

SWA Namibia

QUO VADIS?

THE Aida Parker Newsletter
An APN Special Issue

Key historical dates.

- 1484 Portuguese navigators erect stone cross just north of what is now Swakopmund.
- 1486 Bartholomew Diaz lands from his 50-ton vessel at a bay which he names Angra Pequena.
- 1820/30 Orlams and other Khoisan groups move north from Cape Province.
- 1842 Rhenish Mission founded, later becoming the Evangelical Lutheran Church.
- 1868 Basters cross the Orange River from Cape to settle in SWA.
- 1874 Islands off SWA coast incorporated by Britain into Cape Colony.
- 1878 British acquire Walvis Bay.
- 1881 Basters join the Afrikaner Nama tribe in an attack on the Hereros.
- 1883 F A Luderitz, a German merchant, purchases the Bay of Angra Pequena and an adjacent strip of land along the coast from a Nama chief.
- 1884/5 Start of German colonial period, following Berlin Conference at which Africa was partitioned between European powers.
- 1904 Hereros revolt against the Germans. Herero casualties, some 80 000 dead.
- 1908 Discovery of diamonds near Luderitz.
- 1914 Outbreak of World War I. SA aligns with Britain against Germany.
- 1915 Conquest of territory by SA forces.
- 1919 Under Treaty of Versailles, German colonies confiscated and re-distributed.
- 1920 Namibia placed under League of Nations mandate, to be administered by SA.
- Post-WW2 UN rejects SA's request to incorporate the territory.
- 1960 Emergence of revolutionary parties. Ethiopia and Liberia announce they are instituting legal action in World Court to force SA to surrender its mandate. Case lasts six years.
- 1962 Two special UN representatives, Carpio and De Alva, visit SWA, issue joint communique stating "there are no signs . . . that the indigenous people was being exterminated." In face of Afro/Asian outrage, Carpio three weeks later repudiates his statement.
- 1966 World Court finds in SA's favour. UN General Assembly votes to terminate the mandate.
- 1977 Intervention of Western Contact Group.
- 1978 Contact Group persuades both SA and SWAPO to agree to their plan, officially embodied in UN Security Council Resolution 435.
- 1978/88 Decade of delay before SA, Angola and Cuba agree to a US-brokered settlement involving implementation of Resolution 435.
- April 1989 SA begins troop pullout and country prepares for independence elections.

Can ballots win where bullets lost for SWAPO?

MILITARILY, SWAPO lost the Namibian revolutionary war hands down. That, of course, is not the way SWAPO tells it. However, the fact remains that year in, year out, SWAPO sent its forces into Northern Namibia; and each and every time they suffered bone-crushing defeat at the hands of the SA Army and the SWA security forces. For all practical purposes, SWAPO's terrorist thrust had been effectively broken as far back as 1984.

The question now is: What it failed to win by the bullet, can SWAPO now win at the ballot box?

Barring serious incident, Namibia's independence will probably be formally proclaimed sometime next April, at roughly the same time that Zimbabwe celebrates a decade of black rule. The easy assumption is that SWAPO will take power when Namibia becomes Africa's 53rd independent state.

The African experience makes the belief in a SWAPO political victory plausible. From Algeria to Zimbabwe, it has always seemed that a Marxist/Leninist terrorist movement, especially if Soviet-sponsored, must ultimately prevail. In Namibia, it could just be that we will see the trend reversed.

APN sent staff on a fact-finding mission to Namibia. Our conclusion? That it is by no means a foregone conclusion that SWAPO will poll the necessary two-thirds majority in November's constitutional election though, given its large advantages, its chances of polling around 50% of the votes must be considered high.

INDEX

Child of the SA Communist Party	7
Nujoma's handicap	10
SWAPO's foreign friends	12
April fiasco	13
When churches go crazy	14
Atrocities	17
The Big Lie	18
Personality file	22 – 28
Party Glossary	27
Economic future	30
Walvis Bay	38

Ballots or bullets ...

• From Page 1

Totally oblivious to what their Marxist/Leninist philosophies have wrought elsewhere in Africa, totally oblivious to the fact that Mozambique has just shucked off Marxist/Leninism, SWA's terrorist chieftains are over-ridingly determined to establish a SWAPO government, by fair means or foul.

Already SWAPO has its carefully planned strategy to steal the votes, by cheating, coercion, blackmail, violence and intimidation, exactly as Robert Mugabe's ZANLAPF terrorist forces did in Rhodesia a decade ago. But Namibia is not Rhodesia and Mr Sam Nujoma is certainly not Mr Robert Mugabe.

The terrorist tacticians are forced into

such strongarm, bullyboy, no-holds-barred action because no one knows just how much genuine support SWAPO holds, even among the tribally affiliated Ovambos. SWAPO refused to test its popular support when it boycotted Namibian elections held in 1975, 1978 and 1980.

So, to ensure that the voters get the necessary message, SWAPO has its plans in place: to embark on some very persuasive intimidation, soft and hard. To this end, uniformed terrorists are even now crossing the Angolan border with weapons, demonstrating to the local population that, whatever they may think, SWAPO is still very much a force to be reckoned with.

On the soft intimidation side, not too many meetings are being held. Instead, SWAPO heavies are visiting the kraals, talking to the people on a one-to-one basis, telling them SWAPO will know exactly how each vote is placed: and advising the voters, in the interest of their own well being and survival, to watch it.

SWAPO is supported by radicals right across the board: in the trade union movement, the National Student Alliance and the Council of Churches in Namibia, to name but a few. Planned action includes use of such front groups throughout SWA in mobilising strikes, boycotts, demos and subversion; the full exploitation of all propaganda channels and the establishment of parallel organisations such as the well-advanced anti-SWAPOL (SWA Police) campaign.

CUBAN STUDENTS

Children and women will be extensively used over the next few months. Hundreds of students returning from the Hendrik Witbooi School on Cuba's Isle of Pines have been exhorted personally by Fidel Castro to become activists and "organise and guide" voters.

Strongarm squads have already created "no go" zones where the other political parties cannot go; and it is known that many of the terrorists have succeeded in registering as voters several times over. The official voting age for the election is 18. False Lutheran baptismal certificates for children years younger are in wide circulation.

There is nobody to stop this, because the army is now confined to barracks. And UNTAG? Here, again, **there are ugly parallels with the Rhodesian independence elections. Anyone familiar with SWA would at once question the ability of a trivial 4 650 UNTAG troops, foreigners operating in a strange land nearly twice the size of France, speaking none of the indigenous languages and with no first-hand experience of actual conditions, to identify and control thousands of terrorists. Apart from that the UNTAG forces, which are supposed to patrol, have shown themselves very reluctant to go out into the bush even in daytime and don't set foot outside their bases at night.**

Although it is difficult to obtain precise figures, it is self-abundant that SWAPO will have a Niagara of funding to throw into the election. With contributions pouring in from the World Council of Churches, the OAU, Western Europe, North America and the East bloc, its war chest presently is believed to be around \$60 million. With only about 680 000 voters on the books, you can buy a lot of support with that.

Outside SWA, questions have been asked about the processing of SWAPO "repatriates" by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) office in Luanda. Allegations include complaints that many SWAPO students were not registered for repatriation in accordance with normal procedures. There were multiple copies of forms; witnessing by UNHCR; completed forms turned over to SWAPO. The latter was particularly disturbing as it was known the ANC planned to "repatriate" numbers of its people to Namibia.

The ANC regarded this as viable because: 1. It was an impossibility for UNTAG to vet all those returning to SWA.

Hope alone remained ...

THE UN peace plan for SWA has been greeted with euphoria by media pundits and instant experts around the world as heralding a new era of peace, prosperity etc, etc.

However the view from Windhoek looks a little different, with this recent editorial entitled "Pandora's Box" appearing in the local newspaper *The Windhoek Advertiser*, 7.7.89. The box, it will be remembered, was an uncertain blessing as it could never again contain all the evils and distempers once they had been released. In the original fable, Hope alone remained at the bottom of the box to assuage the lot of man: unfortunately the opening of the Resolution 435 box has left very little hope in its wake.

Pandora's Box

The time has come for Southwesters to realise that the so-called peace plan has thus far brought us everything but the faintest sign of peace.

The election campaign that we are involved in, is totally different to what any of us have been used to until now.

Bullets and bombs may not be flying, but the war has not stopped.

How is it possible to talk of peace when certain people are coming into an election campaign with – so we have been told by reliable sources – the following:

- 1 600 armed Plan fighters dug in on our border;
- with Plan fighters positively identified amongst the refugees that had returned;
- with Plan fighters in certain Untag contingents;
- with certain Untag contingents armed to the brim;
- with Swapo slowing down the returning of refugees to the extent – so we believe – that it is 52% behind schedule;
- with Plan still south of the 16th Parallel;
- with the Cubans still in Angola.

Untag, the UN, the Five Western Powers, South Africa, and yes, the world must take serious note that we Southwesters lived here in peace and minded our own business.

The implementation of Res. 435 has brought adverse effects with it.

No peace. No harmony. No love. No caring. No blessing.

Of all things Res. 435 has brought with it a curse.

There is no difference between the implementation of Res. 435 to what there was on opening Pandora's box.

And the irony of it all is that we were not allowed to have any part in the whole thing, and we are glad that we did not.

If it was left to us to gain independence we would surely have made a grand success of it.



The magnificent, ancient Namib Desert. This photograph was taken in the 4,9-million hectare Namib-Naukluft National Park, fourth largest national park in the world.

2. The movement of people between Namibia and SA is difficult to control. 3. It is more cost effective to be "repatriated" to Namibia than moving ANC members from Angola to Tanzania, because this way the UN picks up the tab.

NAMES REFUSED

The anti-SWAPO, pro-Western, Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) asked for the names of all refugees listed in SWAPO camps in Angola and Zambia, this for monitoring purposes. The UN refused to supply those lists.

Refugee camps have been set up in the south of Namibia, some 1 000 km from the northern border. This is nonsense, because most refugees came from Ovamboland. Very few, if any, refugees originated in the south. The obvious intention is to instal SWAPO people in areas where it has no representation.

Another asset in SWAPO's election campaign is that its 8 000 terrorists return with the aura of "freedom fighters," with all the emotional impact that entails. How many SWAPO guerrillas have returned? No one knows. The UN refuses to disclose how

many are still in camps above the 16th Parallel. Many are not coming through the three or four entry points demarcated under the UN agreement. Many, too, are being filtered in with the refugees. This again makes monitoring difficult, if not impossible.

INFILTRATION

Not surprisingly, the UN states that it has no "substantial" proof that there are any SWAPO guerrillas below the 16th Parallel. There have also been **allegations that SWAPO terrorists have been infiltrated with the Kenyan force: there are reports that on occasion some of those in Kenyan uniform have got drunk and started speaking Afrikaans.**

Very, very important is that the OAU is on the record as saying that if the elections are proven "not to be fair," then it will understand should SWAPO resume the war. **A high SWAPO official is also on record as saying "... if the results are not as we expect, we will return to the fight."** In short, they are trying to make the elections not so much a political vote, but a referendum on whether the war will continue. Mugabe used the same tactics in

Rhodesia, and very successfully on a people exhausted by war.

In short, this promises to be an exceptionally dirty election. Namibia's road to *uhuru* threatens to be very rocky indeed.

PENETRATION BID

Despite all this, SWAPO is still far from being in a secure "winner-take-all" situation:

- SWAPO and the DTA are the two biggest parties contesting the election. The DTA, home to many competent, intelligent and experienced politicians and administrators who have done a first-rate job of administering the territory over many years, operates a highly efficient electoral machine. SWAPO is doing its utmost to penetrate the DTA in the hope that, in the event of failing to get the required two-thirds majority, it could arrange a marriage-of-convenience with this major pro-democracy group.

In the face of the DTA's long, courageous and consistent anti-SWAPO stance, for which it deserves much praise, this seems a pretty forlorn hope. Under a DTA government, Namibia would enter independence with a democratic, multi-ethnic, free market philosophy, giving the new nation a reasonable chance of survival.

Under the DTA, Whites would enjoy guaranteed rights – as would everyone – and under the DTA, these same Whites have already experienced majority government. Of the 65-member Assembly in the interim government, only 12 were White. Of the eight Cabinet Ministers, two were White.

NUJOMA'S BLUNDER

- UN, OAU and East West partiality has till now led SWAPO to believe in its own omnipotence. Till very recently, SWAPO had every reason to believe that the international community would support whatever it did, no matter how violent its behaviour, how gross its deviations from negotiated agreements. It was this confidence that led SWAPO chieftain Sam Nujoma into the disastrous, near-fatal blunder of ordering some 1 600/1 800 heavily armed guerrillas across the Angolan border on April 1, the very day that the ceasefire took hold. Of this idiocy, the liberal British foreign correspondent Gwynne Dyer wrote:

"A diplomat with an international organisation who has spent long years with Nujoma ... once told me privately that Nujoma was the only senior political leader he had ever met who was actually stupid. Which may explain his actions on the ceasefire."

"It takes a truly extraordinary talent to get SWAPO condemned by the UN, at the very moment of its triumph. And it required stupidity of the highest order to act in such a way that SA troops are re-deployed against SWAPO guerrillas, with UN permission. But Nujoma rose to the occasion and so, for the first time ever, SA troops went into combat under the general supervision of the UN. The

Ballots or bullets ...

• From Page 3

irony is that Nujoma, in seeking to prove to Namibian voters that SWAPO was the military victor of the war, may actually have managed to achieve the opposite effect."

Not nearly enough has been made of Nujoma's fiasco by the anti-SWAPO forces: a bad psychological blunder. It left the field wide open for the radical churches and the "liberal" Western media (including our own) to divert the blame to the security forces. Result? Not SWAPO, but Koevoet, have suddenly emerged as the bad guys.

EXECUTIONS

• SWAPO is also being well and truly savaged on its dismal human rights record. Allegations are that thousands of dissidents have "disappeared" in SWAPO camps in Angola and Zambia; that many have been summarily executed; that women and teen-

age girls have been raped by SWAPO leaders; that mental and physical torture was extensively used to extract confessions that the victims were "paid South African spies."

Scores of persons released from SWAPO-run prison camps are jointly preparing a dossier of their often hair-raising experiences, to expose these to the world. Asked why he was so open in his attack on SWAPO, one detainee replied: "If we keep quiet, we stand a good chance of having SWAPO in power. We know what that would mean to our people. *And what happens to us if they get into power?*"

VIOLENT PROTEGE

• Another bad setback for SWAPO is that the British Labour Party, long a major supporter, is taking a new look at its violent protégé. A particular convert to the anti-SWAPO movement is Labour peer Lord Gifford, a veteran anti-SA activist and till recently a staunch SWAPO enthusiast. His conversion came when Mrs Beince Gawanas, a Namibian woman barrister working in his London chambers, flew to Zambia to see her daughter. Arrested at Lusaka Airport, she was delivered to

SWAPO who accused her of being a "SA spy" and sent her to SWAPO HQ in Angola. Nothing like a little personal experience to help people see the light.

• SWAPO has also succeeded in painting the UNHCR into an uncomfortable spot. It is now disclosed that the UNHCR has for years accepted greatly exaggerated figures as it dispensed millions of dollars in aid to Namibians exiled in southern Africa. SWAPO last year claimed that it was caring for 69 000 refugees, receiving some R10 million from the UNHCR for this purpose. Additionally, the European Community has forked out about R2,8 million a year to food aid. Now it appears that SWAPO deliberately inflated these figures, both to boost its political importance and to gain additional international finance. Either way, it appears to have bilked the UNHCR of millions. UN officials admit that "it is common for refugee groups to exaggerate their numbers to obtain larger UN funds."

WILLINGLY FOOLED

• SWAPO has taken plenty of others for a ride. There is a well-documented case of a French relief agency representative arriving

SWAPO's vision: end private enterprise

IF YOU can slice through the turgid prose, one of the clearest expositions of SWAPO's commitment to Marxist/Leninism came in a speech by Mr David Meroro, National Chairman of the Swapo Politburo, delivered in East Germany in 1983, on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx. Delivering a prepared speech at a meeting chaired by GDR President Mr Erich Honecker, Mr Meroro said:

"We feel very honoured to be able to make our humble contribution to the life and work of the founder of scientific socialism. We, the **revolutionary democrats of SWAPO ... feel a particular obligation to Karl Marx.** Together with Friedrich Engels, he exposed the objective legitimacy of social development.

"They not only ascertained that the historic cause of such social evils as the oppression and exploitation of man by man was private ownership of the means of production (but) unlike the utopian socialists before them, **the founders of scientific socialism recognised that the abolition of exploitation of man by man first of all required the abolition of private ownership of the means of production.**

"When we honour the outstanding person and the brilliant work of Karl Marx today we, members of the Namibian national liberation movement, are aware that the invincibility of Marxism is to be attributed to the profound humanity of its founder. This profound, socialist humanism explains the attraction which Marxism holds for the oppressed people of the world. In this respect, the oppressed patriots and revolutionaries in Namibia are no exception.

"The Marxist analysis of the laws of social development postulates that the unavoidable decline of oppressive social orders such as capitalism and feudalism is not only the effect of objective laws, but is also to be attributed to the subjective activity of man.

"Thanks to this scientific insight on Marx's part, the victims of class and national oppression, be it in the US, South Africa, Namibia, Occupied Palestine or El Salvador, have access to **the fundamental truth that social processes can be guided and that society as such can be consciously and purposefully transformed for the good of man and mankind by those**

social forces which fight bravely for the overthrow of repressive and oppressive rulers.

"It was Marx and Engels who first predicted that with the success of the socialist revolutions in Europe, the colonial and independent countries of Asia and Africa ... would either miss out or shorten the process of capitalist development in their parts of the world.

"Marx and Engels foresaw that due to such (socialist) development it would no longer be historically necessary for the new nation state to go through the process of capitalist development before reaching the stage of socialist revolution. **In Namibia ... our country's patriots and revolutionary democrats, led by SWAPO, are showing considerable interest in the science of Marxism.**

"The following measures are necessary: the removal of the supremacy of foreign capital; strengthening of the country's political and economic independence; the state's leading role in economic activity; the guarantee of broad democratic rights and freedom for the population and the securing of actual participation of the masses in the discussion of drafts for development plans, the passing of agricultural reform and the improvement in the living standards of the population. Further ... that exploiters do not receive any leading positions in the State apparatus and that people from the working sections of the population are engaged in State organs.

"This is the background of rich experience against which Namibia's national liberation revolution is developing. In this sense, **SWAPO is convinced that there is room in our national liberation movement for the adoption and spreading of Marxist/Leninist doctrines, with a view to the transformation of the movement into a socialist avant-garde party.** Long live Marxism! Long live the unity of the main driving forces behind the world revolutionary process!" (APN emphasis).

Just how much of this tedious garbage Mr Meroro himself understood is open to question. What is **not** open to question is where his ideological loyalties rest. Namibians should find his views very interesting.



ABOVE: Windhoek's beautiful Christus Kirche. If the avowed Marxists of SWAPO gain power, will they treat it in the same way as the Marxist MPLA régime in Angola, desecrating and perhaps demolishing it?

BELOW: Awaiting new tenants – the Tintenpalast (Ink Palace) is Namibia's seat of government.

at the SWAPO "refugee" camp in Kwanza Sul, in Angola. His unannounced arrival coincided with a military march past by this camp's uniformed trainees, preparing for service in PLAN, SWAPO's armed wing. The British Council of Churches, OXFAM and the EEC Budget Committee, SWAPO's biggest European donors, are now trying to answer searching questions on whether they knew such "refugee" camps were being used for terrorist training? (They did).

- There is intense debate about the depth of SWAPO's devotion to *marxismo*. SWAPO's guideline for an independence constitution provides the answer. These follow hardline Marxist/Leninist lines of thought out of fashion even in Eastern Europe. Despite all the pabulum intended to calm White anxieties, a SWAPO regime would demonstrably replace the existing pro-Western, multi-racial, non-segregated society with a one-party state and the same collectivist economy that has brought economic degradation to all African states operating under the socialist banner.

Ironically, at the very time that the USSR is having to moderate its domestic and economic policies in a last-ditch attempt to survive, there is no sign of any such moderation in Mr Gorbachev's SWAPO god-children. SWAPO remains almost dramatically Stalinist in its approach.

If they understood what SWAPO was trying to sell, it is doubtful that Nujoma would pick up many Ovambo votes. Professor Michael Radu, of the US Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia, says: "The Ovambos are the most entrepreneurial

Black ethnic group I have ever seen. They are born capitalists. SWAPO's programme doesn't fit in very well with that kind of mentality ..."

FACTIONS EMERGE

- While SWAPO will probably remain united for the election and immediately beyond, it is clear that factions are emerging. SWAPO has leadership problems, with the "old guard" increasingly fearful that they will be outshone by better-educated, more dynamic younger men. Reports indicate that Nujoma himself is nervous of returning, knowing that he has many sworn enemies among former prison camp inmates and that he is under strong challenge by the more ambitious of the younger SWAPO leaders. Present intention is that he will not return till mid-October.

- Then there is the question of the Big A, something no one seems prepared to discuss in SWA. Basing calculations on the infection rate of AIDS in Zambia and Angola, it is reasonable to suppose that at least 20%, possibly far more, of SWAPO cadres from camps in the adjoining territories are HIV positive. What is SWAPO doing about this? And, far, far more important, what is this going to do to Namibians generally?

UN PARTIALITY

Against all this, it would be foolish to pretend that SWAPO does not possess some very powerful trump cards.

There is the vital question of partiality. This is a UN-supervised election. We are

• **To Page 6**



Ballots or bullets ...

• From Page 5

assured that both the UN and the UNTAG forces are pledged to "absolute impartiality;" that "SWAPO will voluntarily forego its preferential treatment by the UN General Assembly." Unfortunately, the fact remains that for the UN, SWAPO represents an enormous investment both in money and prestige. **Given the UN's scandalous record of exclusive, all-out support for SWAPO, can the world body in any way at all be regarded as neutral in relation to Namibia?**

The UN long ago formally declared SWAPO "the sole and authentic voice of the Namibian people," this though SWAPO had from the outset proved itself an inflexible, saturated Soviet surrogate, armed, financed, trained and advised by Moscow. It was this "sole voice" fiction that for so long obscured the realities of the SWA situation.

It has been impossible to persuade the UN or, indeed, any Western government that the UN claim that SWAPO alone represented the Namibian people was nothing more than an outright lie. Despite its carefully manufactured name – "SWA People's Organisation" – SWAPO still draws its main support from the Ovambos, who are far from being in solid-bloc support for Nujoma. Further, the Ovambos represent only one element of a diverse political and ethnic mosaic.

BLANKET OF DECEIT

The Ovambos are indeed the largest group, but the "peoples" total no less than 11 ethnic groups: Ovambos, Whites, Damaras, Hereros, Namas, Kavangos, East Caprivians, Coloureds, Bastards, Bushmen and Tswana. No one can squeeze these into a single mould, "peoples." They are human beings, not political abstractions. A durable, representative government should have room for all of them, not just SWAPO. Another fiction that needs to be discarded is that holding an election is all that is needed to make a nation of Namibia.

But not only did the UN swaddle



Elephant in the Etosha National Park, Namibia's premier tourist attraction. Will they suffer the same fate as has wildlife in other parts of Africa, ruthlessly hunted to extinction while corrupt governments turn a blind eye?

SWAPO in a thick blanket of deceit about its ethnic support but, worse, in December 1976 the 31st General Assembly formally endorsed SWAPO's resort to "armed struggle." This resolution directly contravened several articles of the UN Charter: "to practice tolerance and living together in peace" (Preamble); "to maintain international peace ... the suppression of acts of aggression ... to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems" (Chapter 1, Article 1); "settle ... international disputes by peaceful means ... refrain from the threat or use of force" (Chapter 1, Article 2).

Nor did UN attitudes moderate over the years. As recently as February 1988 the General Assembly commended SWAPO for its "intensification of the armed struggle" and mandated the massively infiltrated Council of Churches in Namibia to "make adequate financial provision for SWAPO offices in New York" and to "defray" SWAPO expenses. The CCN was also to "consult with" and "cooperate with" SWAPO in formulating its programmes.

None of this exactly gives non-SWAPO Namibians much confidence in UN bona fides. No last-minute disavowals wipe the memory away. **Many believe that, on its past record of bias, there should have been a rigid ban on the UN as a major intervenor in Namibia's destiny.**

Also to be factored in is the role of the US State Department which brokered the badly flawed West African "peace accords"

and now wants to see its much ballyhooed "peace miracle" in Namibia succeed, irrespective of what happens later. For 30 years or more, Uncle Big Nose has demanded "independence" and "majority rule" in Africa. But, to quote Professor Susan Huck, "not just any old Blacks suit the State Department."

Throughout its years of meddling in Africa, the State Department has favoured very special Blacks: Soviet-aligned Marxist/Leninist revolutionary groups which have practised terrorism at every level and, in the end, unable to shoot their way to power, have been installed by other means, courtesy the appeasers, accommodationists and others who remain deaf, dumb and blind to the appalling disasters Marxist/Leninism has brought to Africa.

Inspired by monumental animus against Pretoria, all that interested the State Department was getting SA out of Namibia. As everywhere else, official Washington remains blithely indifferent to the needs of the common people, and the tragedies that overwhelm them when things go wrong. On their role in Africa, the Americans certainly can't hold the moral high ground.

BLEAK, BUT ...

Against that admittedly bleak scenario, can SWAPO's ruthless bid for power at all costs be defeated? Yes, it can. But only if:

- 1. The anti-SWAPO parties really get their act together and, as a matter of national emergency, weld themselves into a united front. Someone needs to be banging heads together here. It is no time for inter-party rivalry. For Namibians of goodwill, this is a matter of survival.
- 2. The anti-SWAPO parties maintain first-class intelligence and force UNTAG to reduce intimidation to manageable levels.
- 3. To treat all SWAPO promises of cosmetic adjustment with maximum caution and scepticism.
- 4. To go into high gear with forward planning in case SWAPO makes an all-out drive to derail Resolution 435.

There is not the slightest doubt that Namibia's diverse people would be radically and tragically robbed of their present bright hopes of peace, stability, prosperity and justice in the event of a SWAPO victory. PLEASE READ ON.

Reds on top again?

