

# EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN for SOUTH AFRICA

Room 1005 • 853 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003 • Phone: (212) 477-0066

**—For A Free Southern Africa—**

MICHAELMASS

**NAMIBIA**

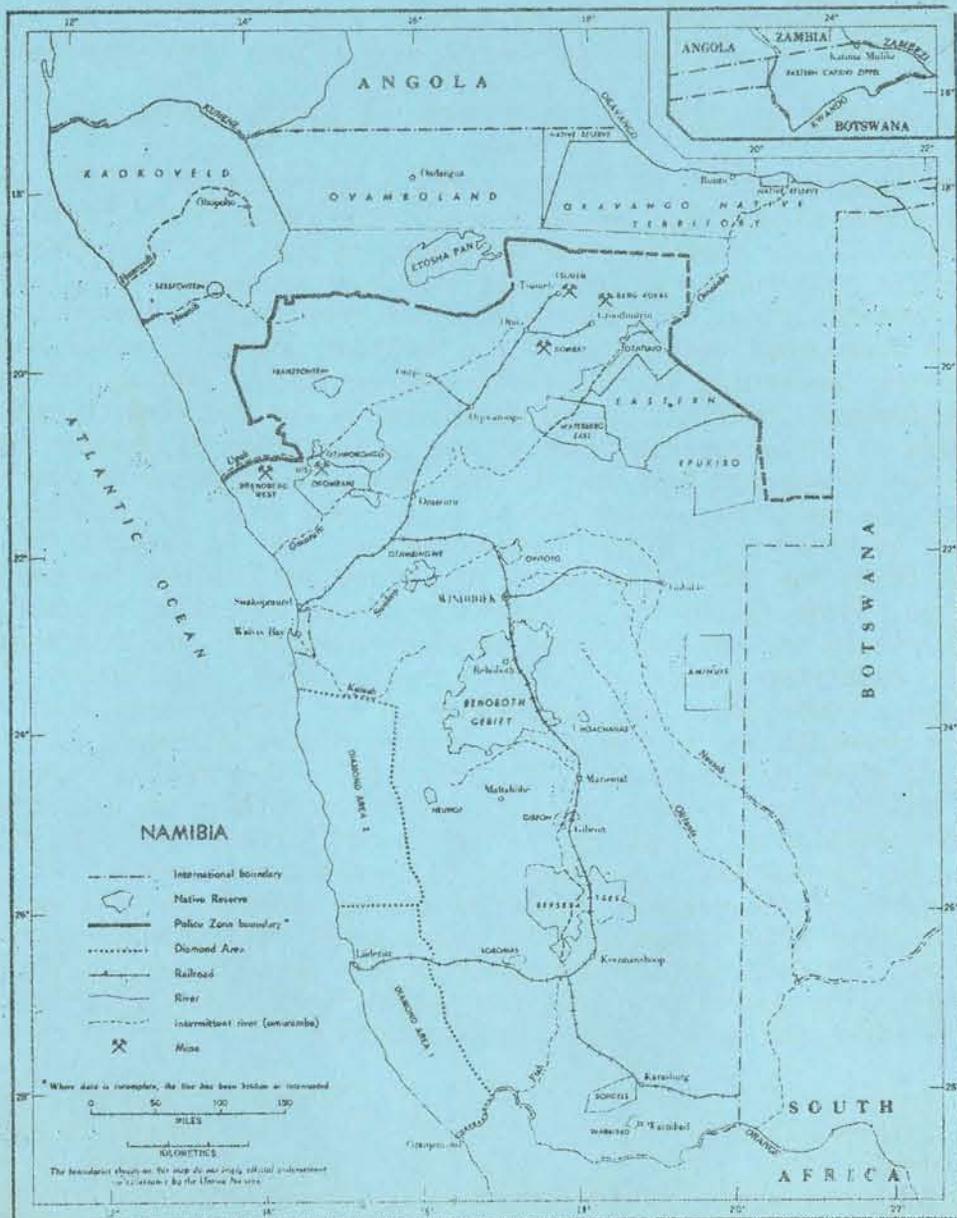
1978

On 20 September, South African Prime Minister Balthazar Johannes Vorster announced Pretoria's rejection of the United Nations plan for bringing independence to the International Territory of Namibia.

On 29 September, the United Nations Security Council approved that plan and established for a 12-month period under its authority a United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) to give effect to the plan. The Council called on South Africa to cooperate and set 23 October for Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to report back. The stage is thus set for what may be the penultimate confrontation over Namibia.

Expectations had been cautiously high. It seemed that after a century of colonial rule and three decades of international contention the people of Namibia were within sight of their independence.

