

NAMIBIA

VICTORY IS INEVITABLE

As we go to press, the United Nations sponsored Geneva Talks on Namibia have ground to a halt. Needless to say, the Pretoria racists are responsible for the deadlock. The racists went to Geneva well intent on employing a pack of trick-cards calculated to delay the independence of Namibia. These soulless perpetrators of the heinous crime, that is apartheid, have had the nerve once more to accuse the UN of 'impartiality', a lie which we need not even have to waste our time in exposing. They also tried without success to present the DTA as a party worth recognition and above all could not agree to the terms of the most crucial issue for the future of Namibia, the ceasefire. It therefore becomes very clear as to who is for the ending of strife in Namibia. The boers are for bloodshed. They want to keep Namibia by force.

Below we publish excerpts from a **RADIO FREEDOM** interview with **Comrade Moses Garoeb**, the Administrative Secretary of SWAPO, which gives us the psychology of the talks. The interview, though conducted before the deadlock, is a categorical exposure of the manoeuvres and unpreparedness of the fascists to leave the people of Namibia to decide their destiny. On the other hand it is an evidence of the indomitable spirit of the Namibian people under the committed leadership of SWAPO to crush racist tyranny.

Question: Comrade Garoeb, Geneva is presently the centre of world focus. Talks are presently going on whose outcome will determine the destiny of the Namibian people of which you are a leader. The opening session of the present United Nations sponsored Geneva Talks, was delayed by the question whether SWAPO should talk to the racists, who are directly responsible for Namibia or its hand-picked puppets who are said to be representing the Namibian people. Why is it that the racists are so interested in pushing forward their puppets in such crucial talks on the future of Namibia?

de. Moses Garoeb: There is one thing that I would like to make

clear before I come to that question and that is that when these talks were initiated by the Secretary-General it was with the view to bring SWAPO and South Africa together, that is to say the two parties in conflict are the two parties who are fighting each other at the battle front now. This was the original intention. Now while the boers themselves had agreed to this, they were of course fighting very hard and its only natural to have their puppets given equal status with SWAPO, that is the so-called Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

We have insisted and we still insist that the so-called internal leaders as constituted in the DTA, are not representative of the people of Namibia. Not only that we are not fighting against them, they are a creation of South Africa and consequently they are part and parcel of the South African oppression and South Africa's illegal presence in Namibia. So the point is that, if we talk to them what do we talk to them? There's nothing that we can talk to them about. In the event of a ceasefire being signed we can't possibly sign it with them because they haven't got an army. Presently the army that is fighting us is the South African army. If we go to elections we say they are free to come and contest the elections. But when it comes to the actual talks in an attempt to find a solution to the Namibia problem, there are only two parties to that conflict, that is, South Africa and SWAPO. So the puppets are really irrelevant. That is why we have insisted that we are not going to talk to them and that's why we have rejected them to be pushed forward in Geneva. As a matter of fact I might point out that we have won that round. Yesterday it was made very clear that the South African delegation is the delegation to which we are talking, and talks are continuing at this point in time because we have stuck to our point and the Secretary-General as well as the Five Western Countries & the Frontline States have supported our view and now yesterday the boers, i.e. Hoech, the so-called Administrator-General, conceded that point. So in fact the conference is continuing and the two parties to the conflict, that is, South Africa and SWAPO are currently facing each other.

Question: As the person directly in touch with the situation, can you briefly tell our people about the most crucial issues on the agenda of the present Geneva Talks?

Cde. Moses Garoeb: The agenda of the Geneva Talks of course is Resolution 435, that is the United Nations' plan for the independence of Namibia. The point being that how do we go about implementing this. As you know this plan calls for free and fair elections in Namibia under the control of the UN, and that

is the primary thing. But the crucial issue before that is to be implemented, is the question of the ceasefire - we could not possibly go to the implementation of Resolution 435 until we have got a ceasefire. So one of the major issues will be the terms of the ceasefire, what-terms do we agree upon? If and when we have agreed on a ceasefire which is one of the most difficult points, then we'll move on to other issues. The other issues for instance will be the composition of UNTAG, that is, the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group. We have our own proposals as to who should constitute the UNTAG and the UNTAG is to be constituted at two levels, that is the military component and the civilian component. So far there has been no agreement on that, but we are hopeful that perhaps an agreement will be reached on that...

Question: As per previous UN proposals, where are SWAPO forces supposed to be based in the event of a ceasefire?