GIVING evidence before the Denton Commission, Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, former US Ambassador to the UN, described SWAPO thus: "It is one of those coalitions, of which we have seen a good many in our times, which includes some rather heterogeneous elements: some purely nationalist elements and some not very well defined elements that are explicitly oriented toward the Soviet Union and were trained there." She also remarked: "(SWAPO) ... does include in its leadership some significant portion of persons tied to the Soviets by training and by predilection. And its principal source of arms is of course the Soviet Union or surrogates thereof and we have seen in our times a good many such coalitions come to power only to have the most well organised unit, which usually turns out to be the Soviet-oriented, Marxist/Leninist, seize control of the coalition."

• **Hiding behind lies, deceit, collusion and fraud**

SWAPO: beguiling child of SA Communist Party

SWAPO, both internally and externally, is today full of beguiling words. Hoping to win both investor and voter confidence, it attempts to project itself as a party of moderation and reasonableness: as a purely "nationalist" movement, representative of all the peoples of SWA, promising "no communism," a "bill of rights," "no large-scale nationalisation," "no one-party state."

Internally, it is wooing the Whites, urging them to stay – "there will be no Nuremberg trials." What is wanted, it is piously claimed, is that Namibia be a "non-racial, peaceful and prosperous enclave."

How far can this conciliatory, "new look" SWAPO be trusted? On its own track record, all lights should be on "caution." At the very least, that record would suggest that SWAPO promises of "full democracy," "no nationalisation" and "freedom for all" are probably more tactical than substantive.

SHIELD OF LIES

From its earliest beginnings, SWAPO has been enwrapped in a protective shield of lies, mendacity, deceit, collusion and outright fraud. The official version is that SWAPO was founded in Windhoek by local "patriots" opposed to the migratory labour laws in 1960. That is the first lie. SWAPO was not initially conceived by Ovambo labourers, as claimed. It was *not* founded in Namibia, or even in Ovamboland.

It was born in Cape Town, the midwives being senior White executives of the old SA Communist Party. These were Professor H J (Jack) Simon, a lawyer; his wife, Rachel (Ray) Alexander, a trade union activist; Ben Turok, A Sachs and Fred Carneson. According to statements after his arrest, Herman Toiva ja Toiva, one of the SWAPO founders, said other SACP members with whom he had contact included Dennis Goldberg, George Peake and Brian Bunting. He also stated that these same people continued to play an important role in the growth and development of SWAPO for some years thereafter.

RED-INSPIRED

A police report tabled in the SA Parliament on April 13, 1967, said that most SWAPO executive members had been "trained and inspired" by White Communists and "all had accepted the principles of Communist ideology." This would be in line with advice given on the SA situation by both Lenin and Leon Trotsky. In 1935 Trotsky, in a pamphlet entitled *The*



SWAPO's SAM NUJOMA during a press conference at the Soviet Foreign Ministry in Moscow, October 25 1984.
— Sovfoto

South African Problem, wrote: "A victorious revolution is unthinkable without the awakening of the native masses."

SWAPO's history dates back to 1955 when a former schoolteacher, Andreas Shipanga, decided to move to SA where he met Toiva in Cape Town. They decided to establish the Ovamboland People's Congress, later to be renamed the Ovamboland People's Organisation, still later renamed again the SWA People's Organisation (SWAPO), the latter to give the impression of a representative organisation with a valid claim to speak for "the people" of Namibia.

That claim, too, is false. The mere existence of nearly 50 other political parties in the field unquestionably demolishes the

international supposition that SWAPO is the "sole and only" representative of the Namibian people. Nor did merely changing the name make SWAPO more attractive to other tribal groupings, it being well-known that SWAPO was basically an Ovambo organisation and many of the smaller groups fearing swamping by aggressive elements of this northern tribe.

FAIRY TALE

It is frequently argued that SWAPO's leaders "only gradually turned to violence." Another fairy tale. Mr Andreas Shipanga admitted in 1973 that he and others, even before SWAPO came into being, had met in secret to study Marxism/Leninism and the writings of Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara on revolutionary tactics.

From the beginning SWAPO's method of making an impression on their more peaceful brethren in Ovamboland was by intimidation and terrorism. In early 1961 SWAPO's first target was, ironically, a Finnish mission station at which thousands of Ovambo youths had received their education and their introduction to Christianity.

The first raid from outside the territory was in 1965 when six terrorists entered Ovamboland and murdered a shopkeeper and attempted to enlist a number of tribespeople as "soldiers." Other groups followed, all having been trained to a greater or lesser degree in the USSR, Red China, Cuba, Algeria, North Korea, Egypt, Ghana and Tanzania.

• To Page 8

'Neutral' against freedom

A US Senate sub-committee on African affairs met in Room 2172, Capitol Hill, on July 20. Congressman Dan Burton asked the new Under-Secretary for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, if it was correct that very large sums of foreign funding were going to SWAPO?

Mr Cohen: "Not to my knowledge."

Mr Burton then tabled clippings from *The Washington Post* and *Washington Times*, reporting that the OAU alone was giving SWAPO \$5 million.

Asking for the date of publication, Mr Cohen said: "I was away that day."

Mr Burton: "Would these and similar large sums not give SWAPO an unfair advantage?"

Mr Cohen: "That is what a free and fair election is all about. You get the money wherever you can."

Mr Burton asked what would happen should the US decide to allocate funds to the DTA to balance things out?

Panel member: "We could not do that. It would make it appear that the US was taking sides."

How cynical can you get?

SWAPO: child of the SACP

• From Page 7

In the autumn of 1965, SWAPO established its first operational base, Ungulumbashe, inside Ovambo territory. The next year, the group instituted terror warfare as a revolutionary tactic, soon afterwards being given active UN support. The first clash between SWAPO insurgents and the SA security forces occurred in August 1966 when the Ungulumbashe base was captured and destroyed.

Around now, SWAPO's armed wing adopted the title of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). A briefing paper prepared by British writer and strategist, Ian Greig, then Deputy Director of the London-based Foreign Affairs Research Institute, disclosed that **PLAN had adopted Marxist-style training and indoctrination techniques. Each platoon had a political commissar** as well as a commander and a system of area commanders and area political commissars.

LAND MINES

In 1971, PLAN began making increasing use of land mines. From early 1972 onwards clashes with the security forces began to occur on a somewhat larger scale. Despite this, SWAPO's military effort remained essentially low key and ineffective. In 1973 Nujoma called on his supporters inside SWA to cross the border into Angola or Zambia, to be trained by the UN as future administrators of Namibia.

Prompted by this and other extravagant

Relax! Peanut Jimmy's coming

THE international "liberal left" will certainly be well represented during SWA's November independence elections. The US Democratic Party, through former US President Jimmy Carter and his Vice President, Walter Mondale, will send some 200 people as observers. At a Capitol Hill meeting State Department Under-Secretary Herman Cohen explained: "Mr Carter will serve his country there, just as he served it in Panama ..." Senator Dan Burton, "Oh, so he did finally serve his country." (Laughter).

In Panama, APNers will recall, the ineffectual Carter was detailed to observe the election that was designed to dump former CIA stooge-turned-cocaine baron General Manuel Noriega. Despite all of Carter's observations, Noriega still runs Panama very much the way he wants to. It seems unlikely the Georgia peanut farmer will do much better in SWA.

promises, more than 3 000 SWAPO members heeded Nujoma's call, in spite of the fact that only about 100 were needed to fill a training institution, at that time non-existent, in Lusaka. Most of the others found that their "scholarships" were simply a one-way ticket to terrorist training camps. Disillusioned, many returned to SWA with a distinctly changed outlook.

Despite its continuing lack of military success, incessant lobbying at the world body resulted in formal UN support for SWAPO in 1973. On December 12 of that year the UN General Assembly resolved that the UN "... recognises that the national liberation movement of Namibia, the SWA People's Organisation, is the authentic representative of the Namibian people ... and supports the efforts of the movement to strengthen that unity."

This UN action substantially boosted SWAPO's international prestige, which was now further aided by important support from the Anglican, Catholic and Lutheran Churches. Soviet support for SWAPO escalated sharply after 1974, with the collapse of

Portuguese rule in Angola and Mozambique. From 1975 onwards, a network of training camps and bases were established for SWAPO in southern Angola.

SOVIET OFFICERS

Evidence, including identity cards abandoned or taken from the bodies of White instructors killed by SA troops during commando raids against the SWAPO bases, showed that those training SWAPO insurgents included not only Cuban, East German and Bulgarian military officers, but also officers of the Soviet Red Army. Not only were links with Communist countries now very much strengthened, but SWAPO leaders also began to obtain increasing influence among important sections of Western political opinion.

Such Western support was all the more remarkable, because SWAPO made no secret of its hatred for Western values. In a 1975 interview in Lusaka Kakauru Nganjone, the movement's Chief Political Commissar, gave a glimpse of the "political edu-

• Continued opposite

'Don't rock the boat too soon ...'

PAINFULLY aware of the catastrophes that have overtaken other African states when Whites have been driven out on independence, SWAPO appears to be making a genuine effort to avert such a dread event in Namibia.

One of SWAPO's top men, Hage Geingob, has been at pains to dispel any fears among Whites that, in the event of taking power, SWAPO intends to create an ideology-bound, exclusivist Black state.

Coming across as a pragmatic man, he said on his return to Windhoek in June after 27 years in exile: "If you've been in the classroom all these years and learnt nothing, you are a bad student." One lesson he has learnt is that to emulate Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and to a lesser degree Zimbabwe and drive out Whites, with their skills and capital, is to risk economic suicide.

"We will be talking to White businessmen and White farmers," he said. "People are afraid of the unknown - we will talk to them to dispel that fear. We'll tell them: 'You have the skills. You've done a good job. Stay and help us build the new nation!'" When he spoke of the "good job" done by the Whites, he was doing more than electioneering. Asked his reaction to changes since he had gone into exile, he said he was "shocked but delighted" to see how Windhoek had grown and prospered.

Asked about the highly explosive issue of land redistribution as laid down in SWAPO's election manifesto, he said: "Somehow we'll sort it out. Above all, we know that hasty decisions on this and the economy can put us in trouble. We must not rock the boat too soon."

Not rocking the boat means, among other things, taking stock of the fact that there are inevitable economic ties with SA. "We can choose our friends but not our neighbours. We must try and lessen the dependency but trade with SA will continue."

Another exponent of sweetness-and-light is SWAPO Committee member Crispin Matongo. Offering the territory's White population "full and free citizenship," he says that all Whites have to do is "accept the responsibility to harmonise with all the territory's other citizens."

He added: "We are appealing to our White brothers and sisters to come forward to build one nation. Whites must feel free, feel at home. Everything they have will remain theirs."

The number of Whites has fallen from a high of about 110 000 in the mid-1970s. There was an exodus of between 25 000 and 30 000 following SA's agreement to UN Resolution 435 in 1978. Today, most Whites seem in philosophical mood at the prospect of a Black majority Government.

"We have done a lot of work preparing people for a Black government in an independent state," says DTA chairman, Dirk Mudge. "Had independence been put into effect ten years ago it would have been a disaster. People are more used to the idea now and I think it will go more smoothly this time."

There has been some movement of capital to either Walvis Bay or to SA, but overall, banks and building societies report no major drain on savings.

cation" being given to recruits in base camps. This apparently included discussions about "The Korean War, the Chinese Revolution and the October Revolution in the Soviet Union, where the first Socialist country was established.

"We talk about Cuba and Latin America where movements are also building a strong Socialism and anti-imperialism, just like on the African continent. We study these examples, and discuss why one revolution triumphs while others fail. We try to create an understanding of all progressive forces fighting to end Capitalism and imperialism in this world. We are a national liberation movement, and we want to end Imperialism in Namibia first of all. But the workers and peasants of our country are also part and parcel of the world revolutionary process and therefore we try to give them an understanding of the importance of proletarian internationalism."

Editions of *Umbuze ya Namibia*, monthly publication of SWAPO's internal wing, also at this time referred to the need to destroy the capitalist system in Namibia and to regard the struggle as a class one and part of "the entire process of liberation in the world today."

In 1976 SWAPO formally adopted Marxist/Leninism as its guiding ideology. The movement's Central Committee adopted a new political programme resolving to "... unite all Namibian people, particularly the working class, the peasantry and progressive intellectuals, into a vanguard party capable of safeguarding national independence and of building a classless, non-exploitative society based on ideals and principles of scientific socialism."

GODFATHER

This decision, apparently, very much pleased SWAPO's main financial godfather, the United Nations. On December 20, 1976, the General Assembly took a truly astonishing decision. It formally resolved that "it recognises that the national liberation movement of Namibia, the SWA People's Organisation, is the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people."

SWAPO continued to make its own position unmistakably clear. In a document, *The True Nature of Imperialism*, distributed in early 1978, the movement said: "We

cannot escape the fact that as long as South Africa remains a bulwark of capitalism, the independence of the rest of the sub-continent is going to be continually threatened. It is not sufficient to break the hold of South Africa ... to open the path of true liberation, we must break imperialism as a world economic system."

Addressing a meeting of "non-aligned" nations in New York, October 2, 1978, Sam Nujoma said that SWAPO shared a com-

mon bond of militant "camradely" (sic) and "solidarity with the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, the National Liberation Movements of South Africa, the Palestine Liberation Organisation, Polisario, FRETILIN and ... other gallant forces of liberation."

During a 1981 visit to Southern Africa, East German President Erich Honecker met Nujoma in Luanda, promising increased aid from the GDR. Earlier, in a radio interview

• To Page 10

'Communists? Who, us?'

WITH both the Soviet and Red Chinese empires suffering rapid disintegration, and Marxism/Leninism finally exposed as the greatest con trick of the 20th Century – a god that failed – it is suddenly very demodé to admit being a Communist. That applies equally to SWAPO, now desperately trying to scramble away from the "Communist" label.

But can a leopard change its spots?

Its leaders still describe SWAPO as a "national liberation movement." It is critical that Namibian voters understand the significance of this give-away definition.

In the eyes of Soviet theoreticians, a "national liberation movement" is the third most important component of the "world revolutionary process." The other two are "the world socialist system" (states ruled by Communist parties) and "the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries." Some 82 Communist parties in non-Communist countries are officially recognised by the CPSU (Communist Party, Soviet Union). Among the "liberation movements," Moscow's approval and regard for any one revolutionary group can be most immediately assessed by the position accorded it on the World Peace Council (WPC), the USSR's most important international front and, secondly, by the space allocated to articles by the group's leaders and thinkers in *World Marxist Review (WMR)*.

Sam Nujoma was appointed to the WPC Presidium quite a few years ago – an honour shared by ANC terror chieftain Oliver Tambo – and SWAPO leaders have had numbers of articles published in the WMR. Nujoma and his senior lieutenants have regularly attended and addressed major Soviet party congresses and conferences.

In his address to the March 1981 26th Congress of the CPSU, Nujoma described then-Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev as a "devoted, staunch fighter for peace, detente, freedom and the people's rights and human dignity of all the world's peoples." With radically changed viewpoints in Moscow itself, and Brezhnev now demoted there to "a senile, intellectually deprived" dumbo, Mr Nujoma may not today relish repetition of his fulsome words of praise of his dead friend: but he did say them, indicating where his loyalties rested.

Can SWAPO adapt to Soviet changes, especially Gorbachev's turn to capitalism?

It is not going to be easy. Sean Cleary, a SA foreign affairs fundi and expert on SWAPO ideology, wrote this in the Washington journal, *Lincoln Review*: "Years of indoctrination in the tenets of Marxist/Leninism, the training of thousands of *cadres* in the Soviet Union, East Germany and Angola, and dependence on Moscow – 60% overall and 90% in the military field, according to US Government sources – have taken their inevitable toll. SWAPO's organisational and ideological lexicon is today almost wholly Communist, despite occasional attempts to impress Western audiences with promises of 'democracy' and 'non-alignment.'"

The 1982 Denton Commission hearings (US Congress) into Soviet support for terrorism in Southern Africa, made much the same point in their conclusion: "On the basis of the testimony presented and the documents made available to the subcommittee, the conclusion is inescapable: that the Soviets and their Communist allies within SWAPO insure that Marxist/Leninist doctrine is systematically taught to all who are recruited for, or pressed into service in, SWAPO and PLAN (SWAPO's armed wing)."

Although they try to play this down, there is no doubt that the era of Gorbachev – and the new winds blowing through Africa, as nation after nation attempts to shuck off socialist/Marxist ideology – has created serious credibility problems for SWAPO.

Much of the ideology to which it remained steadfast throughout "the struggle" is today a proven chimera. The motherland of socialism, the USSR, seems irretrievably headed for economic collapse, its empire splintering, while Red China contains its democrats (for the time being, anyhow) with soldiers shooting to kill in Tiananmen Square.

In this climate, trying to sell any reasonably sophisticated Namibian voter on the advantages of "democratic socialism" and "proletarian internationalism" should come across as a sick joke. **Unfortunately, it is not the sophisticated voter SWAPO is targeting.**

Shabby Paradise

"IT is the intellectuals who are now the real bearers of the communist tendency in the West, not workers and peasants. The communist system is a kind of paradise for intellectuals. A shabby and dirty paradise, but paradise all the same." – Alexander Zinoviev, writing in *The Intelligentsia; Communism's Voluntary Stronghold*.

SWAPO: child of the SACP

• From Page 9

in East Berlin, Nujoma said that the "struggle" was about to become more intense and that SWAPO looked to the GDR for "wider support." SWAPO had opened offices in East Berlin in 1978 and from that time onwards hundreds of wounded SWAPO members were treated in East German hospitals.

While SWAPO relied mainly for support in its armed insurrection upon East bloc nations, this was by no means the case regarding other types of aid. Tens of millions of rand found their way to the movement through such channels as the World Council of Churches, leftwing groups in Western countries and in some cases, Western governments, including Sweden, Holland, Denmark, France, Canada and Australia.

As the biggest single contributor to UN

SWAPO special

"THIS plan favours SWAPO. It was the quickest way for them to get into power." — Pauline Baker, a senior associate at the Carnegie Foundation in Washington.

budgets, the US inevitably became the biggest single contributor to UN-funded support for SWAPO. The UN Commissioner for Namibia maintained offices in New York, Luanda and Botswana. The UN Council for Namibia, the UN Fund for Namibia and the UN-supported Institute for Namibia all co-operated closely with SWAPO in its role as "the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian People."

All received generous funding from the UN budget. The UN High Commission for Refugees and the Economic and Social Council's UN Development Programme also provided "humanitarian aid" for refugees and others from Namibia. Over many years, the UN Development Pro-

gramme (UNDP) provided funds to SWAPO for "education and training in the field of public information." It also provided large sums in general education assistance to SWAPO in Angola.

The extent of such funding can be gauged by the fact that as far back as fiscal year 1978/79, the UN Council for Namibia alone budgeted US\$3 304 200 for its own operations and those of the UN Commissioner for Namibia.

SETBACK

The biggest single propaganda setback ever suffered by SWAPO — but, inevitably, one whose implications were totally ignored both by the UN and all Western powers — came in the 1978 Namibian general election. Although boycotted by SWAPO, which worked frantically to persuade Namibian voters also to boycott the election, with Nujoma calling fruitlessly for a general strike, a total of 326 264 votes were cast. This represented 80.3% of the country's registered voters and about 75% of the total potential electorate.

Nujoma: one of Africa's least edu

SHOULD SWAPO indeed come to power, what of a President Sam Nujoma? Does this tall, buck-toothed, long-time terrorist chieftain have the capacity to lead the new sovereign state of Namibia?

Since the independence process began to unravel the stability of this formerly peaceful, slumbering continent some 33 years ago Africa — to its agonising cost — has suffered some incredibly inept and incompetent leaders. It would not appear that Nujoma, lacking in intellect, with his faltering command of English, feared and distrusted by many of his own senior lieutenants, is the man to break that mould. As one of Africa's least educated revolutionary leaders, he has proved a highly controversial figure throughout his career.

Born in the remote northern village of Onganjero, about 100 km from the Angolan border, on May 12, 1927, he came into the world as Samuel Tshombe, eldest of eight sons of an Ovambo peasant. He was briefly enrolled at the local Finnish Lutheran School and received his first English lessons at the Anglican-run St Barnabas Mission in Windhoek.

AGITATION

In 1959, while working as a steward for the SA Railways in Cape Town, he came under the influence of Toiva ja Toiva and through him joined an obscure political grouping known as the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO). After being fired from the SAR for union agitation, he returned to Windhoek to become a municipal clerk.

In a remarkably short time, and for unexplained reasons, he suddenly emerged as president of OPO. This was at a time when such embryonic revolutionary organisations received considerable impetus from the SA Communist Party, then providing the necessary indoctrination, political schooling and guidance of the revolutionary leadership in those formative years.

NARROW BASE

Nujoma also joined the SWA National Union (SWANU) and was appointed to the SWANU executive following the merger of OPO and SWANU in September, 1959. He soon gained a reputation for his role in various resistance actions centred around community issues in SWA. Charged with sedition and agitation, he fled SWA on February 24, 1960, to escape trial, arriving via Tanzania and Ghana, in New York on June 12, 1960, to appear before the UN Committee for SWA.

During these early years, he was much inspired by Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere, two professional politicians then much idolised by the West, but both destined to wreck their own countries and bring immeasurable misery to millions of people.

Once in the US, and with Toiva ja Toiva off the scene, Nujoma, with the assistance of Mburuma Kerima, reconstituted OPO, renaming it the SWA People's Organisation (SWAPO), in an attempt to disguise its narrow tribal (Ovambo) origins. Nujoma became SWAPO's self-appointed president, a position to which he has clung with great tenacity, despite repeated efforts to dislodge him. After six months in New York,

he set up SWAPO's headquarters in Dar es Salaam in March 1961.

In December 1962 SWAPO's external leaders called a meeting at which it was decided to recruit Ovambos for terrorism, guerrilla warfare and sabotage. The declared objective was to take SWA by force. Never one to be close to the frontline, Nujoma continued his propaganda work in the capitals of the world, his flamboyant and extravagant lifestyle resulting in considerable criticism and dissatisfaction among the SWAPO rank-and-file.

On March 20, 1966, he and administrative under-secretary Lucas Pohamba arrived in Windhoek in a chartered aircraft. Arrested, they were flown out again at 5 am the next day. On August 24, 1966, Nujoma officially launched the "armed struggle," a low-level insurgency beginning with attacks in the North, depending largely on ambushes and land mines.

RESENTMENT

The emergence of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) and the growing realisation in party ranks that Nujoma had little or no regard for the tenets of democracy, brought to a head the long-simmering resentment against his leadership. The postponement of SWAPO's scheduled Congress proved to be the last straw.

The leadership challenge was led by Andreas Shipanga, following allegations of misappropriation of large sums of money by the Lusaka-based leadership, nepotism and general lack of principled devotion to

A significant point about these elections: the US State Department sent "observers" to SWA for the occasion, but while there they met only with SWAPO representatives, refusing to meet with any of the DTA spokesmen. So much for US reverence for "democracy." Another question, as pertinent today as it was then: **Does the US seriously believe in "majority" rule, or does it in hard fact really subscribe to "conquest by terror"?**

SWAPO's advocacy of and commitment to violence needs further mention. Nujoma and his associates have faithfully presented themselves to gullible overseas audiences as "freedom fighters." Factual history rips gaping holes in such pretensions. SWAPO's objectives have never been to find a peaceful solution to the Namibian problem.

As far back as May 2, 1972, Nujoma was quoted at a New York press conference as saying: **"I pledge here and now that we will continue to talk to South Africa in the only language they understand and that**

• To Page 12

ated leaders

the "struggle." Nujoma responded with the force which has come to characterise SWAPO under his leadership. With the complicity of Kenneth Kaunda, the Zambian Army was used to arrest and imprison some 2 000 SWAPO adherents.

Nujoma has demonstrated over and over again that what he cares about is power, not Namibia or the people of Namibia, as both African leaders and Western diplomats readily admit – in private. He is a man of very uncertain temper, not averse to physical violence should the occasion serve.

THREATS

At the European Parliament in May 1987 Nujoma slapped the face of one of three women from the Council of Churches in Namibia who had asked what had become of their children. He also threatened a former SWAPO member accompanying the women, Phil Ya Nangoloh: **"We will kill you."**

He does not deny that SWAPO "espouses the principles of Marxist/Leninism." Indeed, he has for many years demonstrated a slavish devotion to the USSR, being rewarded for such loyalty by being awarded the Lenin Peace Prize and the November Medal in recognition of his service to Soviet objectives. A frequent visitor to the USSR, he has for years waged verbal war against the West and against the free market system. This has not prevented him being feted in London, Washington and Europe.