The Security Council in late July approved Waldheim's appointment of a Special Representative to travel to Namibia, the lawful authority over which is the United Nations, to draw up recommendations for a process leading to free elections and the emergence of Namibia as a free and united country. The South West Africa People's Organization, which is accredited by the UN as the authentic representative of the Namibian people and which has for 12 years waged a war of independence against the illegal occupying power, South Africa, accepted the Council's decision with precautionary statements. The South African cabinet went into session and at last acceded to the UN team visiting Namibia. The men in Pretoria were irate: the Security Council had also resolved that Walvis Bay, which South Africa claims, must be reintegrated into Namibia.



The Western proposals, upon which the Security Council's action was based, are the product of 18 months of negotiations initiated and directed by the five Western Security Council members - the USA, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada - with close involvement from the five frontline African states - Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique. The Western five aver the basis for their operation is Security Council resolution 385 of 1976, the UN's bedrock document in dealing with South Africa on Namibia. But the stern language of 385 has undergone change. For instance, 385 declares 'it is imperative that free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations be held for the whole of Namibia as one political entity'. The Western version: 'The elections will be under the supervision and control of the United Nations in that, as a condition to the conduct of the electoral process, the elections themselves, and the certification of their results, the United Nations Special Representative will have to satisfy himself at each stage as to the fairness and appropriateness of all measures affecting the political process at all levels of administration before such measures take effect'. A mouthful, but it leaves South Africa, with all its apparatus, to run the entire electoral process - and the country; the UN tries to keep track - a crucial difference not lost on the politically astute people of Namibia. And, Walvis Bay, Namibia's only seaport recently seized by South Africa, has been 'finessed' by the Western five out of Namibia's one political entity.

UN Commissioner for Namibia Martti Ahtisaari and his survey team spent half of August in Namibia. Their determinations were issued as the Secretary-General's report on 29 August. Ahtisaari extended the UN role to the outermost permissible limits. UNTAG would consist of 7500 troops and a 1200-person civilian component, including 360 seasoned police officers to monitor the South African Police, whose deprivations are intimately known to the Namibian people and whose country-wide pervasiveness would affect any election. The UN's year-long operation is estimated to cost up to \$300 million.

SWAPO will not take part in the South African internal settlement elections which Vorster proclaimed on 20 September. Other Namibian groups will follow suit. The Pretorian administrator-general, Marthinus Steyn, who has for months been illegally registering voters, has set elections for early December. The Security Council proclaimed this procedure null and void. The Western five are straddling a chasm - working to induce Pretoria to reconsider (the five foreign ministers are flying to Pretoria in early October) while at the same time stalling off the rising demand for economic sanctions against South Africa. Underneath, attempts will be made to whittle away at what limited strength UNTAG has been commissioned with, e.g., the high cost, the troop size, those bothersome police observers. The name of the game is to prevent SWAPO from winning in Namibia. All reliable accounts say SWAPO would win handily in any unfettered elections.

*'Apart from the negative task of shooting when necessary, there is the bigger task of winning the hearts and the beliefs of the people, and to arm them spiritually against terrorism and marxism'.*

*- South Africa's new Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha*

NAMIBIAN CHURCH LEADERS WRITE PRIME MINISTER BOTHA - 4 October 1978

'This letter comes to you at the direction of a conference of thirty representatives of six major churches in Namibia. We have sought the guidance of God in our deliberations on the decision of your government as announced on the 20th September 1978 to hold elections in Namibia this year. We have felt called to write you this letter as you assume your new responsibilities. Bearing in mind our continuing striving for reconciliation, we as pastors over about two thirds of the Namibian population feel that we must voice a strong warning concerning this South African decision. During our conference we heard reports of extensive intimidation and deception in the campaign to register voters. We are also aware of irregularities such as the registration of Angolan refugees. This process has caused widespread fear and further loss of confidence in your government's intentions. As the registration has not been fair and free, the elections cannot be fair and free. It is clear to us that if elections are held in Namibia this year they will take place without the participation of the United Nations and the majority of the political parties. Many exiles and political prisoners will also be excluded. We do not see how this can in any way reduce the growing frustration and resentment which already plagues human relations inside and outside this country. We learned with gratitude of SWAPO offering a ceasefire, their acceptance of the Western settlement plan, and all Dr. Waldheim's recommendations to the United Nations Security Council (including the verbal clarifications given by him on the 29th September). We entirely support the United Nations plan, which in our opinion enjoys majority acceptance in this country, and provides a real possibility for ending the war on our borders and bringing about a peaceful solution to our country's problems by truly democratic means. At this decisive time, and mindful of the on-going suffering of our people, we call upon you, Mr. Prime Minister, to accept this opportunity for peace under the guarantees provided by the United Nations. We feel compelled to caution that should your government not make use of this opportunity, you will be held responsible worldwide for the escalation of an avoidable, terrible and tragic war in this country.'

