated and looked after in the same way as other Namibians.



The last of 1 500 South African troops stationed in Oshivello during the Namibian elections begin their withdrawal.

SA stages final Namibian pullout

CME Times

20/11/89

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From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — South Africa at the weekend finally turned its back on a region that was its military backyard for two decades.

Only rear-view mirrors faced the northern border — the former operational area — as a column of more than 100 armoured vehicles rolled southwards in the closing days of an era of regional war.

The engine-roar of the southbound strike force drowned out another sound of change: The hammers and saws of carpenters making final renovations to a former colonial meeting hall for the historic first gathering tomorrow of the territory's nascent parliament.

Dozens of drab-brown Casspirs and Ratels were apparent at a truck-stop south of Windhoek's city limits at the weekend as a convoy from Grootfontein and Oshivello took a refuelling break.

Withdrawal of the men and fighting vehicles mark the passing of an army that once numbered more than 30 000 drafted to the northern border region to put a clamp on the frontier against guerilla incursions and harry a combined Angolan-Cuban force battling South African-backed Unita guerillas in Angola.

Residual force

Military officials say the pull-out required under UN Security Council Resolution 435 will be completed by Wednesday when the remnants of 61 Mechanised Brigade's strike force, base-bound at Oshivello, moves to its new home at Walvis Bay enclave.

Up to 1500 SADF soldiers have been stationed under Untag monitoring at Grootfontein and Oshivello the past three months as a residual force permitted under the settlement programme.

"Things are going very well. I am surprised at how co-operative the South Africans have been," Yugoslav Colonel Ismet Malsumic said as he counted the departing trucks.

Colonel Malsumic, a member of the 8 000-strong Untag contingent monitoring Namibia's independence, said a handful of South African soldiers would remain at the two bases until today or tomorrow. Then they would be flown to Pretoria.

The plan required them to quit the territory within a week of Untag chief Mr Martti Ahtisaari's endorsement of election results last Tuesday.

In Windhoek, carpenters and electricians today are tidying up after completing renovations at the historic Landesrat council hall. It will provide seating for 72 elected members of the constituent assembly that holds its landmark first session tomorrow.

Mr Andre Killian, former secretary of the defunct National Assembly, will act as provisional secretary of the Constituent Assembly, which is charged with writing and passing — with a two-thirds majority — the new nation's first constitution.

The assembly, begins work with blank papers tomorrow, faced with electing a chairman and other offi-

Koevoet 'reign of terror' alleged

OSHAKATI. — People in Ovamboland, whose decisive vote gave Swapo the mandate to the constituent assembly, are living in fear of former Koevoet members, who are allegedly conducting a reign of terror in the area, Zimbabwe's national news agency Ziana claimed in reports.

The agency quoted a Swapo representative in Oshakati as saying that Swapo had to restrain its members and that armed elements roaming in Ovamboland were allegedly supported by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA).

Untag's regional director for Oshakati, Mr John Rwambuya, said members of Swapo were sympathetic to losers in the election and the situation had become difficult to monitor.

He accused the police of not being interested in controlling armed gangs marauding in Ovamboland.

"They are not doing their work properly. If they were interested and determined this could end," he said. — Sapa

Expose rights abuse, says Sash

WINDHOEK. — Human rights violations should be exposed and a form of compensation paid to victims, SA Black Sash president, Mrs Mary Burton, said in Windhoek over the weekend.

She was speaking at a human rights symposium organised by the Windhoek study and contact group, Namibia Peace Plan 435.

While she did not believe society was built on revenge, some process had to be found to expose and understand human rights abuses to aid in the healing of victims.

In spite of sections of populations being denied their inalienable rights for centuries, there was still a strong move to protect those rights, she said.

Because governments sought to entrench themselves and diminish the rights of the people they ruled, legally enforceable protection given by bills of rights was essential. — Sapa

cial, and drafting even its own procedural regulations.

"It's a lot of work to put an assembly together," Mr Hoffman said. "It's not just calling people to a place."

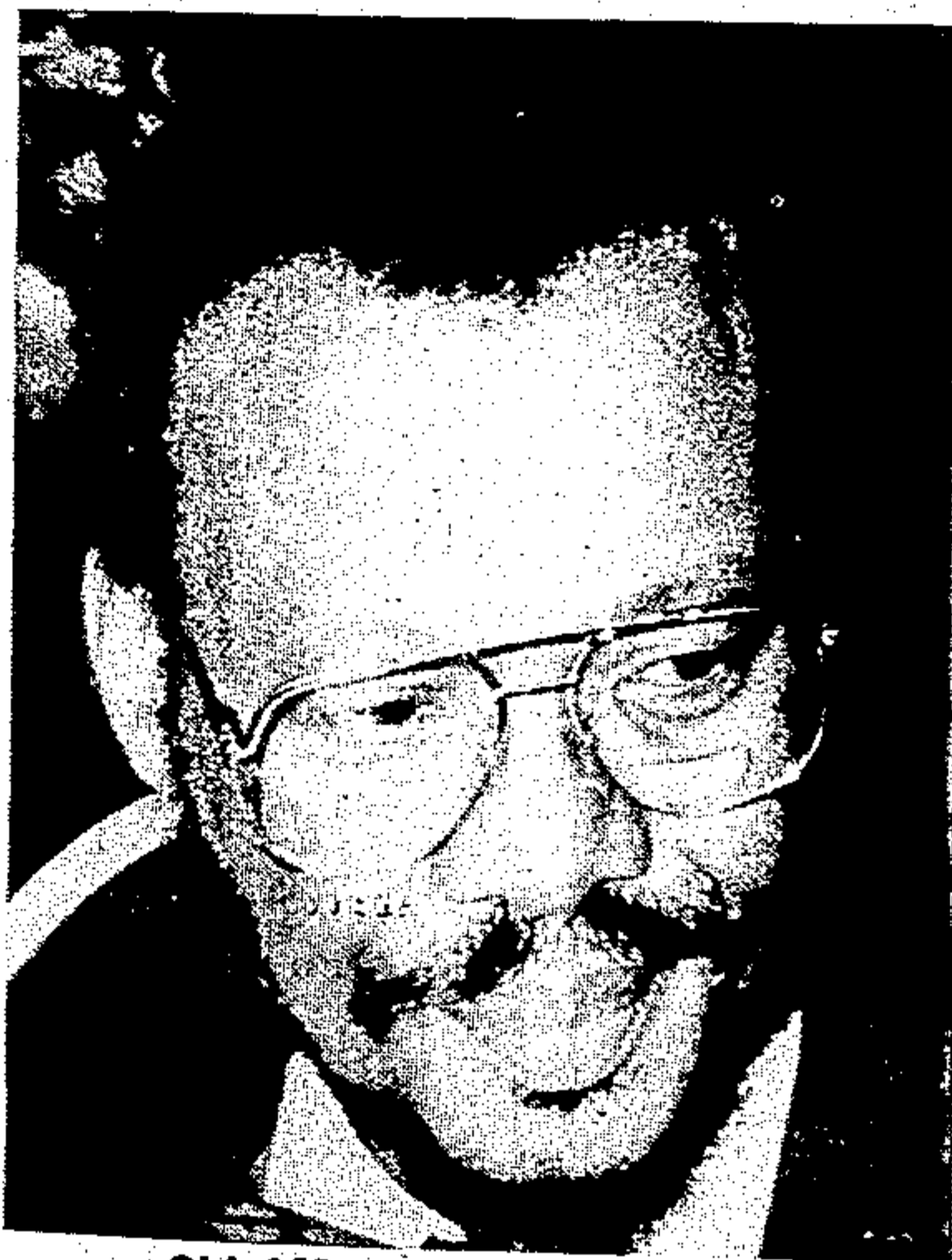
Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma, as the majority leader, will open the assembly as acting-chairman but is likely to delegate the post to another Swapo official.

Swapo's 41 members will be joined by 21 DTA representatives, four from the United Democratic Front (UDF), three from Action Christian National (ACN), and one each from the Namibian Patriotic Front (NPF), Namibia National Front (NNF) and Federal Convention of Namibia (FCN).

Namibia's poll 'lesson to the West'

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Sowetan 20/11/89



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

LONDON - Namibia's ballot has taught Western democracies one lesson - never to accept at face value the claims of a political organisation to represent all of a nation's people, says British MP George Gardiner.

Gardiner, Conservative MP for Reigate and vice-chairman of The Conservative Foreign Affairs Committee, led an observer team of European parliamentarians which monitored the election. They were invited to do so by the Right Wing International Freedom Foundation.

In a lengthy article in the *Times* of London he writes that Swapo's 53.7 percent slice of the vote was "a creditable performance by normal standards, but hardly that of a party hailed as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people."

Gardiner says since 1973, when the UN recognised Swapo as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, money just flowed to Swapo, from

SOWETAN REPORTER

the UN itself, from churches and anti-apartheid groups, even from governments.

"Much of it was intended to finance scholarships, but in practice, it funded the training of guerilla fighters operating from Angola. It also, as we now discover, supported rape, torture and murder in Swapo's prison camps."

Gardiner says the lesson from this should be applied to South Africa. "The same bodies ... that saw Swapo as the sole legitimate representative in Namibia accord the same status to the African National Congress.

"Just as members of Namibia's transitional government were denounced as puppets of Pretoria, so too are Chief Buthelezi of the non-violent Inkatha movement and Dr Mangope of the Tswanas.

"If it can now be recognised that there are many legitimate partners in the new South Africa, then that will be to the good."

821 Bay 2/11/89

First test for rookie law-makers

by KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — The 72 men and women who make up Namibia's Constituent Assembly meet for the first time today to decide on sovereignty as a New Year gift for the world's youngest nation.

But independence must be packaged in a constitution, and the rookie lawmakers are likely to argue over the wrapping.

UN Security Council resolution 435, which blueprinted the independence programme, lays down no deadlines for implementing a constitution.

But among the 72 assembly members is a keenness to close off an era soured by war, SA-linked isolation and national divisions, and

open the new book without bickering hold-ups.

Independence by Christmas is dismissed as unrealistic, but sooner-rather-than-later rules most expectations. January or February is a widely targeted deadline.

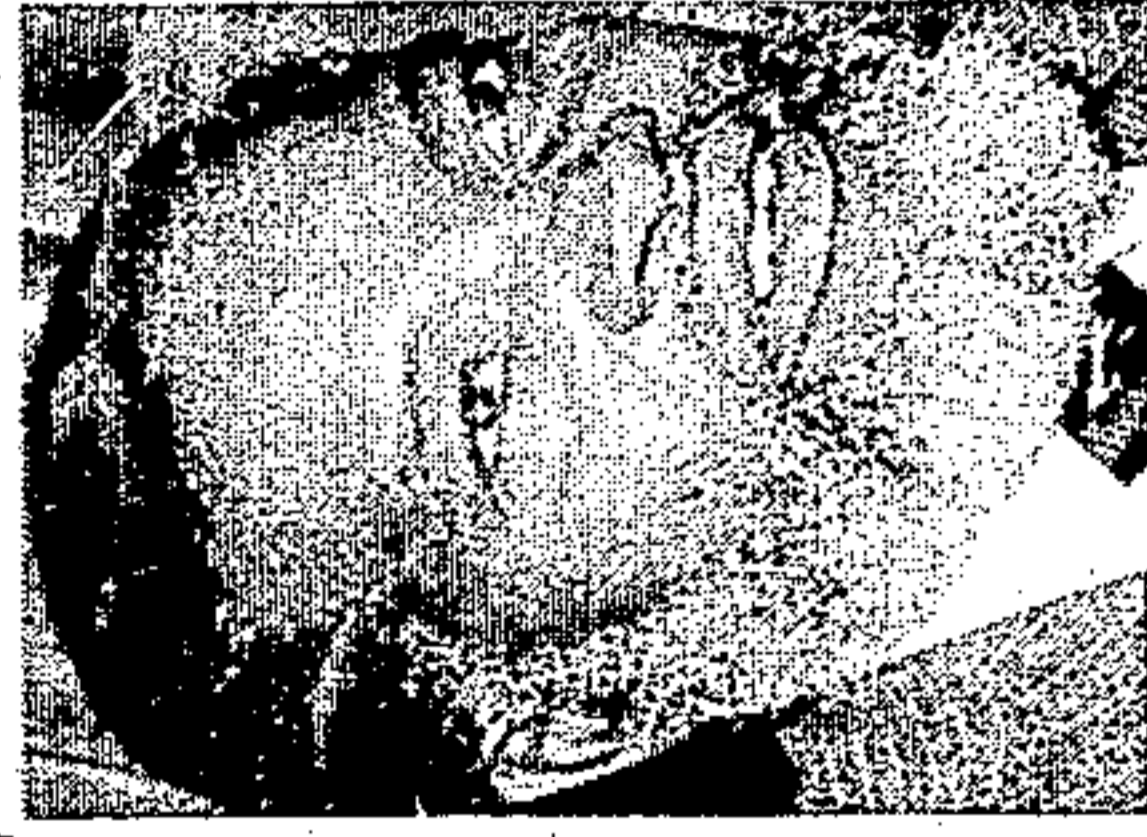
"I'll put my money on late January," a Western diplomat said yesterday.

Swapo's policy-making central committee is insisting on independence as soon as possible.

A day after the election results were known, giving Swapo 57% control of the assembly with 41 of the 72 seats, Swapo leader Sam Nujoma remained impetuous, wishing sovereignty soon but offering time for

all arguments.

"We are prepared to give ample time to the other parties to put forth their



• NUJOMA

views regarding the constitution," Nujoma said.

"We have no intention of imposing our views on others, and we anticipate no serious disagreements. But "our legitimate preoccupation with writing the constitution must not blind us to the preoccupation of the Namibian people — the early achievement of independence," he said.

DTA chairman Dirk Mudge, whose party will hold a 21-seat opposition block, also projected a soon-but-don't-rush attitude to independence.

"I cannot foresee that we will sit here for months and years and delay the independence process," he told reporters in the wake of

election results.

"We have to get people together, to unite them, to reconcile them — that



• MUDGE

may not need months of horse-trading.

Swapo leaders have openly committed themselves to fundamental democratic underpinnings required by resolution 435, which guarantee a spectrum of basic rights beyond arbitrary dispossession and executive intrusion.

Untag chief Martti Ahtisaari told a weekend symposium: "The principles stipulated by the UN Security Council will be an integral part of the constitution... those principles have, as their essence, the maintenance and upholding of the human rights of all Namibians.

Mudge said: "If the things they (Swapo) say come from the heart, it may not be difficult to come to an agreement."

Swapo may yet surprise its detractors.

takes time. But this should not delay the writing of the constitution.

Swapo party officials say their assembly caucus is likely to encourage other groups in the House to table their own constitutional drafts or principles, and by synthesis to craft a single document passable by consensus, without bargaining for a two-thirds majority.

Swapo's radical edge has been smoothed over the past year, and drafts produced by the movement have contained little of the screaming Marxism its opponents feared even before it trounced them in the election, which suggests constitutional agreement

Farmer is missing in the Namib

WINDHOEK. — Members of the SWA police are searching an area of the Namib desert near Walvis Bay for a farmer, Mr Archie Lofty-Eaton, 26, who disappeared in northern Namibia.

He is believed to be suffering from amnesia. He was last seen about 60km south of Opuwo in Kaokoland on November 6 where he had been working on an evangelical mission.

He is believed to have been given a lift to Omaruru and was reportedly seen at the DTA offices in Windhoek on November 11.

Namibian lawmakers meet to draw up constitution

221

missed as unrealistic and January or February is a widely targeted deadline.

"We are prepared to give ample time to the other parties to put forth their views regarding the constitution," Mr Nujoma said.

"We have no intention of imposing our views on others, and we anticipate no serious disagreements on this."

DTA chairman Mr Dirk Mudge, whose party will hold a 21-seat opposition block, also projected a soon-but-don't-rush attitude to independence.

Swapo party officials say their assembly caucus is likely to encourage other groups in the house to table their own constitutional drafts or principles, and by synthesis to craft a single document passable by consensus, without bargaining for a two-thirds majority.

From KEVIN JACOBS
WINDHOEK. — Seventy-two men and women who make up Namibia's constituent assembly meet for the first time today to decide on sovereignty for the world's youngest nation.

But independence must be packaged in a constitution, and the rookie lawmakers are likely to argue over the wrapping.

Resolution 435 that blueprinted the independence programme lays down no deadlines for cementing a constitution into place, nor for running up Africa's newest national flag.

But among the 72 assembly members is an expectant enthusiasm to close off an era soured by war and open the new book without bickering hold-ups.