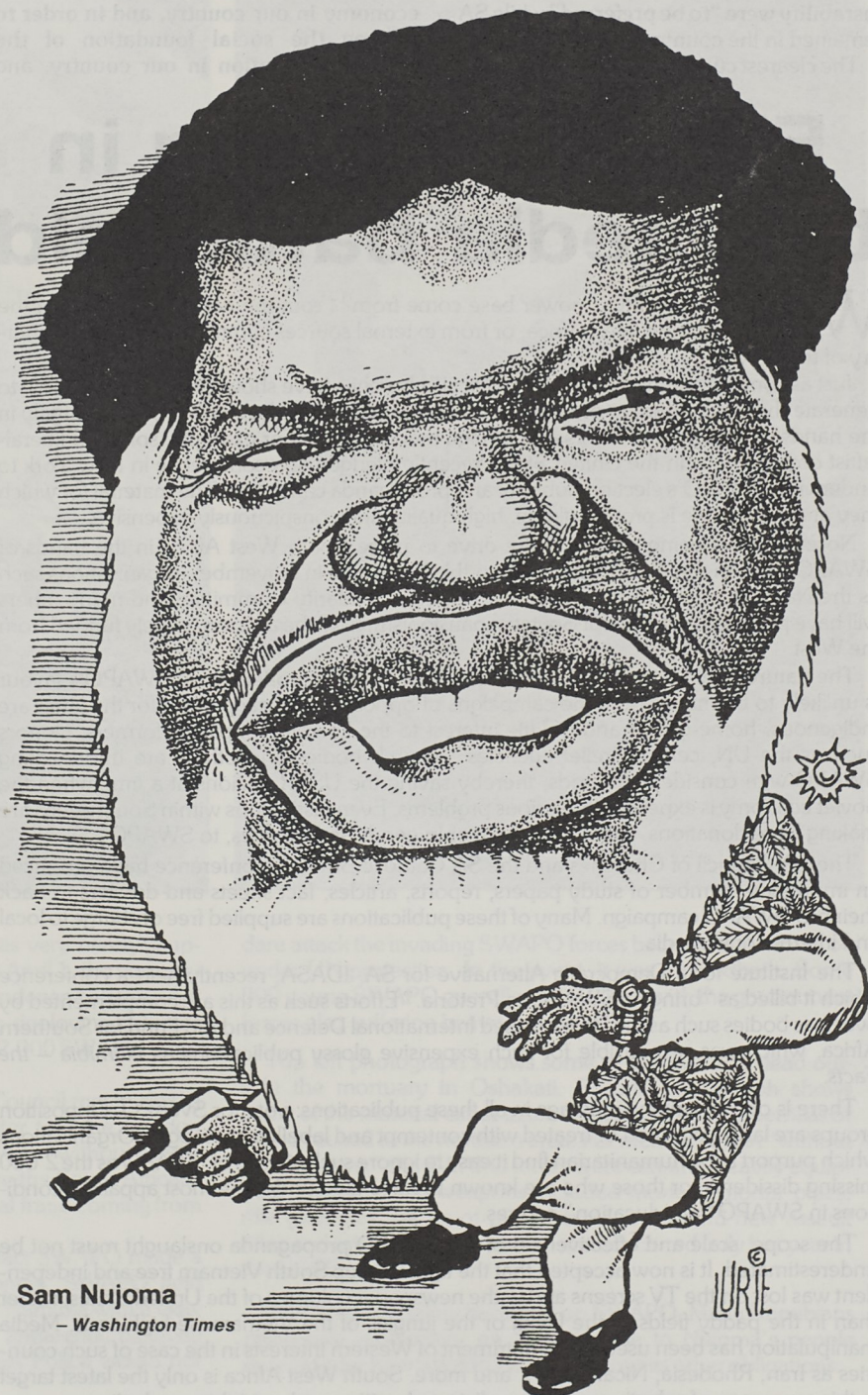
Overall, it does not appear that his accession to power would bode well for the future of the new Namibia.

On the record

IN an interview with the SABC in New York on February 28, 1978, Nujoma said: **"The question of Black majority rule is out. We are not fighting for even majority rule. We fight to seize power in Namibia, for the benefit of the Namibian people. We are revolutionaries. We are not counter-revolutionaries."** Nujoma denied any SWAPO atrocities, and blamed them on the SADF. He warned **"The people would do away with traitors,"** after they seized power. **"Traitors"** in his terms meant the Namibians fighting beside South Africa and the "puppets" of the "internal parties."

At a SWAPO conference in April, 1976, Nujoma arbitrarily proclaimed his organisation's adherence to "scientific socialism" – that is, Marxism – and lauded the USSR, Cuba and East Germany as **"SWAPO's national ideological allies."** He ended his speech with **"Long Live the Great Lenin. Long Live the Great October Revolution."**

Addressing the 26th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in March 1981, Nujoma declared: **"Without the support of the Soviet Union, we would not have been able to achieve these results that we have achieved today."**



Sam Nujoma
– Washington Times

SWAPO: child of the SACP

• From Page 11

is the intensification of armed liberation struggle."

ARMCHAIR GENERALS

On their side, seeking to justify their unhealthy infatuation with violence, terrorism and revolution, the armchair generals of the WCC, the Council of Churches in Namibia and their many ecclesiastical associates in SA and elsewhere have, in the face of all evidence to contrary, sought to emphasise SWAPO's "peaceful" aims and intentions. Against this, SWAPO has just as consistently argued that **revolution and instability were "to be preferred"** while SA remained in the country.

The clearest cut exposition of this came in

a BBC interview with Hiddippo Hamoteny, SWAPO's Secretary for Information, in Lusaka on January 29, 1985. Asked: "With the intensification of your campaign in Namibia, are you not going to destroy what you want to inherit, if the intensification is always destroying the economy?"

Manoteny's reply: "Well, the objective of our movement is to destroy the pillars of apartheid and colonialism in Namibia. That means also that **we have to create a situation of insecurity, economic and physical insecurity** for those who enjoyed privileges and those who have plundered and benefited from the colonial (unclear) of Namibia by South Africa.

"So we therefore definitely have to attack economic installations in order to cripple the economy ... the colonial economy in our country, and in order to destroy the social foundation of the foreign occupation in our country, and

that is the price we are called upon to pay, that is, to destroy the infrastructure.

SABOTAGE

"We'll definitely carry out actions of sabotage ... to bring the point home, that either it's independence or there is not going to be security or comfort for anyone anymore. That we mean to do and we'll definitely do that. And we also want the White settler population to recognise the time has come for them to tell South Africa to give up Namibia, but it is in their interest for a solution to be reached sooner than later, and that it is also in their economic and security interest to ensure that a peaceful solution is achieved sooner than later. **That they can only do when they recognise that for them too there is neither security, nor comfort, nor economic progress either.**"

Hardly the words of a "peaceful" man. But it does highlight SWAPO's total indifference to human values, and their willingness to inflict much suffering on the very people they ostensibly sought to "liberate."

MURDER

A widely used SWAPO tactic was the calculated murder of tribal chiefs who co-operated with the Namibian authorities and the SA Government in their efforts to bring progress to the territory. In 1978 came the assassination in Katatura of Clemens Kapuuo, DTA President and chief of the Herero tribe. Although he was on a SWAPO "death list," SWAPO initially denied responsibility for the murder, though captured documents later gave full details of the planning and the manner in which the shooting took place.

This represented a major setback for the true democratic forces. No other tribal leader had Kapuuo's international reputation or internal following. He might well have become the first President of an independent Namibia. To no one's great surprise, no Western diplomat saw fit to attend his funeral.

Even today, from a constitutional point of view, SWAPO can best be described as a Communist-oriented Marxist oligarchy. This by no means suggests that every SWAPO member is Marxist/Leninist or even a fellow traveller. The probability is that not even a fraction of one per cent of Namibian tribes people honestly understand SWAPO's political philosophy or its predilections.

The great majority of Namibians who support SWAPO, or feel drawn to it, do so because it symbolises independence: the right, as Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda once said, "to make our own mistakes." Like Kaunda in his time, SWAPO is making many ill-defined promises of better things to come. Whether it is equipped to deliver on those promises is another matter completely.

Kaunda has certainly not delivered: absolutely the reverse. Still, many in SWAPO have seen just what sort of socialist utopia Kaunda has built for his people. Obviously, they are not disturbed by what they have seen ...

Foreign funding in the media battlefield

WHERE does SWAPO's power base come from? From the hearts and minds of the people of South West Africa, or from external sources committed to a secret itinerary of their own?

Just as some of southern Africa's "political" churches have shown themselves unable to generate their own funding or even their own leadership, so has SWAPO been largely in the hands of foreign fundraisers and foreign manipulators. For example, some 95 liberal-leftist organisations in the United States recently pledged at a conference in New York to underwrite SWAPO's election publicity and propaganda campaign. The material for which they are responsible is prolific, glossy, high quality and conspicuously expensive.

No expense is being spared in the drive to place South West Africa in the hands of SWAPO. And should SWAPO win a two-thirds majority in November, organisations such as the Namibia Information Group, the Namibia Solidarity Committee and many others will have provided a victory for Soviet expansionism. It will be a victory largely funded from the West.

The nature, scale, scope and sophistication of the media offensive in SWAPO's favour is unlikely to be matched by the campaigns of opposing political parties, for the latter are indigenous, home-grown and of little interest to the liberal-left opinion-formers. Donors such as the UN, certain "relief agencies", church bodies and others are underwriting SWAPO with considerable funds, thereby saving the USSR millions at a time when the Soviet economy is experiencing serious problems. Even institutions within South Africa are making large donations, either financially or in goods and services, to SWAPO.

The SA Council of Churches and the SA Catholic Bishops Conference have produced an impressive number of study papers, reports, articles, fact sheets and dossiers to back their pro-SWAPO campaign. Many of these publications are supplied free of charge to local and international media.

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA, IDASA, recently held a conference which it billed as "bringing SWAPO to Pretoria." Efforts such as this are complemented by overseas bodies such as the British-based International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, which was responsible for such expensive glossy publications as *Namibia - the Facts*.

There is one overriding message in all these publications: vote for SWAPO. Opposition groups are largely ignored or treated with contempt and labelled as stooges. Organisations which purport to be humanitarian find it easy to ignore such victims of SWAPO as the 2 000 missing dissidents, or those who are known to have died under the most appalling conditions in SWAPO "re-education" centres.

The scope, scale and effectiveness of the SWAPO propaganda onslaught must not be underestimated. It is now accepted that the fight to keep South Vietnam free and independent was lost on the TV screens and in the newspaper columns of the United States, rather than in the paddy fields of the Delta or the jungles of the Vietnamese highlands. Media manipulation has been used to the detriment of Western interests in the case of such countries as Iran, Rhodesia, Nicaragua ... and more. South West Africa is only the latest target in this sorry saga of selective reporting, distorted writing and outright mendacity.

SWAPO's miscalculation

The April invasion 'without hostile intent'



THE UN independence plan for SWA was very nearly scuppered before it ever got off the ground. On April 1, the very day the UN-supervised transition to full independence began and at a time when SWAPO was committed to re-deploying its forces north of the 16th parallel in Angola, some 2 000 SWAPO guerrillas swept over the border.

In New York members of the Security Council met in closed session. One of the diplomats present later told the London *Sunday Times* that the SWAPO incursion was "without hostile intent" and that "the only ones fighting are the South Africans — everyone agrees on that." Not an unusual fraud coming from UN sources.

Independent observers believe that in fact SWAPO made a huge miscalculation. According to prisoners, SWAPO field commanders had received orders to enter Namibia with a view to entering UN-monitored camps. It was apparently believed that the SWA Territory Forces and the SA Police would not

dare attack the invading SWAPO forces because they would be under UN protection. In the event, it was a bloodbath. Some 300 young SWAPO guerrillas were killed, with the government forces also suffering heavy losses.

Top left photograph shows some of the SWAPO dead outside the mortuary in Oshakati. Second photograph shows some of the material either taken from the SWAPO guerrillas or found cached in the northern area. For men coming in "without hostile intent," the SWAPO forces were certainly heavily equipped. The captured weapons included mortars, mortar pipes, rifle grenades, 64 kg of plastic explosive, brand new assault rifles and missiles with launchers manufactured only last year in the USSR.

The action certainly backfired on SWAPO. Many Namibians previously ambivalent on their attitude to Nujoma's people now wonder how SWAPO would honour its other obligations.

Politics, violence and the CCN

When churches go crazy with hatred

WORDS, words of hate that dress in aspiration, and mask Soviet purposes, threaten to undo life before Namibian eyes. These words come, strange to tell (yet these days all too commonly throughout the world) from the churches: not from their worshippers in this deeply Christian land, but from those who purport to be their representatives ... from their ministers, especially from the Council of Churches of Namibia (CCN), a council which knows the embrace of the World Council in Churches.

"Even the Churches have gone absolutely crazy," Mburumba Kerina, a founding member of SWAPO who broke away in 1966, wrote me of the situation in his country in 1987.

Within SWA and throughout the world, in key organisations like the UN, Trans-Africa and the US Congressional Black Caucus, the CCN through its newsletter, issued in London by the "Namibian Communications Centre," makes its voice heard in support of SWAPO. It is a telling voice, because it appears disinterested, above politics and from "the grassroots."

ENDORSE SWAPO

Not only does the CCN openly endorse "the liberation movement," SWAPO: "The largest political party in the territory ... we don't believe the propaganda which says they are Communists and Marxists instead of Lutherans, Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Methodists." Not only does the CCN refuse to distinguish between the violence of SWAPO and the fighting of the soldiers of SWA and South Africa. It blames the South Africans more than SWAPO.

"We reject the whole debate on violence as **hypocritical and even racist**. We are concerned with the violence of a system which has been destroying people for more than a hundred years in our country ... the occupation of our country by the South Africans and the violence they have done to our people ... is (the) root cause of this violence."

Dinner party

"THE WCC is like a group of early Bishops who went to the Colosseum and cheered for the lions." *US National Review*.

Unless the South Africans withdrew, there would be widespread murder, "genocidal civil war." Just the words Kaunda and the OAU, the fall of Rhodesia in their sights, took up in the late '70s. The CCN argues that such murder increased after Resolution 435 in 1978. But it does not say it increased because SWAPO feared free elections for independence.

EXPLOITATION

The CCN exploits the deepest experience of SWA's short conscious past, its European past, that antedates South African rule by a generation, the conversion to Lutheranism, now the country's largest denomination: 380 000. It calls up the memory of that past, not to bring about whatever unity the country has, but to weaken the fragile allegiance (between those opposed to SWAPO) and to reinforce SWAPO.

This exploitation of the faith of simple people for political purposes leads the CCN to twist the deepest teachings of Protestantism on faith and works and, on top of that, to equate works with political action, called the "theology of doing." Terrorists are martyrs or, as the president of Zimbabwe, the Rev Canaan Banana put it in 1980: "**When I look at a guerrilla I see Jesus Christ**," a remark that did not keep Mugabe in the same days from removing mention of God from his constitution.

Faced with the SWAPO violence they justify, the Namibian Bishops react with casual indifference: "People are already fighting and that is a decision they have made. They did not need the encouragement of a church or to be told by a church. They did it on their own, as human beings with a desire to be free ... and they are still doing that without any encouragement

"NO theme is more politically emotive than Southern Africa, and in none does ignorance and misrepresentation play a greater part in what passes for world opinion." Those words introduce a powerful new work, *Prisoners of a Dream: The South African Mirage*, written by Professor Leo Raditsa, a Harvard graduate and Fullbright Fellow who is today one of America's foremost historians. Using the vastly under-reported Denton Congressional hearings of 1982 on "The Role of the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany in Fomenting Terrorism in Southern Africa" as his point of departure, Prof Raditsa delves deeply into the neglected historical background of regional events, providing careful analysis of problems all too often distorted for partisan reasons. Here we quote from his chapter on Namibia, with particular emphasis on the miserably shabby role played by the Council in Churches of Namibia (CCN).

from the churches." Not a word about SWAPO abductions or the murder of men who leave the organisation ... an emptiness that denies the terrorism it justifies.

ACTIVISM

The Namibian Bishops' turn to "political activism" apes some South African divines, like Allan Boesak, a Calvinist no less, and a patron of the UDF, who confessed he took up "politics" to get across to SA Black youth after the turmoil in Soweto in 1976:

"The new political consciousness, and the consciousness of Black humanity, have brought a new sense of responsibility in the Black community. This new sense of responsibility and the active involvement of the Black community in the struggle have taken away almost completely the traditional deference to the church. Church officials are no longer judged by their office and the authority it represents. (Whose authority? God's?). Their office and authority are now measured by their active participation in the struggle for liberation." (Italics mine).

But in relatively quiet Namibia it did not take turmoil and turmoil's face on the front pages of the world to break Church leaders. It took only fashion that spreads like a cancer in the absence of theology that bites, South African fashion. In June 1981 the CCN received a *Report on Namibia* from the South African Catholic Bishops Conference, written in part by Denis Hurley, Archbishop of Durban, that called SWAPO "first and foremost a national liberation movement" that was "Marxist" only because it received help from Russia and other countries under Soviet control. This familiar leftist reasoning holds that "liberation movements" come under Soviet control because the West will not give them weapons.

ANTI-SA BIAS

The report listed six instances of alleged South African Security Force brutalities. It did not interview any of the many surviving victims of admitted SWAPO atrocities. In South Africa, tough criticism met the report's insistence on the "popularity" of SWAPO and the "unpopularity" of the SADF.

Bishop Hurley told the newspapers he had "merely communicated the attitude of the Namibian people." A few years later, with the same casualness of the Namibian Bishops, he admitted the report's endorsement of the demands of SWAPO and the UN "could be dangerous ... we could be backing a dangerous horse, I don't know, but this is what the majority of people are backing. We are warned that majorities can be led astray ... of course they can. If SWAPO wins, SWAPO wins, and we'll live with them somehow."

In contrast the Apostolic Vicar in Windhoek did better: "If SWAPO came to power in Namibia, I'd pack up and go unless Rome ordered me to stay. The internal wing of SWAPO now says there is only one organisation, with one programme, which means they too subscribe to violence. And this is unacceptable to the Church," he said in 1979. (emphasis mine).

The CCN gives currency to every bit of evidence, usually court evidence, of South African police and military brutality. It ignores SWA soldiers and police because it will not recognise Namibians fighting for their country. The CCN propaganda knows no restraint because it wants extremity to paralyse common sense and the courage it takes. It wants continual mental panic. The CCN campaigns feed on, and incite, the sense of unreality that intimidation and outright fear, and too much change and too much responsibility, make.

SWAPO VICTIMS

The unreality in SWA wishes away the truth about SWAPO that Namibians know in their own flesh. Almost every family in the north remembers a relative or a child SWAPO murdered, abducted or enticed to willing flight. For 18 months the Namibia Parents' Committee (NPC), organised in mid-1985, dared make only *private* inquiries about their children and relatives who disappeared into SWAPO's embrace.

SWAPO did not answer at all, except obliquely, at a press conference in London, with a remark on war's necessities. The CCN, also without a word, dismissed the leading members of the NPC from their posts on the Council. SWAPO and the CCN wanted to keep the outrages "in the family" out of loyalty (really fear) to the "liberation of Namibia."

Their failure at home drove the NPC abroad, to Europe. But in Europe, too, they went at first only to politicians who supported SWAPO. Their reply from the parliamentary group in West Germany with the closest ties to SWAPO: "This is a matter between Namibians," or "We cannot help, because we support SWAPO."

After this rebuke, one of the mothers brought herself to speak out: "These people say they support SWAPO. We tell them of SWAPO's tortures and killings and they tell us they support SWAPO. I am angry because our liberation has lost its soul and with it the souls of many other people."

That is the true name of the fancy Western word, "independence."

Terrorism in the shadow of the Cross

THE Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) claims to represent 900 000 Namibian Christians. CCN's member churches may indeed between them clock up that number. But CCN's right to speak on behalf of all these parishioners is another matter completely. From its very inception, CCN has acted (and was so intended to act) as the internal wing of SWAPO.

A thoroughly pernicious organisation, which has contributed precisely nothing to internal peace, reconciliation or nation building, CCN's history dates back to 1967 when the old Christian Institute (CI) was founded by the Anglican Church, ostensibly to create development projects to upgrade the quality of life of Namibia's Black population.

In reality, the CI was intent on introducing the neo-Marxist philosophy of "Black theology," otherwise known as "liberation" or "people's" theology, to be used as a vehicle to propagate SWAPO policies. In 1973 the newly anointed Christian Centre took over the work of the CI. Though this organisation, too, was under the control of the Anglican Church, its members now also included the Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Roman Catholic community.

POLITICAL PRIEST

Particularly active in the CCN were the Rev Ed Morrow, Anglican Vicar-General, and Colin Winter, Bishop of Damaraland. Winter, who was to cause the SWA security services endless grief, was a protégé of yet another well-known political priest, Trevor Huddleston. Although Winter was later to lodge a libel claim of R15 000 against a SWA publication which described him as "a Communist," there is plenty of hard evidence that before arriving in SWA he had been actively involved in far left activity in Britain.

In April 1978 the CI was disbanded and on October 17 1978 the CCN was founded, taking over the activities, assets and contracts of the CI. The Anglican, Evangelical Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Methodist and United Congregational Churches were now all registered as full members. According to its published "aims and objectives," the CCN was to act as "the prophetic voice of the Church in the political development of Namibia."

SWAPO LINK

In that same month Sam Nujoma announced in New York that Namibian church leaders would be included in a SWAPO delegation to the US. He explained that it was "natural" the church

Christian murder...

HIGH-ranking ecclesiasts invited by the CCN to visit the territory have come specifically to visit SWAPO, not Namibia or Namibians, with fallout to be expected. The Bishop of Manchester's *Report* of some years ago was a classic in this genre. Of SWAPO it said: "It was true that they killed people, but these were normally informers." The report admitted that people were "killed brutally," but "only after a warning." That great Anglican prelate, Edward Norman, commented wryly: "Such Christian conduct in the face of provocation is indeed admirable."

leaders be included, emphasising that they played an "important role in the freedom struggle," that they were "freedom fighters" like any other SWAPO combatant, the only difference being that they approached the struggle from a different angle.

Around this time an SADF raid on SWAPO bases in Angola produced an interesting document, dealing with a "special operation resulting in abduction of recruits from Obido." It was reported that the Rev Morrow was present when 119 children were abducted from the Anglican Mission Station at Obido. Earlier, Morrow had testified that the children had gone "voluntarily." Morrow, his wife Laureen and another activist, Father Heinz Hunke, were later deported from Namibia for anti-government activities.

FALSE DECLARATIONS

SWAPO had very definite interests in the control of an organisation such as CCN:

- 1. Because of Namibian security legislation, SWAPO could not organise as freely among the people as it desired. The CCN provided a very effective cover organisation. Indeed, in the event, the CCN and its member denominations, through their involvement with youth, labour, women's and community-development projects were to prove the most powerful unifying influence on the side of SWAPO and its affiliates.
- 2. By using clerics to make anti-SA statements and false declarations about security force "atrocities," CCN helped SWAPO create credence for its propaganda campaigns at home and abroad.

In the shadow of the Cross

• From Page 15

- 3. SWAPO's external forces had no official offices in Namibia. CCN offices were used by SWAPO members for telephones, telex and vehicle facilities.
- 4. No single church in Namibia had a monopoly of the country that SWAPO could exploit. A federation of churches such as the CCN was second best.

BOYCOTT BACKING

A book, *To Be Born a Nation*, 1981, published by SWAPO to commemorate its 20th year of existence, paid tribute to the role the church was playing in the "liberation struggle." We quote: "The churches' alignment with the independence struggle has become more and more explicit in recent years. In January 1975 the Lutherans

opened contacts with the nationalist parties in Namibia. The Anglicans publicly supported SWAPO's boycott of elections in Ovamboland.

"Although the churches have been cautious in declaring their outright support for the armed struggle, their statements have become more sympathetic to its necessity. One leader of the Lutheran Church in the north put it this way: 'The freedom fighters are our children. Even people who are suffering still give them food because they know the freedom fighters are the people who come from us.'"

Peter Katjavivi, a former SWAPO (External) Secretary of Information and Publicity, told *Ikon*, a Dutch church magazine: "As far as we are concerned, the church is a partner in the liberation of Namibia."

US RENEGADE

The CCN was used to arrange Senator Edward Kennedy's 1985 visit to Namibia. Appointments for this US renegade — whom the CCN described as "the great

'Christian task' to knock down government

FROM the very beginning, the CCN's support for SWAPO has been, and remains, totally unambiguous. SWAPO, CCN has testified over and again, are "children of the people; SWAPO is the people and the people are SWAPO."

Long active in this campaign has been Pastor Zephania Kameeta, who as far back as September 1975 wrote that "the task of every Christian is ... to work for the knocking down of this government ..."

Daniel Tjongarero said in 1981 that "basically there is no difference in what the Church wants and what SWAPO is fighting for."

In 1983 Dr Abisai Shejavalu said that "SWAPO's freedom fighters are members of the CCN's member churches."

In a letter read in the Roman Catholic Church at Gibeon in January 1983, Father Heitman said: "Citizens of Namibia are not murdered by terrorists as is announced in the press and on the radio, but by members of the SADF."

On a visit to Finland Bishop Cleophas Dumeni, then head of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, said that "the liberation movement (SWAPO) and the Congregation are the same."

SECURITY FORCES ALWAYS BLAMED

Without exception, all terror attacks, murders, bombings and use of torture have been placed at the door of the security forces. On November 26, 1983, Pastor Hendrik Witbooi of the African Methodist Evangelical Church in Gibeon told a Stockholm audience that "the Police and Defence Force are responsible for indiscriminate killings, unexplained disappearances, burning of houses and crops and other acts of terror in Namibia." Bishop Boniface Hausika stated that "murders in Ovamboland are the work of the security forces, and not committed by SWAPO."

A clear-cut indication of the CCN's partiality to SWAPO came when Bishop James Kauluma, CCN President and head of the Anglican Church in Namibia, explained the CCN's English Language Project (CELP). He said: "The CCN cannot give all CELP students employment and will therefore give preference to the SWAPO-minded. The Government must find employment for the anti-SWAPO minded."

Nor have attitudes changed. Bishop Kleopas Dumeni, leader of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Namibia, was quoted in *The New York Times*, 14.2.89, as saying: "The majority of SWAPO are in our church. They are under our care."

The position was best summed up by British Parliamentarian Nicholas Winterton in an interview with *Die Suidwester*: "The CCN has become the religious arm of SWAPO and is presently undermining the process toward freedom."

• Nor is it churchmen of the CCN alone who can be charged with outrageous bias. A paper published in London by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, jointly with the BBC, described Ovambo politicians who cooperated with the interim government as "Quislings," surely not a helpful contribution to understanding.

PROPHETIC WARNING

IN 1937, an Anglican Bishop named A C Headlam mused on the possible creation of a World Council of Churches. "Were such a Council to exist, and it if involved itself in public affairs," said the Bishop, "it might do great harm." That was to prove one of the most prophetic utterances of our time ...

champion of civil liberties" — were made only with pro-SWAPO and anti-South African elements.

By 1985 there were 16 known SWAPO members employed on a full time basis by the CCN, five of them serving on the National Executive of SWAPO (Internal). These included Dr Abisai Shejavalu, CCN General Secretary; Daniel Tjongarero, Director of Communications, CCN, chairman of SWAPO (Internal), and editor of the CCN *Information Bulletin*; Immanuel Ngatjizeko, CCN treasurer and Director of Development; Ephraim Kasuto, head of the CCN Legal Aid Department.

Among other developments which were to prove of immense value to SWAPO's internal effort, the CCN was instrumental in the revival of the Namibian Students Organisation (NANSO), a front organisation for the SWAPO Youth League. NANSO was reconstructed following an "Ecumenical Conference for Namibia Students" in July 1983, the aim being "to make students aware of their important place in society and to encourage them to identify with their role in the country."