Dr. J.L. De Vries  
Evangelical Lutheran Church  
Pastor K. Dumeni  
Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church  
Landesprost P.G. Kauffenstein  
German Evangelical Lutheran Church

Bishop J. Kauluma  
Anglican Church in Namibia  
Bishop R. Koppman  
Roman Catholic Church  
Pastor E.S. Tjirimua for the Rev. B.G.  
Karuaera, African Methodist Episcopal



The Anglican communion starts its eleventh Lambeth conference today.

COLIN WINTER,  
Bishop of  
Damaraland-  
in-exile, voices  
the urgency of  
the church's  
mission in the  
Third World

THE GUARDIAN Saturday July 22 1978

## On the side of the wretched

A BLACK really ought to write this. She could be from Notting Hill, Harlem, Soweto. She would be unemployed, young, and have known violence. She will have witnessed death, and the systematic dehumanisation produced by poverty, together with a sense of crushing inferiority. She would use shocking language, tell it like it is, as seen from the dole queues, the fringe of the ghetto, that explosive, stifling, demoralising world where two-thirds of this world's inhabitants live, struggle for survival, and grapple with those demonic forces that stunt, cripple and deprive the poor and marginalised which Western affluence and greed have created and still sustain.

She would shock us bishops, of course, but at

least we would begin the Lambeth Conference with our feet firmly planted in reality. We would start where Jesus started—on the side of the poor, the outcast, the wretched of the earth.

Is this being unbiblical, romantic, far-fetched? No, the poor can be both our teachers and our liberators. Jesus used a prostitute to teach the meaning of dedicated love. Shocking of course. He also used force to fling out the bankers and those who ripped off the poor in the Temple. (Sometimes the only way we can recognise crisis and receive truth is violently.)

In Britain recently we have heard from bishops who have spoken their minds about council house tenants and "urban thugs." So let a "thug" tell us bishops what she thinks of us. If we could bear it, we would discover that she is a person, that we have helped create her world, that we are involved in her destiny, are called to respond to her pain, and, as Christians, to bring about that justice and liberation which can re-shape her "valley of despair" into a life full of dignity and hope. My wish for Lambeth is that the poor will be our teachers there and that we will listen to what they have to tell us through bishops from the Third World who can act as their mouthpieces. "Tell them to listen to what the blacks in South Africa are saying," Dr Beyers Naude, the head of the now banned Christian Institute, told me in Johannesburg last week.

Lambeth opens with a service in Canterbury Cathedral on Sunday at which a steel band from the Caribbean will perform. The gathered bishops, clad in eighteenth century robes, will be receptive: feet will tap to the rhythm of the calypso beat. But behind that beat, will we be able to respond to the sense of outrage felt by the poor and exploited in a Caribbean that faces mass

unemployment and whose representatives in Britain feel increasingly unwelcome by the Christian churches here and so look to the black independent churches, rather than to the white ones, for comfort and self-fulfillment?

The Archbishop of Canterbury has decreed that the conference will concentrate on prayer. "The accent is on prayer and waiting on God." One wonders how much longer the poor in Britain and elsewhere can wait before the Church takes up their cause, namely their struggle for human dignity, liberation, and the right to work. And further, whose God will we be waiting on?—the god of the rich, or the God of the poor? With the alarming rise of neo-nazism and racial violence in Britain, together with the shocking and intolerable figures for unemployment here, the host country must lead us all in an act of profound penitence for the failure of our leaders, political as well as spiritual, to bring about a just society here.

Will we do it? That depends on whether we can rid ourselves of certain mental blocks of complacency and smugness. James Cone, the black American theologian, wrote: "Luther could not hear God's liberating words for the oppressed because he was not a victim . . . the problem of Christian ethics is its dependence on a theology that does not know the God of the oppressed." One can only begin to solve problems by admitting they exist. The difference I notice between Britain and, say the United States, is that leaders in this country are not prepared to admit that deep racial problems exist here. When racial violence erupts, they lack the will to tackle it. Manifestoes are not enough either. A solid commitment to the poor and marginalised in Britain demands that bishops live lives of poverty and simplicity, if the poor

here are to trust us to be their spokesmen.

So who will speak for the God of the oppressed at Lambeth and, even more vital who among us will be listening and who will respond? Many bishops will be carrying the pain and suffering of a divided world. Seven of them are in permanent exile, unable to return to their people and their home. Many come from countries experiencing famine, biting poverty, or suffering from political upheaval, ruled by oppressive regimes. Others come from countries still struggling to throw off the yoke of colonial regimes where their people yearn for peace with justice. Such pain as these men carry must be shared and not just pushed under the carpet.

What will the conference say about the mad proliferation of weapons of war and the escalation of violence that go with it? Using such countries as Namibia, will it condemn the rapacious wholesale removal by the rich and powerful nations of mineral

and other wealth from poor countries? Sixty per cent of Namibia's G.N.P. finds its way into Western pockets. Archbishop Hilda Camara speaks out for the poor of Latin America, but oppression and exploitation are not confined to that continent alone: they exist and produce their victims in Britain as well as in other affluent Western societies.

