

ONE of Africa's longest running conflicts turned 21 yesterday with no end in sight.

On August 26, 1966, South African policemen had their first contact with insurgents of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia the military wing of Swapo near Omgulumbashe

village in the sandy expanse of northern Namibia.

On the 21st anniversary of those shots, more than 10600 Swapo fighters are listed in the official military body count as having been eliminated, with admitted security forces deaths in action being between 600 and 700. But if civilian deaths and security force deaths on non-operational duties are included, then the bush war in Namibia has probably claimed, directly or indirectly, nearer to 20000 lives.

Bloodiest

As Namibia has a population of just over 1,5 million people, the fighting is undoubtedly among the bloodiest the continent has seen.

The territory has often been referred to as South Africa's Viet-nam, and certainly, the war is draining Pretoria's finances, with an estimated 40000 plus troops and vast quantities of military hardware being tied down in the operational area.

The South African taxpayer forks out about R2-million a day for the

troops here.

White South Africans
have also paid in blood
and family sacrifice for
the war â\200\234â\200\230on the borderâ\200\235.
Professor Reginald
Green, of the Institute
for Development Studies

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SOWETAN, Thursday, August 27, 1987

AFRICAâ\200\231S
LONGEST
GONFLIGHT
RAGES ON

in Sussex, England,
argued in 1984 that the
Namibian conflict had
cost white South Africa
more in human terms
than Vietnam cost the
people of the United
States.

Since then, however,
there has been a notice-
able â\200\234Namibianisationâ\200\235
of the war effort, and
currently more than 60
percent of all security
force members in the

territory are black or brown Namibians.

Lessons

Unlike Vietnam, though, South Africa is in no danger currently of losing Namibia through the barrel of a gun to Swapo.

Pretoria's troops have learned well the lessons of counter-insurgency campaigns in Malaya, Vietnam and Rhodesia, and have developed their own high-tech methods of hitting Swapo infiltrators hard and fast.

Swapo cadres face an

SOWETAN
Africa News
Service

unenviable task. Having trekked through southern Angloa and faced the possibility of clashes with either Unita or South African ambush units, the insurgents face a determined and highly mobile enemy once they cross into Namibia.

Very seldom do they penetrate into the white farming land south of the communal areas of Owambo, which is the centre stage of the conflict. :

Raids

Earlier this year, however, the Swapo units proved they cannot yet be written off as a military threat, when they came as far south as the Etosha Game Park.

In military terms, a significant part of the Namibian war is conducted on foreign soil through

in Angola. Cross-border raids are a frequently-used strategy in the security forces' campaign against Swapo.

One of the bloodiest of these raids was the attack mounted on the Swapo camp at Cassinga in southern Angola in May 1978, in which at least 1200 Namibian exiles died.

Children

Swapo claimed at the time that the dead were women and children and a charge which was vehemently denied by Pretoria.

Security force intelligence analysts believe that a significant portion of Swapo's trained fighting strength is committed to operating alongside MPLA troops against Unita, as part of the * Swapo must pay for having bases in Angola. This allegation has in turn been denied by Swapo president Sam Nujoma.

Despite the appearance

continue to filter through

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lack of progress by Swapo militarily and here military officers occasionally boast that they are winning the war and there is little doubt among independent observers that Swapo still has vast support and sympathy among the people of the war zones.

Trauma

The military authorities have acknowledged this in committing more

and more effort to the
â\200\234â\200\230hearts and mindsâ\200\235â\200\231
campaign, and they
claim to be making
progress.

Reports of alleged
security force atrocities
and brutalities against
civilians in the war zones

SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma.

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to the outside world, and
army heirarchy has
pledged to crack down
on lawless soldiers.

The military also claim
that intimidation and
terrorism are the main
tools used by Swapo in
*â\200\230politicisingâ\200\231 the people.

Namibiaâ\200\231s â\200\234dirty little
warâ\200\235 is no different to
wars elsewhere in the
psychological trauma it
has wrought on society,
and in particular the
close-knit simple farming
communities of Owam-
bo.