PROPAGANDA AID

The CCN has and continues to play a major role in coordinating SWAPO's propaganda campaigns. In the UN, the WCC, the international "liberal" media and in the many anti-apartheid groups around the world, the CCN's version of events inside Namibia is given reverential credence. The CCN and member churches have made extensive use of their church publications to make political statements "to inform members and facilitate mass-influencing."

Blatantly pro-SWAPO, these publications have maintained a constant drumbeat of allegations intended to discredit both the local government and the security forces. Exactly as with the WCC and our own SACC, the idea of trying to look at both sides of any controversy is apparently not in high favour in the CCN.

To quote a reader's letter which appeared in the London *Sunday Telegraph*: "The Council of Churches in Namibia has throughout acted virtually as SWAPO's agent in South West Africa. Close examination of the ethical and moral standards practised by CCN provides a stark illustration of the difference between false and genuine Christianity ..."



LEFT: A chief's messenger ambushed by SWAPO terrorists, bound, shot and left to die. ABOVE and RIGHT: The bodies of Namibians tortured to death by SWAPO – actions which are never condemned by the Council of Churches of Namibia.



Why churches will never condemn SWAPO atrocities

THE Council of Churches in Namibia, together with affiliated agencies, is effectively the internal wing of SWAPO in the run-up to the elections. At a recent All-Africa Church conferences a detailed strategy was formulated and clear guidelines established for church assistance to SWAPO. It was decided that the CCN has a responsibility to "build the nation into one nation no matter how painful it may be." This is presumably why the CCN and its agencies remain determined never to condemn SWAPO for its many atrocities against civilians, while endeavouring to smear SWA Police units wherever possible.

The same conference confirmed that the CCN had, through its agencies, built up a considerable infrastructure to provide backing for SWAPO cadres returning to SWA either as refugees under UN auspices or as members of infiltrating PLAN forces. Other forms of church assistance to SWAPO include so-called security forces monitoring stations and information services. The CCN has also involved itself in planning for a post-independence SWA, calling for volunteers to man a SWAPO-led administration.

The Churches Information and Monitoring Service (CIMS) was established by the CCN to provide SWAPO with the necessary media infrastructure during the election period. Although CIMS has its own staff and offices it remains answerable to the CCN, with an initial launching grant of R500 000. A network of CCN journalists is enabled to use the CIMS offices as a base for anti-South African propaganda, while the CCN has taken on the task of escorting some 200 foreign observers around the territory. A legal advice team has also been set up by the CCN to provide appropriate assistance to SWAPO.

An indication of the magnitude of the combined CCN/World Council of Churches operation to emplace SWAPO in power in Windhoek is best gained from examining preliminary budgets for this crucial period. Assistance to returning SWAPO members through the refugee repatriation programme alone amounts to more than R26 million. A considerable proportion of this sum comes from the Scandinavian countries which have consistently funded SWAPO's terrorist war. Other international contributors include Danchurch-aid, Oxfam UK, CEBEMO Holland, WUS Denmark and Oxfam USA. In comparison, little or no funding has been forthcoming for the many non-communist, pro-Western groupings which together represent the aspirations of many in South West Africa. But then again, is that so surprising?



The big lie smearing

IN a copy-book re-run of the ferocious smear campaigns once conducted against Rhodesia's highly effective Selous Scouts, the international media, the UN and the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) have jointly targeted the equally effective SWA Police counter-insurgency forces for destruction.

Much the same litany of lies has been used against the SA Defence Force's 32 (Buffalo) Battalion, but it is the SWA Police's Koevoet (Afrikaans for crowbar) unit which has been the chief target. In fact the predominantly black members of Koevoet have been accused of almost everything short of cannibalism, and there is one very simple reason for this.

INVASION GAMBLE

Koevoet units have been the single most effective counter-terrorist force operating in Namibia. This is not to underplay the vital services performed by the SWA Territory Force's regular battalions, or by the SA Defence Force, both of which unsparingly used men and materiel to ensure the people of northern Namibia could live and work in peace. Nevertheless it was Koevoet which was most often at "the sharp end", directly countering SWAPO infiltrators, always hard on the trail of SWAPO's "shoot and scoot" assassination gangs from across the border, and providing the most visible counter to SWAPO's continuing efforts to impose a reign of terror.

Most recently it was Koevoet which

directly blocked SWAPO's invasion attempt earlier this year, when, in flagrant disregard of the protocols to which SWAPO had been a party, large contingents of heavily armed PLAN terrorists headed south from Angola into northern Namibia. The invasion was a calculated gamble, with SWAPO's high command reckoning on being able to slip its PLAN forces through the "gap" between the withdrawal of SA forces and demobilisation of SWA Territory Forces, and the placement of the thin line of UN observers along the northern border.

EFFECTIVE MIX

In the event, part of the SWAPO gamble proved correct. The inadequate UN forces stood supinely by, while in New York at UN Headquarters efforts were made to play down the PLAN invasion. But the SWA Police were still in a position to intervene, although not from a position of strength, and they took heavy casualties while battling to hold up the PLAN invaders until SADF forces and reactivated SWATF units could join in the battle. For a while the entire independence process hung in the balance. Had it not been for Koevoet, SWAPO would have succeeded in emplacing its forces, establishing arms caches and setting up propaganda centres, all the while infiltrating the more usual terrorist cadres whose job it would be to go to ground until the election process got under way. Only then would they emerge to intimidate the population and marshal support for SWAPO.

Koevoet, utilising Special Constables recruited from the indigenous population, began as a rather ragtag look-alike to Rhodesia's old Selous Scouts. Its establishment under the leadership of legendary counter-insurgency expert Major-General "Sterk Hans" Dreyer marked a turning point in the battle to secure peace through ever-increasing neutralisation of SWAPO's infiltration attempts. As well as recruiting from the local inhabitants, Koevoet drew its men from refugees and, very importantly, from among the ranks of SWAPO itself. Leading this highly effective mix were SA Police counter-insurgency personnel who had gained their experience in Rhodesia.

Koevoet quickly became the most effective counter-terrorist unit operating in the territory and was responsible for by far the largest number of terrorists killed inside Namibia. It was this very efficiency which made it the target of SWAPO's bitter smear campaign, a campaign which was aided and abetted by the UN, international and SA liberal media, and church propaganda arms of SWAPO.

The technique to be used against Koevoet was that known in psychological warfare as "guilt transference." Simply put, this technique involves bouncing back all harmful allegations, but more loudly and more consistently. A classic example of this in the African context occurred in June 1978, with the appalling Elim Mission massacre. A total of nine British missionaries and their four children were murdered, with

SWAPO men tell how intimidated

SAM Nujoma's failed April "invasion" attempt has had one unexpected result. Numbers of captured PLAN guerrillas, disgusted by the way their leaders had deceived them over the invasion, have talked openly about SWAPO's forced recruiting methods, its plan to win the elections through intimidation and violence, and the total cynicism with which the whole Resolution 435 exercise is viewed by the SWAPO leadership.

Some were so bitter at their betrayal by SWAPO that they were ready to talk freely to the press, others, however, refused to be interviewed in public, fearing retaliation. A common thread ran through their testimony: SWAPO was no "liberation movement" whose members had banded together to fight for freedom. Instead, the future PLAN guerrillas had been abducted from their homes, often aged 10 or even younger, and marched across the Angolan border to join SWAPO. Others had been influenced by promises of study bursaries and further education; the only studying they did was of terrorist tactics, the only

education they received was in a primitive version of Marxist/Leninism.

The greater proportion of the PLAN guerrillas who crossed southwards on and after April 1 (some 60% of the total) had received orders to influence the UN-supervised election. Intimidation was to be their vote-catcher, using propaganda, a show of brutal power, and coercion whenever necessary using direct violence and terror.

The populace was to be told firstly that SWAPO would inevitably win the election. Nevertheless it was necessary for people to be seen to vote for SWAPO to ensure the movement's continued "goodwill" towards them. SWAPO, they were to be told, would of course know who had voted, and how they had voted...

The more sophisticated sector of the population was to be told that there was only one way to end the war that had harried their land for so many years: by voting for SWAPO. Should SWAPO lose at the polls, it would simply take up arms again, and the war against the people of SWA would continue, for perhaps another 14 bit-

ter years. At the same time, SWAPO would retaliate directly against those who had dared to make them lose the election...

VIOLENT EXAMPLES

Finally, anyone who resisted SWAPO's proselytising was to be assaulted, preferably in front of their own families and friends, to serve as an example of how such "traitors to the revolution" would be dealt with in future.

Some 30% of the invading PLAN forces had another task: to establish arms caches. They were to convey the necessarily large quantities of arms and munitions southwards and bury them at pre-determined points. This group was divided into parties of between six and 20 men, who, after burying the transported armaments, were each to keep a single weapon and a limited amount of ammunition before proceeding to hand themselves over to what they were told would be the welcoming UNTAG forces.

The arms caches — some of which were uncovered at the time, while others are still

g the security forces

mountains. It was clear the mission was targeted because, unlike certain religious centres, the Elim Mission had kept itself apart from church sponsorship of terrorism. The atrocities were to be an object lesson.

ATROCITY BACKFIRED

However the lesson backfired, with local and international outrage at the scale and brutality of the massacre. As soon as this happened, the propaganda machine swung into operation, and using the "guilt transference" technique, the killings were immediately blamed on undercover units of the Rhodesian armed forces. Never mind that there was not the slightest shred of evidence to back up the allegation, with abundant evidence pointing rather to Robert Mugabe's terrorists. The leftist media picked up and ran with the smear, until now it is enhanced by repetition into the status of post-"liberation" fact.

So it has been with Koevoet. This time-tested propaganda ploy had been consistently used to smear the counter-insurgency forces with the very crimes committed by SWAPO's terrorists. CCN propagandists and their media henchment sought to portray Koevoet as a major violator of human rights ... precisely because it was the most effective protector of human rights against SWAPO's thugs. The disinformation campaign grew after Koevoet units successfully halted the PLAN invasion, with allegations that captured PLAN terrorists had been executed out of hand, or that a policy of tak-

ing no prisoners had been adopted. The guilt transference propaganda onslaught sought to move world attention away from the massive border violation by SWAPO – the cause of all the fighting – and blame those who resisted the invasion attempt. If SWAPO's fighters were unable to win a victory on the ground in a battle of bullets, they would at least win a victory of sorts in the battle of words.

As part of the ongoing independence process, Koevoet has ceased to exist as a separate counter-insurgency force. Its members have been integrated into the ranks of the SWA Police, but this has not stemmed the propaganda onslaught. The CCN has led this onslaught with so-called "security force monitoring" groups seeking possible cases of intimidation by ex-Koevoet members. This again is a direct use of the guilt transference technique: because intimidation is the principal weapon of SWAPO in the run-up to elections, intimidation is the crime with which SWAPO's defenders, apologists and propagandists seek to paint their opposition.

WITCH HUNT

To compensate for the lack of any serious number of genuine complaints about the activities of the SWA Police, the CCN has employed over 100 people in their witch hunt, together with an expensive media campaign of allegations ... allegations which have been presented as findings, before any impartial investigation has been carried out. A secondary reason for this campaign has been to over-extend the SWA Police in an effort to substantiate claims that the force is incapable of carrying out its duties. This is coupled with attempts to have the UNTAG police contingent enlarged to serve as a replacement for the SWA Police.

UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, noted for his earlier reluctance to believe PLAN units were invading Namibia, then for his unwillingness to condemn this invasion, and lastly for his attempt to hamstring defence operations against the invasion, has willingly acted as a tool of the SWAPO/CCN anti-Koevoet campaign. In the course of his July visit to Namibia he called for the dismissal of all Koevoet members from the SWA Police, **without** giving any substantive evidence to back up this demand.

Koevoet has been a symbol of the determination of South West Africans to defend their country against the assaults and intimidation of a Soviet-backed terrorist force. It has been effective. That is why the UN, SWAPO, the liberal media and the CCN have united in a psy-war campaign of guilt transference. Koevoet will not be the last such target.



All that remained of a country bus blown up by a SWAPO landmine. Two civilians were killed and four injured: a typical response of SWAPO's internal propaganda machine would then be to blame the minelaying on the security forces.

rape and savage mutilation a particularly revolting feature of the assault, in the course of a terrorist attack on the Elim Pentecostal Mission in Rhodesia's eastern Vumba

tion was to be used

being found – had a dual purpose. Firstly they were to serve as an arms supply inside SWA for further acts of intimidation and terror before the election, cowering dissident groups and people opposed to a SWAPO takeover. Secondly they were to provide the basis for an arsenal in the event of SWAPO losing, in which case full-scale war would erupt.

INTELLIGENCE

The remaining 10% of the PLAN infiltrators were ordered to mix as widely as possible with the local population: their task – to politicise. They were to provide the necessary infrastructure and intelligence networks to ensure a SWAPO victory.

The April invasion failed primarily because the dedicated members of the SWA Police held the line until SADF and reconstituted SWATF units could come to their aid. But it also failed because the PLAN guerrillas had been given a totally false picture of what they were facing when they marched south from Angola so confidently. And this is why so many of the cap-

tured PLAN cadres feel totally betrayed by SWAPO.

They had been told by SWAPO's political commissars that in terms of Resolution 435 everyone could immediately return to Namibia, because from April 1 the territory would effectively be under SWAPO control. They were told – and this gives an insight into the contempt with which SWAPO regards the whole UN-sponsored election process – that the independence elections were a mere formality. They were told that on April 1 all security forces weapons were to be handed over, and that the SWA Police and the remaining SADF elements would be mere toothless bulldogs. They were told finally that UNTAG forces would contact them and conduct them to bases inside Namibia, from where they could carry out the tasks they had been allocated.

If this is how SWAPO saw fit to cynically deceive its own men, surely one can be excused if there remain some doubts about SWAPO's alleged commitments to free and fair elections, unmarred by intimidation or violence?

Little confidence in UNTAG after dismal track record

CAN UNTAG really ensure free and fair elections? Does it even want to? These are the most pertinent questions still unanswered regarding the entire South West African peace process, and the answer must be a firm "No" if the UN's dismal track record on SWA is taken into account, let alone the conduct of previous UN "peace-

keeping" operations in Africa. Misgivings about UNTAG which were based on the partiality shown by the UN towards SWAPO have been reinforced by the curious conduct of the international body in seeking to redefine Resolution 435 in SWAPO's favour after its treacherous invasion attempt.

ALLEGATIONS emanating from the so-called "Frontline States" that the hands of the UNTAG forces were "stained with blood" will come as no surprise to those familiar with the history of such United Nations operations. Widely portrayed in the international media as honest brokers in the peace process, as the impartial "blue berets", the UN forces have had a shaky track record in Africa.

In 1960, under the command of the same General Prem Chand now heading UNTAG forces in South West Africa, the UN launched its largest military operation to date. This involved upwards of 23 000 men and was ostensibly intended to solve conflict in the former Belgian Congo; in reality to prevent the formation of an independent pro-Western government in the rich southern Katanga province.

LOSS OF LIFE

The exercise was marked by atrocities committed by the ill-disciplined UN troops who far exceeded their mandate and indeed were responsible for unleashing considerable suffering, loss of life and destruction of property from which the Congo has even now not recovered. Their duties included overseeing the withdrawal of Belgian forces and stabilisation of the internal situation; the way in which they were actually utilised led to the fall of independent Katanga and the ousting of one of Africa's few genuinely anti-communist leaders, Moïse Tshombe. The entire débâcle highlighted the almost inevitable fate of multi-national peacekeeping forces of this nature: to be manipulated at the whim of a

highly unstable grouping of Third World states, who are themselves wittingly or unwittingly serving the purposes of the Soviet Union.

In the case of South West Africa, the reluctance of the UN bureaucrats to deploy UNTAG's limited forces was directly responsible for the loss of life ensuing from the PLAN invasion. UNTAG refrained from taking any action before April 1, the date at which UN Resolution 435 came into operation, to ensure that SWAPO was keeping to the terms of the agreement. With almost unimaginable naivety, the UN placed no monitors in Angola to confirm SWAPO's agreed withdrawal to northern bases. Instead the UN bosses chose rather to focus their attention on the restriction of SADF forces to their bases in SWA, as a first step in their eventual withdrawal from the territory. There was a heavy price to be paid for the long-standing in-built UN suspicion of all things South African, coupled with continued pandering towards SWAPO.

ADMISSION

When the crisis came the UN continued to stall, unwilling to act against SWAPO, although forced to permit the SADF and remobilised SWA Territory Force to back up the overstretched SWA Police units which had borne the brunt of the massive and heavily armed incursion. Even so the UN remained unwilling to condemn SWAPO's duplicity and even, under pressure from "Frontline" states, began to back-pedal in an attempt to let SWAPO entirely off the hook, with suggestions that PLAN forces which had invaded Namibia contrary to SWAPO's promises might after all be per-

mitted to set up camps there. If this had been permitted, the price of broken agreements would have been endorsement by the UN...

UNTAG's reluctant agreement to the redeployment of the SADF was an admission that it was incapable of containing problems of the UN's own making. UNTAG forces, which were initially intended to number 7 500, were cut back due to budgetary constraints to 4 650. They arrived with an unbalanced equipment package which led some observers to suggest UNTAG forces might be better equipped to attempt the overthrow of the Windhoek administration rather than police the independence process of the territory. UNTAG found itself having to hire specialised military equipment from the SADF (a surprising act in the light of the UN-imposed arms embargo); nevertheless its military component still remains unable to meet the basic requirements for a counter-insurgency force.

SWAPO clearly views this situation with relish and can be counted on to take full advantage of all opportunities granted by UNTAG's deficiencies. Already there are indications of SWAPO intimidation as its leadership seems intent on infiltrating as many members as possible of PLAN into South West Africa in preparation for the elections. The few monitors reluctantly placed by UNTAG in various Angolan towns south of the 16th parallel, supposedly to monitor SWAPO's movements, are quite inadequate, and are so regarded by SWAPO.

It appears unlikely that UNTAG will attempt to look behind the smokescreen thrown up by SWAPO and the Council of Churches of Namibia and attempt to address the real problems of intimidation and cease-fire violations by SWAPO. At present the UN representatives seem more intent on reducing all SADF capabilities in the territory and undermining the powers and capabilities of the SWA Police.

UNTAG itself remains hopelessly inadequate for the task ahead. Already there have been numerous reports of ill-disciplined "peacekeeping" troops, vandalism and petty crime. Complaints of brutality have been made against the Kenyan component of UNTAG, while informed US intelligence sources have named the UNTAG regional director in Windhoek, Mr Victor Andrev, as a KGB operative. The future is indeed bleak.

UNTAG's official mandate

UNTAG was established in terms of UN Security Council Resolution 435/78 to assist the UN Special Representative in bringing South West Africa to independence. UNTAG forces include a civilian as well as a military component; deployment began in February of this year. The military contingent comprises 4 650 troops, 1 000 members of a UN police force (originally set at 500 members) and 1 000 civilians. Major contributors are Finland, Malaysia and Kenya which have full battalions. The balance largely comprises technical, medical and logistics personnel. The UN forces have been mandated to supervise the restriction of SWAPO and the SADF to their respective bases, the withdrawal of the bulk of the SADF, the patrolling of South West Africa's border regions to prevent infiltration and the provision of assistance to the election programme. UNTAG is also responsible for ensuring the safety of the civilian population and for preventing intimidation.

'Nation state' whose people share nothing

A NATION-state? "Namibia"? As well might one talk of the nation-state of Antarctica, or of Utopia – "nowhere". Namibia is not a nation, or a state, or even a country. It is a vast empty tract of land, most of it desert, with a tiny human population. A territory the size of France, West Germany and Belgium put together has about as many inhabitants as Nottinghamshire, rather more than a million.

This territory was created by an accident of history, or a chapter of accidents. German South-West Africa was carved out of the side of the continent towards the end of the last century, in the final manic phase of imperialism. Germany came later to the game and did not need or in a sense even want colonies, but felt she ought to have them as status symbols.

Few conquests were more brutal: the Herero people were all but exterminated in one campaign by German mercenaries (commanded by an officer called Goering, whose son was better known). Few conquests were more pointless.

MISCONCEPTION

Our understanding – or misunderstanding – has been bedevilled until today by the belief, held not only on the Left, that imperialism is always economically motivated. Not so. The misconception stems partly, I think, from the English socialist writer J A Hobson, who observed the thoroughly mercenary outbreak of the Boer War, a war for the one really desirable part of southern Africa, the Transvaal. Hobson's theories were in turn borrowed by Lenin and became standard Marxist doctrine.

The doctrine is false. As A J P Taylor wrote on German colonialism, "enormous areas of tropical Africa look tempting on a map, but on most of them the truth is that they have for so long remained ownerless because they were not worth owning". That was still true of South-West Africa when it passed into South Africa's hands during the Great War.

And it is still true today. There is an assumption that the years of fighting must have been about something – Swapo's keenness to get its hands on Namibia's riches, perhaps, or South African reluctance to relinquish them. Not so again. The two chief mineral resources in Namibia are uranium and diamonds, but neither matters very much to anyone. It would be highly inconvenient for the West if the Russians controlled the awe-inspiring uranium mine at Rössing, and that is why no American administration will let it happen.

It may be assumed that Pretoria has

stockpiled enough uranium for warheads to "nuke" the rest of Africa back to the Stone Age, or whatever the 40 000 horsemen of the Apocalypse in the old Transvaal have in mind. Equally, what concerns De Beers is not controlling the Namibian diamond fields physically but ensuring that sales of those diamonds are regulated, an interest shared by the Russians.

It may be said that the South Africans have no right to whatever resources Namibia has; but does the future government of the independent country have much more right?

SWAPO will probably win in the coming Namibian elections because it is the party of the most numerous people, the Ovambo, and elections in Africa are decided on tribal lines. Not only is the population of Namibia tiny, it is largely concentrated in a tiny part of the country: Ovamboland, the northernmost tenth part or so.

There, just conceivably, an embryonic nation-state can be seen. But that has unfortunate implications for the rulers of Africa and their friends here. The borders of Africa created by European statesmen a century ago ignored human reality. The Angolan-Namibian border runs slap through the Ovambo people. It would make sense to adjust the border, but that would offend against a cardinal tenet of the Organisation of African Unity and the nervous rulers of its member states.

As it is, "Namibia" is not so much absurd as parodic. Deutsch-Südwestafrika was a parody of a colony; the South African acquisition a parody of an international mandate. SWAPO is a parody of a "liberation movement" (whose "armed struggle"

JUST how sensible is it for the West to demand one-man, one-vote from a people with no common history, no common language and with wide ethnic disparities, all this as the vaunted preliminary to establishing an independent "nation state"? One who argues that it is "preposterous" to insist on African states emulating Western democratic systems is the acerbic British writer, Geoffrey Wheatcroft, no lover or sympathiser of SA. Writing in the London *Sunday Telegraph*, Wheatcroft asks questions no South African today would dare ask – not publicly, anyway.

over the last 25 years has been astonishingly unsuccessful, and the incapacity of whose leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, for office was never more strikingly demonstrated than when he sent his men over the border in defiance of the peace accords to be killed *en masse*). Present proceedings are a parody of an independence process, and Namibia will be a parody of a national state.

An extreme case, Namibia is far from unique. If you look at the 50 "nation-states" which the OAU comprises, you will see that not many of them are nations in European terms. Decolonisation in Africa has been bizarre in many ways, but strangest of all was the underlying assumption that Africa would suddenly turn the scores of artificial colonial units into living copies of the national states which it has taken Europe centuries to create.

Has there ever been a more preposterous notion – or one which was more damaging to its supposed beneficiaries? Even now, looking round the disaster that is independent Africa, there is a guilty tendency not to ask awkward questions. The Africans do not seem to be very good at running national states. But why should they be? They are not very good at practising Confucianism or performing Viennese operetta, either.

A large part of Africa's misfortunes stems from the hopes invested in the continent. Supposing that Namibia will develop into a successful nation-state is truly a case of triumph of hope over experience. There may not be much we can do to help Namibia, but we might at least not set our hopes too high, and not pretend that it is something which it is not.



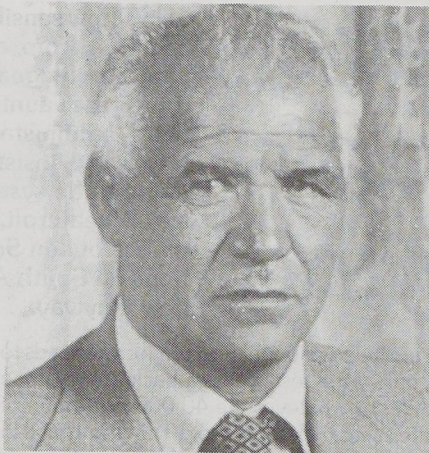
Relatives of missing SWAPO detainees know the bitter truth about claims that Namibia is a unitary nation-state: here they demonstrate against SWAPO at Windhoek Airport on the morning of 4.7.89.

Hans Diergaardt

THE huge question marks hanging over the November elections have brought immense disquiet to many Namibians: none more so than to Mr Hans Diergaardt, "Kaptein" of the dry and dusty Baster settlement (8 500 sq km) of Rehoboth since 1979. By any standards, this tiny, 30 000-strong community is one of the most interesting in the modern world.

Under the leadership of Kaptein Hermanus van Wyk, the Basters – originally a Northern Cape "Coloured" clan – trekked north and settled in what they called Rehoboth in 1870. They take a special pride in being called "Basters," the Afrikaans word for "bastard." Normally, in the SA context at least, people of mixed race are termed "Coloureds."

To call a mixed-race man from Rehoboth a Coloured is to insult him. "Baster" does not mean to them what it may mean to others. South Africa's Coloured community, they maintain, originated in early relations between White settlers in the Cape and Malayan and Javanese slaves. "There are no slaves in our background. Our forefathers were explorers and settlers, Dutch, German and French, who penetrated the



HANS DIERGAARDT, "Kaptein" of the Basters.

SA hinterland and had relations with African women."

Rather more distinguishing is that for more than a century the Basters have owned their own land and enjoyed virtual self-government in their orderly, mainly farming, community situated in the arid central plateau of Namibia, with the sandy Namib to the west of them and the stony Kalahari to the east.

Fiercely proud, fiercely independent, the Basters some 26 years ago were in the forefront of demands to the UN to end SA control over Namibia. Today, ironically, they are the most reluctant of all Namibian communities on the question of independence.