Independence by Christmas is dis-

Swapo man held for killing DTA supporter

WINDHOEK. — A supporter of the DTA was stabbed to death at Opuwo in north-western Namibia at the weekend, Untag spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said yesterday.

Mr Eckhard said the man was stabbed on Friday and died on Saturday.

A man believed to be a Swapo supporter has been arrested in connection with the killing.

Untag police monitors reported that the rest of Namibia was calm, with the exception of the Oshakati region in the north, where the situation remained "unsettled" after recent incidents of violence, Mr Eckhard said.

However, there has been an increase in incidents of violence and disturbance of peace in Kavango since the announcement of the election results, SWABC radio news reports.

UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari, Untag police commissioner Mr Steven Fanning and Untag regional director at Oshakati Mr John Rwambuya had taken steps to curb violence in the region, Mr Eckhard said, including ordering Untag police to carry out saturation patrols of troubled areas.



Ahtisaari special gu at assembly opening

AKG45 21/11/89 221

From JON QWELANE
Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — United Nations special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari was scheduled to attend the opening session of the Namibian Constituent Assembly as an honoured guest today.

The president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, as leader of the majority party in the House, was due to open the assembly's session and act as chairman until the party's nominee for the chairmanship, Mr Hage Geingob, took over after his candidacy had been endorsed by the rest of the House.

The sitting of the assembly was being seen in some circles here as another highlight in the careers of both Mr Ahtisaari and Mr Nujoma.

Road to presidency

Mr Nujoma's journey to the Tintenpalast, the seat of government here, began in February 1960, when he fled the country to lead petitions at the UN against continued South African occupation of Namibia and, later, launch Swapo on the path to an armed struggle.

His act of opening the session would be a step away from the cherry on top of his political cake — the executive presidency of Namibia.

Swapo has already endorsed Mr Nujoma as president-elect, and after the assembly has drawn up and adopted a constitution by a two-thirds majority, it will turn itself into a legislative assembly, and the majority party into a government.

For Mr Ahtisaari, today's

trip to the Tintenpalast as an honoured guest would be a step away from the culmination of his mission to Namibia — the country's eventual independence from South Africa.

The rotund Finnish diplomat has been at the centre of the "Namibian question" from the day in 1978 when the UN passed its Security Council's Resolution 435, paving the way for the country's independence, and erstwhile Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim appointed him as his special representative.

Last week Mr Ahtisaari supervised and controlled the elections which brought the Constituent Assembly into being. Mr Ahtisaari and his transition assistance group are scheduled to remain in the country up to its independence — tentatively suggested as April 1 next year.

The Administrator-General of the territory, Mr Louis Pienaar, would be absent from the proceedings. Mr Pienaar is believed to be out of town, and a senior official in his office, Mr Kobus Bauermeister, was expected to fill in for him.

There were strong hints that dissatisfied groups would stage anti-Swapo demonstrations near the Tintenpalast and also near the building where the assembly was due to hold its first meeting.

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Swapo compromise accepts Western guiding principles

WINDHOEK — The Namibian Constituent Assembly yesterday afternoon unanimously adopted the 1982 Constitutional Principles as guiding principles for its efforts to write a constitution.

The Western-negotiated principles, which propose a unitary, multi-party constitutional democracy with an independent judiciary and an entrenched bill of fundamental human rights, had previously been a bone of contention.

During negotiations around the proclamation which established the assembly, Swapo was reported to be against the principles being included. It argued it did not want SA legislation to prescribe the nature of Namibia's independence constitution.

Task

However, the proposal to adopt the principles as guidelines was made by Swapo Foreign Secretary Theo-Ben Gurirab.

Earlier yesterday, the assembly formally started the task of writing a constitution for the country's independence by electing Swapo election director Hage Geingob as its chairman.

Swapo president Sam Nujoma, as leader of the majority party and also as acting chairman, opened proceedings by welcoming members.

The election of chairman Geingob — Swapo nominated him on Monday —

was done by secret ballot.

Geingob thanked the House for the trust it had shown in him and pledged to execute his duties conscientiously and fairly.

"The electorate has given us a mandate to hammer out, and adopt, in a spirit of compromise, a spirit of give-and-take, a constitution that will lead our people into nationhood.

"It is therefore my firm hope and belief that all our actions will be guided by that all-important destination," he said.

Geingob said that through a process of debate and consultation the assembly would be able to find solutions for the differences of opinion between members.

He said the people of Namibia and the whole world were anxiously watching the work of the assembly.

Nujoma said it was with great pride and humility that he took the opportunity of a lifetime to address the assembly after having personally struggled for freedom from colonialism for a long time.

It was a great honour to be chosen by the Namibian people to lead them to nationhood, he said. He thanked Administrator-General Louis Pienaar for the way he had co-operated with Swapo and wished him a pleasant stay in the country until the independence process had been completed.

Nujoma also thanked UN Special

Representative Martti Ahtisaari and Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar for their help in bringing old adversaries together.

Nujoma pledged Swapo to the goal of ensuring an early independence date, saying they had suffered for freedom for too long.

He said the main task was to create a Namibia where all its people could form part of a national culture, regardless of race and ethnic origin, and to work for proper education, health care and security for all.

He called on members of the assembly to co-operate with one another so that an independent government could move ahead and address the basic problems.

Crimes

DTA leader Mishake Muyongo told the assembly his party would co-operate constructively in drafting a constitution.

The DTA represented a broad spectrum of the Namibian people, as demonstrated in the election, he said.

He said there would be a declaration of fundamental rights, no crimes would be created by retroactive legislation and provision would be made for elected regional and local governments.

The constitution had to be adopted by two-thirds of the assembly. — Sapa.

Untag still needs SADF help

WINDHOEK — No definite date had been set for the withdrawal of SADF soldiers engaged in key civilian functions in Namibia, the deputy commander of the UN military component, Brig Daniel Opande of Kenya, said yesterday.

Opande said the SADF members would be replaced gradually by personnel from the World Health Organisation, Unicef and the UN Development Programme.

The UN would continue to monitor the activities of SADF personnel performing civilian functions in the spheres of air traffic control, medicine, teaching and administration, and arrangements were being made to replace them within a reasonable period. — Sapa.

Swapo President Mr Sam Nujoma, flanked by fellow Swapo leaders and representatives of other Namibian political parties, outside the Tintenpalast government building in Windhoek, after the first meeting of Namibia's first elected body with all the major parties present.

Elections were 'not free and not fair'

LAST week's elections were not free and fair and the United Nations failed to comply with the basic requirements of fairness, and that made a mockery of the elections, the Constituent Assembly was told yesterday.

And Swapo, the majority party in the assembly, was sharply attacked for allegedly continuing to hold detainees against their will in Zambian and Angolan camps.

The attacks were spearheaded by Chief Justus Garoeb, leader of the United Democratic Front, at the first meeting of the assembly, and greatly surprised observers and Swapo because it had been widely speculated that the UDF and Swapo would forge a voting bloc in the assembly.

Chief Garoeb removed all doubt: "The UDF is not prepared to dispose of its bargaining power by aligning itself with any party." He said there was "sufficient evidence that many hundreds of Namibians" were being held against their will by Swapo and had not participated in the elections, which meant the elections had neither been free nor fair.

Intimidation during the polls had also been a major factor, and the assembly must make it its business to address the unsolved problem of the missing detainees.

Mr Sam Nujoma gave a conciliatory speech, describing himself as the son of ordinary peasants who had been "greatly honoured" by the Namibian people by asking him to lead them to nationhood. National reconciliation formed part of his address, and he again said the future he had in mind was one which

did not take into account race or colour or creed.

It was essential that there must be co-operation among all parties in the assembly, and a future in which there were schools and hospitals as well as security must be built by all. "Our noble task as founding fathers and mothers is to forge a constitution for the Namibian nation.

"I am clearly confident you will execute the mandate entrusted to you, and you will not let us down. For my part, I'll do my best," Mr Nujoma said.

Mr Mishake Muyongo, leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said his party was prepared to co-operate constructively with Swapo, but it was paramount that the 1982 principles be embodied in the constitution.

Supreme law

They were a unitary sovereign state in which the constitution was the supreme law of the land and determined all the powers of all the levels of government, periodic and genuine elections via the secret ballot, a bill of fundamental human rights, and no retrospective punishment for political deeds preceding independence.

As far as the DTA was concerned a new government was only possible if the constitution containing the 1982 principles was adopted by a two-thirds majority of members of the assembly.

Mr Moses Katjuongua, leader of the national patriotic front, chided Mr Sam Nujoma for sending out "double signals" when speaking to the nation.

It did not make sense for Mr Nujoma to say whites in the country were Namibians and must enjoy equal status

with everybody else, while in the same breath he called them "settlers and guests". It also did not make sense to call for national reconciliation while at the same time calling his opponents names.

It certainly did not accord well to praise civil servants while, at the same time, he said certain members of the police and former armed forces were not fit for service in a new Namibian police force.

Mr Vekuii Rukoro, leader of the Namibia National Front, said his party did not belong to any voting blocs, but would support all sensible measures and vigorously oppose all those designed to take the country back into the colonial past.

Mr Hans Diergaardt, leader of the Federal Convention of Namibia, said Swapo as the majority party had to take into account the diversity of cultures in Namibian society and lead all citizens to full nationhood. Swapo would have his co-operation if it created a constitution suitable for all, because that would unite the country.

If it created one suitable only for itself it would divide the nation, and Mr Diergaardt would not lend it his support.

Mr Jannie De Wet, leader of Aksie Christelike Nasionaal, said that although he had some reservations — he did not spell them out — his party would do everything to hasten independence.

He said the 1982 principles must form the cornerstone of Namibia's constitution. "Now allow me to speak in Afrikaans, Mr Chairman, because English is up to now not the official language", he said, and delivered the rest of his address in his mother-tongue.

Simplistic to ask who won the war for Namibia

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CALL THIS 22/11/89

A QUESTION that many readers asked me before the Namibian elections was: "Who won the war?" This has now been replaced by the assertion that "Swapo won the war because it won the election".

In my opinion, however, both the question and the assertion are far too simplistic.

In the first place, one should realise that insurgencies are not "won" or "lost" militarily unless one side or the other actually collapses. In many cases the fighting is an intermediate stage which helps to set the scene for a political solution, and this is what happened in Namibia.

It seems obvious that Swapo's small overall majority resulted at least partly from the fact that by late last year it had been fought to a virtual standstill. A contributing factor was the detainee furor, although as far as I can tell this did not do all that much harm since most of the returned and missing detainees were Damara, who were going to vote the ethnic ticket anyway.

In any case, the small majority means that in tackling the constitution it will have to co-operate with either its main opponent, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, or most of the smaller parties who hold the other 10 seats.

This might be dicey, as both the white-right Action Christian National (three seats) and the mainly Rehoboth Baster Federal Convention of Namibia (one seat) are dead set against two important Swapo policy planks, a unitary state and land redistribution, while most of the disgruntled ex-detainees seem to belong to the Damara-dominated United Democratic Front.

If these two stand firm, it is impossible for Swapo to get the extra seven votes it needs for a two-thirds majority, meaning it would have to co-operate with a vigilant DTA, which would exercise much influence on the adoption of a comprehensive bill of rights limiting the government's freedom of movement.

All this is highly political rather than military, of course, but I hope it illustrates my point about the function of an insurgency's military phase and why simplistic questions and answers will not suffice.

Call-up blues

A fair number of people seem to have been called up for 30-day December camps, which has caused a bit of aggro, particularly since these are not training camps but gate-guarding and sentry-go stints, and also because December is a busy time for many service industries.

Question 1: Is this a correct use of part-time manpower? Question 2: Is this not the sort of thing that has brought the entire present military system into disrepute? That was what I was talking about when I recently mooted the idea of a survey to determine sensitive peak periods when planning call-ups.

● Willem Steenkamp is a reservist in the Citizen Force.

US journalist found guilty

WINDHOEK. — American journalist Scott Stanley, 51, of the American Press International wire agency, was found guilty and sentenced to a fine of R250 (or 90 days) in the Windhoek magistrate's court yesterday for insulting the O'Linn Commission of Inquiry into election malpractices.

The case arose from an article written by Stanley which appeared in two Windhoek newspapers, the Windhoek Advertiser and the Allgemeine Zeitung, in July this year and which insinuated Mr O'Linn had a strong bias towards Swapo. — Sapa

Flood of Namibians fails to materialise

CAPK Tim's 22/11/89 Staff Reporter (221)

DESPITE expectations of a flood of emigrants from Namibia into the Republic after Swapo's election victory, removal companies are doing business as usual for this time of the year.

According to various removal companies operating in Windhoek, the pace of removals has been normal, except for increases caused by the withdrawal of the SADF.

A spokesman for a large Windhoek furniture removal company said the rate of removals usually increased towards the end of the year, but this year was not substantially different from last.

The chief executive for the administrator-general's office, Mr Jakobus Bauermeester, confirmed that "everything was normal". He also did not expect an increase in emigration from Namibia.

UK backs peaceful change in Africa

LONDON. — The British government would continue to encourage the forces of peaceful change and reconciliation in Southern Africa, Queen Elizabeth said yesterday in her speech at the opening of the new session of Parliament.

Reading the speech, written by Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the Queen said her government also looked forward to independence in Namibia.

Earlier, the usually bustling route from Buckingham Palace to Westminster came to a halt to make way for the Queen's traditionally spectacular procession in her golden carriage to the Houses of Parliament. — Sapa

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1982 Principles to be a guideline

WINDHOEK — In the past two months UN Security Council document S/15287 has triggered about as much argument, obfuscation and accusation as the world body's resolution 435 did earlier on Namibia's future.

The two pages of print have entered the lexicography of the territory's stage-managed transition as the 1982 Principles, acknowledged as essential props to constitutional drafting.

Their distillation of bedrock democracy has formally been accepted by Namibia's Constituent Assembly as a set of guiding principles in the body's synthesis of a founding law.

The eight-paragraph set of principles was drafted in 1982 by the Contact Group of Western governments — the US, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada — who prodded and cajoled SA and Swapo towards accepting negotiated independence.

Both parties informally committed themselves to the principles designed as a foundation for a constitution. In January this year UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar commented the principles into the settlement plan, specifying them in a detailed report among "agreements and understandings reached by the parties since the adoption of resolution 435".

KEVIN JACOBS

The approach of elections and an inevitable Swapo victory tightened political parties' focus on looming constitutional debate, and brought the 1982 document into open argument.

Swapo was wrongly accused by several political opponents claiming greater affinity to democracy of seeking to dodge the obligation of writing the principles into a founding law.

Proclamation

Swapo leaders sided with Untag manager Martti Ahtisaari who successfully argued against their inclusion into Administrator-General Louis Pienaar's proclamation that legally set up the Constituent Assembly.

They argued that the requirement appeared to be an SA prescription, that enforcement of the obligation then rested in the SA-linked court structure, and urged that watchdog responsibility be left with the Security Council. That wisdom prevailed.

On Tuesday, in opening debate in the 72-member Constituent Assembly, Swapo — somewhat miffed by a DTA leader's insinuation that the majority party still dodged the 1982 Principles — proposed their formal adoption as a guideline in constitutional debate.

The only tentative opposition came from the DTA, noting that

the assembly still lacked procedural rules to adopt motions. Chairman Hage Geingob of Swapo whacked his gavel and the principles became an assembly resolution.

The 1982 Principles are:

- Namibia will be a unitary, sovereign and democratic state.
- The constitution will be the supreme law of the state. It may be amended only by a designated process involving the legislature or votes cast in a popular referendum, or both.
- The constitution will determine the organisation and powers of all levels of government. It will provide for a system of government with three branches: an elected executive branch which will be responsible to the legislative branch; a legislative branch to be elected by universal and equal suffrage which will be responsible for the passage of all laws; and an independent judicial branch which will be responsible for the interpretation of the constitution and for ensuring its supremacy and the authority of the law. The executive and legislative branches will be constituted by periodic and genuine elections which will be held by secret vote.
- The electoral system will be consistent with principles subsequently incorporated into resolution 435.
- There will be a declaration of fundamental rights, which will include the rights to life, personal

liberty and freedom of movement; to freedom of conscience; to freedom of expression, including freedom of speech and a free Press; to freedom of assembly and association, including political parties and trade unions; to due process and equality before the law; to protection from arbitrary deprivation of private property without just compensation; and to freedom from racial, ethnic, religious or sexual discrimination.

The declaration of rights will be consistent with the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Aggrieved individuals will be entitled to have the courts adjudicate and enforce these rights.