Representatives of the world's press will be waiting daily to report the sayings and doings of the bishops at Lambeth, but, more important, the world's poor are waiting too. The power structure of this world, big business, governments, trade unions, have, for the most part, firmly shut them out. May the doors of the Lambeth Conference be flung wide open, not only to let them in, but to offer them their rightful place to be loved, wanted and served as the Christ in our midst.

Colin Winter

MEMORANDUM TO HIS EXCELLENCY MARTTI AHTISAARI, UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR NAMIBIA FROM NAMIBIAN CHURCH LEADERS.

Your Excellency,

11 August 1978

It is with great joy and thanksgiving that we welcome you in Namibia as an answer to prayer. Your presence here represents the fulfillment of hopes cherished by many Namibian people for a generation.

You will know of the many declarations and actions which we have undertaken during the past ten years against the racism, exploitation and systematic torture of South African rule. Although we have tried only to echo the cry of our people we have been branded as 'terrorists', and yet it is we who have repeatedly tried to bring calm to the situation of civil unrest and senseless bloodshed.

And you will know that we have concerned ourselves intimately with the Western initiative since its inception, and were the first to accept these proposals, and urge their speedy adoption by all parties, when they were finalised on 30 March this year.

Today, though we see it as our continuing responsibility to remain critical and independent, we have come prepared to listen respectfully to whatever suggestions you may have for cooperation between yourself and us in the achievement of your mission.

There are, however, a number of matters which we feel we should bring to your attention immediately:

1. The majority of voters who have been registered so far (under the sole authority of the administrator general) have not done so freely. Criticism of this law leads to immediate imprisonment, and people have been coerced by employers. A very worrying aspect of this operation has been the close co-operation between the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and the South African officials concerned.

2. Continuing collaboration between the South African Defence Force and UNITA:

While the exploits of South Africa in Angola during 1975 are now common knowledge, it is not so well known that the links between South Africa and UNITA have, if anything, been strengthened since then. In particular, South Africa has been recruiting UNITA soldiers into its own army. These poorly disciplined troops - who may well rejoin their compatriots in Angola, and who have nothing whatsoever to gain from a South African troop withdrawal - can wreak havoc in the Northern parts. Indeed, that is what happened, for instance, at Omundaungilo at the end of 1976, when a whole village was terrorised, people killed, women raped, and so on. We believe that many hundreds of these UNITA troops have been trained by South Africa at secret bases in the Kavango area. We now view with particular alarm the recent reports by the SADF that 'SWAPO terrorists in South African uniforms' have been responsible for murders and sabotage in the Northern parts.

3. Election Date:

In view of the extreme importance of these elections, the necessity that the people should gain confidence in the electoral process, the need for people to have time to become properly informed and make a considered choice, we feel that pressing ahead with elections before December this year will be asking for confusion, mistrust and everything that is undesirable and unsatisfactory in an election.

4. Immediate Release of all Political Prisoners:

It is well known that the churches have played a significant role in working for the release of Mr Andreas Shipanga and his associates from detention in Tanzania. In response, the administrator general has gone on a spree of imprisonment and banishment inside Namibia. This is unfair and intolerable: We demand that all political prisoners, and in particular, Mr Herman ja Toivo should be released immediately.

5. Banishment of Churchmen:

A matter which grieves us personally is the summary and unjust expulsions to which church people have been made subject during the past decade. We insist that these our brethren should also be allowed to return to Namibia to play their rightful role in the development of a free and just Namibia.

Lastly, we wish to assure you of our prayers in the many difficult decisions which await you.

UNITED EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH  
ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SWA/NAMIBIA

ANGLICAN CHURCH  
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

22 September 1978

'It is with deep consternation and sadness that we heard the South African decision to hold elections in Namibia in such a way that the participation of the United Nations and several major Namibian parties is extremely unlikely. As we have repeatedly warned in the past, such actions provide no solution, but on the contrary only aggravate existing problems and tensions, and might lead to a rapid escalation of force and violence. This decision is especially regrettable as it has come at a time when an accommodation of all parties in the democratic process was so nearly within grasp.

'It remains our prayer and concern that reconciliation must be achieved, and we therefore appeal to the Western powers and the United Nations not to give up their striving for the achievement of a peaceful solution, that the doors may really remain open.

'We ask all Christians inside and outside Namibia, and all those who love peace, truth and justice to continue in faith praying for a solution to our country's problems.