Faced with the possibility of a future under the Ovambo-dominated, Soviet-aligned, Marxist SWAPO, they worry that such a government "would take over our territory and collectivise the land. That would be death for us, because our land is our life, our history, our everything."

UDI THREAT

While they are doing all in their means to prevent a SWAPO victory, they are adamant that should SWAPO get a two-thirds majority in November, and try to enforce a "winner-takes-all" socialist government on the country, then they will do all possible to declare UDI.

Mr Diergaardt told me that he has a mandate from his people to declare an autonomous Baster republic, to which they feel they have both historical and legal claim. Contingency plans, including a corridor to the sea, have been prepared in the event of a "worst case" scenario in November.

"We are not prepared to be suppressed by a SWAPO government in a unitary state. We are willing to make tremendous sacrifices to maintain our freedom." One option, he says, would be to buy out a number of farms between Rehoboth and Walvis Bay to provide access to the harbour. Rehoboth is approximately 280 km from Walvis.

The Baster nation first declared UDI in 1870, shortly after they moved up from the Cape in search of farm land. In 1872 the community formalised a constitution, the "Vaderlike Wette": self-government under the Paternal Laws. In 1885 the Rehobothers signed a friendship treaty with the Germans, who in turn recognised the Basters as rightful owners of their land and their claim to independence.

In 1919 the League of Nations placed the Basters under SA rule. Mr Diergaardt was a member of the 1969 delegation that met Mr John Vorster to demand the return of sovereignty to Rehoboth. In 1976 the Rehoboth Self-Government Act was passed.

FLAMES OF AFRICA

Says Mr Diergaardt: "I pray with all my heart that this country will be spared the flames that have swept so much of Africa. Unfortunately, results can be achieved with money: and SWAPO has access to all the funding it requires."

Still, as leader of a deeply Christian community, he believes in Divine intervention. "Catastrophe has faced us before and we have been saved. On May 15, 1915, the Germans attacked Rehoboth after our people had refused to take up arms against the Allied forces. They were on the brink of destroying the settlement – only 40 rounds of ammunition remained in the hands of the Basters – when a giant dust cloud blew up over the horizon. Believing it was relieving forces, the Germans withdrew."

Dirk Mudge

CHAIRMAN and central figure in the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and representative to the Multi-party Conference, Mudge is a veteran SWA politician who has served on most of the elected structures in SWA. Mudge, ever a SWA patriot, has played a crucial role in the build up to independence by representing the DTA at numerous international negotiating forums. He began his political career as the elected representative for Otjiwarongo in the SWA Legislative assembly in 1961, a seat which he held until 1980. Mudge effectively served as the head of the SWA Administration as the National Party of SWA's second-in-command and was appointed to the Legislative Assembly as convener of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance where he served as Chairman until 1977. His leadership clash with AH du Plessis led to the formation of the Republican Party in October 1977 and his election as chairman of the party.

Dirk Mudge's commitment to independence is best demonstrated by his considerable success in restructuring the civil service as a result of which upwards of 80% of the employ-



DIRK MUDGE, chairman of the DTA.

ees were native South West Africans. Mudge also spearheaded a campaign for the abolition of apartheid legislation and the restructuring of the economy to ensure growth and prosperity for SWA. As leader of the DTA, Mudge has represented the interests of SWA in the international arena as the negotiation process accelerated and has fought for civil liberties and self determination within a framework which guaranteed the well being of all SW Africans. Mudge's role in serving his country has been considerable and it is likely that he will continue to play a positive and moderating influence in the post-independence era.

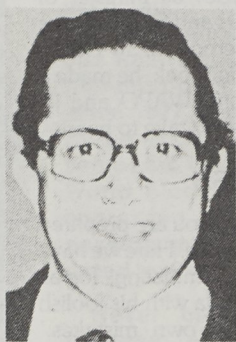
Dr Ben Africa

ONE respected politician who takes a positive, indeed optimistic, view of the new Namibia is DTA executive member and former "Kaptein" of Rehoboth, Dr Ben Africa. This tall, impressive and inspiring man is adamant that "the chance is here to make a success of independence... I am confident we are moving into a future which will be quite livable."

Dr Africa does not believe that SWAPO will gain a two-thirds majority: "I doubt they will get 50%, let alone 66% of the votes." This, he contends, would open up the way for a democratic, multi-party government. "And that alone would be a huge plus... to have a government that is internationally accepted, something this country has not known for a very, very long time."

He says that DTA has been "working like hell" towards the November elections. "We have made surprisingly good inroads into Ovamboland. At one recent DTA meeting in Oshakati, we had 20 000 people. My perception is that SWAPO's hold on Ovamboland is by no means as secure as they like to believe."

"To start with, there are some 3 000 Cuca shops in the north... small traders, very hardworking, very enterprising people, known up there as Namibia's Black Jews. Unfortunately, though they are natural-born capitalists, they understand nothing about communism. If we could get through to them, tell them very clearly and concisely, exactly how communism or socialism would impact on them personally, they would very quickly lose all interest in SWAPO."



Dr BEN AFRICA,
former Rehoboth
"Kaptein."

"Unfortunately, in this election we are up against some very real problems. We feel very strongly about the partiality of UNTAG. Though the men themselves seem decent enough chaps, a lot of them – probably most – arrived with some extraordinary misconceptions. Many were told that most of the Windhoek buildings had been demolished by bombings."

"Each man was entitled to bring 130 kg of personal kit. Some of them, convinced they were coming into a wilderness, unable to buy anything, brought 20 pairs of shoes each. There is a lot of division in UNTAG. The Danish chaps don't like the Kenyans, and many of them certainly don't like SWAPO."

"We have serious problems with the churches: or, more correctly, with the Council of Churches of Namibia. The Ovambos love their church and this is where the CCN abuses its power shamefully. We are seeing a lot of intimidation, both soft and hard. Many churchmen are guilty of soft intimidation. We know of at least one Lutheran minister who tells his congregation that unless they guarantee to vote for SWAPO, he will not baptise their children."

"We are very, very grateful to the police for the job they are doing but, again, that job is made immensely more difficult by the activities of the CCN. A complicating factor is that both SWAPO and the CCN have a great deal of money at their disposal, and money talks."

"The economy? People are talking of 'capital flight' from Namibia, but I don't see it. And those who were going mostly went ten years ago. The numbers leaving now are not all that great."

Dr Africa entered politics in 1971 as a founding member and first leader of the Rehoboth Baster Association. As a student in Cape Town he steered away from active politics but narrowly missed expulsion from medical school after openly speaking out about discrimination on campus. An active Christian, he has addressed the International Prayer Breakfast at the White House and the Jerusalem Peace Conference. He is a member of the Royal Society of Medicine.

Fanuel Kozonguizi

ONE top Namibian legal authority and politician who takes a totally cynical view of SWAPO's new-found desire for moderation and reconciliation is Advocate Fanuel Kozonguizi, DTA executive member, Minister of Information, Justice, Posts and Telecommunications in the transitional government and a member of London's Inner Temple.

And he is certainly in a unique position to judge, for Mr Kozonguizi, while a student at Fort Hare (SA), became a founding member of the SWA Student Body. He joined the ANC Youth League in 1954 and, together with Andreas Shipanga and Toiva ja Toiva, planned what was eventually to become SWAPO, a Namibian version of the ANC.

CALUMNY

In 1959 he became president of SWANU but resigned in 1966 following party tensions. He returned to Namibia in 1976 as legal adviser to Chief Clemens Kapuuo and the Herero delegation at the Turnhalle Conference. In 1977 he became DTA legal adviser and "Roving Ambassador," later

joining the Cabinet of the transitional government.

Having spent many years in East Germany, he knows what communism is all about. He does not pretend that he is happy about this election: "Somehow we have embarked on a road of no return. Right away my fear is what is going to happen to those people and to those parties which oppose SWAPO. We have only one police force in Namibia: and SWAPO and its supporters are engaged in an all-out campaign of calumny aided at discrediting and demoralising the police."

"They say Koevoet must get out of the force. Should that be done, to me it spells great future danger. They allege that the police are connected to the DTA, which is rubbish. I believe it could form part of a campaign to get their returning guerrillas accepted as part of the security forces. That is my fear: that SWAPO will claim they cannot accept this police force unless their people become part of it."

"Apart from that, SWAPO has to find employment for these people coming back. They cannot afford to have them just hanging around. They have brought these people back; they must have something to give them. And we all know that the police represent a specialised force. They are not

an army under training. Most guerrillas are not trained in any field. I don't like what is developing, at all."

IGNORANCE

"On its part, UNTAG seems to be concentrating more on SWAPO's claims of intimidation and the role of the police than they are on the real issues. Complicating the problem is that people overseas are in absolute ignorance about conditions here. The UNTAG people will tell you quite openly that things are very different indeed to what they had been told."

"You only have to listen to the statements from Washington to understand the depth of ignorance about SWAPO and the realities of the SWA situation. The long and short of it is that SWAPO, with its obsolescent economic and political philosophies, demonstrates a quite breathtaking disregard for the facts of life. All southern African states that have relied on State control for the economy – Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Mozambique – are in economic disintegration."

"Whether our people are sufficiently sophisticated to understand that is another matter. In this situation, newspapers such as *The Namibian* are playing an extremely dangerous role."

Eben van Zijl

SPEAKING of independence, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda once remarked: "We want to make our own mistakes." Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, "the Great Redeemer," said much the same thing: "If we have to re-invent the wheel every morning, so be it." Such lunatic philosophies soon flattened both countries into bankruptcy and disaster. Has SWAPO learnt anything at all from such earlier calamities?

Certainly not in the view of Advocate Eben van Zijl, a White Namibian with a long and distinguished record of public service. With Dirk Mudge, he was appointed by the

SWA Legislative Assembly (1974/75) to convene what later became known as the Turnhalle Conference. A cattle farmer himself, he served (1985/86) as Minister of Agriculture, Water Affairs and Sea Fisheries in the transitional government. In APN's interview with him in Windhoek, he made a number of points which SWAPO and its supporters would do well to take to heart:

FOOLISH

"Wisdom begins when you are prepared to admit your own ignorance. Here we have SWAPO and its people emulating, for all practical purposes, Kaunda with his foolish 'We want to make our own mistakes.' Perhaps they should rather consider the possibility of saying 'We want to make our own wise decisions.'

"Never in my life have I felt humiliated by hiring or consulting an expert. If only the people of my country would realise that we, all of us, have much to learn. We positively do not need to repeat the terrible mistakes of others.

"SWAPO and its people say they want to erase the 'last vestiges of apartheid and colonialism.' But erasure of apartheid is not going to erase poverty. I parted with apartheid many years ago. For my money, the end of apartheid and colonialism is not in dispute. Effectively, these two matters are off the agenda. Let a SWAPO leader come into this office and I would tell him: 'My friend, you are preaching to the converted.'

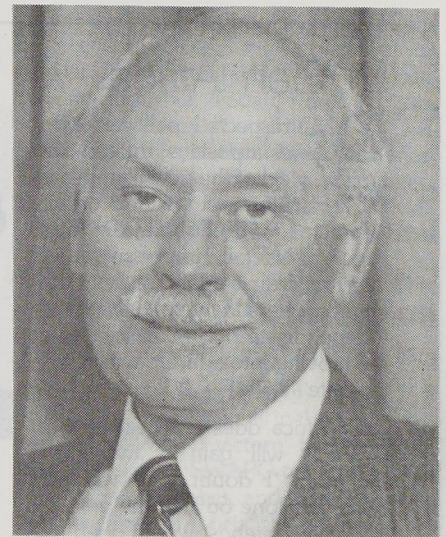
REALITIES

"Instead of preoccupying ourselves with things that are obsolete, history, we should be looking at the realities of our problems.

"SWAPO has seriously proposed that we sell not a kilo of meat to SA. Some years ago I was the chairman of the *ad hoc* organisation trying to rationalise the meat industry. After we had investigated this whole thing, all the parties came to the same inescapable conclusion: that the only market available to us was that in SA. European and North American farmers are so heavily subsidised that it makes it impossible for us to compete on those markets.

"We can get much better prices on the SA market than elsewhere. *If we lose that SA market, then I can tell you that the cattle farming industry in Namibia will be ruined.*

"Further, we have at this time some 3 800 White farmers sitting on about 6 000 farms. Agriculture is the biggest job producer in the country. The agricultural potential of a variety of areas is very high, but currently largely under-utilised. Instead of concentrating on the development of these potential new areas, SWAPO wants to nationalise the so-called White farms. Now imagine the following. *Should these 3 800 White farmers elect to sell their farms, removing themselves, their capital and their expertise from the country, the agricultural community in Namibia would cease to*



Advocate EBEN van ZIJL, Minister in the Transitional Government of Namibia.

exist. It would be the end of business in the agricultural sector.

"Further, Mr Nujoma told people in Kabwe that he would not allow a single SA doctor in this place. Many years ago I was a member of the Executive Committee responsible for health. What a battle we had in getting medical doctors for this country: even trying the Argentine. Most of our doctors come from SA. *If we stop that, the whole health system in Namibia will fall apart, be in ruins.*

"In their time, Nkrumah and Kaunda were seen as Africa's champions of freedom and liberation. Look at the mess they left behind them, the suffering they caused their people. Yet these are the role models SWAPO seems to prefer. *That is the wisdom these people are bringing into this country.*

"Running a country is not kid's play. If only these people were prepared to learn that between us, Black and White, we could build a partnership that could overcome most of our problems, serious as many of these are. But we can only do it if we complement each other, show great wisdom."

The election? "Of course there are quite a lot of dangers, that cannot be denied. However, I really think we can win this election. I cannot see any one party, including SWAPO, winning a two-thirds majority. If two or three of the big democratic parties got together, they could perhaps be able to compound the necessary two-thirds majority.

"But there is a pretty sad thing here. For so many years now the West has told us we must bring democracy to Namibia. That we are now trying to do. And what is the West doing? We know that SWAPO is preparing to pour in millions – putting on a real Broadway show – and a lot of that is Western funding. How about them supporting the moderates and democrats? **As it is, we have not received a single cent from the Europeans or Americans.**"

Daniel Tjongerero

SWAPO deputy-national chairman, journalist and activist in the Lutheran Church, Tjongerero learned his revolutionary politics while a student at SA's University of the North. Heavily influenced by Steve Biko's militantly anti-white brand of Black Consciousness, Tjongerero was an SRC member and held office in the SA Student Organisation (SASO), a militant black break-away organisation which was to play a leading role in the pro-FRELIMO demonstrations and later in the Soweto Riots of 1976. Tjongerero's involvement in SWAPO seems to have resulted from his contact with the SA Council of Churches while in SA on a journalism course in 1974 and his appointment as editor of the Lutheran periodical *Immanuel*. Tjongerero was involved in attempts to reconcile differences between SWAPO and the rival SWA National Union (SWANU). As a result of this he was elected publicity secretary and deputy chairman of SWAPO's internal structures in 1978. Tjongerero's contribution to SWAPO's activities has largely developed through his association with the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN), and his aggressive promotion of SWAPO through this platform. Tjongerero has undoubtedly played a central role in the subversion of certain church structures, transforming them into little more than SWAPO propaganda organs. Tjongerero has rallied considerable financial assistance for SWAPO through his militant brand of revolutionary Christianity.

Martti Ahtisaari



Mr MARTTI AHTISAARI, United Nations High Commissioner for Namibia

THIS Finnish school teacher-turned-diplomat has had a long association with SWA through the UN Council for Namibia. He has held the UN office of High Commissioner for Namibia since 1977 when he replaced Dr Alfred Escher, who was dismissed at the instance of the Third World bloc after being overly impressed by South Africa's development role in the mandated territory.

Never one to attract controversy, Ahtisaari has spent most of his diplomatic career in Africa after an initial period in the International Development Aid department of the Finnish Foreign Service. He also held office on the Council for Nordic Development Projects.

Martti Ahtisaari served as Finland's ambassador to Tanzania in the mid-1970s, also being accredited to Zambia, Somalia and Mozambique. Survival in his present post has largely depended on his ability to appease the Third World bloc which has constantly sought to manipulate the UN Council for Namibia.

Jannie de Wet

MR Jannie de Wet is another top-level Namibian politician who does not believe SWAPO will achieve the two-thirds majority needed to give it power. However, should this happen, then this imposing, affable man – Commissioner-General for Native Affairs in SWA, 1970/77; National Party delegate to the Turnhalle Constitutional Conference, 1978/79; most recently Minister for Agriculture, Water Affairs and Sea Fisheries in the transitional government – has a warning for SWAPO:

"Most Whites here today want to stay. We are prepared to become Namibian citizens, citizens of the new Namibian nation. But if it is to survive, this country needs prosperity and stability. On our side, our parties have the experience and the knowledge of modern governmental administration.

"We are prepared to share all this with our fellow Namibians. We are not going to be negative. We would like to coordinate and work with the other parties and groups taking part in this election. **What we want on our side is a Christian, democratic government, recognising, respecting and accommodating the different population groups, along with a free-market economy, a constructive approach to national reconciliation and economic competence.**

"We want to become part of the new dispensation in Africa. We want to get away

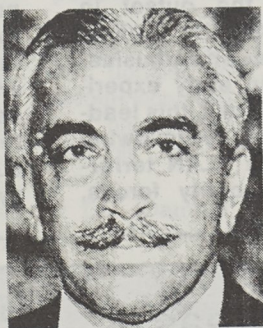
• To Page 26

Lt-Gen Prem Chand

LIEUTENANT-General Dewan Prem Chand, commander of the UNTAG military forces in Namibia during the period of implementation of Resolution 435, is no stranger to SWA: or, indeed, to conflict and controversy. A retired Indian Army staff officer first appointed to the Namibian UNTAG post in 1980, he visited the territory and the border areas then, but had to wait for nine years before he could finally assume command of his post on the ground.

Chand is best remembered for his inglorious role during the Belgian Congo débâcle of the early Sixties. Between 1962 and 1963 he commanded India's troops in the Katanga region. In that period the UN forces were responsible for many well-documented atrocities against civilians and Red Cross personnel, resulting in heavy loss of life, much human suffering and damage to property.

These "military actions" by the UN troops seriously aggravated already existing internal chaos and led many to question both the legitimacy and the neutrality of the UN "peacekeeping" programme. Chand's authorising role in these actions remains disputed to this day, but he was the officer-in-charge and must carry the blame for much of what happened. The entire operation remains one of the blackest chapters in UN history.



Lt-Gen PREM CHAND, commander of UN military forces in Namibia.

The Congo represented the most comprehensive "peacekeeping" operation ever undertaken by the UN. At its height, the UN military force numbered 23 400 personnel.

Chand was born at Myaffargarh in what is now Pakistan during World War I. In 1937 he was commissioned as an officer in the British Indian Army. After WW2 service on the North West Frontier, he fought the Japanese in Burma in the final stages of that conflict. His record in the Indian Army was long and varied, ranging from Director of Military Intelligence, Director of Personnel Services and Director General of the National School Cadet Corps.

He retired from the Indian Army in 1967 but was asked to come out of retirement in 1969 to command UN troops in Cyprus. Here he had to cope with the Turkish invasion and its bloody aftermath. His abilities seem to lie more in the field of international politics, an ability to remain inconspicuous ensuring his survival. As a representative of the UN Third World bloc, his leadership is acceptable to a wide range of ideological persuasion.

He recently came under fire from SWAPO supporters who blamed the UNTAG forces for SWAPO's failed invasion attempt into Ovamboland in early April. SWAPO criticised the UNTAG leadership for not confining the SA forces to base, for not disarming them and, above all, for calling these same forces back to duty to repel the SWAPO invasion. In other words, SWAPO was aggrieved because UNTAG did not give it a clear field to behave as it liked.

It is feared that, on Chand's past record, this may have been an aberration. In view of the UN's long and blatant partiality for SWAPO, it seems reasonable to suppose that both he and UNTAG will react benignly to SWAPO intimidation.

• From Page 25

from this whole Black/White thing. If we can succeed in this it is going to be a very worthwhile country, a very attractive country for investment, tourism, a country where there will be law and order, a good social life and a very high average standard of living.

"I do not believe that SWAPO will get a two-thirds majority and if they should fail here, then they will be forced to come to terms with us, to negotiate with the pro-democracy internal parties, something they have never wanted to do in the past. However, should things go the other way, should they in fact be able to establish a SWAPO administration, then the whole picture changes.

"SWAPO has no administrative record whatsoever, whereas the other parties have all had experience in one or other government dispensation. As the African experience has shown, revolutionaries make poor bureaucrats. SWAPO leaders are making conciliatory, gradualist noises at the moment.

"However, they already insist that there must be land redistribution. There are 6 million hectares of undeveloped land in SWA. But apparently they don't want undeveloped land. They want the developed land.

"Should they come to power, then go ahead with their nationalisation and land redistribution programmes, if they later adopt a radical socialist order, then that would cause a massive White exodus. I would guess that 50% of the Whites still here would eventually decide to leave."

And the election generally? "We can win this election, if the elections are free and fair. But if intimidation, soft or hard, is permitted, then things could go badly wrong."

And UNTAG? "They are simply not equipped to do the job. How can they monitor things if they don't know any of the languages, if they don't know the people? And the UN has this long record of total bias towards SWAPO, against the pro-democratic internal parties. If things go wrong here, I place the full blame on the Americans."

Toiva Ja Toiva

TOIVA Ja Toiva, a former railway policeman, founding member of the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO) and Secretary General of the SWAPO Politburo has often been described as the father of revolutionary politics in SWA. Toiva re-entered the arena of SWA politics as one of SWAPO's leading spokesmen after his release in March 1984 having served a 17-year sentence on Robben Island on a terrorism charge. Involved in the initial formation of the OPC with Andreas Shipanga and Ray and Jack Simons, leading members of the SA Communist Party in 1957, Toiva was never far from the centre of revolutionary activism.

In SA, Toiva was actively involved in revolutionary politics through his association with the SACP as well as through his membership of the Youth League of the ANC. Deported from SA for Communist activities in 1958, he next became actively involved in early UN campaigns against SA involvement in SWA. Toiva founded the armed wing of SWAPO, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) and was involved from the outset in attacks on South African targets. Toiva was an enthusiastic participant in early experimental terror attacks, this leading to his arrest in 1966 following clashes between PLAN terrorists and the security forces.

Toiva was tried under the Terrorism Act and sentenced to 20 years in prison for his activities. According to evidence led, his personal involvement included supplying stolen dynamite and other equipment to PLAN terrorists.

Toiva is seen by many as the true founder of SWAPO but early on was compromised by an ambitious and power-hungry Nujoma. Nujoma was waiting in the wings when Toiva was arrested and capitalised on the resulting leadership vacuum. Nujoma's determination to sideline Toiva became public in 1970, when he personally ordered the removal of all portraits of Toiva from SWAPO installations. Toiva was effectively neutralized and has been unable to regain his leadership of the organisation since his release from prison and re-involvement in SWAPO activities. Veteran SWAPO leader Andreas Shipanga highlighted the anomaly of Nujoma's position in a statement drawing attention to the fact that Nujoma had chosen to exchange SADF soldier Johann van der Mescht for a Soviet spy rather than for Toiva Ja Toiva.

Toiva has shown a spectacular inability to accept the changes which occurred during his years in prison. He has repeatedly told reporters that nothing has changed in SWA in the 17 years and even gone as far as to deny that SA has made any contribution towards the development of SWA. Toiva remains an embittered old man, out of touch with modern dynamics of the country.



ANDREAS SHIPANGA, president of the SWAPO Democrats.

Andreas Shipanga

ANDREAS Shipanga was a founder member and central figure in SWAPO. Born in Ondangwa on October 26, 1931, Shipanga, unlike Nujoma, proceeded to acquire tertiary educational qualifications. Falling victim to Nujoma's dictatorial control of SWAPO, he was imprisoned in Zambia and Tanzania. Shipanga's involvement in revolutionary politics began through his association with Joshua Nkomo and other Marxist leaders while in Rhodesia

during 1957. Shipanga was intimately involved in the launch of the forerunner of SWAPO, the Ovamboland People's Congress (OPC) with the assistance of leading South African communists Jack Simons and his wife Ray Alexander. The SA Communist Party played an important role in launching a SWA equivalent of the various "congress" movements which were springing up all over Southern Africa. Shipanga's involvement in revolutionary activities extended to the Maoist Yo Chi Chan Club which briefly attempted to carry out terrorist activities in SWA.

Glossary of larger political parties

• **SWANU (SWA National Union):** Namibia's first "national liberation" movement. Founded in May 1959 by predominantly Herero leaders, SWANU has had a long and stormy relationship with SWAPO, largely due to tribal differences and personality clashes with Nujoma. Early OAU intervention aimed at reconciling the disputes between the organisations failed. SWANU went through a phase of strong pro-Peking association. After a campaign against SWANU led by the Soviet-aligned ANC, the group was expelled both from the OAU and the Moscow-controlled Afro/Asian Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO). Much of SWANU's potential has been destroyed by factionalism. The party split into two wings in 1984 on the question of participation in the transitional government. The one faction, loosely termed SWANU-O (SWANU Opposition), led by Kuzeko Kangueehi, supports SWAPO. The other, loosely termed SWANU-TG (Transitional Government), led by Moses Katjiuongua, elected to take part in the transitional government.

• **DTA (Democratic Turnhalle Alliance):** Formed in 1978 in a coalition of eleven political groupings. President is Chief Kuaima Riruako, leader of the National Unity Democratic Organisation (NUDO), a party of the Herero tribe and biggest of the DTA African constituents. Chairman, Dirk Mudge. Under Mudge's leadership DTA has dominated the transitional government stage and made a major contribution to the economic growth and development of the country. The party originated from a disagreement within the ranks of the National Party and the subsequent walkout by Mudge and others. DTA received 82% of the 80,3% of votes cast in the 1978 one-man, one-vote election. The DTA has played an important role in maintaining the identity of internal groupings other than SWAPO and has seriously dented SWAPO's claim to be the "sole rep-

resentative" of the SWA people. DTA has actively campaigned for removal of racially-based legislation and for SWA independence. Opposes violence and upholds the free market philosophy. DTA has formulated well thought-out constitutional guidelines for an independent SWA; is campaigning for the introduction of a Bill of Rights and the Rule of Law.