Administration

- It will be forbidden to create criminal offences with retrospective effect or to provide for increased penalties with retrospective effect.

- Provision will be made for the balanced structuring of the public service, the police service and the defence services and for equal access by all to recruitment of these services. The fair administration of personnel policy in relation to these services will be assured by appropriate independent bodies.

- Provision will be made for the establishment of elected councils for local or regional administration, or both.

Goodwill flows in Namibia

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By BRENDAN SEERY *is/le/Arkus*
Argus Africa News Service 23/12/89

WINDHOEK. — Peace, reconciliation and co-operation seem to be busting out all over in Namibia in this season of goodwill.

In the final Constituent Assembly sitting this week the politicians were almost falling over their own silyery tongues to praise their opponents and pat themselves on the backs.

"The doubting Thomases," intoned Swapo administrative secretary Moses Garoeb, "have been proved wrong."

Reached the impossible

The seven parties represented in the Assembly, who began the debating sessions in hostility and mutual suspicion on November 21, have — by reaching agreement on the main provisions of a constitution — achieved what even the most optimistic political observers would have thought impossible only a few weeks ago.

Everybody — from DTA leader Dirk Mudge to Swapo's Constituent Assembly chairman Hage Geingob, and even United Nations Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari — seems hopeful the final constitution will be approved by the third week of January, paving the way for a possible Independence Day as soon as March 1.

The spirit of compromise and co-operation would, if it continued to prevail in the ranks of an independent government, leave Namibians with "no need to fear about the future of the country", remarked Mr Mudge.

The agreement on the constitution enabled the country to breathe its second sigh of relief (if not amazement) at the smooth transition to independence.

The first hurdle successfully overcome was the one-man, one-vote election last month, which UN and international observers declared "free and fair" and the results of which were accepted by all parties.

Swapo has even declared itself committed to the multi-party democratic system for the foreseeable future and there has been precious little marxist rhetoric.

On Thursday, though, Swapo President Sam Nujoma — the future president of an independent Namibia — had even more tranquillisers to hand out to a nervous and jittery business and white communities. His announcement of a "shadow cabinet" was remarkable for its choice of technocrats rather than ideologues and its concessions to minority groups.

Whites are well represented in the shadow team which Mr Nujoma said would be tasked with looking at the existing administrative structures and laying the groundwork for 16 ministries.

Well-known Windhoek executor and liquidator Dr Otto Herrigel — an apolitical man highly respected for his financial knowledge and judgment — will head the crucial finance portfolio.

Lawyer and Swapo member Hartmut Ruppel has been nominated for the post of Attorney-General, while Windhoek chartered accountant Gert Hanekom's name is down for Auditor-General.

Mr Hanekom is the head of the Windhoek Agricultural Show Society and had to take a lot of political flak from fellow whites last year when he joined a group of Namibian businessmen, journalists and academics who held talks in Kabwe, Zambia, with Mr Nujoma and the Swapo leadership.

Biologist Charlie Schlettwein, whose previous claim to fame was the successful campaign against "Kariba weed" in the choked channels of the Linyanti and Zambezi rivers in Caprivi, has been appointed to the Agriculture, Fisheries, Water and Rural Development Ministry.

The head of the ministry has been left vacant, sparking speculation that veteran white Nat politician Mr Jannie De Wet — currently involved in a "broedertwis" with fellow local Nats about the future of their election front Action Christian National — may eventually fill the post.

Hanno Rumpf — a Rhodes University-educated Swapo member who went into exile rather than serve in the SADF here — will be assisting in the Ministry of Wildlife, Conservation and Tourism.

Golden egg

Minority parties in the Assembly, such as the United Democratic Front of Namibia and the Namibia National Front, have also been accorded positions in the "shadow Cabinet" by Mr Nujoma.

However, conspicuous by its absence from the group which looks like forming the first government is the DTA, which has long been regarded as Swapo's sworn enemy.

Still, foreign diplomats and journalists and cynical local observers have been pleasantly surprised by the comparative ease and friendliness with which Namibia is moving towards independence.

Namibians themselves can feel optimistic, because peace and stability will also encourage the foreign investor goose to lay its golden eggs here.

Learning the ropes of liberty

THERE were no gowns or wigs, no mace and certainly no pomp and ceremony when Namibia's Constituent Assembly met for the first time on Tuesday. There were no standing rules or guidelines for the assembly either. And there was no dining room for the elected representatives. No wives accompanied the elected representatives on the biggest day of their lives except for Dr Libertine Amathila, an elected member, who came to the *tintenpalast* with her husband, Mr Ben Amathila, also an elected representative. Mr Nico Bessinger cringed in his seat, as well he should, because he

Jon Owelane of the Soweran's Africa News Service who attended the first meeting of Namibia's Constituent Assembly on Tuesday, gives his impressions of the occasion.

stepped into Namibia's history books with a most unenviable *faux pas*.

Mr Sam Nujoma, acting chairman, concluded the opening formalities and then asked the seven parties to nominate a chairman. Bessinger, architect and Fulbright scholar, raised his hand and nominated Nujoma.

Off-guard

Swapo had already made it clear its candidate for the job was politburo member and director of the party's election machinery Mr Hage Geingob, and Bessinger, as a member of the central committee which made the decision, knew it.

Nujoma was caught off-guard by his nomination and could only mutter: "Please, comrade Bessinger, please. Sorry comrade Bessinger,

Parents Committee, still rang loud.

She had given them a full blast at the foot of the stone stairs of the imposing former German palace, calling them "killers" and accusing them of having betrayed her trust.

Her grouse was the alleged continued detention of dissidents by Swapo in camps in Zambia and Angola.

Omission

Inside the meeting hall former adversaries on the campaign trail were now

sitting side by side, reverently calling them "founding fathers" and "mothers". Women's lib, let alone the suffragette movement, had indeed travelled a long way. Acting chairman Nujoma had not exactly spelled out from which proclamation giving birth to the Constituent Assembly he was quoting, and that was because someone had left out the number of the law during the typing.

Shrieks

They seemed ill at ease at first, and in the ears of some Swapo leaders in particular, the piercing shrieks of Mrs Emily Beukes of the

Even when his former deputy in the Swapo leadership, Mr Mishake Muyongo, latterly leader of the opposition Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in the assembly, nominated DTA vice-chairman Andrew Matjila for the chairmanship. Nujoma flouted procedure some.

He declared that now there were two names for the chairmanship and, in accordance with democratic practice, he would ask members to vote for the chairman by secret ballot.

Observers

This was not exactly democratic practice because, after the two names had been proposed, he did not ask whether there were any more nominations before taking the matter to the vote.

But observers packing the two public galleries and following the proceedings on closed-circuit television agreed that, despite the initial lurches, the beginning had been a success.

The face behind the Swapo mask

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KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — On the streets of Namibia's capital, in its cafes and bars, the Swapo bogy has dissipated.

The Marxist terrorists have become human, stripped of the propagandised versions of their ideology and activities that fed white fears and warranted a million-rand-a-day war.

Swapo's constitutional plan is much like Namibia's rain right now: there's a lot of promise about, and it's got to come. But will it be enough to make a desert bloom?

Most parties are targeting the first quarter of the new year for Namibia's independence built on a nationally acceptable constitution. The territory's fledgling parliament, the 72-seat Constituent Assembly, should begin its primary task of writing a founding law next week.

In advance of the debate, Swapo has sought to allay opposition concerns that it plans to railroad its own ideology into law, and has moved to snuff out mischievous accusations that fundamental democratic principles are alien to the party's vision of independent Namibia.

Election results that failed to give Swapo the two-thirds control needed to pass a constitution moderated the first concern, which had persisted despite Swapo leaders' insistence that they would draft a constitution that could achieve consensus approval in the assembly no matter the size of their majority.

Nujoma and other Swapo insiders say the party's preferred tactic is to table a skeleton of principles, from which all seven parties in the assembly will synthesise a founding law acceptable without dissent.

In the past nine months, public statements by Sam Nujoma and his senior lieutenants have gradually closed the gap between minority domestic groups and the

guerrilla movement that mouthed Marxist diatribes from distant exile.

Swapo will not entirely ditch its socialist ideals. But in practice it will focus on greater spending on housing, better access to education and health services, and a shake-up of land-ownership and agricultural systems. There will be no white schools and black schools, no racially separated hospitals.

Exaggerated fears of Swapo pouncing on rich, white-owned farmland no longer trigger burn-it-rather-than-hand-it-over arguments. There's widespread expectation that former white apartheid administrator Jannie de Wet — leader of the three-member Action Christian National (ACN) team in the assembly — may be tagged as the first Minister of Agriculture in a Swapo-led government. And he won't turn down the job, he says.

Bankruptcy

Hard realities, more than any public undertakings, almost guarantee a constitution that could be a model amid the continent's other decrepit failures.

With no exceptions, Western and other development-aid and donor governments have left the party's leaders in no doubt that a repetition of failed ideological experiments means bankruptcy from the start.

Handouts and development assistance are ready, gift-wrapped with the best of wishes. But they all carry a condition: a sensible democracy, founded in the best recognised principles, guaranteeing a just and fair society for all Namibians.

UN officials inspect Swapo bases in Angola

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — As the last SADF convoy of 38 vehicles rolled out of Namibia, top UN officials flew to Angola to inspect Swapo bases which must also be vacated in terms of the UN Resolution 435 peace plan.

UN spokesman Fred Eckhard told reporters that the deputy UN force commander, Brigadier Daniel Opande of Kenya, and the UN representative in Angola, ambassador Mr B A Clark, flew to Angola this morning to carry out the inspections. UN information is that there are about 300 Swapo military personnel still in Angola, and that they have handed in their weapons and uniforms in preparation for their repatriation to Namibia.

Mr Eckhard said the Swapo fighters would not be allowed to return to Namibia with weapons, but added that he did not know what would be done with Swapo's arms which are still in Angola.

SATISFIED

The UN's 300 military observers have been closely monitoring the South African withdrawal and were satisfied it had been carried out in accordance with the settlement plan, said Mr Eckhard. He said the last convoy of 38 SADF vehicles was on its way out of Namibia and would have left the country by late yesterday or early today.

Mr Eckhard also disclosed that UN military observers had been permitted free access to

South African military installations in Walvis Bay. This was because the SADF withdrawal included a rotation of troops from Walvis Bay, through Namibia, back to bases in South Africa.

Namibians could be in for some pre-Christmas belt-tightening when Administrator-General Louis Pienaar presents what will be his last budget in the territory.

The secretary for economic affairs in Windhoek, Dr Johan Jones, said Mr Pienaar would present an additional budget either at the end of this month or in the first week of December.

SHORTFALL

When Mr Pienaar presented the main annual budget earlier this year, he said there would be a shortfall of about R213-million on a total expenditure of R2 200-million. This was after financing of a deficit.

According to Dr Jones, Mr Pienaar will probably deal with the matter of financing the R213-million shortfall in the additional budget.

The 10 political parties which fought the recent UN-monitored Namibian elections have all been sent final, written warnings by the Windhoek municipality to remove their campaign posters, which festoon hundreds of telephone and electricity poles.

In addition to thousands of election posters all over Windhoek, there are probably tons of littered handbills.

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No-one's baling out

The outcome of the Namibian election hasn't affected the Windhoek property market, says Bennie Joseph, immediate past president of the local institute of estate agents and MD of estate agents Joseph & Snyman.

Demand was slack before the election and is still slack and there's no panic selling. Joseph expects the market to remain at its present level for a few months, then start moving up again when foreign companies move in seeking accommodation. But that depends on the form the reconstruction will take and the government being able to prove its stability to the outside world.

Demand and prices rose to boiling point — sometimes at more than 30% a quarter — at

Final

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the start of the election process when foreign diplomatic missions in search of office space and domestic accommodation for senior personnel paid exorbitant prices to get what they wanted.

With those demands met, Joseph says "house prices came off the boil five months ago, when they dropped by 10%-15%. They're still at that level, despite the outcome of the election."

He does not regard the drop as serious, because it brought an overheated market down to more realistic levels. "While politics may have played a role in that reduction, I prefer to believe that high interest rates and the building societies' shortage of money played a bigger role. Banks still have money to lend for commercial and residential property development, but are interested in only blue-chip borrowers."

Untag's influence

He and Anneline Aerla, a director of Southern Estates, probably the biggest agency in Namibia, agree that Untag's eventual departure will influence the house and flat rental market, but not the house purchase market. They say locals cannot afford the rentals Untag personnel pay.

Most Untags stay in their own quarters, but about 50 live in rented accommodation. There was a shortage when they arrived and they pushed house rentals up from R1 800 a month for a three-bedroomed house to

R3 000 a month, which, by their standards and with the value of their money versus the rand, is cheap for accommodation of that quality.

Apart from three large buildings being put up by the Old Mutual, Olthaver & List (a local firm) and Sanlam, as well as a smaller one by Southern Life, no new commercial buildings of any significance are in the pipeline.

The revamping of the Windhoek CBD has stalled commercial property sales. Post Street has been converted into a pedestrian mall and Kaiser Street, between the Zoo Gardens and the Post Office, is being narrowed for vehicular traffic and widened for pedestrians.

Owners believe these improvements will increase the value of their properties and are loath to sell now. "It is difficult to get anything this side of R10m which will give a better-than-10% return before tax," says Joseph.

Aerla agrees there has been no change since the election. "We are still getting five to 10 houses a day to sell and we're still finding buyers here, in SA and overseas," she says, adding: "It's only the prices of lower-priced houses that dropped. It's possible to get three-bedroomed houses with pools for R250 000 that one couldn't get for R300 000 before. More expensive accommodation, in the R600 000-and-more range, hasn't come down at all."

She says the signs of an upturn in the property market are already visible and claims — such is the confidence in Windhoek property as an investment — that she is dealing with post-election inquiries from overseas businessmen who want to move into the territory and from foreign governments who wish to expand their embassies or get accommodation for junior staff.

Many predicted the prices of farms would drop after the election, because of Sam Nujoma's threats to allocate ground to peasants. If anything, says Aerla, they are set to rise because of the interest overseas buyers, particularly Germans, are showing in them.

The areas most foreigners favour are in the east, near the Botswana border and in the north, in the vicinities of Grootfontein, Otavi and Tsumeb, where rainfall is generally better than in most other areas. Those who want to mix crops with animal husbandry usually opt for the Otavis district, where there is arable ground and underground water is more plentiful than in other areas.

The only other area where the property market is usually active is in Swakopmund, Namibia's main coastal resort, where house prices have also come off the top but are still higher than those in Windhoek. A good three-bedroomed house with a sea view but no pool now goes for R250 000, instead of R300 000 some months ago, but modern flats with a sea view have retained their value and still go for up to R400 000. ■

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Socialism in the desert

■ Growth must be the priority — even if it means living with “exploitation”



For a brief moment, world attention focused on Namibia — then it waned. An event as undramatic as a smoothly run election was easily upstaged by the crumbling of the Berlin

Wall.

But, while the West felt joy and optimism at the rejection of Stalinist ideologies in Eastern Europe, a socialist party — some of whose more prominent leaders are followers of the Stalinist model — gained the majority vote in an undeveloped African state.

Few cared — Namibia had been delivered from the shackles of SA and that, as far as the sponsors of the process were concerned, was that. Now comes the hard part, which is providing the basis for economic growth.

Some Namibians still expect the world to leap to their rescue with development aid. The economy relies almost entirely on primary industries such as mining (25% of GDP) and agriculture (10% of GDP); diversification will take capital and know-how that just isn't there at present.

But the world has become disillusioned with the principle of development aid and the way it has been squandered in most African countries. The amounts earmarked for Namibia are significantly less than it might have expected to receive, say, a decade ago, when Zimbabwe was the last major beneficiary of decolonisation.

So Namibia's short-term economic prospects are not bright. Development aid has been promised, mainly by West Germany — thought to be the largest contributor — the Scandinavian countries and Britain.

Germany, former coloniser of South West Africa, has close ties with the territory. Funds channelled there over the past 10 years amount to about DM55m (R79m) — mainly through non-governmental organisa-

tions. But the biggest project to date has been a vocational training centre in Windhoek — directly and fully financed by the German government. The centre was built outside Katutura to train blacks in skilled jobs and guide them into self-employment. This aid is to continue.

Earmarked in the West German draft Federal State budget for 1990 — a component of the general budget — is DM100m (R145m) in the form of development aid for Namibia. This on its own cannot compensate for the R305,8m SA gave to Namibia in 1988-1989 (a figure reduced to R80m in 1989-1990), but it's better than nothing.