'"Help comes only from the Lord, maker of heaven and earth." (Ps 121:2)'

Bishop R. Koppman  
Roman Catholic Church  
Diocese of Windhoek

Pastor K. Dumeni  
Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church

Bishop J. Kauluma  
Anglican Church in Namibia

Pastor P. Gowaseb  
Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia

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The Lutheran World Federation reported on 21 September the reaction of Bishop Leonard Auala of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church, who was in Geneva on his way to Helsinki. The bishop said that without the help of the United Nations, the South African government cannot prepare the people of Namibia for independence. He expressed the fear that the rejection of the UN-backed independence plan for Namibia would lead to war. The elections now proposed by South Africa are 'neither general, nor fair, nor free'. Bishop Auala said that if violence continues 'South Africa cannot blame SWAPO' and contended that South Africa itself would be responsible for stepping up the violence because it had rejected the plan for a peaceful solution.

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The United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid on 21 September called for an embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa. The Committee recommended that the Security Council consider the matter urgently and take a mandatory decision under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

Committee chairman Leslie O. Harriman, Nigerian ambassador to the world body, declared: 'The decision of the apartheid regime on Namibia is nothing less than a declaration of defiance and war against the Namibian people, against Africa and against the world. The United Nations can do nothing less than recognize that the situation constitutes a threat to international peace and security under Chapter VII of the Charter; institute total and mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime; lend full support to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO); and take urgent steps to assist the front-line States to defend themselves in the face of a grave threat of aggression.'

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SWAPO vice president Mishake Muyongo said in Lusaka, Zambia, that SWAPO would escalate their war against South African occupation forces in Namibia and would never take part in the Pretoria-sponsored elections. 'Instead we will intensify the armed struggle and liquidate whichever puppet regime Pretoria is going to install in Namibia', according to THE WASHINGTON POST. The vice president stated SWAPO 'would assert its right to call upon friends', especially the socialist countries, 'to provide it with "all out military assistance" so it could "effectively wage the war to its logical conclusion".'

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The World Council of Churches will give \$125,000 from its Fund to Combat Racism to the South West Africa People's Organization of Namibia. The grant will be used for political organization inside Namibia, setting up schools and supporting health services, including mobile clinics in rural areas. Outside Namibia funds would go toward supporting the more than 20,000 Namibian refugees in Angola and Zambia.

WCC also asked the UN Security Council to take immediate steps to implement the UN plan for Namibian independence. The World Council furthermore called for economic sanctions against South Africa if that country goes ahead with its election plan in Namibia.

NAMIBIAN CHURCHES CALL FOR PRAYER AND APPEAL TO ALL PARTIES AND  
COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN THE WESTERN SETTLEMENT PLAN FOR NAMIBIA

8 September 1978

We hereby call upon all Christians to pray most urgently at this time for the achievement of a successful conclusion to the Western settlement plan in the United Nations Security Council.

We pray for an agreement that will bring about a ceasefire, and that the Lord will thus spare us from a tragic bloodbath and gruesome events such as those now frequently experienced in Rhodesia. With this in mind we feel it our responsibility to express our disquiet at repeated reports that elections will still be held in Namibia this year. The Western proposals clearly specify a seven month process from the time that the Secretary General's report is accepted by the Security Council until elections are held. Attempts to squeeze the stated procedure through in half the allotted time can only end in the abortion of the whole electoral process. Parties both to the right and to the left of the political spectrum have acknowledged the necessity of maintaining the seven month period.

We should also like it to be known that we support the recommendation of the Secretary General that experienced police officers would be sent to Namibia to check intimidation and agitation from any quarter during the elections, and to monitor the activities of the South African Police. The Secretary General stipulates that these experienced men will be part of the civilian component of the United Nations personnel. Over the past decade there have been numerous reports of misconduct on the part of the South African Police. Without such a presence we would therefore find it impossible to assure the law-abiding population of their right of free expression, security and freedom from threat.

We are also frankly distressed at attempts to cut the UN military component down to less than that required by the UN military experts. After all, this is a vast country, and the UN force has been given the unenviable and enormous task of, inter alia, providing surveillance of the borders, preventing infiltration, and also monitoring base camps and the cessation of hostilities. We trust that Mr. Ahtisaari made his calculations on the best of information and remains determined to maintain the impartiality of his task force. We, therefore, feel very strongly that it is of the utmost importance that he should have at his disposal the manpower and support services which he needs to perform his function adequately. It seems to us too optimistic to say that if there is a ceasefire such a force will not be needed.

In the past we have repeatedly seen how extensive panic and disruption can be caused by very small groups who break the discipline of their commanders. We must also reckon that there are groups at large who have obtained powerful armaments and who may be nothing more than thieves and robbers without conscience. We, therefore, cannot see any reason to deny this country all the security which the United Nations is able to offer. Security for all must be the first priority, irrespective of the costs.

As we pray for a successful settlement, we therefore call upon all parties to show good faith and responsibility, and not to act in any way which can reverse the great strides which have recently been made toward a peaceful accommodation of all parties in Namibia. May the Lord of Peace Himself give you peace at all times and in all ways.