• **SWAPO-D (SWA People's Organisation – Democrats):** Founded in 1978 in Sweden by SWAPO dissidents under the leadership of Andreas Shipanga. Decision to form new party taken in Tanzanian prison where the new party leaders had been held on orders from Nujoma. Party formed as a reaction to high level SWAPO leadership corruption and refusal to call party Congress to debate matter. Leadership largely ex-SWAPO members. Largely Ovambo, ideological position essentially non-Communist. Advocating non-violence and negotiation, has participated in transitional government. Supports reform and removal of apartheid in SA.

• **NP-SWA (National Party of SWA):** Namibia's biggest White political party. When it failed to keep pace with the reform programme of its SA counterpart, *verligte* group under Dirk Mudge broke away. Today's chairman, Kosie Pretorius. As leader of the Action Front for the retention of Turnhalle Principles (ACTUR) the NP-SWA took part in the 1978 elections. Has participated in the various government structures and maintained its leadership position in White community. Party has successfully articulated White aspirations during a traumatic period in SWA history. NP upholds free market philosophy, favours legislation protecting minority rights and has resisted integration of schools. Strongly anti-communist; opposes violence.

• **DC (Damara Council):** Founded in early 1970s under Chief Justus Garoeb to

oppose SA's "homeland" policy. Party now closely associated with SWAPO although it did participate in some governmental structures in the late 1970s.

• **CDA (Christian Democratic Action):** CDA was formed in 1982 by Ovambo leader Peter Kalingula after his resignation as DTA president. Support mainly from Ovambo. Opposed to the DTA, leadership has taken a stance in favour of a Western-style democracy. Promotes free market system. Believes that Namibia's future prosperity is linked to low tax, high growth economy.

• **NCDP (Namibia Christian Democratic Party):** Founded in 1977 by Hans Rohr, main support from Catholics in Kavangoland. NCDP is a non-violent grouping which has campaigned for implementation of Resolution 435. Supports free market system, essentially Christian social-democrat in its perceptions. States that its objective is to serve as a moderating influence.

• **LP (Labour Party):** Descended from the SWA Coloured Organisation founded in 1959. Like its SA counterpart, constituency is primarily among the urban Coloured population. It has represented this sector of the SWA people with energy and success. LP rejects SWAPO's claim to be the "sole representative" of the SWA people and has adopted a federalist approach to an independent Namibia. The organisation, which participated fully in the transitional government, holds eight seats on the National Assembly. Ideology: pro-free enterprise, non-violent, desires peace and stability for the country.

• **RFDP (Rehoboth Free Democratic Party):** Drawn exclusively from the Coloured "Baster" community of Rehoboth area. Represented in transitional government. Strongly Christian platform, rejects Marxism. Seeks independence for Rehoboth.

• **SWAPO:** See Page 7.

Shipanga represented SWAPO, after its formation in 1960, in Kinshasa and Cairo. He was elected SWAPO Secretary for Information, a position which enabled him to gain first-hand knowledge of the nature and extent of Nujoma's corruption. Increasingly disillusioned with Nujoma's inefficient and cowardly leadership, Shipanga led a challenge to the leadership after the suspension of the 1974 Party Congress, this culminating in a peaceful march on SWAPO headquarters in Lusaka. The ensuing action by Kaunda resulted in the arrest of some 2 000 SWAPO members. Legal action instituted by Ship-

anga's wife, who had avoided arrest, led to the illegal transfer of key prisoners, including Shipanga, to Tanzania where they were incarcerated without trial. Julian Amery aptly described this situation as follows: "As a result of a disagreement over internal elections of their officers, over 2 000 SWAPO supporters" were "held in detention camps outside of Namibia at the request of one faction of the SWAPO leadership. This of course hardly bodes well for the fate of democracy in Namibia."

Shipanga's release in 1978 followed intense diplomatic pressure by Western countries. SWAPO actively campaigned

against the release of the top 19 prisoners, with Nujoma demanding that they be released into his "custody". After a brief stay in Sweden, Shipanga returned to SWA to launch the SWAPO Democrats, of which he was elected president. SWAPO (D) has vocally attacked SWAPO for its corruption and has taken up the issue of the remaining 1 800 prisoners in detention. Shipanga became Minister of Economic Affairs, Mining and Sea Fisheries in the Interim government and is playing an important role in the development of the country and its people.

• **Bryan O'Linn, SWAPO's 'friend and ally'**

It helps to have the referee on your side

WANT to know the type of man who will referee November's independence elections and ensure that they are "free and fair"? Then stand by for some shocks. Mr Scott Stanley, one of America's foremost political

commentators, was recently in Windhoek. One of his articles, written for American Press International and reprinted in *The Windhoek Advertiser*, 25.7.89, makes allegations so startling that APN reprints virtually in full.

THE people of SWA are preparing under UN supervision to elect a Government... which will decide whether this vast territory... will be free or will become just another benighted and bankrupt Marxist dictatorship.

The bitterly ironic phrase "One Man, One Vote - One Time" was born in Africa, where other internationally supervised elections have through contrivance and intimidation produced a long series of ridiculous but brutal presidents-for-life and assorted Marxist satrapies surviving on Soviet arms and Western alms.

No issue is more important in SWA today than whether the coming elections will be "free and fair," or whether they will be stolen by intimidation.

The man chosen to referee this contest and assure its fairness is Bryan O'Linn (59), Chairman of the Commission for the Prevention and Combating of Intimidation and Election Practices.

COMMITTED

• I met with Bryan O'Linn for an hour in his commission office and he was quick to tell me that he had been committed to revolution since the 1950's, when he realized that "internal diplomatic pressure would not be enough", that it "would also take armed resistance".

Here was the man chosen to try to stop, to hear, and to decide any case of intimidation or crookedness in the most important election that will ever be held in SWA.

His job is to be scrupulously impartial, but he did not smile as he told me that he had for years been working "to build a more positive image of Swapo," the terrorist organization led by a firebrand Marxist named Sam Nujoma and supported for decades by Moscow and its African friends with arms, training and funds.

DEFENDED SWAPO

O'Linn said that is why as a legal advocate he defended captured Swapo leaders in the court, met repeatedly over the years with Swapo leaders in the fly-speckled Leninist capital of Lusaka, and strutted about with them in Stockholm or in the company of assorted European socialists and professional brother lovers and pacifist busybodies.

• He said his support for Swapo reflects "my sympathy for a genuine resistance."

O'Linn made little effort to hide where his loyalties lie. When I asked about a December 1988 speech in which O'Linn had attacked the Interim Government in Windhoek and blasted South Africa, while referring to "our friends and allies" of Swapo, the Commission Chairman responded that the leaders of Swapo have far more credibility and legitimacy in SWA than either South Africa or those leaders of the Interim Government who are themselves competing in the election against Swapo.

CO-OPERATION

I politely took note of Chairman O'Linn's "special relationship" with Swapo, but O'Linn was quick to say that a better term to describe their association is that it has been one of "co-operation."

"Really, Mr O'Linn?" I asked in surprise. The chairman smiled broadly in reply.

"Given your 'co-operation' with Swapo clients, and at closed meetings with its top leaders in Lusaka, Stockholm, and the like - your closeness to those leaders - can you say whether any of them are Communists?"

Again the broad smile. "I know of not one member of Swapo, certainly not among the leaders, who is a Communist," O'Linn intoned.

"Not even Sam Nujoma?"

"He is not a communist."

This was simply outrageous. Here was the official referee assigned to head a judicial body charged with preventing electoral intimidation and fraud boldly declaring that one of the most notorious Communist terrorist leaders in all Africa is some kind of democratic socialist.

"Aren't you concerned, Mr O'Linn," I asked, "that people will think a man who can't find even one Communist in Swapo might be too stupid to chair this Commission?"

'NO-ONE TOLD ME'

O'Linn was defensive. "Well, none of them ever told me he was a Communist," Bryan O'Linn sniffed.

Irate now, he launched into an attack on South Africa and its Koevoet police units

which had badly beaten Swapo's terrorists during protracted revolutionary warfare, and whose men and officers stepped in at the invitation of the UN to stop a Swapo invasion of SWA on April 1.

O'Linn said he was engaged in hearings aimed at proving that Koevoet men now among police units are intimidating voters.

SWAPO PARTISAN

He spoke of a case in which he claimed a South African general was trying to prevent a Swapo electoral win.

O'Linn said "these people know I am on to them."

"But haven't you had any complaints about intimidation by Swapo?" the reporter asked.

"Very few," O'Linn said curtly. "The problem is elsewhere."

• Indeed it is. The problem is that an aggressive Swapo partisan and advocate of its revolution has been put in charge of preventing intimidation in the forthcoming elections that will determine whether SWA is to be free and independent or just another Marxist satrapy in the hands of revolutionaries who long ago pledged their allegiance to Moscow.

Bryan O'Linn shook my hand and smiled as I left. He had reason to.

Less than two months ago he was Chairman of Namibia Peace Plan 435, a pro-Swapo gang that on the very day I spoke to O'Linn was scheduled to host a rally featuring a speaker from the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

Now O'Linn was officially refereeing an electoral battle between the police, legitimate democratic candidates, and the trained cadres and killers of Swapo.

He had just told me he had been on Swapo's side from the beginning, and that the "co-operation" would continue.

As this reporter reviewed his notes something incongruous caught his eye.

The chairman of the Namibia election commission had in our interview raised the matter of whether he could in the future seek public office.

There was a coy two-minute soliloquy in which he orated like a schoolboy Hamlet over whether to accept an important post in any future Swapo government.

The man was responding to a question I hadn't asked.

Western ambivalence to Communism in Africa

DURING last year's US Presidential campaign, Mr George Bush constantly reiterated a proud claim by Ronald Reagan: that during his two terms in office, not one acre of non-communist soil had been yielded to the communists. Should SWAPO somehow seize power in Namibia, that boast overnight becomes null and void. And it will be the Americans themselves who will have voided it. For SWAPO leaders, both in interviews and in their recently released manifesto, have made it clear that their misnamed "people's organisation" has not deviated one iota from its socialist principles: that, returned to power, it will instal what is curiously termed

a "mild" form of Marxism. Considering the apocalyptic disasters that have overtaken, without exception, all other African states which practise socialism/Marxism – and in view of the widespread Western support for SWAPO – one must surely ask: Is there any real morality in the West in relation to Black Africa? Or do they actually *prefer* collapsed, chaotic and broken socialist states, surviving via the begging bowl, drowning in debt, all the early hopes and dreams dead and buried? Two strongly contrasting articles, published in the London *Times*, indicate just how ambivalent the West is, both to Communism and to the fate of Namibia.

A REPORT from correspondent Peter Kenny, datelined Windhoek, was published in the London *Times*, 3.7.89, under the headline: "SWAPO Offers a Mild Marxism." This states, with not the least hint of criticism or apprehension, that SWAPO "retains its commitment to the underlying philosophy of socialism, saying in (its) manifesto, 'SWAPO does not conceal its belief in the moral superiority of socialism over communism.'"

This tranquil acceptance of the possibility of yet another African socialist ruin contrasts strangely with a leading article, 11.6.89 published in the London *Sunday Times* at the time of the Chinese student pro-democracy upheavals. Because of the importance of the comments made on the failure of communism worldwide, we quote the editorial in full:

THE historic events in China proved the most dramatic, but far from the only, evidence that the dynamic of communism – the 19th century ideology which came of age in this century to win control of both the largest country on earth and the most populous – has all but run its course. The forces of reaction in Peking may still suppress, perhaps even for a considerable period, the Chinese people, just as the Polish, Hungarians, Czechs and many more have been suppressed in their time. The 27th Army and its ilk can prevent revolt from becoming revolution, at least for a time. But for communism to be seen so unequivocally and so publicly as brutal reaction is a body blow from which it will never recover.

For the rest of the world, communism has ceased to be something to be adopted or imitated; it has lost all connection with change for the better or the best human aspirations. It stands nakedly, in a heartland and not a satellite, for all that is worst in human endeavour. Communism, the ideology that began this century as the wave of the future, might not even be around in any



recognisable form for the start of the next.

The sheer scale of the breakdown in the communist system is immensely heartening for the liberal democracies which only a few decades ago were led to believe that the best they could do was slow its inevitable expansion. But it is also alarming. We saw China in bloody turmoil. The Soviet Union is riven with ethnic unrest and in economic crisis. Poland's Communists could not even win when they stood for election unopposed. Yugoslavia is in danger of disintegration. Hungary is ceasing to be communist in all but name. And Vietnam's boat people are brave testimony to the fact that communism no longer holds attractions for anybody in the Third World. Only in odd pockets, such as Albania or Cuba, does the communist system go on as before.

There is now an historic inevitability about the failure of communism (to adopt its own marxist lexicon). The communist ideology has always been about economics, rather than politics. It subjugates political freedom to the economic imperative. Yet throughout its short history it has been unable to compete economically with a Western democratic system that is essentially political, and whose economic nature is pragmatic enough to veer between the market and state intervention depending on the mood of the electorate.

Democracies produce wealth in abundance as a by-product of liberty. Peoples' "democracies" fail to produce the butter that alone would justify the system; but they are never short of guns to turn on their own people. The failure of repression to produce the economic goods and the success of freedom in doing that very thing is the fundamental reason why communism is finished. But it will not die peacefully or disappear gracefully.

China, 1989, joins East Berlin, 1953, Budapest, 1956, Prague, 1968 and Warsaw, 1981 as bloody dates to illustrate the fact that communist totalitarianism may have lost its hold on the future, but not on the present. There is no precedent for a country successfully ridding itself of established communism. Just as no country has ever freely voted in a communist government, so none has yet been able to vote one out. China is a savage reminder to those in the West who want us to believe that Mr Mikhail Gorbachev has transformed the Russian bear into a teddy bear that the Red Army is just as likely to be told to open fire on its own people if the Kremlin saw glasnost getting out of hand.

The chances of a steady transition to multi-party democracy in China were always remote. They are not sanguine elsewhere. As Poland's half-free poll showed, Communist parties that allow the electorate choice face obliteration. That will hardly encourage communist ruling cliques to liberalise. The 38% obtained by the Communists in Czechoslovakia in 1946 remains the highest vote the party has ever scored in a free election, and any repeat of that looks highly unlikely. The embarrassed reaction by Solidarity to its triumph was recognition of the persistent fear of provoking the hardliners with too obvious a success.

Disengagement from one-party rule is made immeasurably difficult by the fact that alternative parties were destroyed many years ago, or never properly existed. A whole roll-call of parties have disappeared in Eastern Europe: Agrarian, Liberal, Ploughmen, Smallholders, Social Democrat, Independent Catholic, Labour, Farmers, New Liberation. They were eradicated immediately after the war. At least a memory persists. Only a 93-year-old in Russia is able to recall being given (briefly) a real choice between parties; a Chinese never.

Western leaders were rightly more sad than angry about the events in China. The students' belief that the people's army

Exploitation? Far from it, finds a British analyst

CAN anything good come out of Pretoria? Not if you believe the vicious anti-SA smears forever launched by the US State Department, by the international "liberal" media (including, sadly, our own), by the UN, the OAU, the World Council of Churches and all the rest. But, occasionally, SA does get a fair shake. That happened recently when London *Sunday Telegraph* feature writer Stephen Robinson visited Namibia to examine the inde-

pendence process. In particular, he analysed the oft-repeated claim that SA has ruthlessly and recklessly "exploited" the giant desert territory, has (to quote those impeccable observers, SWAPO) "sucked it dry." The facts, found Robinson, are dramatically the reverse. Because his words will have far greater credibility than anything any South African could write, we report his comments on this important subject in full.

IN MONTY Python's film *The Life of Brian*, a Jewish guerrilla leader indignantly asks his followers: "What did the Romans ever do for us?" He receives the disconcerting reply: "Roads, drains, housing... and wine."

If Mr Sam Nujoma, Swapo leader, asked his comrades what South Africa has ever done for Namibia the answer might be much the same.

Supposedly robbed of its natural wealth by a century of colonial exploitation, Namibia seems to be doing rather well.

When the South Africans finally disappear across the Orange River next year, they will leave behind them a formidable road and rail network, first-class hospitals in Windhoek, four-star hotels and good restaurants.

AFRICA SHAMED

They will also leave an international airport which puts the rest of Africa to shame, and a direct-dial telephone network which actually works.

Central Windhoek is enjoying an unprecedented construction boom as South African building companies move in to provide offices for diplomatic missions.

Largely because there are diamonds, and diamonds which are dug out of the earth by a South African company, the lobby groups at the United Nations have managed to

convince the world that Namibia would be a rich country if the racist regime would stop sucking it dry.

But the economy only limps along at all because Pretoria has thrown billions of pounds at the territory in the 70 years it has been ruled as a fifth province of South Africa.

Namibia has been treated with absurd financial preference compared to the rest of the republic: rather as the British Government throws money at Northern Ireland as though it were a solution to intractable political problems.

DEVELOPMENT AID

Pretoria has tried (and largely failed) to woo black Namibians away from Swapo with development aid, and Windhoek's African township Katutura is far superior to all but a handful of black South African residential areas.

If the new government in Windhoek seeks political accommodation with Pretoria and succeeds in maintaining current foreign investments and attracting new Western aid money, Namibia will cease to be a troublespot.

But if Swapo decides to cut up rough – and it is the party which barring a disastrous election campaign will dominate the independence government – the whole show will go down the drain faster than you can say "*la luta continua*".

Ambivalence

• From Page 29

would never shoot the people was always likely to turn out to be idealistic nonsense. Nobody who knows anything about communism should be surprised at what has happened; only clapped-out right-wing despots such as the Shah, Marcos and Galtieri in recent memory, seem inclined, sometimes, to give up without a fight, if holding on means mowing down one's own people. Communist tyrants are not so squeamish.

The West needs to remember that, as communism goes through its death throes, it is likely to be even more dangerous than it was at the height of its power. What hap-

pened in Peking may yet happen in the Soviet Union, with far greater consequence for the West. Policies that began with the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine have these past 40 years safeguarded the wealth and liberty of the West from communist expansion. They are on the brink of a triumph unimagined by Nato's founding fathers 40 years ago. But until communism is buried deep by its own peoples, it would be folly to abandon them.

COMMENT: Very well said and all very true. But, if it really believes in what it editorialises, why is the *Times* so casual about potential Marxist rule in Namibia? Or is this pure racism... that Communism is unacceptable when it oppresses Europeans or even Chinese, but it doesn't really matter if it happens once more in Africa?

The central irony of the United Nations independence plan for Namibia is that it is the new reformist policies of the Soviet Union which will bring to power Mr Nujoma, a man who would not necessarily consider it an insult to be called an unreconstructed Stalinist.

Nujoma began life as a railway shunter in northern Namibia in the 1960s at a time when Moscow was scouring the Third World for useful stooges.

Incredibly, he has survived into the era of *glasnost* despite the manifest failure of the guerrilla war he was supposed to lead and deep divisions within the political leadership.

Nujoma has spent the past quarter of a century in an ideological time warp, lecturing the UN and the Scandinavians on their duty to support the liberation struggle.

OUT OF STEP

He is out of step with the more realistic internal Swapo leaders, most of whom are now convinced of the need to get along with the white population and with Pretoria.

Yet he still speaks of the need for African solidarity, and of continuing support for the African National Congress, rhetoric which if put into effect spells instant catastrophe for his country.

Independence is coming to Namibia because the superpowers are beginning to pull the same way in Africa, and not (as Swapo would have it) because of the 23-year guerrilla war. Mr Gorbachev's refusal to continue bankrolling Fidel Castro's 50 000-strong mercenary force in Angola was responsible for clinching the deal far more than all of Swapo's AK-47s combined.

A happy coincidence of superpower objectives, and dogged determination by Dr Chester Crocker, the American mediator, brought Namibia to this point. The settlement has shown what can be achieved when the Americans and the Russians both lose interest in any given region.

Mr Gorbachev might retain certain ambitions in Africa, but a foothold in the Namib Desert is certainly not one of them. If he can convince Mrs Thatcher and President Bush that he is not after the goldfields of the Witwatersrand either, then the implications could be profound indeed.

"WHAT is glossed over is that much of the supposedly rich Namibia is little more than a moonscape with five o'clock shadow of acacia scrub and vastly exaggerated mineral wealth.

"While heaping 'responsibility' for Namibian poverty on Pretoria's head – in spite of the fact that generous aid of all descriptions has for years kept the territory from the African beggars' queue in which all but one or two sub-Saharan states find themselves – we've not yet heard a word of how the UN champions of Namibian freedom will suckle their new fledgling.

"There's lots of brave talk of the potential of a state free of sanctions and once again welcomed into the world community. And we wish it

Little hope of UN help

luck. But it's going to need a damned sight more than that if it's not going to end up like the others seeking release from billions in debt that will tax its ingenuity financing.

"Already, with South Africa having cut its aid, there will be no new schools, hospitals, water systems, roads or any other vital expansion of infrastructure unless UN members foot the bill.

"Considering the world body is deep in debt; that the present Untag crisis was in the main precipitated by a shortage of finance and arguments over how the world

body would pay, any hope South West Africans might have of new benefactors seems pretty slim.

"The freedom that's supposed to be coming could in the end be like trying to exchange a promissory note at the time of a general crash on Windhoek's 'Wall Street' – Kaiser Street – about to propel Namibia to the end of the begging queue.

"Thus we see South Africa helping maintain stability and retaining influence in Namibia for many years, although we doubt there'll be much gratitude forthcoming.

– Editorial comment, *Natal Mercury*, Durban.

Could SWAPO handle economy any better than the bush war?

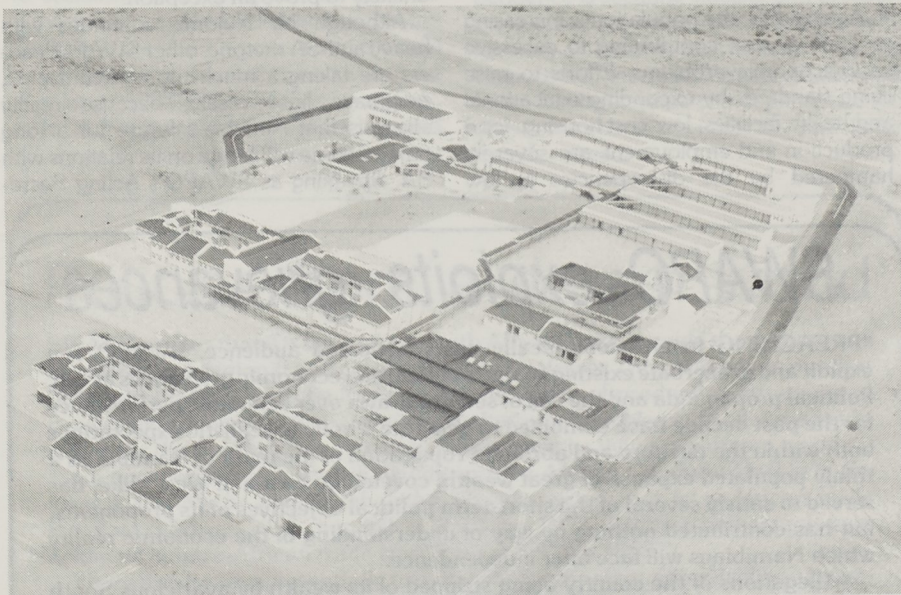
WHOEVER takes power in Namibia will inherit a workable economy: but these new leaders will "have to do some pretty sophisticated and unrevolutionary things to keep it that way." So say economists with an intimate knowledge of the giant desert territory.

Does SWAPO have the coherence and the savvy to operate such an economy? As a revolutionary group, poorly led, outgunned, its performance in the field was anything but impressive. Arms alone could and would never have given SWAPO victory. *With no practical experience in managing an economy or balancing a budget, would it be any more successful in running a modern state?*

For any thinking voter, these are critical questions – questions of survival. Overall, the answers are not all that re-assuring. The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and its associate groups have had years of administrative experience. A government of "national unity," including SWAPO, might indeed guarantee the economic sophistication needed. With a SWAPO government alone, the prognosis must read: cautious to pessimistic.

INSTANT ADMINISTRATORS

To prepare Black Namibians for power, the UN set up in Lusaka the Institute of Namibia, offering courses in public administration, lasting three years. About 700 SWAPO members have completed the course. Several hundred more have been trained in various disciplines in Western universities. But, again, the question: how well equipped are these green technocrats to run a fully-fledged state, to assume the complicated apparatus of government?



Concordia College in Windhoek, a non-racial secondary school built in Windhoek with the assistance of R6 million from Consolidated Diamond Mines, makes the "blood-sucking capitalist exploitation theory" of economics look a little hollow.

And, should it come to power, what economic model would SWAPO adopt? That of Botswana, an African showcase of democracy and free enterprise? Or Zimbabwe's disastrous socialist/collectivist experiment? On the evidence, Zimbabwe increasingly appears to be the favoured role model. Nujoma himself says that the economic model he "would most like to emulate" is that of Zimbabwe.

SWAPO and its economic advisers are not short of warnings. Professor Fanuel Tjingaete, Associate Professor of Econo-

mics at the University of Windhoek, says: "If the new ruling party goes for an orthodox Marxist orientation, we'll go down the drain. If it is realistic, we will survive."

TOUGH BATTLE

Either way, its going to be a rough, tough battle. The new leaders of the fledgling state will inherit problems that could stymie the most skilled of bureaucrats. Those problems are indeed enormous. It will be extra-

Handling the economy

• From Page 31

ordinarily difficult to knit Namibia into a nation state:

- Namibia shares with Outer Mongolia the distinction of being the most sparsely populated of all the world's inhabited regions. In a territory as big as France and Italy combined (824 269 sq km) the total population density is a mere 1,48 per sq km. Linguistic and ethnic differences present another development problem. There are 11 major ethnic groupings, with a number of identifiable smaller groups, and a total of 31 identifiable languages.

- From 1977 to 1984 the economy suffered chronic negative growth, sometimes as low as -7%, mainly due to killer droughts and heavy drops in world prices for base metals and minerals, the country's big cash earners. In 1985 there was a small positive growth of .02%. In 1986 it rose to 2,9%, dipping again to 1,8% in 1987 before rising to 2% in 1988.

UNEMPLOYMENT

- Against this, the population is increasing at 3,1% a year, contributing to excessive socio/economic problems. Efforts to raise living standards by expanding educational and health facilities, low-cost housing, food production and employment are severely hampered by the discrepancies in low

economic growth and rocketing population.