Future budgetary aid from SA is unlikely. SA will honour its current commitments until March 31 — the end of the financial year — but nothing further has been promised. The funds are lacking. Pretoria says it is “committed to honour any loan guarantees it has on behalf of Namibia” and it “welcomes negotiations towards mutually acceptable future financial relations, such as the SA Customs Union, the Rand Monetary Area and the establishment of a Central Bank in Namibia.” That's it.

For the moment, therefore, much depends on German goodwill. Possible areas for economic co-operation are being analysed by a team of 20 experts commissioned by the German Ministry of Economic Development. So far, agriculture, fisheries, mining, industry, education, health and basic infrastructure have been identified.

Sweden has tentatively discussed economic co-operation in transport, communication and education — but little more than 100m Swedish kronas (R41m) has been allocated. The US won't be a major donor because of its large budget deficit and commitments to other countries, including East bloc ones.

Britain has promised support in introducing English as the national language by assisting with teacher training and teaching materials. It will be a vast task, as many of

the ethnic groups do not speak or understand English. Afrikaans will fall away in political circles, but Swapo says it will continue as an indigenous language.

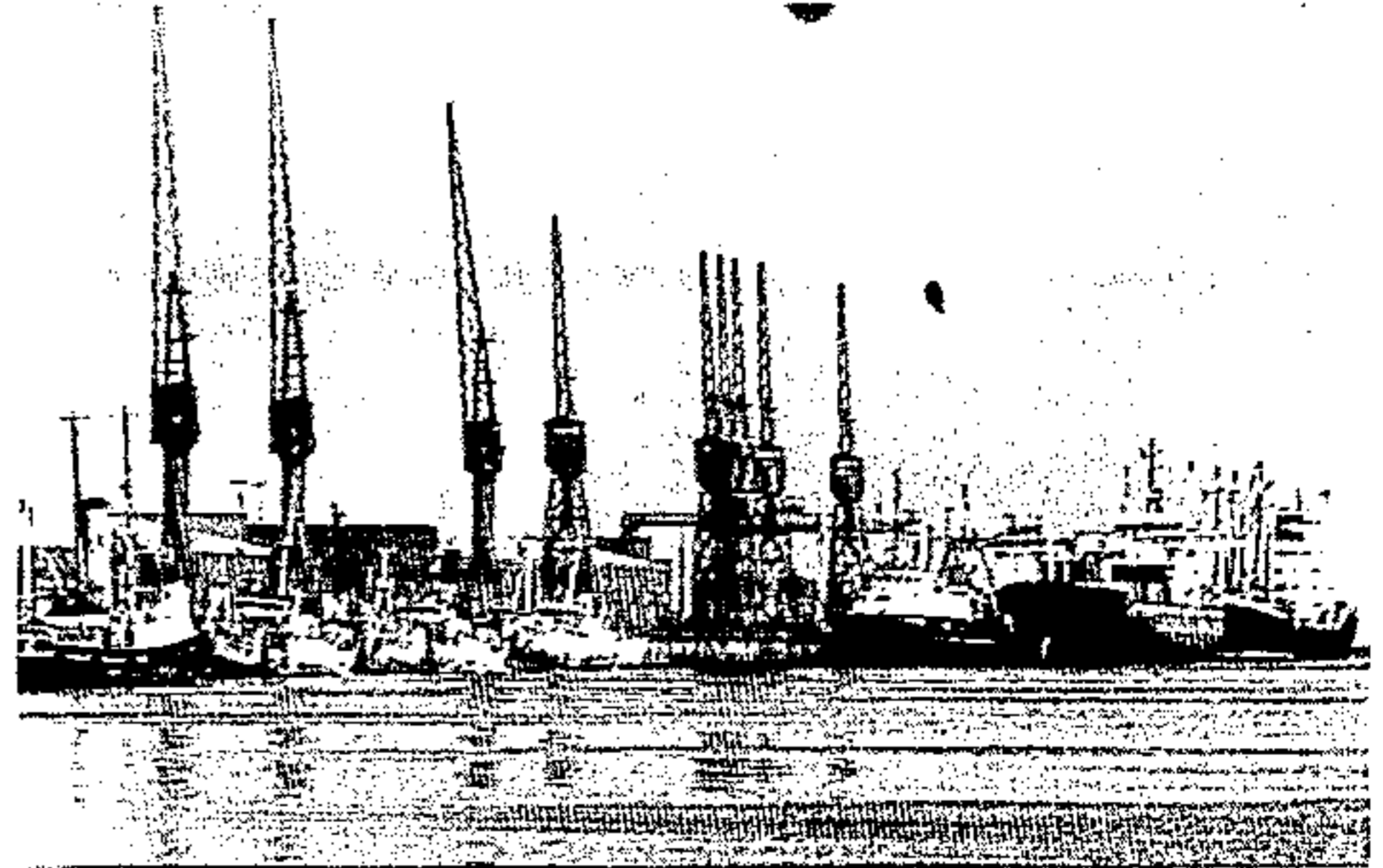
Britain has also been asked for support in training civil servants. But, since Swapo already has a nucleus trained by the UN Institute of Namibia in Lusaka, this doesn't necessarily mean a larger bureaucracy with protected employment for voters. Perhaps the complement will be smaller — SA established a central administration and 10 ethnic governments, which meant there were 48 000 civil servants in December 1988. But Swapo has to meet job expectations.

Far more beneficial than direct aid are the benefits Namibia will reap from becoming part of the African, Caribbean and Pacific group of developing countries. Once it becomes independent, it will have access to the Lome IV Convention — a trade, aid and co-operation agreement that allows member countries preferential trade access to the European Economic Community (EEC).

According to Wim Blonk, head of the southern African division of the European Commission in Brussels: “This will allow it a national allocation from the EEC; access to regional resources mainly through the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference; trade agreements for most of its products, freeing them of customs tariffs on exports to the EEC; and access to the beef protocol which will allow them to export certain allocations of beef to EEC countries.”

In the period between independence and accession to Lome, the commission will continue to aid Namibia. It has already spent Ecu12,8m (R37m) during 1989; for next year, it has budgeted Ecu19m (R56m).

“Access to the Lome IV Convention might even attract businessmen from SA, who do not have the same access and could use Namibia as a springboard to Europe,” says Namibian general secretary (econo-



Mainstays of the economy: mining (l) and exports through Walvis Bay ... socialism could stifle

mics) in the Finance Department, Johan Jones.

But none of the development aid will be forthcoming until the constitution has been written — and that process could drift into the middle of next year. One observer says: "A lot will depend on whether Swapo will be run by people with the right ideas to promote international confidence or whether the military commando starts cracking the whip. If they do, aid will dry up."

Aid in itself will not be enough. As Jones says: "We'll have to stand on our own feet."

To accomplish this, Namibia will have to foster a climate which invites foreign investment and encourages private enterprise — the only way it can successfully confront the lack of secondary industries, technical know-how, shortage of skills and lack of funds. One prospective investor says: "We want to feel secure in knowing any investment we make in the country won't fall prey to government meddling."

The strong showing of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) in the recent elections (21 out of 72 seats) and the inability of Swapo (41 seats) to gain the two-thirds majority necessary to write the constitution on its own, is good for the private sector. Dirk Mudge — who is in a position to do so — has said he is willing to serve in a Swapo government provided he can represent his party's views in Cabinet. That means he wants a softening of Swapo's line on State control.

But Swapo's economic policy is not promising. It asserts: "There will be State, co-operative, joint venture and private participation in the economy. The State will have ownership of a significant part of the country's economic resources." While no nationalisation of mines is envisaged at present, its policy is "to bring about a balance between just economic returns for the Namibian people and reasonable profits for foreign and local private investors." Is Swapo's idea of reasonable profits the same as that of those investors?

A Swapo source says the new government wants equal access by all to health and education. This falls into the sphere of social policy and obviously presents no problem to investors. But if the socialising drive spreads further and revenues are funded through high rates of taxation and inflation, economic prospects are bleak. There will be little expansion of manufacturing — as it is Namibia cannot feed itself — and the main visitors will be German-speaking tourists.

As the DTA says: "There is currently a move away from socialism throughout the world ... Interference by the State, over-taxation and nationalisation has been responsible for the fact that many African

countries have received no investment from abroad ... Any system in terms of which everything belongs to the State, or is controlled by the State, turns people into slaves who must be given everything as handouts from the State."

The first meeting of the constituent assembly was held this week. Positions have been defined — but in the bargaining it must be hoped that the decision-makers are fully aware of the options for Namibia to become a growing and moderately prosperous economy.

Swapo's belief that the economy has been exploited by foreign mining companies, white commercial farmers and SA fishing companies — which have "sought to maximise profits by concentrating on the production of primary products for export at the expense of domestic consumption" — is fatuous. At this stage, it would be well advised to continue to export rather than attempt to implement economic plans which will introduce major economic distortions.

Chasing off the mining men would be a disaster. Namibia needs new mines.

It also needs more fishing — a profitable source of revenue once a 200-nautical-mile fishing zone is introduced. Tourism should be buoyant for a while. And prospects for agriculture are also positive — provided Swapo is cautious about land reform to which it is committed "in order to redress the imbalance created by

colonial policies of land allocation on a racial basis." It says land occupied by absentee landlords and some land of farmers with many farms will be redistributed to the landless.

This is a real concern: vacant land might be construed as fair game — and there is much land for such a small population — but overcrowding of productive farming areas would repeat the Zimbabwean experience of farmers leaving after land is seized by gov-



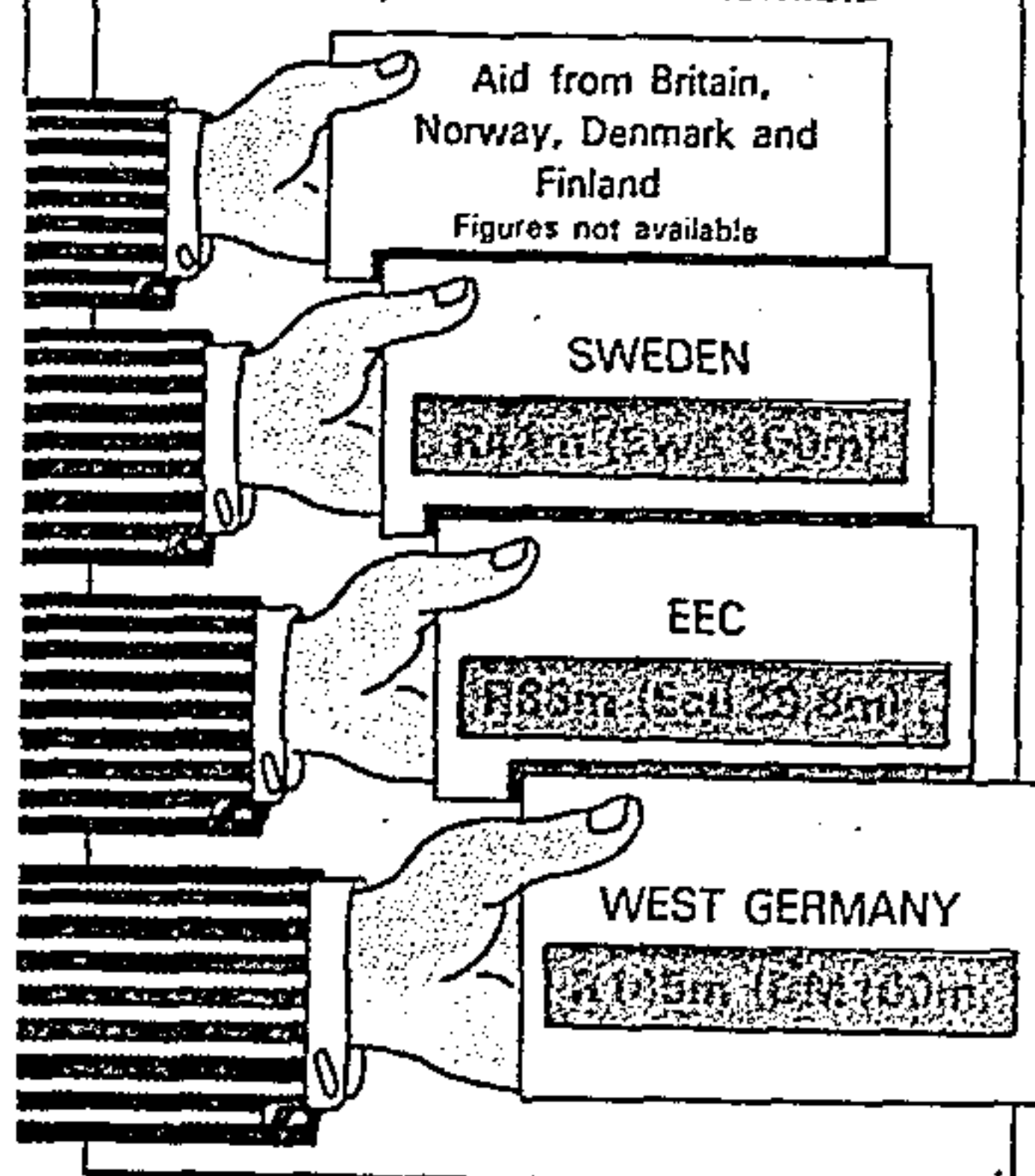
Nujoma



Mudge

Hands out

Development aid to Namibia



ernment — only for that land to become less productive than before.

This would, in fact, tie Namibia more closely to SA food imports. The country simply cannot afford to lose commercial farmers — nor to snub SA before pleading for help when the implications of the policy sink home. To prosper, Namibia will have to continue to live with SA — on the best terms it can get.

Swapo's belief that Namibia "is in a position to establish its own independent national economy, with its own trade routes to the world markets," is, again, fatuous.

Fortunately, some of the noises Swapo has been making suggests it could be faltering in its socialist ambitions. Even president-in-waiting Sam Nujoma has gone on record as saying he is willing to compromise political ideologies to encourage investment. But Nujoma has shown himself to be volatile and emotional.

He has been accused of being out of touch with reality — partly because of his absence from Namibia for 30 years. Businessmen and foreign government officials who have met him say he lacks intellect; is still immersed in Marxist ideology; and hasn't grasped the meaning of the disintegration of socialism in Eastern Europe.

Speculation that the "internal wing" of Swapo — which operated as a political force throughout the bush war — could swing the movement away from Nujoma and his ilk may be premature. Nujoma is a symbolic figure, a hero of liberation, and this authority could intensify as economic conditions decline. Many would like to see the more educated and younger faction in Swapo — represented by secretary for information and publicity Hidipo Hamutenya — take control. Alas, it may not happen in time.

Mudge and the DTA will have their work cut out to persuade Swapo to moderate its claims on the constitutional framework. If they do not succeed, Swapo, on the available evidence, will wreck the prospect of economic prosperity in Namibia.

Then no one, East or West, is likely to come to its rescue.

PAT KENNEY

One of the most talented and popular members of our staff, senior editor (investment) Pat Kenney, was brutally murdered at her Kensington, Johannesburg, home at the weekend. The last article Pat wrote appears in the November *Computer Mail*, which appears with this week's *FM*. The Editor and staff of the *FM* wish to express their deepest sympathy to her family and friends.

The memorial service will be at 3.30 pm on Friday November 24 at St George's church in Parktown.

UN concern at Ovambo death toll

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WINDHOEK. — Untag was concerned about continuing violence in the Oshakati region of Ovambo following reports of another death this week, United Nations spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said yesterday.

One man was murdered and another seriously injured after a gang of "hoodlums" attacked people and set fire to two cuca shops (bush stores) at Omungwelume on Tuesday, Mr Eckhard told a press conference.

According to UN reports, it is understood that DTA followers attacked Swapo supporters in Tuesday's incidents.

The situation in the rest of Namibia remained "calm and quiet", Mr Eckhard said.

The director of the special representative's office, Mr Cedric Thornberry, and the head of the administrator-general's office, Mr Kobus Bauermeister, travelled to Oshakti yesterday to discuss the security situation with the UN and SWA Police.

There have been four deaths in northern Namibia during the past week. Two of these appeared not to have had a political motive, Mr Eckhard said.

Meanwhile, in an effort to avoid a political witch-hunt among Namibia's police, Untag supervisor Mr Martti Ahtisaari has offered the aid of his multinational force to build a non-partisan law-enforcement agency for the new nation, the press conference was told.