There has been a flood
of thousands of people to
the relative safety of
centres like Oshakati and
Ondangwa, where social
workers report that
prostitution, venereal
disease, and alcoholism
are all on the increase.

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Chief .

George %â\200\230g

silent '

THE Prime Minister of
Transkei, Chief George
Matanzima, has refused

to comment on reports
that he is contemplating

relinquishing the premier-
ship.

- However, the deputy
prime minister, the Rev
Gladwin Vika, said he

- had met Chief Matanzi

ma who officially
informed him of his
contemplated action, but
gave no reason for it.

The general secretary
â\200\230of the ruling Transkei
National Independence
Party (TNIP), Dr OM
Bodiani, confirmed that
the party was preparing
to call an urgent meeting
of the national executive
tomorrow.

High on the agenda |
would be the prime
ministerâ\200\231s contemplated
resignation. |

Interviewed as he left
the grâ\200\230andstand after
officiating at the
presentation of drums to
Lota Junior Secondary
School near Idutywa,
Chief Matanzima said:
â\200\234Sorry but I am not
making any statements.â\200\235

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A DEMOCRACY in future South Africa beyond apartheid would be seriously constrained if large proportions of the population did not have houses,

Jobs or a sense of basic ful

filment, Mr Jan Steyn,

executive chairman of the Urban F oundation, said yesterday.

Speaking at the foundation's annual general meeting held in Johannesburg, Mr Steyn ' said freedom and the tolerance that required freedom, was simply not possible in 4 â\200\230society â\200\230experiencing deep-seated poverty and deprivation.

He said those who believed that South Africa could only change | either through violence | or through the destruc- " tion of the economy must | understand that they would, by necessary implication, move the society towards authori- tarianism, ;

â\200\234â\200\234Sound and sustained economic growth and the development of the infrastructure so as to supply the basic needs of our people are essential areas of progress on the road to a new South Africa. W G see it as our basic

By SY

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responsibility

towards
economic growth where-
ever we can. This we can
do best in the fields of
stimulating housing
provision and creating

to work
sustained

shelter and jobs,â\200\235 Mr

Steyn said.

Mr Steyn said despite
surface calm, the
situation in the country
remained volatile. It was
clear that people would
continue to go through

valleys of some severe

instability.

Much remained to be

- done to move the society

away from a belief that
salvation lay in the
separation of pÃ©opleâ\200\231s in

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every sphere: of their
lives.

â\200\234While constitutional

prescription is not our
forte, we know that the
ideology of separateness
has been erected on a
base of white fears and a
notion of a finite cake of
resources,â\200\235 Mr Steyn
said. :

The foundation would
not be deflected from
addressing issues which
continued to impair the
dignity oâ\200\234t;ï¬\202ggny South

~Africans, he said.

MR JAN STEYN

e Nalel

ENTIRE contents of & recent issue of Third World Quarterly, a London-based publication, are devoted to South Africa â\200\224 all 380 pages. There are 14 articles,

written mostly by academics, and reviews of no fewer than 43 books and assorted publications on S

The fact that a substantial journal like Third World Quarterly can set aside a whole issue for a discussion of S A affairs shows how intensely interested the Third

lela i-Afrika for those who want to join in the singing.

The interest is not confined to the Third World though. - Writing and talking about S A is an international growth industry. S A has seldom been out of the news over the past 39 years of National Party rule, but I wonder whether there has ever been such an outpouring of words as there is now. : :

New books on South African subjects appear in bookshops all the time. I have several recent ones on my shelves that escaped review in the Third World Quarterly. Increasingly over the past few years, academics have been weighing in with major contributions, almost as if they are making up for lost time. Some of these contributions have been very impressive indeed; others not so.