(2 Thessalonians 3:16)

UNITED EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH  
ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, DIOCESE OF WINDHOEK  
ANGLICAN CHURCH IN NAMIBIA

## SOUTH AFRICA AGAIN ATTACKS NAMIBIAN CHURCHES: EXPELLS THREE LEADERS

Three churchpeople who are strong opponents of South Africa's illegal rule in Namibia were ordered expelled from that country on 14 July 1978 by Pretoria's administrator-general, Marthinus Steyn.

The Rev. Edward Morrow, Anglican vicar general; his wife, Ms Laureen Morrow; and the Rev. Heinz Hunke, provincial superior of the Roman Catholic Order of Mary Immaculate, suffered the fate of many previous foreign churchpeople, who have been cast out of the International Territory by South African occupation officials. (Namibian churchpeople who rouse the ire of Pretoria's proconsuls are handled more abruptly: with arrest, detention, imprisonment, beatings, torture, shooting.)

The two priests and Ms Morrow were ordered from Namibia under the Undesirables Removal Proclamation, which has repeatedly been used by Pretoria to rid itself of dissidents in the Territory - among them Bishop Colin Winter and three associates in 1972 and Bishop Richard Wood and his American wife, Ms Cathleen Wood, in 1975. As in the past, no reasons were given.

Fr Hunke was co-publisher of TORTURE - A Cancer In Our Society issued in January 1978 in Windhoek, capital city of Namibia, and at once suppressed by Steyn who denied torture was being practised by the South African occupation military and police forces as documented in TORTURE. Fr Hunke is a West German national. Fr and Ms Morrow, both South Africans, went to Namibia in 1971 and set up a church-owned not-for-profit construction company giving professional training to and providing jobs for Africans. Edward Morrow was ordained priest in June 1975 and made vicar general by Bishop Winter - then and still the Bishop of Namibia although in exile - in the wake of Bishop Wood's deportation. Fr Morrow's expulsion occurs just as Namibia's new Suffragan Bishop James Hamupanda Kauluma returned to the land of his birth after 12 years study in the United States. Bishop Kauluma, his American wife, Ms Sally Kauluma, and their 10-month-old daughter, Nangula Tuapeua, are now established in Windhoek.

### FATHER MORROW IN NEW YORK

*Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa invited Fr Morrow to North America shortly after his departure from Namibia. On 2 August 1978, in cooperation with our friends of the Lutheran Centre - mirroring the firm ties between the Lutheran and Anglican Churches in Namibia, a press conference was held for Fr Morrow at the Lutheran Centre in New York. Here are some of the fresh-from-the-struggle observations he expressed:*

I can only speculate on the reasons for our being expelled. There are a number of factors. A couple of months ago Fr Hunke and I addressed students at the University of Cape Town and at the campuses at Durban and Pietermaritzburg. We had gone on the invitations of the Students Representative Councils and of the National Union of South African Students. They had wanted SWAPO people but there weren't any SWAPO people around: they were either in jail or in hiding or abroad. I guess we were some sort of substitute although we made it very clear we represented the churches and most our own thoughts. The meetings were rowdy because the front rows were occupied by conservative students who opposed terrorism and so on, the assumption being that nobody else does. Emotions were running high because I accused the South Africans of murdering men, women and children at Kassinga. South Africans don't like to be told they do these things. They have the false impression only others do these things - like the Americans in Vietnam or the British in Malaya or Ireland. But people in South Africa are now beginning to learn that they are also capable of these terrible acts. I was told afterwards that this was the wrong thing to do and that the government was extremely unhappy by what we did.

I think, too, that Pretoria did not want myself or my wife or Fr Hunke in Namibia during this time. We know the country intimately, we know the problems the people face in their day-to-day lives. We know the places where people are tortured. We know the people who torture them. It may be that we were expelled because it was time to punish us. South Africa has this mentality where anyone who opposes the regime and its policies must be punished, and particularly if you're a South African, as I am.

I want to sound a warning about the process which is about to begin in the decolonization of Namibia. I am alarmed to read in the press and to listen to diplomats from the Western world when I see them and hear them saying that they have achieved a great victory. They are all patting themselves on the back and they feel that they now can settle back in complacency and let the process take its natural course. I am alarmed because I do not believe it's going to be that simple. There are many, many dangers along the road for six months or so. These dangers not only concern the people of Namibia - who are of course in the front lines and are the ones who stand to suffer the most. But they also concern the people of America, the most powerful country in the Western world. The United States feels that it has to be the big brother to the rest of the world to which it is allied. The people of Namibia are afraid that the weaponry and the arsenal which South Africa has brought to Namibia has not been brought there for a show. They have been brought there for a purpose and that purpose is to continue South Africa's domination of Southern Africa and indeed to expand its influence throughout the rest of Africa. The Namibian people believe this process is aided and abetted by the Western world. The warning I want to sound is 'Do you want to be drawn into another Vietnam - - this time in Africa?'