Mr Eckhard also said that most of the last 1 500 South African troops who had stayed in Namibia during the election for a Constituent Assembly had left the country and a last convoy of 38 vehicles was expected to cross the border to South Africa last night or this morning. — Sapa

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UN concern at Ovambo death toll

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CALL THIS 25/11/89 (221)

Swapo bases in Angola to close

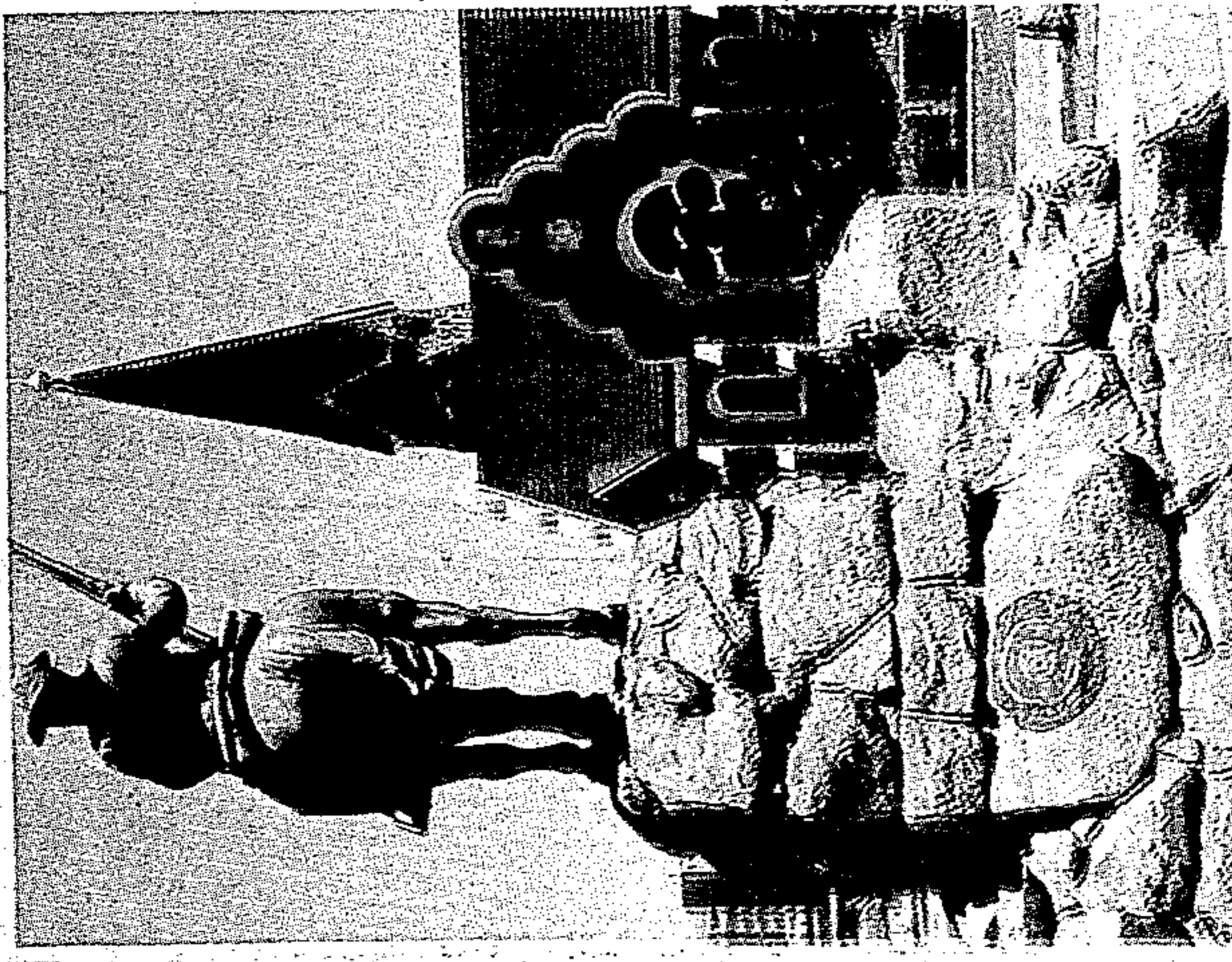
WINDHOEK. — Swapo military bases in Angola were expected to be closed by the weekend and plans are under way for the repatriation of about 300 Swapo soldiers, United Nations spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said yesterday.

He told a media briefing that Untag deputy force commander Brigadier Daniel Opande and UN representative in Angola Mr B A Clark were presently visiting Swapo bases.

In terms of the UN settlement plan for Namibian independence, the closing of Swapo bases had to coincide with the withdrawal of the remaining 1500 South African Defence Force troops from the territory.

"It is anticipated that those bases will be closed this weekend," Mr Eckhard said, adding plans were being made to repatriate the remaining Swapo soldiers. — Sapa

Wage Determination Job Category Coding



COLOUR CHANGE . . . The new look of the famous Rider Memorial in Windhoek, now adorned with Swapo's colours on its base. Picture: BRIAN LELLO

Windhoek is the place to be right now as Namibia faces independence. FIONA CHISHOLM reports.

THE place to catch the excitement of post-election Windhoek is the revamped Kalahari Sands Hotel where everything is happening.

It is the funnel for the whole "top brass" invasion of Namibia — and the bustle of activity carries on day and night.

Members of observer missions from 20 countries entertaining or living there, rub shoulders round the carvery with the hotel's two permanent guests — the head of SA's department of foreign affairs in Windhoek, Carl Von Hirschberg, and the head of the Untag police force, Commissioner Stephan Faning. Both have been star boarders for months.

Local and overseas journalists, and from elsewhere in Africa, chat up their "sources" in the bar over a Windhoek lager.

German and Italian tourists with cameras and trolley-loads of crisp luggage gather in the foyer waiting for their guide to whisk them off to the wonders of Etosha. Businessmen hoping either to consolidate their financial stake in the new Namibia, (or to drive one in), meet to

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125/11/89
**Revamped Sun
hotel centre of
Namibia invasion**

The victors seem quietly pleased with themselves and the turn of events — but there was no sign last weekend of the expected roistering and Saturday marches, and no one shouted political slogans.

They didn't need to. The messages were blazoned on the backs of their "Vote Swapo" T-shirts.

Even that splendid equestrian statue next to the Alte Feste fort honouring the German Colonial force (schutztruppe), who first held at bay the Hereros and Namas between 1904-08, now sports a big red, blue and green roundel in Swapo colours air-brushed on the back of the plinth.

(They say the soldier is gazing protectively over his colonial town but the cavalry horse has pricked his ears towards the danger from the north. All very symbolic . . .)

No one knows yet whether there will be any statue-toppling or if the Tintenpalast — the citadel of the ink slingers

which this week was the meeting place of the new Constituent Assembly — will retain its saucy German tag.

Presumably even in a civilisation that has gone with the Windhoek, there will still be a need for pen pushers. (We saw an orange, white and blue kogelmannetjie pronking for all he was worth on the Palast steps. No one is going to be able to change his colonial colour scheme).

The town is small and compact but there is a building boom in the CBD — including two huge business and shopping malls and the recently completed revamping of the 14-storey Kalahari Sands at a cost of R6,5 m.

It's not Sun International's usual style to have a hotel in the heart of town, but they obviously have their eye on opening casinos in Namibia and the legislation, apparently, has already been approved.

Window shopping is a pain because of the churned-up pavements of the building boom, but there wasn't anything specially tempting.

Unless, of course, one felt the need of a karakul coat in the blazing heat; or was a collector of those kitschy brass ornaments which line the shop windows by the hundred, like

□ To Page 22

P.T.O

Home, but they're still refugees

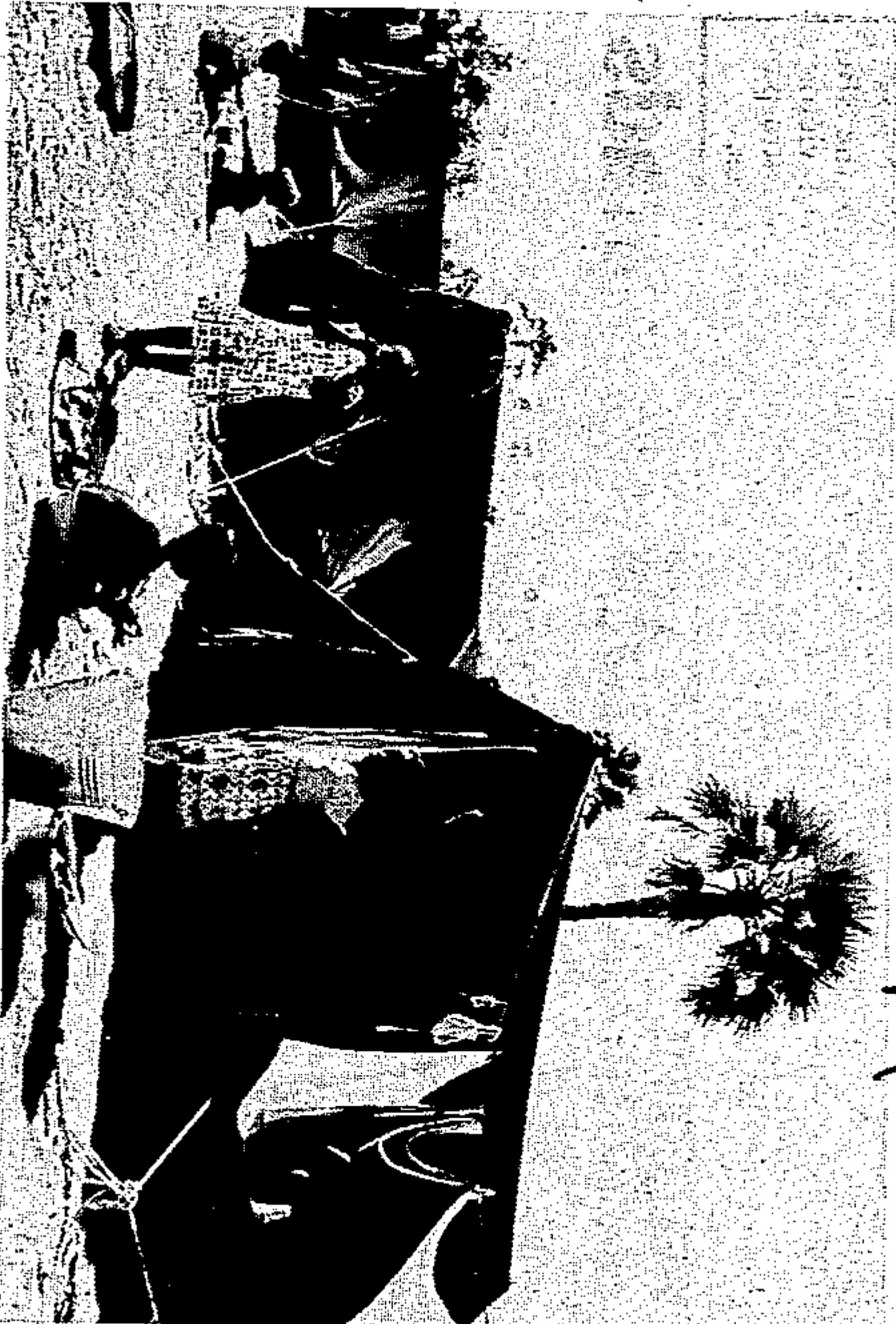
ZB MOLEFE, who spent two weeks in Namibia during the election, interviewed returned refugees on the eve of the writing of the new nation's constitution.

THERE is new hope at the Kerk van Paulos in Rehoboth, south of Windhoek, where 43 returnees and their children wait to be taken back to homes abandoned during the war.

Returnees are the Namibians who were forced to flee to Angola when the war took over their homes in northern Namibia.

Since they returned to their homeland they have been housed at quarters in the church, which is run by pastor Willem de Klerk.

They live on World Food Organisation rations of mealie-meal, beans and fish. There is nothing else to fill their empty hours as they wait



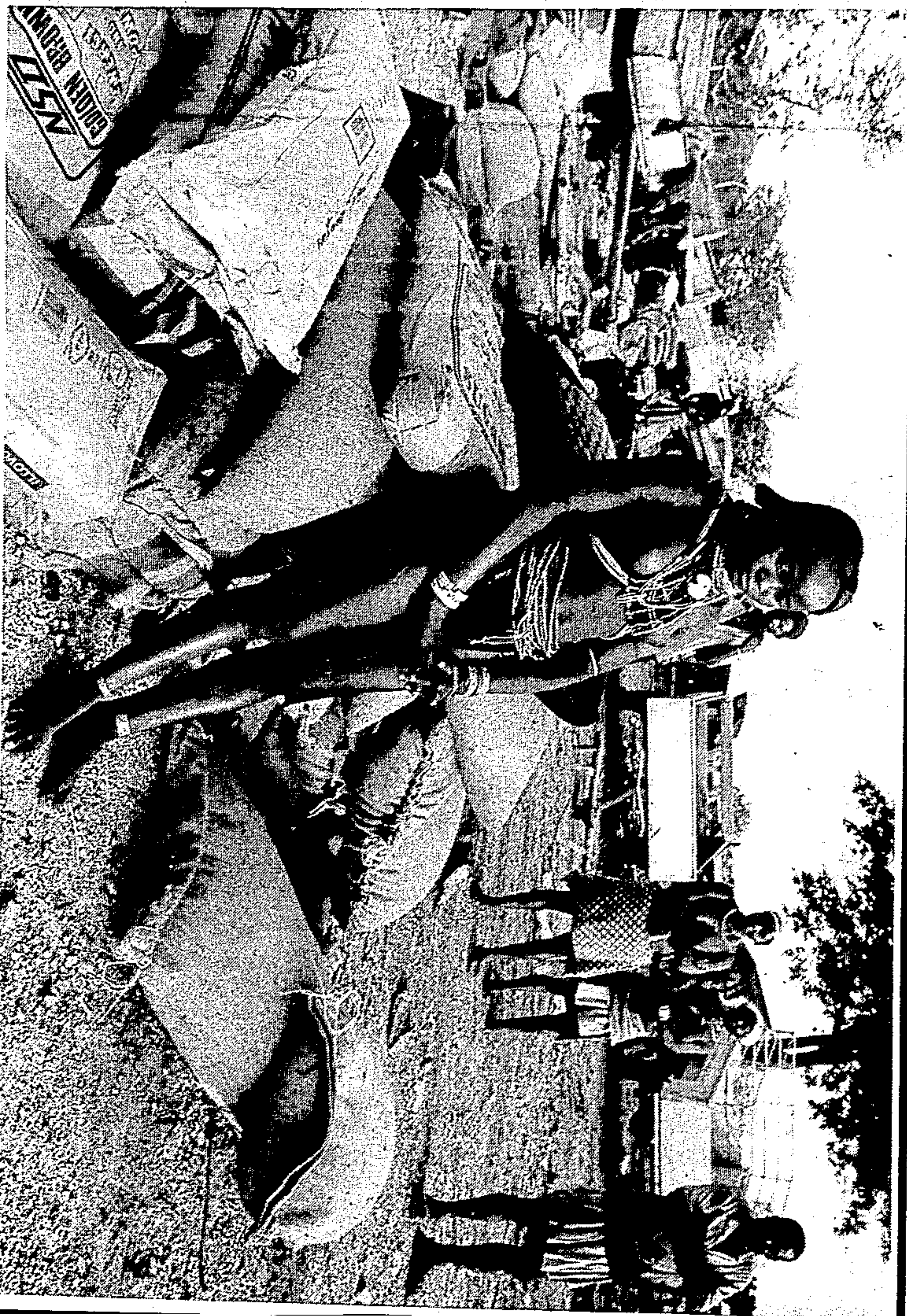
Heartbreaking stories

for officials to take them back to their old homesteads.

Their faces alone tell of heart-breaking stories. They long for their homes, often hundreds of kilometres from Rehoboth.

"I don't know what I'm going to do when I return home. It depends on the new government," said Ignatius Shetuyonga, 32, a Swapo member who qualified in Angola as an agricultural worker.

He is perhaps one of the lucky few for he left his homeland Namibia knowing very well that he was going into exile — he may never to return. He was certain he could not stomach South African occupation in



Above: A refugee from the Ngambe camp, 350km inside Angola, looks pensive about returning home at the recently reopened Ruacana border post. Left: Refugees make a temporary home in the "tent town" at Ongwediva reception centre.

"My main purpose was to go and learn how to fight — then come back to Namibia and fight those who were occupying our land.

"I wanted equal rights and schools for my people. There was also racial discrimination. I had to fight these things. My concern at the moment is to be reunited with my family."

Ten years of painful exile are written on the face of David Uguenu, 71, who does not know how to trace the nine children he left behind in Angola.

He tells of the day in 1979 when his house in the Nongombe, Ongonga region in northern Namibia was destroyed by the South Africa Defence Force.