Recently, the emphasis has been shifting from discussion of the present day to what a future S A could look like 3 2001 space odyssey- Those who have been reading this literature can now say they have seen the future and it { works. Or it looks as if it could work. '

FERENCES on S A are also very much in fashion.. Conferences, seminars, group discussions â\200\224 walk into almost any European capital or major North American city and you will find one in progress. South Africans would be surprised to discover how much information flows across these conference tables â\200\224 information to which they might not have access themselves, particularly on the southern African region. :

London continues to sustain its reputation as a sorting house for information on Africa. Not only does the news flow through here in an uninterrupted stream, but also the newsmakers come and go in endless procession. Some discussions, of course, are uninformed and superficial, but one can always learn something. Most of it, too, is remarkably objective. The image many South Africans have of international conferences as places where South Africa is dismembered limb by limb is simply not true. - Naturally, there are other conferences whose purpose is not to impart information but to rally the liberation troops. These conferences are instantly recognisable by the flow of adjectives. It is never â\200\230the SA Governmentâ\200\231, but always â\200\230the racist regimeâ\200\231; never Renamo rebels, but always â\200\230Bot-haâ\200\231s banditsâ\200\231. These speeches are meant to promote solidarity in the ranks, a perfectly legitimate aim, but sometimes I find them very tiresome. They become 2 substitute for the cerebral process.

Many of the conferences and seminars are still all-white

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[uge outpouring

of words on S Al

' Stanley Uys LONDON

affairs. White foreigners and white South - Africans sit around and chew the fat. Sometimes it just happens this way, because the whites unthinkingly donâ\200\231t see any need for a black perspective. At other times it is not easy to find black participants.

This is beginning to change now, because the ANC is emerging from purdah to take part in an increasing number of conferences. It still sometimes plays hard to get and it has its list of people with whom it will not be seen in public, like Inkatha (although Inkathaâ\200\231s new London representative Ben Skosana appeared on a radio programme the other day with a member of the ANCâ\200\231s executive com-

. mittee). Sometimes, too, the ANC feels, no doubt with justification, that some of the conferences are a waste of time. But the other omission from international conferences

- on South Africa which has not been corrected is the ab-

sence of Pretoriaâ\200\231s spokesmen and/or Afrikaner nationalists. It's a bit like Hamlet without the prince. This is why, I believe, the Dakar conference was such a success. The structure was right â\200\224 African nationalists on one side and Afrikaners on the other. Admittedly, there were not many

rawboned Afrikaner nationalists in the South African

team, but they were Afrikaners, and this is the closest any

major conference has come to bringing the two real adversaries, African and Afrikaner nationalists, together, eyeball to eyeball.

â\200\230The Dakar conference seems to be inspiring all sorts of follow-up conferences â\200\224 @ huge one in New York at the end of September, Herr Genscherâ\200\231s rumoured one for the spring of 1988 in West Germany, and so forth. Dakar certainly has caught the international imagination, and now everybodyâ\200\231s doing it, except of course PW Botha, who ap-

parently tangos Wi no one these days.

ONE OF these conferences, however, will achieve the chemistry of the Dakar conference if they donâ\200\231t bring Africans and Afrikaners together. This is what the power play in South Africa is all about. This is why Slabbert got Dakar right.

It is not easy of course to bring Africans and Afrikaners together. Pretoria keeps its distance â\200\224 as the Afrikaners say, hy vat aan dit met lang tande. Also, having identified |

the ANC as the principal enemy (the Great Satan as the Iranians would say), it can't readily sit around a conference table with it, even with a neutral chairman, like the president of a U S foundation or a West European foreign minister, presiding over the exchange of views.

But I also encounter 2 reluctance among some conference and seminar organisers to engage the Afrikaners. It is almost as if they feel that the presence of apartheid supporters will taint their conference â\200\224 that they will be seen as admitting that apartheid has a right to be heard, that it enjoys at least a conference legitimacy.

This holier than thou attitude can be tiresome, too. The

idea that the South African conflict can be resolved with-

out engaging Afrikaner nationalists is fanciful. No conference can be â\200\230meaningful until it has African nationalists on one side and Afrikaner nationalists on the other, speaking their minds. }

One is talking here about international conferences, not about African nationalists serving on President Bothaâ\200\231s National Council. The internal situation is another tactical game altogether. That will come later. But conferences held outside South Africa can serve the very useful pur-

pose of bringing together groups and individuals who can- | /

not meet each other with any comfort inside South Africa.