- Overall unemployment runs at around 30%, with economists placing it at nearer 50% in some of the larger urban areas. Some 60% of the population live below the poverty datum line. There is a backlog of 31 000 houses, with 130 000 or 8% of total population officially listed as "squatters."

- Current projections forecast a total population of around 2 million by year 2000, with overall unemployment levels reaching a staggering 55% in the year 1999/2000. The many-pronged task of attempting to raise living standards, providing more educational, health, housing and job facilities while at the same time trying to curtail population growth, all this against a slim tax base, will be one of the most harrowing challenges facing the future government.

The whole world has meddled in Namibia's affairs for the past 40 years. What support will the world now provide on independence? Although there are some promises of both German and French industrial investment, the general foreign attitude seems to be "wait-and-see." Informed opinion is that foreign donor aid will probably be smaller than hoped for. Experience in other African states is that, despite generous promises, there has often been a lot less aid forthcoming than expected. Namibia is unlikely to prove an exception.

Although Mr Nujoma continues with heavy anti-SA rhetoric, other SWAPO leaders are taking a much more circumspect, pragmatic line: wisely, because reality suggests that Namibia's future for a long time to come will hinge on its relations with SA. Speaking as SWAPO's Acting Secre-

tary for Foreign Affairs, Niko Bessinger pointed out that infrastructurally SA and Namibia are too closely linked to allow any immediate separation of the two economies: "the web woven over the decades cannot readily be unwound."

SA SUBSIDIES

One of those realities is that around 16% of the country's budget has come from direct SA subsidies: a total of R2,5 billion over the past eight years. Other forms of international aid are unlikely ever wholly to replace that assistance.

And, to quote Mr Bessinger, the SWA infrastructure is inextricably linked to SA: rail and road routes link the two countries together. Access to world sea routes is provided by the SA-owned enclave of Walvis Bay, only deep water port on the Namibian coastline.

Further entwining SA and Namibia is the fact that about 25% of the country's export revenue is earned from SA. Major exports are agricultural and mining products. In 1987, mining contributed 25% to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), earning 75% of export revenue; while agriculture, reasonably well organised through the 3 300-member SWA Agricultural Union (SWAAU), contributed 10% to the GDP (13% of export earnings.).

Although agriculture contributes relatively little to the GDP, 70% of total population is directly or indirectly dependent on farming, subsistence or commercial, for its livelihood. Political game playing – redistribution of land, meaning fragmentation of productive agricultural units – would result in unemployment and major disruption of the economy.

TEMPTATIONS

This could prove a SWAPO government's most serious test. Understandably, it wants Black advancement fast: it must in some way reward its long-time supporters. SWAPO's land reform policy stipulates redistribution of land owned by absentee land-lords. The temptation to expropriate the land of efficient White commercial farmers may be hard to resist.

The importance of keeping the agricultural community stable and on an even keel is a potent argument for continuing trade with SA. About 80% of the cattle farmed are exported to SA: according to SWAAU president Andries Mouton, between 300 000 and 350 000 head of cattle a year. It would, he says, be difficult to find suitable alternative markets.

Mining, with about 20 000 employees and earning more than R240 million during 1986/87, has been the backbone of the economy and will doubtless remain so for years to come. The most important mines are the Rossing Uranium Mine near Swakopmund, the Consolidated Diamond Mines (CDM) near Oranjemund and Tsumeb Corporation at Tsumeb, Kombat and Ofjijase.

The SA-linked mining companies have made big commitments to SWA. CDM

SWAPO exploits grievances

"PREACHING to an economically unsophisticated audience, SWAPO can exploit and exacerbate existing social, political and economic grievances at will. Political propaganda and the veil of secrecy drawn over economic performance for the past decade have combined to generate wholly unrealistic expectations both within the territory and abroad. Propagation of the myth of Namibia as a thinly populated expanse of great wealth, coveted by East and West alike, has served to satisfy several of the short-term political objectives of its proponents, but has contributed nothing by way of understanding of the economic reality which Namibians will face after independence.

"Allegations of the country being stripped of its wealth by avaricious South African and multinational companies have compounded the deception. The country is, and has been for some years, living beyond its means. The First World criteria of the existing White administration set the pace. A disturbing measure of reliance on government financing, whether by way of subsidies, pensions or provisions of services, has developed. Expectations have been unrealistically inflated across the board. This position can clearly not be sustained indefinitely.

"It needs to be handled with care, however, as a sharp drop in the quality of services available to Whites would certainly lead to rapid emigration of skilled persons. As White/Black income ratios after independence (as high as 12/1 in some African states) have shown, administrative and economic skills are extremely expensive when purchased from expatriates. The economic reality of an independent Namibia will be that the country, barring any extraordinary discoveries of rare minerals, will have to cut its cloth with extreme care. It will certainly require foreign assistance and a considerable measure of continued South African support. Political stability will be an absolute prerequisite." – Sean Cleary, former Chief Director of the Office of the Administrator-General, SWA, writing in *Lincoln Review*.

Scaring investors away

SWAPO's radical rhetoric – especially about nationalisation as defined in its election manifesto – is likely to undermine business confidence in a SWAPO-ruled Namibia and “scare away” potential investors.

That warning comes from UNISA's Professor Ben van Rensburg, recently commissioned by ASSOCOM to make an in-depth appraisal of the implications for SA of an independent Namibia (*Star*, 10.7.89). The three factors in SWAPO's economic policy which would hasten businessmen away were:

- The organisation was coming out more strongly on the policy of nationalisation, even though it was not saying exactly what it was going to nationalise.
- In particular, it was stressing the idea of taking away “unoccupied” White farms. “This causes fear and distrust.”
- The organisation has not sought to reassure public servants that their jobs are secure and that normal hiring and firing practices would be maintained.

SWAPO, said Prof van Rensburg, “ought to be very careful because the economy is not run by general voters, but by businessmen who care about making profits.” He warned that once a SWAPO government had lost the confidence of local businessmen, they would also lose the confidence of the rest of the world.

“I find it strange that Mr Nujoma is unable to learn from the experiences of the countries around him.”

recently announced two new diamond projects with capital expenditure of around R225 million, as well as one-third participation in a mine development with total capex of R30 million. Uranium, the other big mineral asset, is mined by the British Rio Tinto Zinc company. The present low price, due to a word glut, does not bode well for Namibia.

LIMITS

SWAPO has had talks with both De Beers and RTZ and says it knows it will have to cooperate with them if it wants to sell the country's minerals. Still, minerals are a wasting asset. The mining sector has a present planning horizon of ten to 15 years. Geologists warn that Namibia's natural wealth should not be over-estimated.

Fishing, once one of the main pillars of the country's prosperity, is in a deplorable state. Recent surveys indicate that uncontrolled trawling has led to near-collapse of pilchard stocks and reflect a high juvenile component of other species.

Tourism is rapidly gaining in importance, since the country offers such a dramatic variety in scenery and wildlife, including the Etosha Game Park, one of the largest in the world, almost wholly unspoilt and superbly stocked with game; the spectacular Fish River Canyon and the Namib Desert. Yet Prof Tjingaete doubts Namibia will ever attract large volumes of visitors, because of the vast distances between tourist attractions.

SOCIALISM

The manufacturing sector remains undeveloped and will probably remain that way for the foreseeable future. The key constraints are high transport costs, marketing problems because of the size of the country and low population density, low overall buying power and price and quality competition from SA.

Professional economists still have to pin down what SWAPO's economic policies really are. So far, though it is abundantly clear that SWAPO retains its commitment to socialism, it is tightlipped on specifics. Although some of its leaders accept that the Zimbabwe experience proves that it would be imprudent to interfere with the economy, SWAPO's election manifesto states that companies operating in Namibia will have to pay higher taxes. Also, that

investors will be required to plough back into the economy a significant part of their profits.

Both these aspects are causing corporate anxiety. CDM Executive Director Abel Gower says his company would be “concerned” if the new government wanted too large a share of the business. “The State already gets around 70% of the profit. We have to look after shareholder interests as well.”

Would a SWAPO government change the currency and withdraw from the Southern African Customs Union? In a January 1989 New York interview Mr Nujoma declared himself decidedly unenthusiastic about Namibian membership of the SACU, saying the matter would have to be reviewed. “The Union is dominated by SA,” he said, “which has imposed its will on neighbouring countries.”

Political Bureau spokesman Hage Geingob has also said a SWAPO Government would “re-assess remaining in the Rand Monetary Area and SACU, both of which make Namibia the captive market of South Africa.”

Against this SWAPO leaders generally admit their ignorance of economics. One can only hope that, in the event of a SWAPO victory, cold common sense will prevail. Just as important as achieving independence is securing stability and prosperity, a lesson too many African leaders have ignored, at immense cost to those they had supposedly “liberated.” Whatever happens in the first three years of independence will dictate the course of events in Namibia for decades ahead.

Policies from a dream world

SWAPO argues that if it severed its South African links, it could then create and intensify intra-regional trade links. On this, Professor Tjingaete points out that the main problem is to be found in the similarity of production structures of developing countries. “Anyone believing that, say, Zambia could become a substitute for the South African market clearly must be living in a dream world.”

He quotes the Ralph Onvuka study entitled *African Common Market in the Year 2000: Myths and Shibboleths*. Onvuka noted that intra-African trade stood at 5.6% in 1967, but fell to 3.9% by 1978. Highest percentage ever achieved in intra-African trade was “a mere 5.9% in 1968.”

There are, he says, essentially two reasons for the stagnation/decline of intra-African trade:

- 1. Many African countries are still conditioned by strong attachment to pre-independence colonial ties. This attachment was portrayed by Samir Amin in his essay on “Social Formation of Peripheral Capitalism.”
- 2. The homogeneity of production structures and commodities. The total dependence of African countries on the primary sector, resulting in all countries producing the same commodities, “makes intra-African trade almost impossible.”

Prof Tjingaete comments: “Against this background it is difficult to accept that a delinking of customs ties with SA can be substituted by intra-African ties. Another dimension of the problem that is often overlooked is the fact that SA is rejected purely on political grounds: i.e., the fact that it is ruled by a White minority dictatorship. All the concerted actions being undertaken to ‘liberate’ SA could well result in a majority, hopefully democratic, government. If that happens the question of relinking Namibia's economy to that of SA will re-emerge. But what would be the cost of delinking and relinking? It is suspected that the cost would be too high for Namibia.” – Excerpted from *Optima*, June 1989.

SWA's options: freedom or socialism, riches or poverty

WHOEVER rules South West Africa after the UN-supervised elections will decree the kind of economy the territory will have. It can be an authoritarian, socialist régime of the type which has dragged so many African economies into the dust – Tanzania, Ethiopia, Guinea, Angola, Mozambique – or it can be the only type of economy which has been shown by experience to

guarantee genuine growth: one in which the people are free to make their own decisions, to work as they wish for the benefit of themselves and their families, and in so doing, to benefit their country as a whole. Harold Pukewitz, farmer, businessman and economist, has played a leading role in the development of his country. This is his formula for success in an independent Namibia.

NAMIBIA'S future economic order must be:

- Productive;
- Effective;
- Flexible;
- Adaptable;
- Responsive;
- Self-generating and stable yet dynamic, progressive and innovative;
- Rewarding and self-motivating yet fair and just in the production, distribution and consumption – economically and socially – of wealth;
- Uncomplicated and intelligible;
- Self-regulating;
- Free within the restraints of the rule of law, the social requirements of equality of opportunity, reasonable access to health and educational services, capital *et al*;
- Self-sufficient, where economically possible, in at least food production; and
- Morally responsible and disciplined.

STABLE VALUES

Most of these requirements are obvious, at least to other than socialists. To be productive means producing outputs in excess of the inputs, thus generating sufficient wealth to reward all the factors of production ... and leaving a sufficient surplus for taxation, saving and investment. To be self-generating, an economic system must work on *real* costing principles – both in private and public sectors – so that even in an endemic inflationary environment, decisions are truly (not just apparently) productive.

The social and political life of the country must not be subjected to radical/revolutionary forces hampering production, distribution and consumption. Self-regulation means that resources can flow freely, with minimum interference by government: stable monetary values are essential for this.

In the 19th and 20th centuries the world has seen a number of experiments in changing the economic order, until today there is a general division between forms of capitalism and forms of socialism. Capitalism, which accepts the discipline of market forces and requires the subservience of the state to the needs of the individual, has developed in the countries of Western Europe, North America, Australasia, South-

Not again ...

"EVERY time a liberation front takes over a nation, they feel obliged to remake the economy. I just wonder if we're going to have to reinvent the wheel here, too." – Namibian construction chief, Gordon Merrington.

Eastern Asia and Japan ... and as well as economic betterment, the inhabitants of these countries have enjoyed social freedoms.

More or less parallel with these developments we have had the opposite system in Eastern Europe, the USSR, China and many of the newly independent countries of Africa. On this continent it has been termed "African socialism", but regardless of the name, it has shared the significant features of Eastern European socialism: minimal development (in Africa's case, often no development at all) and a loss of freedoms, both economic and social. Not one African country which adopted the socialist system has been other than a hopeless failure, with the result that Africa has come to be regarded in the 1980s as the "derelict continent", featuring only hunger, misery, hardship and poverty. Only those countries which have started to restructure their economies to permit more freedom have shown some hope of bettering the lot of their inhabitants.

AFRICAN APPEAL

The grand simplicity of the socialist ideal has a genuine appeal to African sensibilities, yet nowhere, even in its most sophisticated versions, has it been a success. The only viable and truly prosperous economy is one based on the free enterprise market system. Statism and collectivism are both economic failures, and even a so-called "mixed economy" invariably becomes a "mixed-up" economy. Not only is the socialist state inefficient, ineffective and unproductive in the utilisation of resources, but in it the individual is made subservient to the state.

In "democratic capitalism", free enterprise operating with free markets is subject to the discipline of the market mechanism's

forces of supply and demand, which are themselves broadly indicative of popular demand. This is the system which has produced our civilisation and which preserves it.

No economy can grow without investment in its production and distribution capacity. But investment comes from savings, and savings are only created under certain conditions. Among these are:

- Positive interest rates;
- Low taxation;
- Low (or zero) inflation;
- A stable and predictive polity (which presupposes a true democratic constitution where the fundamental freedoms are operative);
- Exploitation of economic opportunities, requiring a strong class of entrepreneurs;
- Adequate foreign exchange reserves; and
- The availability of skilled manpower, which implies a truly efficient, effective and productive education system.

BENEFICIAL LINKS

South Africa is presently the main supplier of what SWA does not or cannot produce economically. It has the most sophisticated economy in Africa, and until now the co-ordinated and integrated economic system has brought great benefit to SWA. Any disruption of these links would harm SWA.

There are certain fundamental realities in the SWA economy. It has a dualistic nature, with some 70% of the population living in a largely subsistence economy, while the remaining 30% must produce enough wealth to drag the 70% into the modern money economy. The economy is open-ended, producing only 35% of what SWA consumes in its industries, homes and public institutions: for the rest, export markets must be found, requiring an international standard of productivity. The internal consumer market is small and fragmented in terms of income and distances, militating against economies of large-scale production. There is a limited range of raw materials and transport costs are high. SWA suffers a "skills deficit" and has a thinly spread managerial component. The poorly structured, vulnerable economy forces undue dependence on mining, which is a wasting

asset, while there is only a poorly developed secondary sector, and agriculture is subject to recurring and severe droughts.

IMPERATIVES

These fundamentals in the SWA economy signify certain imperatives which cannot be ignored without endangering the degree of economic progress required to meet the basic needs of a growing population. These imperatives are that the economic order must possess the features listed initially. But there are those that SWA simply cannot afford to be without unless its people are to be impoverished and the independent Namibia is to find itself on the waste-heap of history, along with other African countries which have chosen the socialist path. These imperatives are:

- SWA cannot afford a high-cost government, one which costs more than a maximum 33% of the GNP to operate essential services, including the provi-

sion of education. The country must "cut its coat according to its cloth".

- SWA cannot afford an economy labouring under high taxation, which curbs growth by reducing private investment and thereby cutting productive job creation.
- SWA cannot afford to weaken the wealth-generating propensity of the economy by following ideological policies which divert resources to less optimal uses rather than allowing time-proven market forces to do the work to the best advantage.

For the sake of Namibia's future and the welfare of its people it would be wise to entrench certain economic fundamentals into a future Constituion. This could follow the example of the Rome Protocols of the European Community, laying down certain socio-economic and socio-political principles.

R2,5 Billion aid from SA

BETWEEN fiscal year 1981/82 and fiscal year 1988/89, Pretoria contributed a total of R2 514,9 million to the Namibian budget. This was made up as follows:

Year	Actual Aid
1981/82	R254,0 m
1982/83	R200,0 m
1983/84	R285,0 m
1984/85	R372,0 m
1985/86	R318,7 m
1986/87	R469,2 m
1987/88	R308,0 m
1988/89	R308,0 m

Source: Namibian Budgets, 1981/82 – 88/89.

Lessons aplenty for Nujoma

BARRING serious incident, and in spite of the clashes in the north after April 1, Namibia's independence will probably be formally proclaimed around April 1990, at roughly the same time that Zimbabwe, the penultimate African colony, will be celebrating 10 years of sovereignty. It is therefore tempting to speculate what Namibia will look like in five or 10 years' time.

Will it be a prosperous and respected state that honours human rights, democracy and a free economy? Or will it have declined into political and economic *dirigisme*, intolerant of political dissidence and individual enterprise? Seen realistically, neither scenario seems probable. Namibia is not endowed with rich resources; and those that it does have are of the depleting kind. For this reason it will experience difficulties of management and allocation in the initial period of independence, especially if the government yields to expected strident demands to 'redistribute' national wealth.

But only a government of crass stupidity would fail to heed the lessons of modern Africa. On Namibia's very doorstep the dire consequences of central planning and 'people's ownership' are apparent (Angola and Mozambique); but so too are the lessons of political pragmatism and balanced economic husbandry (Botswana and, to a lesser extent, Zimbabwe). Nor can it have escaped the attention of the people most likely to rule Namibia that there has been a marked shift in the economic policies of Mozambique (with Angola willing to follow), to regimens designed to attract Western investment interest. It is not only civil war that has reduced Luanda and, formerly, Maputo to a wasteland in southern Africa; inappropriate economic policies too, are responsible. This is a lesson no doubt that SWAPO leaders, who have been living in Luanda for the past 10 years or so, will take with them to Windhoek.

Mr Nujoma will find too that there is a huge difference between the seemingly carefree life of the peripatetic nationalist leader in cosmopolitan exile, and the hard grind of practical administration, between rhetoric and *realpolitik*. He and his lieutenants may find the adaptation/adjustment difficult.

Even now, in the run-up to the elections, there are signs of SWAPO ambivalence on fundamental policy issues. Historically, the organisation has attracted support on the basis of Marxist principles, which many people equate with equality before the law and shared wealth, commonly known as scientific socialism. But when its leaders travel in Western Europe, SWAPO's economic policies seem to undergo change: they become market-orientated. Until

last November the organisation had not offered a considered economic plan. When it finally appeared, it seemed to many to be fairly moderate, though full of ambiguities. What worries most Western observers is whether a SWAPO government will have sufficient will and resolve to resist the more extravagant demands of its followers. To the undisciplined mind, the quickest way of converting national assets to common wealth is by nationalisation, expropriation and appropriation.

SWAPO's published economic plan seems to preclude 'worker control', but one learns privately in Luanda of **another draft economic manifesto, intended for 'internal consumption' which is more radically worded.** Even the existing 'moderate' version postulates some economic reasoning that is hard to reconcile with reality. Much of it seems to be based on the notion that Namibia is a country of unimaginable wealth.

On the constitutional side, there is a draft in limited circulation which is regarded as 'moderate'. Others claim, yet again, there is **another version of the document in circulation which would amount to an amalgam of Eastern European constitutions** (East Germany and Czechoslovakia).

That is bad enough. Even more disconcerting, however, are dark hints from SWAPO's inner circle that, in the event of the organisation winning constituent assembly elections by a two-thirds majority, it would dispense with niceties and implement its constitutional proposals "in 48 hours". Nor, they add, will there be another election if SWAPO wins decisively. Fears of a 'legalised coup' will not fall lightly on the ears of faint-hearted opponents of the organisation, many of whom, especially if they have kith and kin connections in South Africa, will doubtless vote with their feet before November, or shortly afterwards. Trust in SWAPO's reliability has diminished sharply inside Namibia as well as in the outside world after SWAPO broke its commitments by its military incursion in Ovambo.

But perhaps the history of turmoil will have taught lessons and instilled a desire for peace and co-operation. All Namibians know by now the depths to which a country can sink if it perpetuates ethnic, religious, racial and other group advantage. They know too the economic, social and political deterioration which results from the abrupt imposition of alien or proven disastrous economic and political structures. The choice is theirs. — Robert von Lucius, Southern Africa correspondent for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, writing in *Optima*, June, 1989.

SA bequeaths a treasure trove to new nation

SWAPO – plus SA's many international critics, conspicuously the UN, the US Congress and the World Council of Churches – have had much to say about Namibia's "stolen assets," about how an "avaricious" SA Government has "enriched" itself during its allegedly "illegal occupation" of the long-disputed territory.

Not a word about the billions SA has poured into the country over the years, or the fact that the cost of establishing the present very sound infrastructure, exceptionally impressive by Third World standards, has all come out of the unfortunate SA taxpayer's pocket. The depth of the deception so deliberately practised is best exposed by detailing the infrastructure SA has set up and will now bequeath to the new nation, whatever government is chosen:

- **RAIL ROUTES:** As at July 1, 1988, rail assets were valued at around R150 million, this including fixed assets of R80,4 million and R44,7 million in rolling stock. The latter includes 1 900 goods trucks and passenger coaches, plus 128 diesel locomotives operating over a 2 383 km network. About 2 million tons of goods, 21 000 head of large and 14 000 head of small stock and 480 000 passengers are transported by rail in Namibia yearly. Total rail distance travelled: 5,6 million km a year.

- **ROAD TRANSPORT NETWORKS:** A total of 27 towns and communities over a distance of 6 540 km is served by a scheduled road transport network. About 18 000 tons of goods and 50 000 passengers are handled each year by road transport. In the process, 8,6 million km are traversed yearly.

These transport services represent an important employment venue, while purchasing power of the approximately 4 500 workers is considerable. More than R65 million was budgeted for wages and salaries in the 1986/87 financial year.

- **ROADS:** 1956 marked the first tarred road in Namibia. Thirty years later, 4 382 km of the 41 762 km road network in the territory were tarred. Of the rest, 24 089 are gravel. Road construction in the territory is exceptionally costly, because of the long distances, great climatic extremes, the scarcity of water and lack of suitable road building materials on site. It costs around R300 000 to tar one km of road.

Especially in the Namib, the wandering dunes and sandstorms present serious maintenance problems. Although the main

water courses in the interior are dry for most of the year, bridges have been built over the main roads to obviate traffic interruptions during the rainy season. There are now 424 high-water bridges, against 35 in 1953.

- **MOTOR VEHICLES:** With a ratio of 50 motor vehicles to each 1 000 persons, the population is mobile, although the vast distances naturally distort the picture.

- **HARBOURS:** Walvis Bay caters for approximately 900 ships a year, Luderitz about 90. Because of the treacherous ocean currents and dense fogs that shroud the coast from time to time, lighthouses operate at Dias Point, Pelican Point, Swakopmund, Solitude and Cape Cross.

- **AIR TRANSPORT:** Because of its huge land areas, Namibia is heavily dependent on air transport. In 1987 there were 216 registered aircraft in the country. An average of 128 119 air passengers travel by aircraft from Namibia to SA annually, and 62 098 from Namibia to Frankfurt. A modern international airport, the J G Strydom, situated 42 km from Windhoek, was completed in 1965. Some 2,2 million kg of freight are transported annually on aircraft operating from, to and within the territory.

- **TELECOMMUNICATIONS:** There are 69 273 telephones, 76% of which are connected to automatic exchanges. The overall ratio is one telephone to every 17

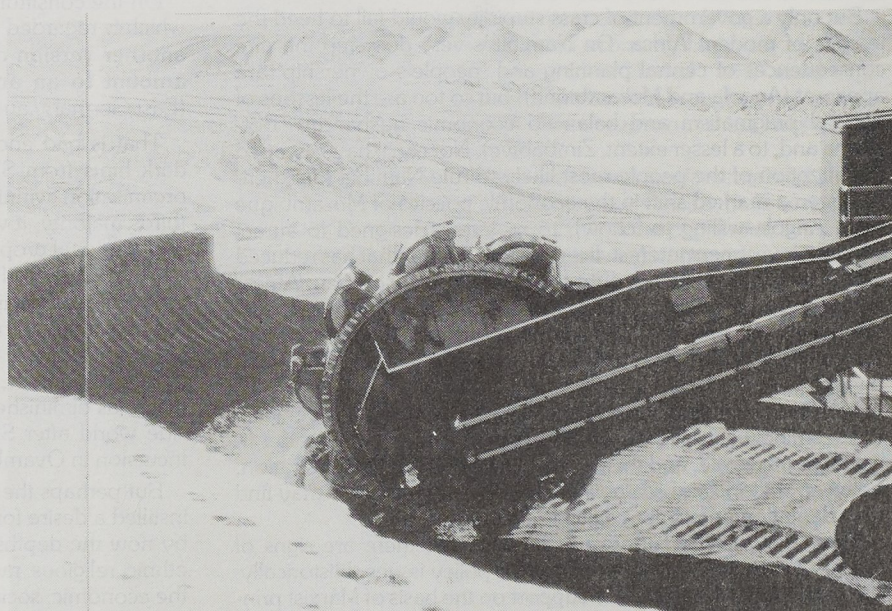
inhabitants. The Department of Posts and Telecommunications operates 18 automatic telephone exchanges and 134 manual exchanges. These include an international exchange in Windhoek, which also has an automatic telex exchange. Communication in rural areas not on the telephone network is provided via 65 permanent and 511 mobile radio stations. Telecommunication lines and microwave channels over a distance of 1 553 498 km create an integrated telephone system.

There are 71 post offices and 16 postal agencies, while mobile post offices serve remote areas in Ovamboland, Kavango and Caprivi.