The South African forces, according to Uguenu, were chasing armed Swapo Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) guerrillas. Two of the wounded guerrillas strayed into Uguenu's village. As a result the village was destroyed by the South African troops.

Uguenu goes on: "I went to Angola. There I joined Swapo at a base called Greenwall. I underwent three weeks training. After that I looked after mentally ill patients at the base."

But he misses his children, he keeps on repeating. From there it is obvious the old man finds it painful to continue.

Albertina Ndeverongeda, 53, a mother of four, said she left Namibia in 1981 because of the war.

"The only way to rebuild my life now is to work. There is going to be a lot of work in Namibia now. I'm prepared to do anything for an independent Namibia," she said.

She came back to Namibia with her youngest child and left the other three working for the Angolan armed forces.

She tells a tale of how her husband was captured by South African soldiers and probably killed.

"We were working in the fields when the soldiers came. My husband spoke to them when they said they were looking for some people. Maybe his mistake was that he addressed them in Afrikaans. The soldiers insisted he knew too much and took him away. That is the last I saw of him."

In Angola during her exile she was trained to use a sewing machine. One dream kept her going.

"I knew Namibia would be free one day."

981
C. Moss
22/11/89

Former Swapo captives seek asylum

By HERMAN JANSEN

A GROUP of former Swapo detainees — in fear of their lives after the Namibian election — fled the country and have applied to Germany for political asylum.

And a Germany-based human rights organisation claims that a major post-election exodus has already quietly taken place from Namibia.

The International Society of Human Rights claims most of the 250 detainees released by Swapo earlier this year have either gone into hiding or left the country in fear of a Swapo purge.

Six survivors of Swapo "hell-holes" like Nakada, Minya and Etale, in southern Angola, left Windhoek by train with five relatives the day after Swapo's victory became known.

The group arrived in Pretoria last Saturday and had discussions with representatives of the German Embassy on Monday.

They are awaiting the outcome of their application — which is being processed in Bonn — in accommodation supplied to them by a local church group.

Spokesman of the group, Mr Daniel Xoagub, 29, said: "We did not overreact by leaving.

"Swapo threatened a purge, and we ex-detainees are first in line.

"Our testimony of Swapo's atrocities in camps in Zambia and Angola is perceived by Swapo as the main reason for the failure to secure a two-thirds majority in the election.

"Before our release in Angola, Swapo threatened to kill us if we talked about the torture and killings.

"We received death threats during the election campaign and our houses were staked out.

"We had to go."

The six were among a group of 153 detainees released from Lubango Prison in Angola on April 19, arriving in Windhoek by plane on June 4.

S. Jansen 26/1/10

NOW THAT THE ELECTION DUST HAS SETTLED . . .

A NEW NAMIBIA THRASTERS OUT A CONSTITUTION

221

C Press
26/11/89

THE Namibian constituent assembly formally started the task of writing a constitution for the country's independence on Tuesday, electing Swapo election director Hage Geingob as its chairman.

Swapo president Sam Nujoma, as leader of the majority party, and also the acting chairman, opened the proceedings.

The election of the chairman was done by secret ballot and the assembly adjourned for 15 minutes while the ballots were counted. Geingob's election was announced when the members reconvened.

Geingob thanked the House for the trust it had shown in him and pledged to execute his duties conscientiously and fairly.

"The electorate has given us a mandate to hammer out, and adopt, in a spirit of compromise, a spirit of give-and-take, a constitution that will lead our people into nationhood.

"It is therefore my firm hope and belief that all our actions will be guided by that all-important destination."

Geingob said party-political affiliations should not blind the Assembly to its important tasks of drawing up a constitution, adopting it by a two-thirds majority and fixing a date for Namibia's independence.

"It is up to us to deliver Namibia from the bondage of colonialism, but let's remind ourselves that the people are waiting," he concluded. He then handed the floor to Nujoma.

Nujoma said it was with great pride and humility that he took the opportunity to address the constituent assembly after having struggled long for freedom from colonialism. It was a great honour to be chosen by the Namibian people to lead them to nationhood. He thanked Administrator-General Louis Pienaar for his co-operation.

Nujoma also thanked UN Special Representative Marti Ahtisaari and Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar for their help in bringing old adversaries together.

He pledged Swapo to the goal of ensuring an early independence date, saying they had suffered for freedom for too long. The main task was to create a Namibia where all its people could form part of a national culture, regardless of race and ethnic origin, and to work for proper education, health care and security for all.

He called on members of the assembly to co-operate with one another.

DTA leader Mishake Muyongo said his party would co-operate constructively in drafting a constitution. The DTA represented a broad spectrum of the Namibian people, as demonstrated in the election, he said, and considered that the assembly had a mandate to draft a constitution in terms of the 1982 constitutional principles.

Last week the Namibian constituent assembly buckled down to the task of beating out a constitution that would be acceptable to members - and the country as a whole. It began with party leaders committing themselves to co-operate with one another.

central government with three separate branches - the legislature executive and an independent judiciary.

This government would be elected by a general and secret vote. Furthermore, there would be a declaration of fundamental rights, no crimes would be created by retroactive legislation and provision would be made for elected regional and local governments. The constitution also had to be adopted by two-thirds of the assembly.

He said the DTA was prepared for a process of give and take and it agreed that independence should not be delayed, but the Namibian people had suffered for a long time and they needed a democratic process.

United Democratic Front president Justus Garoeb said his party still felt the election had not been free and fair, partly because "hundreds of Namibians" were still being detained and could not vote. But the UDF was prepared to co-operate, although it would not join any



This Himba woman's vote helped to shape the future of Namibia.

building, reconstruction and reconciliation.

The assembly should, as a confidence-building measure, address itself to immediate resolution of

The UDF favoured a second election for a government, he said, although it was aware of the high cost and effort involved.

Active Chairman National chairman

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Geingob said party-political affiliations should not blind the Assembly to its important tasks of drawing up a constitution, adopting it by a two-thirds majority and fixing a date for Namibia's independence.

"In a spirit of give-and-take we should be able to discharge this noble duty as speedily as possible."

Through a process of debate and consultation the assembly would find solutions to the differences of opinion between members.

thanked Administrator-General Louis Pienaar for his co-operation.

Nujoma also thanked UN Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari and Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar for their help in bringing old adversaries together.

He pledged Swapo to the goal of ensuring an early independence date, saying they had suffered for freedom for too long. The main task was to create a Namibia where all its people could form part of a national culture, regardless of race and ethnic origin, and to work for proper education, health care and security for all.

He called on members of the assembly to co-operate with one another. DTA leader Mishake Muyongo said his party would co-operate constructively in drafting a constitution. The DTA represented a broad spectrum of the Namibian people, as demonstrated in the election, he said, and considered that the assembly had a mandate to draft a constitution in terms of the 1982 constitutional principles.

He said Namibia would be a unitary, sovereign and democratic state with the constitution as supreme law of the land. The constitution would determine the organisation and powers of government at all levels and create a

co-operate with one another.

central government with three separate branches - the legislature executive and an independent judiciary.

This government would be elected by a general and secret vote.

Furthermore, there would be a declaration of fundamental rights, no crimes would be created by retroactive legislation and provision would be made for elected regional and local governments. The constitution also had to be adopted by two-thirds of the assembly.

He said the DTA was prepared for a process of give and take and it agreed that independence should not be delayed, but the Namibian people had suffered for a long time and they needed a democratic process.

United Democratic Front president

Justus Garoeb said his party still felt the election had not been free and fair, partly because "hundreds of Namibians" were still being detained and could not vote. But the UDF was prepared to co-operate, although it would not join any voting bloc, but would support issues in which it believed.

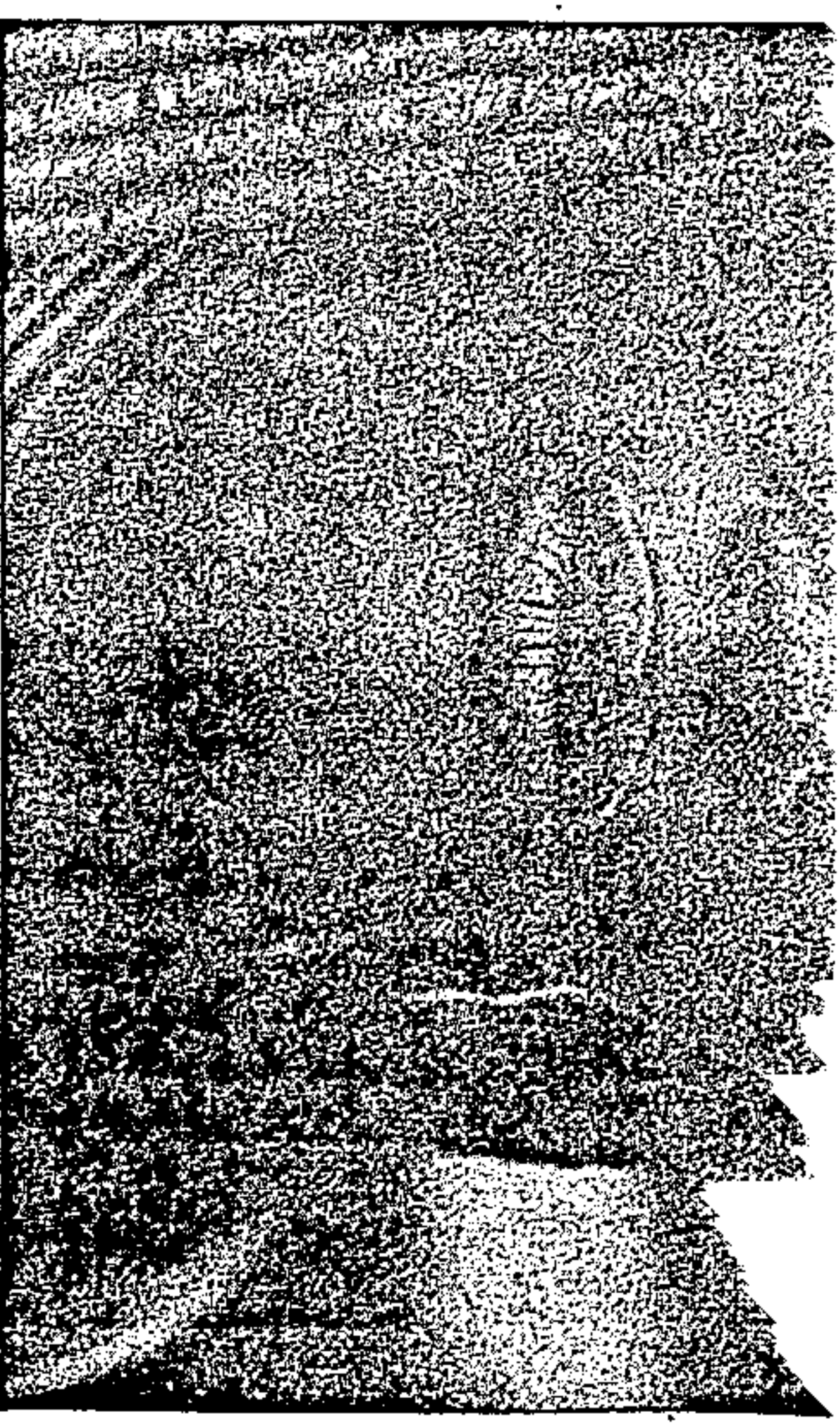
Namibia was still a long way from national reconciliation and the most urgent tasks at hand were nation-

building, reconstruction and reconciliation.

The assembly should, as a confidence-building measure, address itself to immediate problems such as the fate of Namibians allegedly still in detention, Garoeb said.

He said it was the duty of all parties to uphold the election's endorsement of pluralistic democracy.

This Himba woman's vote helped to shape the future of Namibia.



The UDF favoured a second election for a government, he said, although it was aware of the high cost and effort involved.

Action Christian National chairman Jan de Wet said a major responsibility rested on Swapo to lead the country to independence, but with give-and-take it would take only a few days to agree on a constitution.

The assembly should not try to legislate and govern, but should stick to drawing up the constitution, he said.

This had to be done with the 1982 principles as a cornerstone.

Switching to Afrikaners, De Wet said his party saw itself as not only a representative of the white population, but as part of the wider political scenario. The ACN was prepared for change and had accepted that "South-West as we knew it" would be replaced by independent Namibia.

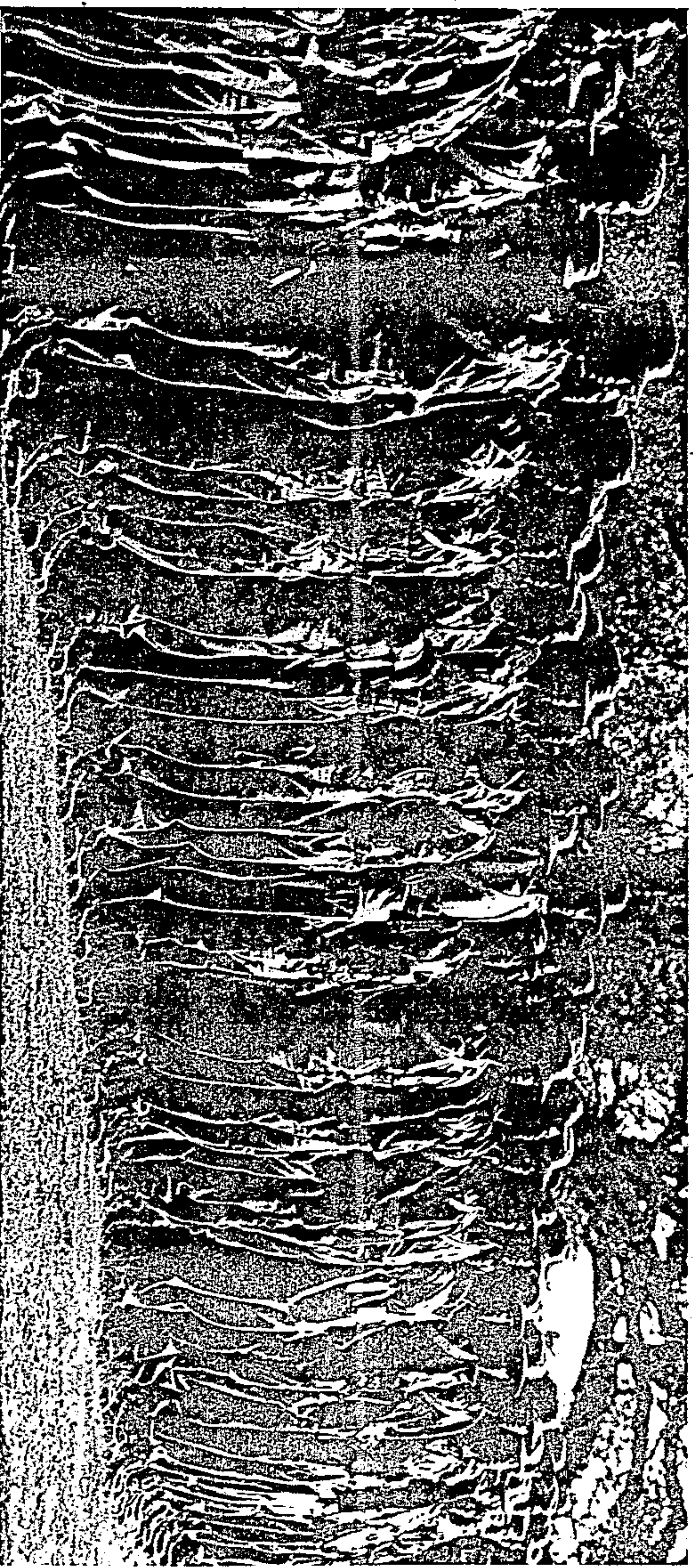
National Patriotic Front president Moses Katjuongua said the AG and Untag had accomplished their mission successfully.

"It is now up to the people of Namibia what they do with this opportunity."