This is what the Dakar conference did and this is the model which should be followed. Foreign conference-go-

ers cannot forever go on talking to each other.

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P
Mandel
UDFâ\200\231s |

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THE general secretary of the UDF, Mr Popo
Simon Molefe yesterday rejected suggestions by
the prosecutor that his organisation had
threatened to push â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230whites and the Government
into the fireâ\200\235 should their demands not be heeded.

Mr Molefe also denied
in the Pretoria Supreme
Court that the jailed
ANC leader, Mr Nelson
Mandela was the leader
of the UDF.

He stressed, however,
that Mr Mandela was
highly respected and re-
garded as a true leader in
the black community
countrywide.

Mr Molefe also told
the court that Mr Mande-
laâ\200\231s ideal was for a demo-

cratic and non-racial

South Africa.

Cross examined by Mr
P B Jacobs, SC, for the
State, Mr Molefe said Mr
Mandela was not a vio-
lent person.

â\200\234He adopted violence
to end apartheid after the
ANC was banned. His
targets only included
State buildings and not
people. [understand why
he refused to renounce

violence as a condition of

his release by the South
African authorities,â\200\235 Mr

Molefe said.

He also rejected suggestions by Mr Jacobs that the UDF had links with the outlawed organisation â\200\224 the ANC and

| the South African Com-

By .
MONK NKOMO

unist Party. The witness stressed: that the UDF was a peaceful organisation which sought to end apartheid through non-violent means.

- Mr Molefe also refer-

red to a speech made by

his co-accused, Mr Patrick â\200\234Terrorâ\200\235 Lekota, UDFâ\200\231s national publicity secretary on July 28, 1984, where he told the audience that â\200\234we can

only have peace if there is |

justice.â\200\235
Convention

Mr Lekota also urged the audience not to support the new constitution which he said laid the ba-

a not

sis for â\200\234mutual suspicion |

and seeds of a dangerous conflict in the future.â\200\235

He wanted the people of this country reconciled, Mr Molefe said.

In that speech, Mr Lekota also called for a national convention where black and white people could be allowed to sit together and â\200\230â\200\234hammer outâ\200\235 a constitution that

would be acceptable to them. The new constitution only preserved the monopoly of political power in the hands of whites, Mr Lekota had

said.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 27, 1987

REVOLT GROWS

WITH the first roll of thunder, the Rev Allan Hendrickse's resignation from President Botha's Cabinet, still echoing about Par-

liament, members of his Labour

Party are already throwing off the constraints of that involvement with vigour and little bashfulness in the developing storm.

Amid loud interjections in the House of Representatives on Tuesday, for example, another Hendrickse, the Labour Party member for Addo, challenged a statement by the Deputy Minister of Development Planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, that all members of the Joint Committee which recommended the scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act bore responsibility for Section 12 of the Group Areas Act (the race classification provisions) remaining on the Statute Book. Mr Peter Hendrickse's retort to that hardly refuted the suggestion of earlier compliance on the part of the coloured members of the committee, but the spirit of revolt was reflected in his response: "Why? Because if we hadn't we would still be talking today."

Mr Badenhorst appeared to be urging patience on the House of Representatives, saying the President's Council, which is expected to finally report next

month on changes to the Group

Areas Act, was giving specific

attention to the residential fate

of mixed race couples.

The representatives were not

impressed, however, with a

number of them disputing the Deputy Minister's interpreta-

tion of coloured involvement.

Whatever the facts, party leader Allan Hendrickse clearly meant it when he said the Labour Party, following his resignation, was going on the offensive to pressure the Government into spelling out the future, while demanding the early ditching of the last vestiges of discrimination. c 0 : '

All of which confirms that when the President's Council report, hastily bundled back un-

der the wraps to avoid an earl-

ier political landmine the last election finally hits the table in Parliament, President Botha is going to have it coming at him from both sides.