ORDER UNDER SECTION 1 OF THE UNDESIRABLES  
REMOVAL PROCLAMATION, 1920 (PROCLAMATION 50 OF 1920)

To :

The Vicar-General E.S. Morrow  
20 Eadie Street  
Windhoek

Under the powers vested in me by section 1(1) of the Undesirables Removal Proclamation, 1920 (Proclamation 50 of 1920), I hereby order you to leave the territory of South West Africa within 7 (seven) days after service of this order.

ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL

Windhoek, 14 July 1978



I have been fortunate enough to travel since October last year into most parts of Namibia, South Africa's awesome armory is all too evident, not only to me but to others. Dr. Owen, the British Foreign Secretary, sent a political aide out to Namibia and I conducted him around the country and he was quite shocked to see the extent of the South African military presence there. It is no secret that there are large numbers of troops, armored units, jet fighters. The military have been there for a number of years but in my own experience of living in Namibia since 1971 I feel that over this past year there has been a tremendous build-up. Troops have always been in the northern part of the country but now they are very, very evident in the center and in the southern parts as well.

I think the United Nations Special Representative must stamp his authority on the setting. He must take control. He must insure through his experts that the process of decolonization is going to be fair and above board. The South Africans are waiting to see if the UN plan satisfies them. It's my belief they have decided to go ahead cautiously, but to maintain a parallel move towards independence which will be orchestrated by their own administrators and their own government rather than by the UN Special Representative. They have accepted the Western proposals as they are on paper and I don't anticipate the UN Special Representative changing these proposals any way at all fundamentally. If the South Africans should not accept the UN presence they will impose a so-called internal settlement, a pseudo election will be held, a poll of anything from 10 to 50 percent could emerge but it would be held so that there is no way to determine if it would be a genuine poll or not. In the present registration carried out by the South African Administrator General, I have evidence of people being coerced into registering as voters, people being stopped and asked for their registration cards and if they don't produce them then they were beaten up. This intimidation is nothing new. It's been going on for a long time.

I have been saying for a long time to journalists and others that SWAPO enjoys great support amongst the people. I am not a political analyst, I am simply a priest who works amongst the people and listens and watches. I believe SWAPO has popular support and this will of course increase as they move toward an election. SWAPO would undoubtedly win the election. SWAPO, as far as I am concerned, is the only cohesive force in Namibia.

The church in Namibia is very much intact. We believe that God raises up people to carry out the task He wants carried out. For Anglicans He has raised up a person with the name of Bishop James Kauluma, who has been described in a recent press interview as 'an iron fist in a velvet glove'. The church is the people and the church has a very strong beating heart.

NAMIBIA - 'Where a black person has never had a right'

*Two Scandinavians, Marja-Liisa and Kimmo Kiljunen, visited Namibia in the period when the South African Defence Force struck at the SWAPO refugee camp deep in Angola on 4 May 1978. Here are excerpts of their report:*

The situation in Namibia was very tense, but at the same time people were more militant and hopeful than people in South African townships. SWAPO has succeeded surprisingly well in mobilizing people. The South African government knows that - and that is the problem.

In Katutura township, Windhoek, there were several reflections of recent violence between Herero supporters of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and Ovambos. Some Herero people were still living within the Ovambos' section. Police vans were constantly driving around Katutura. Ovambos were very scared, not wishing to stay out of doors after sunset. DTA supporters have got guns from the Bantu Administration Office or more probably from the Security Police. Well-known black DTA members have official permits to carry arms - an amazing fact in South Africa. All this is as if to protect DTA members after Kapuu's assassination - though there were rumors that Security Police knew about the assassination in advance because they reacted and started investigations very slowly. Was it Owambo 'prime minister' Cornelius Ndjoba who masterminded the thing?

All SWAPO leaders in Windhoek had either been detained or had left the country except Lucia Hamutenya. SWAPO's public activities have been heavily suppressed. 'At the moment it would be suicide to organize SWAPO meetings or distribute our material openly', said Ms Hamutenya. At the same time other political parties were already preparing for elections. All over the country DTA has organized rallies and now their aim is to organize regional and local party cores and study groups. In the party office there were lots of different types of election material. During recent months there has been an effective campaign of distributing DTA supporter cards. Ndjoba claimed half the Ovambos already carry them, which could be quite close to the truth. Outside the Onandjokue missionary hospital DTA men were distributing the cards to incoming patients, saying that if they did not take the cards they would not be treated at the hospital. In other places people have been threatened that they will lose their pensions, cattle, jobs, etc., unless they take the DTA cards. Poor families on one farm near Windhoek showed us DTA cards saying that the farmer compelled them to take them. Those people actually thought that they had already voted!