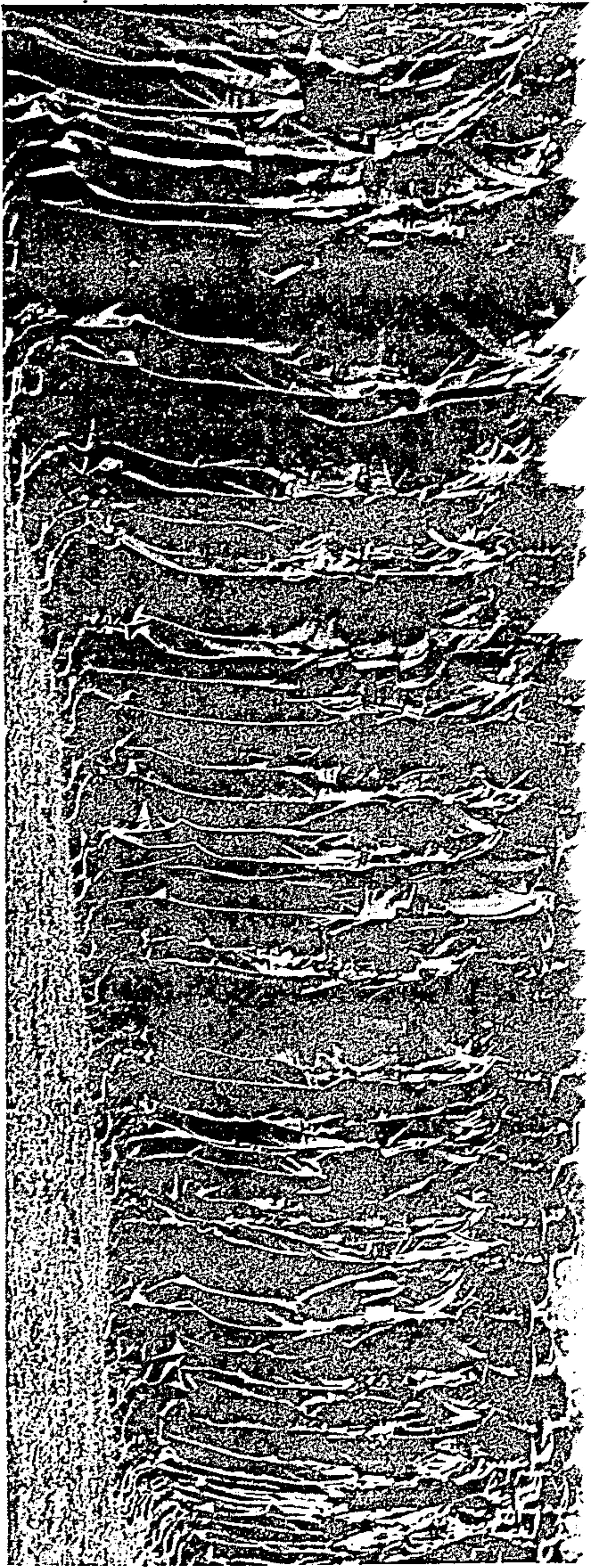
Namibia needed good leadership, Katjuongua said, and the leader of Swapo should assure the public their future was secure, while businessmen needed reassurance that nothing would be done to frighten away foreign investors.

Federal Convention of Namibia president Hlans Diergaardt said Swapo had a great responsibility to lead Namibia to a peaceful independence and nationhood. In that it would have the support of the FCN.

Namibia National Front president Yekuui Rukoro said his party would also not join any voting bloc, but support issues it believed in. - Sapa.



These Swapo troops were fighting in the front line for human rights. Now the struggle has moved to the vital party debates of the constituent assembly.



These Swapo troops were fighting in the front line for human rights. Now the struggle has moved to the vital party debates of the constituent assembly.

A long road to human freedom

Human rights expert Dr BG RAMCHARAN argues Namibia and the UN have walked a long road together.

THE historic quest of Namibians, with the support of the United Nations, has been to vindicate the principles of equality, self-determination and respect for human rights and freedoms.

In its 1971 advisory opinion on Namibia the International Court of Justice declared: "To establish and enforce distinctions, exclusions, restrictions and limitations on grounds of race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin is a violation of the purposes and principles of the UN Charter."

As Namibia approaches independent nationhood you should look to the role Namibians can play in helping to promote and protect human rights universally. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been a torch held high by many peoples who

had to struggle for their freedom. The declaration sees civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights mutually supporting one another.

It seeks to protect the individual against arbitrary deprivation of the right to life, enslavement, torture, political imprisonment, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment and against discrimination.

It beckons all states to establish a national human rights system which has adequate and effective constitutional, legislative, administrative, judicial and educational arrangements.

In the event of violations of human rights by states, individuals, or groups, the international community will take prompt action to combat those violations.

The challenge at hand for Namibia, as for every other country of the world, is to work constantly for an adequate and effective national human rights system and to join with the international community in mutual support and solidarity.

Criticism at symposium

By ZB MOLEFE

WHITES must confess their sins against blacks in Namibia before talking about human rights, Pastor Ngenohanye Nakamhela told a packed two-day human rights symposium in Windhoek recently.

WHILE the situation in most of Namibia remained "calm and quiet," Untag was still concerned about the continuing violence in the Oshakati region of Ovambo, United Nations spokesman Fred Erckhard said this week.

He told a media briefing in Windhoek that one man was murdered and another seriously injured after gang of "hoodlums" attacked people and set fire to two cucu shops (bush stores) at Omungwelu on Tuesday.

According to UN reports, it was understood that DTA followers attacked Swapo supporters in Tuesday's incidents. The director of the special re-

"We have been a sick society. We should not use such a symposium as a place where whites want to conceal their guilt," he said.

Pastor Nakamhela had touched a raw nerve at the symposium, which was officially opened by United Nations special representative, Marti Ahtisaari.

presentative's office, Cedric Thornberry, and the head of the Administrator-General's office, Kobus Bauermeister, had travelled to Oshakati on Thursday to discuss the security situation with UN and SWA Police, Eckhard said.

On Wednesday UN police monitors had reported ongoing violent clashes between members of opposing political parties in the north.

There had been about four deaths in northern Namibia during the past week, two of which appeared to have had a political motive, Eckhard said.

Dave Smuts, director of a Windhoek-based human rights organisation, looked at Namibia's past record.

"The 70s was a period of constant abuse of human rights. In 1985 the interim government was installed and human rights put firmly on the agenda.

"The interim government had an impressive bill of rights which simply became a cheap propaganda ploy. All this gave expectations which could not be met."

Editor of *The Namibian*, Gwen Lister, told of her newspaper's battle with the territory's administration over the years to have UN Resolution 435 implemented.

"Now that Namibians stand on the threshold of independence, we have to establish ourselves. There should be checks and balances. People must not stifle debate in a new Namibia," she said.

On the first day of the symposium the Chief Justice of Zimbabwe, Justice Dambutshena, said he found it fitting that Namibians were discussing human rights while they preparing to write a constitution.

Researcher and former journalist Joe Putz asked why people were bringing up the question of human rights at this point in Namibia's independence process.

"The answer is that we are standing at the dawn of a new nation. A new nation cannot do without freedom for its citizens," said Putz.

representative of the white population, but as part of the wider political scenario. The ACN was prepared for change and had accepted that "South-West as we knew it would be replaced by independent Namibia.

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Namibian violence upsets UN

new police force in Namibia, Eckhard said the UN special representative, Marti Ahtisaari, said he would be willing to consider a role for Untag in the training of a Namibian police force.

Any decisions in that regard would have to be taken by the relevant authorities and the new government, Eckhard added.

Eckhard said Untag was aware that Maj-Gen Hans Dreyer, founder and head of the disbanded police paramilitary unit, Koovet, was back in the Oshakati district.

It was, however, not his understanding that Dreyer was back as Commissioner of Police in the northern region. — Sapa

Future of Walvis Bay now on the way to boiling point

Decisions taken decades ago are causing historians and surveyors to reach for their reference works as Namibia goes into the last lap towards independence.

They concern Walvis Bay, the Orange River border between South Africa and Namibia, and the status of 12 islands on the west coast.

South Africa claims Walvis Bay, the river and the islands.

A debate has started already, with Namibian president-designate Mr Sam Nujoma saying his country wants Walvis Bay, and South Africa saying there is little chance of it being ceded.

He hasn't said anything yet about the border or islands.

When, 115 years ago, the British declared Walvis Bay to be part of their territory — later annexing it to the Cape — they could hardly have visualised just how important to the future South Africa the small enclave would become.

Deep anchorage

The 1 165 sq km territory of Walvis Bay is South Africa's most important possession on the south-west coast.

Its importance is that it is the only major port on the coast between Luanda and Capé Town; the only safe deepwater anchorage on a coast not renowned for being friendly to ships and seamen.

In a number of other aspects it is vital to South Africa.

The South African Navy regards it as a key part of Western defence strategy.

It is also a key fishing port, which has for years played host to foreign — including East Bloc — trawlers plying the rich fishing grounds off the coast.

This has resulted in huge amounts of for-

Walvis Bay was annexed by the British more than a century ago. Today it is one of a number of areas which could cause a dispute between South Africa and its new neighbour, Namibia. **NORMAN CHANDLER** looks at the territorial and historical situation.

eign exchange through supplies and repairs to ships.

Successive South Africa Cabinet Ministers have spelt out the role envisaged for Walvis Bay, including former President Botha.

He said in 1982 that "Walvis Bay is irrevocably part of the Cape Province".

Mr Chris Heunis, then Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, told Parliament a year later that Walvis Bay would continue to form part of South Africa under any new constitution.

New Constitutional Development Minister Mr Gene Louw said at Walvis Bay in August that "it is inseparably part of South Africa" and would remain so even though it was ringed by Namibian territory.

South Africa's attitude to Walvis Bay has been the same ever since it took on the League of Nations mandate in 1919 after World War I.

That war also gave the territory a little-known historical distinction as well: it is the only South African-owned land which has ever been occupied by a foreign power — German troops hoisted the flag there in 1915, but withdrew when General Jan Smuts's troops defeated the Kaiser's army.

The Orange River has historically been the official border between South Africa and Namibia — but unlike other international boundaries, the border line does not run down the centre of the river.

Instead, South Africa's border is on the northern bank of the Orange — that is, in Namibia.

Surveyor-General Mr Ernst Fitschen says this has been the case "ever since the treaty in 1919, and before..."

He said South Africa owned the river, and agreements covering this had been negotiated with the current Windhoek administration.

These agreements were among hundreds which are to be discussed between South Africa and the new government of Namibia before independence in April.

"There has always been a cordial relationship (with South West Africa) and there is no reason why this should not be the case in the future," said Mr Fitschen.

The west coast islands are likely to be a sore point in relations between South Africa and the new Namibia, according to Pretoria sources.

They say that some of the islands are "incredibly strategic" even though at present they provide South Africa only with a rich source of guano.

Known collectively as the Penguin Islands, the dozen islands are in some cases right opposite the entrances to small harbours such as Luderitz.

Possession Island, in Elizabeth Bay, is probably the largest of the islands, which have been part of South Africa since before 1910.

There is no accurate record available on when the islands were first annexed, or by which country.

All the islands are south of 24 degree latitude. South Africa has no possessions along the Skeleton Coast — the "ships' graveyard" north of Walvis Bay.



Walvis Bay... the major harbour on the south-west coast. Namibia wants it, but will South Africa let it go?

Angola frees Namibian PoW at last

CAMG Tink 28/11/87

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HAZYVIEW. — Namibia's independence process has taken another step forward with the closure of guerilla bases in Angola and the announcement of a prisoner release long demanded by South Africa.

Angola announced yesterday it had released a black Namibian soldier, easing a dispute that had clouded a year-old agreement designed to bring peace to Southern Africa.

Angola made its announcement at a meeting of the Joint Monitoring Commission linking Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

The dispute about rifleman Simeon Petrus had threatened to overshadow the otherwise sunny atmosphere at the meeting, held in Hazyview, adjoining the Kruger Park.

The commission's role is to review progress of the agreement signed in New York last December under which Namibia gained independence from South Africa and Cuba withdrew 50 000 troops from Angola.

South African sources said the Cuban withdrawal was ahead of schedule.

Delegates ended the Hazyview talks with a statement saying the JMC would hold its next meeting in Luanda in February.

Meanwhile, UN officials in Namibia reported that Swapo closed its last remaining military bases in Angola on Friday.

UN spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said about 300 Swapo guerillas had been demobilised and would be returning to Namibia as civilians. — Sapa-Reuter

SADF's last PoW in Angola is coming home

6/Jan 28/11/89
RIFLEMAN Simeon Petrus, the last SADF prisoner of war, was last night released into the custody of the Red Cross.

Petrus, a member of 101 Battalion, had been held captive in Angola since September 1987. He will return to Johannesburg from Luanda tomorrow.

Petrus's release comes after his continued captivity was raised by the SA delegation to the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) between Angola, SA and Cuba, at a meeting taking place in Hazyview in the eastern Transvaal.

Angolan delegation leader Gen Antonio

MIKE ROBERTSON

dos Santos Franca is said to have told the JMC that an administrative decision was taken at the weekend to release Petrus.

The issue had been raised on numerous occasions at previous JMC meetings.

Two Swapo leaders Theo Ben Gurirab and Peter Mwashihenge and DTA Constituent Assembly member Andrew Matjila attended a JMC meeting for the first time.

Gurirab and Matjila addressed the meeting. The three will be observers at

JMC meetings until Namibia becomes a full member after independence.

Namibian Administrator-General Louis Pienaar and UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari briefed the meeting on the recent election.

The JMC apparently also decided the security situation on the Angolan/Namibian border had improved to such an extent it was no longer necessary to continue joint helicopter patrols of the region.

But the Joint Intelligence Commission's review and evaluation centre, based in

□ To Page 2

PoW freed

Windhoek, will continue to operate.

The meeting apparently agreed there was a strong political component in the original agreement to have helicopter patrols but this had been overtaken by events.

In a joint Press statement after the meeting, the JMC said all delegations had expressed their satisfaction at the successful completion of free and fair elections in Namibia.

The delegations had urged continued co-operation among the parties to ensure

Namibia's accession to independence under the best possible circumstances.

The JMC also appealed to the international community for fiscal and financial support for an independent Namibia.

The statement said the continued presence of a small number of SADF personnel performing civilian functions such as air traffic control and medical status had also been discussed. SA had offered to withdraw these personnel upon request. Every effort was being made by all concerned to find replacements.

□ From Page 1

Swapo's Angolan bases closed — Untag

WINDHOEK — Untag military forces deputy commander Brig Daniel Opande had reported that remaining Swapo military bases in Angola had been closed down on Friday, UN spokesman Fred Eckhard said yesterday.

He said about 300 Plan members had been demobilised and would be returning to Namibia.

The Plan fighters would be accompanied by about 50 women with babies whose repatriation had been delayed because they had been in advanced stages of pregnancy.

Eckhard said Untag police monitors reported the law and order situation in the country remained calm and stable, despite isolated incidents of violence in the north.

"There were a number of homicides over the weekend, but it is difficult to say whether any were politically-motivated." — Sapa.

(221)

1 Day 2/11/11

Namibians are quick to read the writing on the wall

B Day 29/11/89

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WHITE United Nations vehicles with Untag numberplates are still prominent in the streets of Windhoek, though the withdrawal is well in place.

One sign of local jocosity is to paint a big F in front of the large UN logos. It sums up the atmosphere of nervous anticipation, and a frontier habit of confusing hope with likelihood.

Namibia shrugs off its history easily. Few signs of what was essentially a bush war remain and fewer still of a long history of anti-colonial warfare of unrivalled brutality.

Entering the country for the first time, it is difficult to understand how a war could be waged in a country where the ostensible common enemies are immense heat and impenetrable distance or why a war about possession should matter at all. Is the country worth the winning?

It must be: a war was waged, one of the long succession of post-Second World War guerrilla wars which has been won, politically, if not militarily, by the indigenes. (Malaya was the only exception to the rule.)

What remains after the war, in the hiatus between election and independence, is an air of suppressed excitement and nervousness.

Within the capital, construction cranes loom, creating supermarkets and office buildings. The pavements of the main street are sandy, the result of building operations, with architects' boards featuring the names of major SA partnerships.

A hotel group has spent R6,5m refurbishing its Namibia flagship hotel and reports good bookings by heads of state and their entourages for the independence ceremonies.

Long before the election was held, this boom began, indicating a pragmatic belief that economic life would be barely interrupted by change of government.

It seems a rule of sub-Saharan Africa that the speed and smoothness with which white "settlers" adapt to the prospect of black rule is in proportion to the ferocity with which they resisted it. When the writing's on the wall, they read it fast. A few stunned grumbles about the removal of Afrikaans and German as official languages — "Now we can all misunderstand each other in English" — and that seems to be it.

Untag's cosmopolitan presence and the presence of many swarthy gentlemen in dark suits and too much gold jewellery in the capital seem to have had a marked effect on

hill — there's a giraffe."

Here on one bare patch will be a lodge, we hear. On another will be a dam. On a third will be a trail. On a fourth may be a R7m apartment-lodge. The future tense predominates, with much the same idealism showed by American pioneers placing a sign post labelled "Dodge City" in the middle of bare prairie.