Until his bullying of the Rev

Hendrickse prompted the col-

oured leader's resignation, Mr Botha might have believed he

should be more concerned

about the reception his plans for the Group Areas Act, however limited, might receive from Dr Andries Treurnicht's conservatives. :

Perhaps now he knows better, whether or not he's a wiser man in the wake of his unedifying

performance in the House of

Representatives.

the last

Labour MPs heckle

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as Heunis defends PW

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWNâ\200\224Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, yesterday strongly defended President Botha in the face of heckling Labour members of the House of Representatives.

' Still sensitive about the tongue-lashing Mr Botha gave them last week and the forced resignation from the Cabinet of Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, Labour MPs constantly fired interjections at Mr Heunis.

But he defended Mr Botha as the â\200\230only manâ\200\231 with the courage and ability to put South Africa on the road of reform.

Mr Botha had instituted more changes than anyone before him and he had been prepared to allow the National Party to split because of the rights he believed other people should have.

Labour members had defended their leader, and he saw nothing wrong with that.

â\200\230But 'members must allow me to do the same,â\200\231 said Mr Heunis.

â\200\230Dankie baasâ\200\231
â\200\234When I say we should give the State President credit, I do not expect it to be on a â\200\234dankie baasâ\200\235 basis. He could not do it on his own. Other â\200\234leaders also played a role.â\200\231
But, while members agreed there had been changes, they i made it quite clear to Mr

Heunis they did not think there had been enough change or that it was happening fast enough.

Apparently revelling in his new-found freedom of not having to treat Mr Heunis as a Cabinet colleague any longer, Mr Hendrickse constantly chipped in with interjections.

Mr Heunis retorted at one stage that harping back to the past would not solve the problems of the future.

He said he appreciated that members had shared their hurts with him because it was true that there were still many things which offended people.

â\200\230If we did not agree we would not be walking the road of change,â\200\231 he said.

There was much that peo-

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ple had in common and he agreed with a number of things in the Labour Partyâ\200\231s own policy document, which, he said, also accepted the â\200\230group conceptâ\200\231.

The Government was committed to a new constitution and the present one was not

_the end of the process. The

Government was committed |. to black participation at the highest level.

But, if the Government put a â\200\230modelâ\200\231 on the table it would be accused of being prescriptive.

He said the Government was totally against diseri- nation on the grounds of race, ethnicity or colour but provoked rounds of interjections when he said there could be â\200\230justifiable differentiationâ\200\231.

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: PRESIDENT BOTHA . . . condemned Nazi
service.

PRESIDENT Pieter W Botha has

entered the Nazi/AWB Pretoria

o;:lal service for Rudolph Hess row

ile the Conservative Party maintained
its stance refusing to dissociate itself.

has been refused by Speaker, Mr Louis le
Grange, preventing the CP from being called
to immediate account.

â\200\230The focus of the row has now swung onto
the CP having at least three AWB members
in its ranks.

But a parliamentary debate on the issue

~ President P W Botha told Parliamentina

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SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT |

on Tuesday that he would not tolerate anti-

Semitism and would take action.

He rejected Nazism and its dictatorial system in the strongest terms telling the Jewish community he appreciated their contribution to the country. :

Any organisation in this country which wants to start an anti-Jewish campaign will be acting in conflict with the law and convictions of this country, and I and the Government will not hesitate to oppose such actions.

azis

If need be Mr Botha said he would take new measures to Parliament to take Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progress Federal Party, also condemned the, | memorial service after announcing that M

le Grange had refused his request for a special debate. g

The service, he said, was not only an affront to humanity but to the millions of Jews who were killed and to the thousands - of South Africans who sacrificed their lives to help get rid of the scourge of Nazism.

The Conservative Party has been tainted with anti-Semitism almost since inception.

special statement read in all three Houses

At its Natal congress, last year anti-Semitic literature was being openly sold. : : Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has ordered an investigation into the ;

has equated it with s Âf
ments made by Mrs Wm-
nie Mandela. S
Mr Vlok said in a state-
ment that he had given
instructions for both the
Nazi ceremony and state-
ments allegedly made by
Mrs Mandela â\200\234that the
struggle should be taken
to the white residential
areas of Pretoriaâ\200\235 to be
investigated in terms of
the Internal Security Act.