- **WATER:** Because of its position in the southern tropic and against the west coast of Africa, Namibia, with an average rainfall of 250 mm, is one of the world's most arid regions. Over the past 20 years great progress has been made in developing sufficient water distribution systems for the country. Water is currently stored and made available by means of storage dams, sand storage reservoirs, direct withdrawal of river water, boreholes, effluent purification systems, canals and pipelines. There are 12 major dams, all built by SA, with a total storage capacity of 589,2 million cubic metres. The largest reservoir, the Hardap Dam near Mariental, accounts for 48% of Namibia's total dam capacity.

- **ELECTRICITY:** SWAWEK (SWA Water and Electricity Corporation) generates and distributes bulk electricity supplies. High tension power lines of varying voltages supply a maximum demand of 185 megawatt over a total distance of 5 300 km. As and when it is needed, electricity is imported from SA.

It may yet prove that the Namibians will find that they needed South Africa more than they can do without her.



A giant bucket-wheel excavator moves millions of tons of sand overlaying the diamond-bearing gravel on the Namibian coast: without investment such as this, the territory would be immensely poorer.



SWA's Bushmen (left) face a grim future at the hands of a possible SWAPO government, reports APN's German correspondent. They have for long been exploited by such neighbouring tribes as the Ovambo and Damaras, and there is every prospect that SWAPO's policies will result in virtual extermination for the Bushmen. The Ombili Foundation was formed earlier this year with German support (but of course with none from the local churches or the UN) to assist by working on projects such as improved water supplies, craft facilities and education. The two battalions of Bushmen in the SWA Territorial Force have now been disbanded: their establishment had for the first time brought education, training and medical facilities to some of the refugee Bushmen communities. They proved superb soldiers, with their legendary tracking skills being frequently responsible for the security force successes in the war against SWAPO terrorism. South Africa has offered former Bushmen troops – some 3 500 men – refuge in the Republic in the event of a SWAPO election victory. But the community numbers some 25 000 souls, all of whom are at risk in an independent Namibia under a vengeful Marxist regime.

Although the United Nations has ignored their plight, individual troops of the UNTAG military component now occupying former SA bases have shown growing sympathy for the Bushmen. For example, Indian Army Major Guurmet Kanwal commented: "After the disappointing experiences we had with SWAPO in April we are left with no illusions about what is possible from that side ... We have great respect for what the South Africans achieved here. We have had to change our perceptions about the South Africans to a large extent. We can see that these people here are living in peace. However we can foresee the problems to come."

'Medical disaster' could follow

THROUGHOUT the long and bitter bush war to defend the people of SWA against the depredations of SWAPO, the SA Defence Forces have provided medical and other services to the black population in the northern part of the territory. Many qualified "troopies" doing their national service in the area found themselves manning a school blackboard rather than a machinegun, while qualified specialists in other disciplines, such as engineers, surveyors, veterinarians, agriculturalists, communications specialists and so on, were assigned to such tasks in support of the civilian population.

Now that the SADF has been withdrawn from SWA, apart from the token component provided for under Resolution 435, residents in the north are facing the threat of what has been called "a medical disaster". Fortunately, however, some 200 members of the SA Medical Services (SAMS) have been allowed to stay, together with SA Air Force personnel to operate unarmed helicopters for evacuating wounded and seriously ill civilians.

The SAMS members, who include 46 military doctors, operate seven hospitals, mainly in Ovambo. A SAMS spokesman in the territory, Colonel André Lutter, said last month that if an international agency were to replace the work of the SAMS teams, it would be at a cost of some R6 million a year. He noted that even though UNTAG had brought medical units with its forces, these were basically to care for their own personnel. Furthermore, the SAAF aircraft had become particularly necessary for night-time medical emergencies, since UNTAG was reluctant to fly across what it perceived as alien terrain at night.



ABOVE: In a remote kraal near Opuwo in the north-west of the territory, one of Namibia's future citizens gets a helping hand from a South African medic. BELOW: The travelling sick bay visits Mangetiduin, courtesy of the South African taxpayer.



Desert enclave holds key to SWA's future

MOST crucial issues affecting future relationships between SA and independent Namibia evolve round Walvis Bay: the minute, bleak and sand-blasted desert enclave of 1 124 sq km that possesses the only deep water harbour serving the territory.

SA leaders have repeatedly emphasised that while geographically Walvis Bay forms part of SWA, politically and legally it remains under SA jurisdiction. Providing the new Windhoek government does not turn hostile, SA has offered to let independent Namibia continue using the harbour facilities on a contractual basis: but has "no intention of negotiating Walvis Bay away." Visiting the area last year, Mr P W Botha said: "The Walvis Bay enclave is an integral part of South Africa, and so it will remain."

There is good reason for the SA attitude. SA's hold over Walvis Bay, and what passes through it, remains its best assurance of cooperation from the future Windhoek government, whatever that may be. Walvis Bay is, and is likely to remain so for a long time to come, Namibia's main outlet to the outside world. Through its modern harbour moves about 85% of Namibian exports, including uranium, copper and diamonds, and many imports. It is also of considerable economic importance as the centre of the pelagic fishing industry and the site of much manufacturing capacity.

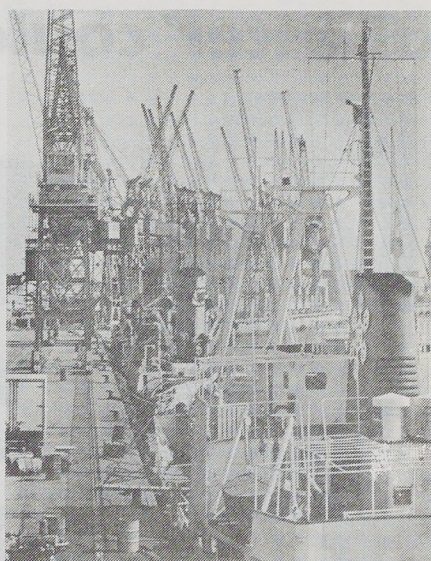
UNARGUABLE CASE

Constitutionally, the case for continued SA jurisdiction is unarguable. Under international law, Walvis Bay is sovereign SA territory. The British formally annexed Walvis Bay harbour, the small port settlement and the surrounding area on March 12, 1878, following a request from Herero chiefs to protect them against the colonial ambitions of Germany. This was ratified by Queen Victoria on December 14, 1878, in terms of British Letters Patent.

As a British possession, it never formed part of German SWA. In 1884 it was officially incorporated into the Cape of Good Hope and in 1910 was consolidated into the Union of SA. The original League of Nations mandate, declaring SWA's status as an international territory, did not include either Walvis Bay or the 12 offshore Penguin Islands.

Particularly important in support of the SA case is Article 11 of the Manifesto on Southern Africa approved by the Conference of East and Central African States at Lusaka in April 1969, confirmed at a subsequent meeting in Addis Ababa in September of that year and later incorporated into a UN Resolution. This states, in part, that "... the present boundaries of the states of southern Africa are the boundaries of what will be free and independent African states."

While SWAPO's claim to Walvis Bay deserves attention, the fact remains that



The only real port on the SWA coast, Walvis Bay is, however, indisputably South African.

such claims are based on emotion and, apparently, no small measure of ignorance: alternatively, are calculated propaganda pronouncements for popular consumption. Tentative Western support for the "re-integration of Walvis Bay into Namibia" has its roots in expediency and was the West's response to SWAPO demands, not to arguments in law.

Legal opinion is that neither the General Assembly nor the Security Council can alter accepted international boundaries simply by adopting resolutions. "To admit such a principle would be to accord powers to the General Assembly and Security Council which they do not have in terms of the UN Charter." Further, it would establish an extremely dangerous precedent, implying the possible negation of all the old colonial boundaries laid down at the Berlin Conference of 1884, unnatural as these boundaries certainly are. The OAU is forcefully opposed to any re-drawing of frontiers.

Over the years SWAPO has made many bellicose statements on Walvis. Quite recently Nujoma said: "Walvis Bay has been and will continue to be part of Africa." Namibia, he added, rather mysteriously, "was part of Africa, it belongs to Africa." In Lusaka this March, he said that "SWAPO will liberate each and every inch of SWA – including Walvis Bay."

Proving himself to be as shaky on history as he is on international law, Nujoma said that SWAPO recognised neither the German "seizure" of the port, nor what he termed its "capture" by the British, each of whom according to him was "part of the system of colonisation of SWA" and "against whom the early Namibians fought heroically."

More reckless words came from Internal SWAPO deputy national chairman Daniel Tjongarero. He said that Namibia would get Walvis Bay "whatever it takes – in a negotiated settlement or whether we have to go into the sand dunes to fight."

More recently, however, SWAPO leaders seem to have toned down their rhetoric on the question: are now saying that "if" they take power, they will have to "open negotiations with SA."

One solution discussed over the years is that Walvis should become the sub-continent's first Hong Kong-type "free port." While retaining SA sovereignty, this would make Walvis available as an entrepot to SWA and those neighbouring countries so urgently in need of additional access to the sea. Geographically, such a development would make Walvis analogous to Hong Kong's present position: a foreign outpost on the territory of an independent country, handling much of that country's trade.

BENEFITS

Should it prove a viable proposition, such a free port would hold substantial economic benefits for the surrounding territories of Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. The special administration which applies to a free port would obviate the complexities of Customs and other formalities on the entry of goods, enable cargoes to be held in franchise and even permit additional manufacture in the free port area.

The establishment of a free port developed Hong Kong both as a major trading zone and as a centre for sophisticated light industries, producing mostly for export and re-export. Railway experts declare there should be no great problems in running links into adjoining territories from Walvis. Walvis Bay is already linked to a number of railheads in Namibia.

The distance from Grootfontein, Tsumeb and Gobabis through to Zambia and Zimbabwe is about 800 km, about the same length as the Sishen-Saldhana line. The terrain is flat, with no mountainous regions to cause construction problems.

The duty free port proposal would mean that SA retained sovereignty over the area, while the economic interests of independent Namibia could be guaranteed to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.

Must Namibia go the same way?

ANYONE tempted to vote for SWAPO and its temporarily watered-down collectivism would do well to study just how disastrous socialist tinkering has wrecked the economies of two of Namibia's main neighbours: Zam-

bia and Zimbabwe. Colleague Peter Younghusband, a highly experienced observer of the African scene, recently visited both Central African states. Here are his perceptions, as published in *The Washington Times*.

● ZIMBABWE

RECORD inflation and unprecedented unemployment have played havoc with the efforts of black-ruled Zimbabwe, Africa's newest nation and one of its most richly endowed, to improve living standards inherited from white colonial rule.

With one-third of the 3 million-member workforce jobless, living standards are no better today than they were in 1980, when the colony of Rhodesia, ruled by Ian Smith, became an independent state. The country, now ruled by President Robert Mugabe, a Marxist-oriented intellectual, is starved for hard currency and foreign investment.

The absence of an investment code has kept away foreign capital. The only significant investments since independence have been a Danish bubble-gum factory and an H J Heinz baked beans cannery.

COSTLY WAR

The war in neighboring Mozambique, sometimes called Zimbabwe's Vietnam by the 12 000 Zimbabwean soldiers there, is sapping \$1 million a day from the treasury. Zimbabwean troops are straddling the so-called Beira Corridor, which landlocked Zimbabwe uses as an access route for foreign trade headed for the Mozambican port of Beira. The troops' mission is to protect the flow of supplies from sabotage by Renamo, the Mozambican National Resistance guerrilla group fighting to topple the Marxist government of President Joaquim Chissano.

More important, the government has failed to address one problem that prompted tens of thousands of young Zimbabweans to join the independence war against the whites — land hunger.

White settlers still own or occupy the best land, although many are willing to sell off tracts at reasonable prices. But the state's land purchase committee rarely convenes.

SHORTAGES

And although Mr Mugabe promised 160 000 black families would get plots within three years of independence, only 40 000 were re-settled by the end of last year.

In this capital city, the economic difficulties are palpable. Public transportation — 250 buses and a fleet of ageing taxis — is kept in service only by cannibalisation of the worst vehicles for spare parts.

There are sporadic shortages of sundry

consumer goods — light bulbs one week, toothpaste the next. Often beverages cannot be brought to market because of shortages of corks or bottles or printers' ink for the labels.

The economy, debilitated by the international sanctions campaign against the country when it was white-ruled Rhodesia, has not been able to revive. Observers lay a large part of the blame on Mr Mugabe's Marxist rhetoric, which has frightened off foreign investment.

But the good news for Zimbabwe is that this may soon be rectified. In an amazing turnabout, Mr Mugabe announced in April that Zimbabwe would switch from its ill-defined socialist fiscal policies of the past nine years to a more liberal, market-oriented economy.

The 65-year-old Mr Mugabe, who rose from a lowly station to become head of state has, until now, doggedly refused to shake off the Marxist economic policies he adopted during a decade of political detention under white rule. The World Bank rep-

resentative to Zimbabwe, Mahmud Burney, hailed the announcement on April 18 — the ninth independence anniversary — as "the most important statement of intent from Zimbabwe's leadership level."

The Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce forecast, "if the changes are properly implemented, they will take us a long way on the path to economic growth."

Only the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions greeted the news with gloom. "This will drag the workers back 10 years," said its secretary-general, Morgan Tsvangirai.

He added sarcastically: "There is not going to be any foreign investment coming in unless we have made capitalism the strongest and denounced socialism. All the policies that benefit the workers will have to go under the new investment policy." Analysts say Mr Mugabe's intention with the new policy appears to be relaxation of government wage and price controls, new safeguards for investors, provisions for repatriation of profits by foreign firms and an easing of labour laws that frustrate employers.

● ZAMBIA

TWO DECADES ago Zambia, formerly Northern Rhodesia, was one of Africa's richest states. Now it is one of the poorest, and, according to diplomats here, may soon be classed as a "less developed country" (LDC) by United Nations standards.

It is widely believed in diplomatic circles that the government may even apply for the category so as to qualify for the special UN aid packages that go with it.

In the first 10 years of independence, when copper-rich Zambia benefited from the high prices for the metal on world markets, the new young nation boasted an annual growth rate of 13%.

President Kenneth Kaunda spent for government services like a sailor just off the ship. He built schools, hospitals and roads. He subsidized health care, food and higher education.

To create posts for blacks in his "Africanisation" program, he expanded the civil service and shrugged off warnings by economic advisers. Copper would pay.

COPPER SLUMP

But in the mid-1970s came the slump in the copper market. It caught Zambia at a very vulnerable time: when it was deeply committed to sanctions against neighboring white-ruled Rhodesia and was shunning the



Zambia's KAUNDA: charisma won't pay all the bills incurred by years of socialist spending.

use of Rhodesian rail routes. As a result, it was sending out copper bars in motor trucks via Tanzania along some of the worst roads in Africa and bringing in oil and petroleum by air — all expensive operations.

As a consequence of such policies and the copper crash, Zambia today finds itself with a foreign debt of some \$6 billion, huge for a nation of just over 6 million people. Inflation is running at 60% and, for some commodities, 120%.

There won't be

APN makes no bones about the fact that we consider a SWAPO victory in the SWA independence elections would be a multiple disaster: for the Namibian people, for South Africa, for the southern African region and, finally, whether the weak-willed West accepts this or not, for the ever-shrinking "free world."

Further, we are far from impressed with the fact that these are UN-supervised elections. Quite apart from the UN's long and costly love affair with SWAPO, the world body throughout the SWA revolutionary war fully and formally endorsed and supported SWAPO's use of terrorist violence. By no stretch of imagination can the UN now be regarded as an "objective" monitoring force, there to guarantee "free and fair" elections.

FRIVOLOUS POISON

That the UN, after so many years of blatant bias and partiality, should now be entrusted with verification and compliance mechanisms, particularly in relation to intimidation, we regard as both poisonous and frivolous: a classic case, if ever there was one, of ushering in the fox to guard the henhouse. The hypocrisy of this is sickening beyond words.

We fully accept that there were sound reasons behind SA's decision to become a signatory in the "peace" process. The fatigues of war were upon all the contestants. In SWA, Blacks and Whites alike needed peace to get on with the development of their country. Pretoria, faced with deepening economic problems, needed to be free of this costly military involvement. And, hopefully, a settlement will help ease SA's long international isolation.

NO GOING BACK

Still, as SA abandons its 74-year old suzerainty over SWA, we have to accept that what happens in the November constitutional elections will be final and irreversible. There is no going back now. And it would be dishonest and totally unrealistic not to admit that SA's national interests will be vitally affected by the outcome of these elections.

- **The impact of a SWAPO victory on SA Blacks would be considerable. It would certainly give a huge fillip to ANC/SACP ambitions and their demand for a similar one man, one vote, electoral process in SA.**
- **Should SWAPO win the election it could also be expected that the OAU's Committee for the Liberation of Africa will from then on concentrate its energies on "the South African ques-**

Zambia

• From Page 39

Per capita income has fallen by 30% in 12 years. Spending on education is down by 62% over the same period, and 200 000 young people, unable to win places in schools, are thrown onto the labour market every year.

With staple foods often in short supply, twice as many children are dying of malnutrition as were a year ago.

FOOD RIOTS

In 1985 the International Monetary Fund insisted that President Kaunda cut subsidies on basic commodities to allow food prices to rise to stimulate production. However the move caused riots in which 14 people were shot dead by police. The subsidies were restored and Mr Kaunda announced that his government was "suspending relations with the IMF."

The chronic shortage of foreign exchange has led to a dearth of imported consumer goods and raw materials for Zambia's manufacturing sector. This has resulted in a huge black market, against which the state has taken drastic action (70 business recently had their trading licenses withdrawn after having been discovered dealing on the black market). But the black marketeering continues.

Another problem is the smuggling of local products abroad – especially to neighbouring Zaire, where subsidies make the prices of Zambian goods attractive. Diplomats here estimate that as much as a third of Zambia's maize is leaving the country illegally, with police action along the 800 km borders proving ineffectual.

Lack of spare parts has crippled public transport to a degree where there are now fewer than 200 buses servicing the 750 000 inhabitants of Lusaka, the capital. Bus fares to and from the townships are 50 cents a day for those able to get a seat. This works out to \$10 a month for workers, whose average earnings are \$60 a month. As a result many commuters walk, getting up at 4 am and not returning home until 9 pm.

Zambia's deteriorating economy has led to increasing criticism of the government by the private sector and the trade unions. In turn, Mr Kaunda has charged that the unions, "elements" among private businessmen and the CIA were behind an attempted coup in 1986. Union officials and several army officers and businessmen were arrested.

SUBVERSION

It was recently confirmed that six officers, a labour leader, and three businessmen are still being held on charges of subversion. One of them is a former commander of the Zambian army, Lt-Gen Christon Tembo. Diplomats here say, however, that it is

unclear whether these people were planning to overthrow the government or merely trying to put together a power bloc to influence change.

Foreign analysts report a growing popular resentment to Mr Kuanda – a man who was once deeply loved by his people. Noticeably, while three years ago, Zambians in the bars and crowded marketplaces of Lusaka were blaming those about Kaunda for giving him bad advice, the grumbling and criticism one hears now is directed against the president personally.

The president, who has parlayed a combination of personal charm with political shrewdness to remain in power for 25 years, seems to have lost his ability to inspire Zambians with emotional oratory about peace and prosperity. Mr Kaunda has invited the IMF to make a full assessment of Zambia's economy. Diplomats here say the question is whether he will heed the IMF's advice. Analysts say that what is needed in Zambia is an economic revolution to wean the country away from its reliance on copper.

The future, they say, must lie with agriculture. Zambia is said to have the potential, the climate and the water, to become the biggest producer of agricultural products on the African continent. To achieve that potential will take imagination and foreign capital – which means foreign confidence. At the moment, analysts here say, Zambia enjoys little of either.

tion." Among other things, the OAU would attempt to transform a SWAPO-ruled Namibia into a so-called frontline state — hostile by definition. SA would then be faced with a solid belt of such hostile states right along its northern borders.

LESSONS FOR SA

Most chilling lesson of all though is that events in SWA prove that we cannot afford to put all our eggs in the military basket. In the field, the SADF knocked SWAPO into the proverbial cocked hat. But that is no guarantee that we will win the political battle. Like most in the West, **few South Africans have ever recognised that the battle for men's minds is the most powerful force in the world today.**

our main thrust in the combat zones, neglecting to a very great degree the power of words and ideas, this even though we knew very well that SWAPO's masters, the gremlins in the Kremlin, were the world's top professionals in the art of propaganda, disinformation and mind manipulation.

With our own national survival on the line, you would have expected daily, in-depth reports aimed at countering the massive, internationally-funded mind war being conducted, largely against simple people, on SWAPO's behalf in Namibia. That has simply not happened. Instead, **both here and in SWA we have seen a great deal of distorted coverage – “opinion subversion.”**

That is why we on APN decided to produce this special edition. Other publishers trying to mount a counter-revolutionary campaign are doing the same. But far more needs to be done. If we don't do it now, we will never have another chance. To help things along, if there is anything at all that you need to photostat for wider distribution, please go ahead. All copyright on this issue is lifted.

Post to: APN, P O Box 91059, Auckland Park 2006, South Africa



 **Aida Parker Newsletter**



UCANEWS

media update
on church and revolution
in South Africa

UNITED
CHRISTIAN ACTION
P. O. Box 35 737
0102 Menlo Park
Rep South Africa
Tel (012) 981491
Telex 320654 uca
Fax (012) 981491

ucaNews 16/89

Pretoria, 18.09.1989 (uca)

South African Council of Churches leads mass demonstrations

The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), supported by high-profile South African liberation theologians such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr. Allan Boesak, receives its orders from the Marxist ANC/SACP (African National Congress/South African Communist Party) alliance and is engaged in acts of violence against innocent people. 5 years after the findings of the Eloff Commission, which concluded that the South African Council of Churches (SACC) is involved in a "massive psychological warfare campaign", militant mass action led by the SACC is emerging.

Addressing a crowd of 35,000 marchers in Cape Town on September 13, 1989, Dr. Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, confirmed that liberation theologians are going for political power: "... In 1985 we marched on a prison. Today we march to a city hall. Tomorrow we will march together to Parliament" (Citizen, 15.09.89).

Murphy Morobe, spokesperson for the MDM, said in an interview with the Catholic newspaper New Nation that South Africa's white community "will have to look at what we have put on the table before them: the constitutional guidelines of the African National Congress (ANC), the Freedom Charter and our belief and struggle for a democratic South Africa ... the real issue is contending with the position put forward by the Mass Democratic Movement, by the African National Congress ..." (New Nation, 01.09.89 p.6,7).

Joe Slovo, secretary general of the South African Communist Party (SACP), said in May 1989 that the days of passive resistance against laws in South Africa are over. The time had come for "mass action". He continued by declaring that not only the ANC, but the MDM and all revolutionaries and radicals in South Africa should consider initiating mass resistance campaigns against all laws and conditions which were unacceptable to the masses (Citizen, 29.08.89).

On 14.09.89 South Africa's minister for Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, informed Parliament that the so-called "peaceful" MDM defiance campaign had in reality been a violent attempt to stop people from voting. According to Minister Vlok there were 281 cases of unrest in January, 202 in February, 305 in March, 193 in April, 225 in May, 407 in June and 345 in July. After the MDM campaign started in August, the figure climbed to 1,381 for that month, with a further 198 during September 1 to 5, and 600 on election day, September 6, alone.

"These are facts, for which the police are not responsible" said Vlok, "on September 6, more than 2,000 members of the security forces here in the Cape Peninsula tried to ensure that voters could exercise their democratic right to vote. The revolutionaries tried to prevent it at all costs, not peacefully, but with violence ... on that bloody day and night, hundreds of people were violently prevented from casting

their votes. Burning road obstructions were erected on access routes to polling stations and pedestrians were attacked by youthful and skollie gangs and intimidated not to vote. People who still dared to try to drive to polling stations in vehicles were attacked with petrol bombs and stones." Minister Vlok said people shot at policemen and in some cases private motorists were compelled to shoot on attackers in self defence. Small groups of policemen had to fight against hundreds of rioters who stormed them with stones, petrol bombs and flaming iron pipes which had been dipped in tar. "Where the large crowds stormed polling stations, women with small babies in their arms and infants were purposely placed in the front lines in an attempt to prevent the police from taking action."

In the Western Cape area alone, the consequences of this brutal campaign to prevent people from voting included R1,1 million in damage to more than 600 private vehicles, and damage of more than R300,000 to buildings. More than 70 buses were damaged as well as various municipal and provincial vehicles - and these figures excluded security vehicles. On election night alone, 26 policemen were injured, some with bullet wounds.

Immediately after the elections Dr. Allan Boesak challenged Minister Vlok to accompany him and Archbishop Tutu to the State mortuary to see bodies of people shot dead on the Cape Flats. Issuing the challenge at a MDM press conference on September 8, 1989, Boesak said he would be waiting for Minister Vlok in Cape Town for two days. After the visit they could see relatives of people killed "so that Mr Vlok can explain to them why their children were killed" (Pretoria News, 09.09.89).

Mass demonstrations involving tens of thousands of people against "the police killings" followed on September 13, 1989 in Cape Town and two days later in both Johannesburg and Pretoria. Led by churchmen, the crowds carried banners of the outlawed ANC, pictures of the ANC president Oliver Tambo and posters reading "Viva ANC" and "Victory is certain, freedom or death". A spokesman for the South African Council of Churches which organised the Johannesburg demonstrations said the SACC secretary general Frank Chikane "had not asked for permission, but had simply informed the Government about the peaceful march" (The Star, 15.09.89). The SACC, the South African Catholic Bishop's Conference, the Methodist Church and the Anglican Church were represented at the Johannesburg demonstrations. An account of the Pretoria demonstration reads as follows:

1:15pm - the group now estimated to number 400 to 500, begins its march-dance around Paul Kruger's statue. It is joined by more and more people, who chant rousing freedom songs, and raise placards calling for the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of banned organisations, an end to police violence. A number of clergymen join in the group, and the police move closer.

1:30pm - lawyers and more spectators arrive as the group takes a lap around the Square, filling the air with its stirring chants. More clergymen arrive.

1:45pm - more clergymen arrive, as well as some nuns. The group is now between 800 and 1,000. Shouts of "viva" and "Mandela", and many black power signs. Leaders climb on to Paul Kruger's statue waving banners and clergymen make a platform of the steps leading to the statue to address the group (Pretoria News 16.09.89).

TV viewers around the world witnessed the peaceful mass demonstrations which belied all claims of MDM violence. Both Archbishop Tutu and Dr. Allan Boesak hailed the event as a great victory for "the people".