

November 1st. A free vote is sure to give SWAPO a majority.

Namibia has never been so close to independence, but the mood prevailing among Namibians is one of cautious optimism. South Africa still has enough power to disrupt the independence process. Fearing the encouragement for the liberation movement in South Africa, that an overwhelming SWAPO victory would represent, the Pretoria regime has launched a new anti-SWAPO campaign. It is also suspected of giving UNITA members Namibian identity cards, of hiding guns and ammunition and of training people who might be used in the future as contras against the legitimate government.

Even if the transition to independence goes peacefully, Namibia

will have to face the major problem of its complete economic dependence on South Africa. Realizing this, SWAPO is realistic about the immediate prospects of a free Namibia. Anton Lubowski, a prominent member of SWAPO, expressed this as follows (in an interview with *Cikaden*, Arhus, Denmark): «SWAPO wants a socialist state built on democratic principles. But this is not something we can reach from today to tomorrow. After liberation we will still be completely dependent on South Africa... Even if we wished to, it will not be possible for a SWAPO government to break ties with South Africa. Don't forget that we import over 90% of our food from South Africa. The two countries are completely economically integrated;

they even have the same currency. But we will try to reduce the dependence... We will negotiate with the foreign companies operating in Namibia. We want the exploitation of the mines to be to the advantage of both sides. The country must enjoy part of the income of the mines, which is not the case now. But it is also clear that the companies must have some profit.»

UNITA seems to be the big loser of the peace process. Since the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola in August 1988, UNITA suffered heavy losses and was expelled from several towns in central Angola. Even though UNITA is still given a role to play by South Africa and the US, as expressed by the transfer of big contingents of its forces to Namibia in November '88 and the building up of its infrastructure in Zaire, US support will not be a compensation for South African troops. In an interview to *Le Monde*, on August 27, 1988, President Dos Santos of Angola described the situation as follows: «It is sure that the puppets will not disappear with the partial or complete stop of foreign support. Their neutralization will demand a last sacrifice from our people and armed forces.» With a new amnesty law for UNITA members giving up their arms and returning to civilian life, and a call for a cease-fire, the MPLA government hopes to deal a final blow to UNITA and to give Angola the peace it has been struggling for since 1975.

Following the failure of the Botha government to modernize apartheid, the settlement now reached is a victory and might be a sign that the racist regime is increasingly fighting with its back against the wall. ●



## Terms of Agreement

These are the main points of the agreement signed on December 22, 1988, at the UN in New York.

1. The parties to the agreement request the Secretary General of the UN to attain authority from the Security Council to begin with the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435/78 on April 1, 1989.
2. All military units of the Republic of South Africa leave Namibia in accordance with UN Security Council resolution 435/78
3. According to the regulations of UN Security Council Resolution 435/78, the Republic of South Africa and the People's Republic of Angola collaborate with the Secretary General in order to guarantee the independence of Namibia through free and fair elections and abstain from any action which might hinder the implementation of resolution 435/78. The parties to the agreement respect the territorial integrity and the inviolability of the borders of Namibia and give assurances that their territory will not be used by any state, organization or person in relation with acts of war, aggression or violence against the territorial integrity or the inviolability of the borders of Namibia, or any action that might pre-

vent the implementation of resolution 435/78.

4. The People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba will implement the bilateral agreement signed the same day as this agreement, which provides for the withdrawal of Cuban troops to the north and for their gradual and complete withdrawal from Angolan territory. They will also implement the agreement made with the UN Security Council concerning the monitoring of this withdrawal.
5. Corresponding to their obligations according to the Charter of the UN, the parties to the agreement will abstain from the threat or the use of force and make sure that their respective territories will not be used by any state, organization or person in relation with acts of war, aggression or violence directed against the territorial integrity or inviolability of borders or the independence of any state in Southwestern Africa.

6. The parties will respect the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of the states in Southwestern Africa
7. The parties to the agreement will honestly fulfill all the obligations they entered and solve all disputes concerning the interpretation and implementation of the agreement through negotiations and in the spirit of understanding.
8. This agreement comes into force upon being signed.