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Ufanisa intsha yeNkatha -
nama\200\230\200\230bhubesi\200\235 emzabalazweni

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DUDU MBATHA. .
OLUNDI.\200\224 UMengameli wombutho

weNkatha nonguNdunankulu waKwa-
Zulu, Inkosi M.G. Buthelezi, ufanise
mtsha yeNkatha namabhubesi amancane
ngesikhathi ethula inkulumo yakhe
"engqungqutheleni yentsha yeNkatha
oLundi ngomGgibelo odlule.

Uthe selokhu kwathi
nhlo, umzabalazo we-
nkululeko kulelizwe ufu-
na ukuba intsha emnya-
ma ithwale = imithwalo
engaphezulu kweminya-
ka yayo. Ebhekise
entsheni ebigcwele ete-
ndeni uthe \200\230\200\230Kanizona
izingane zeNkatha, ke-
pha ningamabhubesi
"amancane eNkatha.\200\235\200\231
Uthi akakhulumi nayo
intsha njengezingane,
kodwa ukhuluma nayo

njengo\200\231\200\230comrade\200\231\200\231 emza-
balazweni, wathi futhi
ufuna ukushiyelana na-
yo imicabango ethile
ngezindaba ezisemqoka.

eFrance.
e

Udaba olusemqoka
athe ucabanga ukuthi lu-
bhekwe nxa kubhekwe .
ekunqobenl naseNingi-
zimu ne-Afrika entsha |
udaba lokuthi ingxeny-
engaphezulu kukahhafu,

yabobonke abantu aba-
mnyama baseNingizimu
ne-Afrika namhlanje ba-
neminyaka engu-15 na-
ngaphansi. Wathi lokhu
okwenziwa abaseNka-
â\200\230theni kanye nabasembu-
thweni wentsha weNka-
tha, nokuthi bakwenza
kanjani, yikhona okuyo-
lawula ukuthi leyongxe-
nye engama 50 ekhulwi-
ni yomphakathi onemi-
nyaka engu 1Â\$ nanga-!

| phansi iyoba nayo yini.

impilo efisa ukuyiphila. |
Wathi kuwowonke '

amagumbi alelizwe be-
kukhona ukuthi intsha
iphelelwe isineke noku-
ba ibabuyisele eceleniâ\200\231
abazali bayo, omalume
no-anti bayo njengaba-
ntu abayisidala abangazi
ukuthi benzani. Lokho
okuthiwa ngamaâ\200\230Oldiesâ\200\231,
(izaguga) ngolimi lwala-
bo abazazisa ngebala la-
bo elimnyama (Black
Consciousness).

UMengameli weNka-

| tha ughube wathi ziyafi-
| ka izikhathi lapho kudi-

ngeka khona ukusho izi-
| nto zinjengoba zinjalo
' nokulimisa ngesihloko,
wathi ngakho ulimisa
ngesihloko uthi iningi
lamaqogo alentsha ezi-
biza ngamaâ\200\230â\200\230comradesâ\200\231â\200\231
nezibiza ngamanye ama-
gama asebenzela uku:
khulisa ukugqolozelana
ngendluzula, kayenzi lu-
tho ngaphandle koku-
ngeolisa indlela abazo-
buye baphogeke ukuha-
mba kuyo ngomuso, wa-
thi babhidliza ikusasa
okuzodingeka ukuba ba-
phile kulo bona ngokwa-
bo.

Inkosi ighube yathi
bahlanganyela esifeni
esesabekayo sombusa- *
zwe esizokhinyabeza lo-
nke izwe nxa singaqe-
dwa kanye nobandlulu-
lo.. Yathi loluhlobo loku-
ziphatha kombusazwe
kuzothi ngokuhamba
kwesikhathi kuphendu-

kele wonke umuntu igu-
quke idle izingane zayo
njengoba kwenzeka ngo-
kuvukelwa komhuso