Cde. Moses Garoeb: First of all the UN proposals provides for the confinement to base of both SWAPO and South African troops. This is after a ceasefire has been signed. The purpose of this confinement is to avoid any possible conflicts between the two forces during the transitional period, to avoid possible conflicts as a consequence of the forces not being confined. Now, it is strictly provided for in the plan and we insist that the plan should be implemented to the letter, and in this context the SWAPO forces are to be based, confined to bases inside Namibia. Now there has been a lot of controversy around this question. The boers first of all have claimed that SWAPO has not got any troops inside Namibia because we are allegedly stationed here in Angola and in Zambia, but subsequently of course, they have conceded that we are there. But then they are insisting that the UN is creating conditions which otherwise wouldn't have been there, that is to create bases for SWAPO and they are making this as a point that the moment we have SWAPO bases inside the country even if our troops are confined, then the element of so-called intimidation comes about. They are particularly referring in this particular point to what happened in Zimbabwe, which of course is not what in essence happened...

So now we have not reached any particular agreement on that point and that is going to be one of the most crucial issues in Geneva - the question of SWAPO troops. Now there have been other views and that is that to solve that problem, some have proposed that SWAPO troops be disarmed inside Namibia and then become civilians, and that is to say, we have to shed our uniform and submit our weapons to the United Nations

and then we are to declare ourselves civilians to participate in the political process. Now that we have rejected completely. Others have suggested that we can retain our weapons and in uniform be escorted out of Namibia into neighbouring states to the People's Republic of Angola and Zambia, to be confined in bases outside our country as opposed to being confined inside. Now this we have also rejected because the people who should actually be leaving Namibia are the South African troops and not us. We are the native sons, that is why we are fighting for that country and we have also rejected this point of view.

I think I have to be very very clear on this one that no matter what the pressures are and from what quarters, we are never ever going to submit to our army, the People's Army for the Liberation of Namibia being either disarmed or escorted out. If anybody attempts it, be it the UN or the South Africans, we'll shoot first and then ask questions afterwards.

Question: Our people in South Africa are also interested in knowing SWAPO's pre-conditions for the holding of the UN elections in Namibia.

Cde. Moses Garoseb: Of course there are a number of pre-conditions which we have tabulated and which are also provided for in the UN plan. I have already mentioned the ceasefire, I have already mentioned the confinement of troops to base, I have already mentioned the composition of UNTAG, I could mention for instance one of the main ones - I could add, the release of political prisoners is a very fundamental one, the return of those who are in exile that is a very fundamental one and of course, when the political process itself starts, the right to free campaigning throughout without hindrance by the racist forces who are still presently in Namibia. So these are some of the pre-conditions that we have put and which as a matter of fact are part and parcel of the UN plan. We feel that unless these pre-conditions are met it will be very difficult for the political process to take its normal course.

The political process is supposed to take about eight months. During these eight months we are supposed to be campaigning, addressing meetings, of course, each party explaining its programme and objectives to the electorate, i.e. to the people of Namibia. We do not know at this stage whether the plan will succeed as it is drawn up, but we are confident that if all concerned are convinced and have the political will that it could be realised.

Question: We, the people of South Africa, like the people of Namibia, whose freedom struggle is led by our brother organisation, SWAPO, face the future with optimism and hope. What's your comment?

Cde. Moses Garoeb: I am extremely confident that the decade of the 80s and we are now in 1981, will definitely bring about a solution in South Africa in one way or another, perhaps in one more way than any other, that is, the victory of the people of South Africa defeating the racist forces. Now the ANC, our sister organisation with whom we have been working together for a very long time, of course is spearheading the struggle of the people of South Africa and the ANC is observing this year its 69th Anniversary, and from that point of view it is a very mature organisation, committed to the struggle for the liberation of South Africa and we have absolutely no doubt that in due course the people of South Africa will emerge free and victorious under a government of the ANC.

We also, on SWAPO's part will continue the co-operation that we have got. If Namibia does become independent there is absolutely no question of SWAPO not assisting the ANC. That is automatic that a SWAPO government will provide all the assistance that is necessary for the people of South Africa through their authentic representative, the African national Congress.

" We feel that the world as a whole has a special responsibility towards us. This is because the land of our fathers was handed over to South Africa by a world body. It is a divided world, but it is a matter of hope for us that it at least agrees about one thing - that we are entitled to freedom and justice.

Other mandated territories have received their freedom. The judgement of the World Court was a bitter disappointment to us. We felt betrayed and we believed that South Africa would never fulfil its trust. Some felt that we would secure our freedom only by fighting for it. We knew that the power of South Africa is overwhelming, but we also knew that our case is a just one and our situation intolerable - why should we not receive our freedom?

We are sure that the world's efforts to help us in our plight will continue, whatever South Africans may call us.

We do not expect that independence will end our troubles, but we do believe that our people are entitled - as are all peoples - to rule themselves".

. Cde. Herman ja Toivo