The cheery optimism is matched by a dour pessimism, especially among some whites. It shows itself in discussions about whom Swapo will ally itself with in order to get a two-thirds majority. Behind it lies another fear: that the alliance will be an interim measure to get the two-thirds and after that, chaos will rule. Some of the pessimism is obviously a function of ignorance. A senior civil servant, handling at least three major portfolios, says impassively: "Up to now, of course, we haven't been able to talk to Swapo. We will be talking to them now."

He's worried about tourism, realising that Untag's presence may have created slender, fleeting optimism. "Swapo doesn't say very much about tourism in their documents. But I'm sure they'll encourage it."

No sure statistics exist on the contribution of tourism to the country's GDP. Tourists apparently bring in about R1,6m a year, not allowing for

a multiplier effect. Most are from SA, and then from West Germany, though not enough to sustain a regular Frankfurt-Windhoek SAA flight.

One side-effect of the transition has been a marking time in the civil service. Inevitably in recent months, decisions have been centralised through the administrator-general, and no doubt postponed.

It has its comic side. The criminals in Windhoek's jail went on a hunger strike to protest against an independence amnesty possibly being granted for political prisoners and not them. The administrator-general's polite response said in essence that amnesties of this kind were granted by new heads of state; that person would assume his position after some months; and if the hunger-striking prisoners were to put their request to him, he was sure...

As passengers board the aircraft to Johannesburg in the anaemic light of early dawn, a former school friend and now a senior foreign affairs official arrives, looking weary.

I ask if he's been painting F on the Untag vehicles but it's too early in the morning for facetiousness. "No," he replies with diplomatic calm. "I'm looking for premises for the SA mission."

REVIEW

SAFETY CHOICE

Bl Day 30/11/89

ACN in call to scrap sanctions

KEVIN JACOBS (22)

WINDHOEK — Namibia's minority whites-only party is calling for the world to scrap anti-apartheid sanctions against the territory, which could open a potential embargo-busting conduit to SA.

Jumping the gun on independence, Action Christian National (ACN) leader Jannie de Wet is asking the Constituent Assembly to urge the UN to end sanctions while the territory keeps up trading links with SA.

De Wet's motion, set down for debate today, puts Swapo in a dilemma.

With no certainty on an eventual independence date, greater trading access beyond the sanctions curtain could be a short-term boost for the territory's ailing economy.

But Swapo leader Sam Nujoma has openly opposed an end to anti-apartheid embargoes imposed by the UN, before Namibia's formal independence.

De Wet is tipped as a possible Agriculture Minister in a Swapo cabinet.

The name Namibia will have to wait

By Jon Qwelane,
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Swapo failed in the Constituent Assembly yesterday to get South West Africa's name changed forthwith to Namibia.

Until such time as the constituent assembly adopts a constitution, the names South West Africa and South West Africa/Namibia will still be accepted — at least by the assembly.

The motion to have the country's name changed with effect "from today onwards" was proposed by Mr Kapuka Nauyala (Swapo) and opposed by Mr Katuutire Kaura (DTA).

Mr Nauyala said the names South West Africa and South West Africa/Namibia were "meaningless and coined by colonialists and then imposed on our country."

"On the other hand, the name Namibia originates from one of our native tongues, and it means a protective shield."

Mr Kaura said the "enthusiasm" to have the country's name changed by the assembly overlooked one point.

"The terms of reference contained in the proclamation (under which the assembly has been constituted) state expressly that our task is to draw up a constitution for South West Africa/Namibia."

"It will go out of our frame of reference to adopt the name Namibia now, before we adopt the constitution," Mr Kaura added.

● See Page 29.

Family welcomes last PoW from Angola

Blpaw 30/11/87

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TWO years, two months and five days after being captured by Angolan army Fapla soldiers in southern Angola, Petrus, of the SWA Territory Force's 101 Battalion, has arrived back in Namibia.

The SWATF's last prisoner of war, Rfn Simeon Petrus, returned home to Namibia yesterday afternoon after being handed over to the Red Cross and a representative of Namibia's Administrator-General Louis Pienaar at Jan Smuts Airport.

Petrus was handed over to administrator-general office director Kobus Bauermeester, and the head of the Red Cross in Namibia, Nicholas de Rougemont, who flew back to Windhoek with him.

Petrus was handed over at Jan Smuts Airport because the chartered aircraft in which he flew from Angola was to pick up Angolan and

DANIEL SIMON

Cuban Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) delegates who held talks with their SA counterparts in Hazyview on Monday.

A spokesman for Pienaar said Petrus was flown back to Windhoek in Pienaar's private aircraft and from there would return to his home in Owamboland.

Taken

"I feel great," said Petrus at Windhoek's Eros airport during an emotional welcome by his sister, Heleni Amuthenu and father Petrus Israel, 73, of the Ondangua district in Owambo.

Petrus, 24, was taken prisoner by the Angolan soldiers in the Cunene province on September 24 1987. He was then taken to the Fapla soldiers' base, where he stayed over-

night, before going on to Lubango and afterwards to Luanda.

Jailed in a Luanda prison, he was transferred to a second prison in the city on December 28 last year.

On January 31 this year, he appeared in a Luanda court and was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

His sister told reporters: "I am so very happy. We are going to have a party to celebrate his return."

As a member of the now demobilised SWA Territory Force, Petrus will undergo the same procedures, and receive his full pay for the period he was in Angola, at Oshakati in the next day or two, official spokesman Gerhard Roux said.

Soldiers would be paid until the end of the financial year on March 31 next year, or until independence, when the new government would most probably take over that commitment, Roux added. — Sapa.

Namibia independent by February UN

The Argus Foreign Service
NEW YORK. — South Africa may be willing to accord independence to Namibia as early as mid-February if progress achieved so far in the constitutional process is maintained, United Nations officials believe.

Encouraged by the absence of any major setback following the elections, the officials said an April independence deadline was unduly pessimistic.

The elections gave Swapo a substantial majority in the constituent assembly although not the two-thirds victory that they and their United Nations backers had hoped for.

April was the date set by the secretary-general Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, by which he expected a constitution would be completed and approved, giving a green light to Namibian nationhood.

Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the head of Untag, has called the suggested deadline no more than a "guesstimate".

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APR 30/11/89
A senior United Nations official in New York said: "There's no way now that independence will be delayed until April. February 15 would be nearer the mark."

Meanwhile, UN staff who served short-term assignments as election observers are returning to New York with mixed reviews about their experiences, particularly in the territory's more remote areas where organisation appears to have been far from perfect.

"They told us we might have to put up with some hardship, but we didn't expect we would have to sleep in the open and live on emergency rations," one senior official said.

"On top of that, there were no toilets in some places and little or no water for drinking or bathing. It was a mess."

Still, there was virtually universal agreement that the exercise had been worthwhile and that the UN acquitted itself well in difficult conditions.

Namibian

Star 30/11/89

MPS feel their way

WINDHOEK — As the parliament of an African country which has just emerged from a bloody decolonisation struggle, Namibia's Constituent Assembly is remarkably staid.

The occasional African-print open-neck shirt or "Mao" jacket amid a sea of conservative, expensively-tailored suits in muted greys, charcoals and blues, points to the fact this is not Westminster.

Strict rules of procedure mean heckling is taboo, and that members must address each other formally with approved honifics "The Honourable Member, Mr, Madame or Comrade".

In the high-ceilinged Landesrat (National Assembly) debating chamber that was built as part of the Tintenpalast (Palace of Ink) government building during the German colonial era, Namibia's 72 elected politicians gather to draft the country's first independence constitution.

The Landesrat — renovated some years ago at a cost of more than R2 million — is not a spacious room, although its height lends airiness and helps provide upstairs accommodation in two galleries for the public and press.

Assembly chairman Mr Hage Geingob, Swapo's election director, sits in a formal wooden chair behind a bench, flanked by the secretary to the assembly, Mr B Botha and his assistant. The members sit

Proceedings in Namibia's newly elected constituent assembly sitting in Windhoek's historic Tintenpalast are remarkably formal, writes **BRENDAN SEERY** of the Star's Africa News Service.

in three rows of benches and chairs arranged in a horseshoe around the chairman's podium.

Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma occupies the closest seat on Mr Geingob's right. Next to him, in order of position on the candidate lists, follow the most senior of Swapo's 41 members, starting from vice-president the Rev Hendrik Witbooi, through veteran nationalist and secretary-general Mr Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, deputy chairman Mr David Meroro, and so on.

Soft drinks

Mr Nujoma normally says little, save to share a few thoughts with Mr Witbooi. The Swapo president wears half-moon reading glasses as he makes notes during proceedings, while all of the top Swapo hierarchy have their own personal cans of soft drink brought in by a special assistant before the sessions begin.

Also in the front row, but on the opposite side of the horseshoe, sit the members of the DTA, led by chairman Mr Dirk

Mudge and vice-president Mr Mishake Muyongo.

Proceedings are usually formal, and governed by complex rules similar to those used in other parliaments and in the previous national assembly which sat in this same Landesrat.

Sessions normally begin with a prayer from the Chair followed by notices of motions or questions. Members often share pleasantries and jokes across party lines, both during and after the start of the session.

Yet there is still an underlying sense of tension, or perhaps nervousness. It is apparent immediately that the Swapo politicians — skilled as they may be in front of rally audiences — have yet to settle down in the somewhat stilted formality of the constituent assembly.

Speaking one's mind, losing one's temper or playing to the gallery will probably be frowned upon here.

Swapo is also slowly coming to realise that others in the house have years of just this type of experience, and that the old parliamentary warhorses of the DTA and the Action Christian National (the election front of the National Party of SWA) are quite capable of burying the Honourable Members in an avalanche of motions, questions, amendments and notes on points of order.

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Debate on three motions delayed

WINDHOEK. — A disagreement about the procedure to follow in drawing up a constitution led to the postponement of debate on three motions and the withdrawal of another in the Constituent Assembly yesterday.

Mr Nahas Angula (Swapo) gave notice of a motion which proposes that the different parties should submit their constitutional proposals by December 6.

A Standing Committee would then consider the proposals as a matter of urgency, identify working categories and then make proposals for establishing committees to deal with these.

Mr Mishake Muyongo (DTA) moved that the assembly first debate certain fundamental issues related to the interpretation of the unanimously-accepted 1982 Constitutional Proposals before appointing committees to deal with specific areas.

Mr Hans Staby (DTA) suggested that the leadership of the various parties meet on an informal basis to resolve procedural problems before the motions were debated. — Sapa

Tracks of war fade, but pain lingers

By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa News
Service

WINDHOEK - On the wooded slope of a steep, rugged hill near Otavi, nature is already reclaiming the past.

Carved out of the vegetation and trees was a massive footprint — visible for a considerable distance — signalling to the world that here lived "Swaspes", the specialist battalion of the SWA Territory Force.

The unit is no longer, the force is no longer. The remaining 1500 frontline troops of the SADF have quit Namibia.

The rains are only weeks away. When they come, the footprint will become one of the memories of a 23-year armed struggle.

The probable death toll in this, the second longest-running war in Africa, was around 20 000.

As the brown, diesel-stained convoys of Ratels, G5s and support vehicles rolled south this past week, they did so as part of a force undefeated — at least in Namibia (because history has yet to deliver the final verdict on the Angolan adventures). There were no chaotic, bitter scenes of flight — helicopters lifting the lucky few off rooftops over the heads of their anguished kin — that distinguished the United States' withdrawal from Vietnam.

Sorrows

Yet, there are probably those in South Africa — perhaps a struggling widow in Vanderbijlpark, perhaps a Bellville mother whose son exists now only as a fading photograph on the mantelpiece, perhaps a demobbed troopie drowning his sorrows in a Durban beachfront bar — who may want to ask: "What the hell was it all for?"

Nothing, if turning aside the "total communist onslaught" is your criterion.

As the SADF withdrew, their sworn enemies — the "marxist terrorist hordes", as personified by Mr Sam Nujoma and his lieutenants — were welcomed as VIPs in their conservative three-piece suits to the opening of the constituent assembly in Windhoek's history-oozing Tintenpalast government building. In the evening they sipped wine, whisky and vodka in the colonial ambience of Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar's official residence.

Whites were not murdered, their wives were not raped, their houses were not put to the torch. Indeed, were it not for the convoys rumbling through to Walvis bay and Upington, one would be hard-pressed to say Namibia had just emerged from such a bloody war.

Politicians of all hues have played down differences and appealed for the "unity within diversity" essential to reconstruction and development.

Such attitudes will go a long way towards helping heal the emotional scars of conflict, which will remain long after the gash on the Otavi hillside has healed.

Captured soldier goes home

WINDHOEK — A SWA Territory Force soldier arrived back in Namibia yesterday, two years after being captured by Fapla soldiers in southern Angola.

"I feel great," said 24-year-old Rifleman Simeon Petrus at Windhoek's Eros airport. He was welcomed by his sister, Mrs Heleni Amuthenu and father, Mr Petrus Israel, 73, of the Ondangua district in Ovambo.

Rifleman Petrus, of SWATF's 101 Battalion was taken prisoner by the Angolan soldiers in Cunene province on September 24, 1987. He was taken to the Fapla soldiers' base where he spent the night, then on to Lubango and afterwards Luanda.

Jailed in a Luanda prison, he was transferred to a second prison in the city on December 28 last year.

He appeared in a Luanda court on

January 31 and was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment.

Then on Monday he was released and handed to representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Mr Petrus was flown to Johannesburg yesterday.

At Jan Smuts airport Rifleman Petrus was handed over to the director of the Administrator-General's office, Mr Kobus Bauermeester, and the head of the ICRC in Namibia, Mr Nicholas de Rougemont, who flew back to Windhoek with him.

"I am so very happy," Mrs Amuthenu told reporters, "We are going to have a party to celebrate his return."

As a former member of demobilised SWA Territory Force, Rifleman Petrus will receive full pay in the next day or two for the period he was in Angola at Oshakati, official spokesman Gerhard Roux said. — Sapa.

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Angolans free SWATF soldier

WINDHOEK — Mr Petrus Israel slaughtered an ox at his kraal in Oshikashika in Ovambo to celebrate his son's homecoming last night.

Two years, two months and three days after he was captured in a military operation in southern Angola, Rifleman Simeon Petrus, 24, came home, freed by the Angolans in a spirit of fading hostility.

His 73-year-old father doffed his battered hat and embraced him in silent emotion on the tarmac of Windhoek's Eros airport after the returning soldier stepped off the plane chartered by administrator-general Mr Louis Pienaar.

"I feel wonderful," Mr Petrus, a

former 101 Battalion infantryman, told reporters at a brief news conference curtailed by officials.

"This is an emotional moment for him, please do not put him under stress," administration spokesman Mr Gerhard Roux said at the side of the relaxed-looking soldier.

"You must realise that there are still some prisoners being held, so any statement by him may jeopardise their position," Mr Roux said, but declined to identify any other Namibians or South Africans held in Angola.

Speaking haltingly in Afrikaans,

Mr Petrus said nothing about his treatment in Angola, but told reporters he had been captured by Angola's Fapla military in southern Kunene province on September 24, 1987. Over three days he was moved to Lubango and then flown to Luanda where he was held in a prison.

On January 31 this year he was sentenced by an Angolan court to 10 years in jail but was released into the care of officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Luanda three days ago.

Mr Roux said Mr Petrus was

flown to Johannesburg in an Angolan military plane sent to fetch Angolan and Cuban delegates to the Joint Commission meeting held in the Kruger Park this week.

Mr Petrus' sister, Mrs Hileni Amuthenu, came south from Ovambo with their father in a Red Cross vehicle to meet the brother she last saw only days before he was captured. The freed soldier flew to Windhoek with ICRC representative Mr Nicholas de Rougemont and Mr Kobus Bauermeeester, chief executive in Mr Pienaar's office.

"We are very happy to have him

back," said Mrs Amuthenu. "My father has slaughtered an ox for a big feast." The group left Windhoek for Oshikashika, near Ondangwa, immediately after the news conference.

Small compensation for the long captivity is the back-pay waiting for Mr Petrus.

"He has to be demobilised, as all other members of the SWA Territory Force have been," Mr Roux said. "He will receive full pay for the two years, and also his salary up to the end of March next year, the end of the financial year."



FAMILY REUNION ... SWATF soldier Mr Simeon Petrus, 24, holds his father, Mr Petrus Israel, 73, in a silent embrace at Windhoek's Eros Airport yesterday after his release from Angola after more than two years' imprisonment.

Picture: REUTERS