One can be sure that if people do not believe or understand that by voting one can change the future of his life, a great majority of them will minimize personal risks and vote as the police, farmer or black homelands minister tell them to vote. Fear creates lip service. Rumors affect especially old people. 'If you do not give your vote to the government candidate your cattle and land will be confiscated', affects frightened people. It demands courage from ordinary people to oppose their governors whom they have until now humbly obeyed.

In a country where a black person has never had a right and courage to express openly his opinion, what does the secrecy of elections mean for them if it is the same feared police and administration who are organizing the general elections - despite formal UN satisfaction? The whole political atmosphere must be changed in order to get fair elections. That clearly demands not only withdrawal of South African Police forces but also a long election preparation time - more than one month which is enough according to the DTA party secretary Billy Marais.

The Namibia National Front has also started its preparations for elections on the basis of the Western proposals. It will go to free elections whatever SWAPO and the UN decide. They blame both SWAPO and the South African government for causing the present deadlock, and they will agree with whatever solution can break it and cause free general elections. NNF seems to get more and more business backing (especially from Anglo-American groups) and THE WINDHOEK OBSERVER is its main supporter within the mass media.

The situation became more and more tense the farther north we travelled. In Ovamboland we saw all over a great number of soldiers, camps and military convoys. By listing the camps accounted by the Finnish missionaries and making rough estimates of numbers of soldiers in each camp (it was heard that in Oshigambo camp, not a very big camp, there were 500 soldiers, a battalion) we concluded that SWAPO's estimates of about 50,000 South African soldiers in the north are rather too low than too high.

There were quite a lot of black soldiers also - presumably from tribal armies. People seem to be more afraid of black soldiers' violence and rough methods than of those of white ones. In Ovamboland heavy road construction was going on, for example, on roads between Oniipa and Eenhana and Oshakati and Ombalantu. Also new military camps have been established, a sign that South Africa has no intention of leaving the country.

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There were several signs of SWAPO's military activities. One saw a number of military cars that had been damaged by mines but we were also very afraid of South African mines on the civil roads.

Two areas in Ovamboland were called by the population as semi-liberated because SWAPO guerrillas can move there quite freely and the South African army and local administration definitely are not able to control them constantly. Those areas are in the west between Omindamba and Okalongo and in the east between Eenhana and Nkongo going south as far as Onankali. SWAPO's connections with the people seem to be quite effective also through radio. Every evening we saw people regularly listening to SWAPO's broadcasts from Angola.

During this spring several thousand Namibians have left the country - especially in March and April - and wherever we visited houses, hospitals, schools, churches, etc. we heard that relatives, neighbors, colleagues had left Namibia. For example, in the mission school at Oshigambo there were 145 students at the beginning of the year but by May 27 they had left the school and crossed the border.

We were in Oniipa and Engela on the 4th May - on the day when South Africa attacked Angola - but couldn't see more than one reconnaissance plane going around and checking the border area. On the previous evening we saw several Mirage fighters flying from Grootfontein to Ruacana. On Friday in Oniipa there was heavy traffic (transport planes) going back south, presumably to Grootfontein and Oshivelo. On the 6th May we went to Ombalantu and saw several convoys of military cars coming back from the border area. Especially near the Ondangwa airport there was heavy military traffic. The anti-aircraft guns were ready in the airport waiting for a counterattack.

We couldn't go farther from Ombalantu because local people warned us of South Africa's 'clearing' operations in the border area. The attack into Angola was made through Ombalantu and Ruacana. During Thursday, May 4th, in the Ombalantu area both roads and air were full of military traffic. The Finnish missionary there told us that the day was like in the war. The troops were concentrated up to the border on Wednesday evening. Early on Thursday morning they bombed over the border, hitting refugee camps located just within 30 kilometers of the border. Later in the morning motor battalions followed up and started more systematically killing those people in the refugee camps who had just left Namibia. The main purpose was murder. Firstly, South Africa wanted to stop the flow of emigration, and secondly, they calculated - better to kill Namibians without arms than with arms.

While returning from Angola, South African troops detained all the people they could see on the road inside Angola, both Namibians and Angolans. According to the local people in Ombalantu it was accounted that 149 military vehicles carrying captured people came into the Ombalantu camp. They estimated that approximately 1,000 people were among those brought back by South African troops. Some were killed, some very badly injured and amputated. When we drove back to Oshakati we saw a convoy of 30 security police cars coming toward us and going up in the Ombalantu direction, presumably to interrogate those detained.

Prime Minister Ndjoba of Owambo told us that he fully supported the South African attack and that he sent a telegram to the United Nations Secretary General saying that his people also support this operation. If something is clear, it was that Ndjoba has practically no support at all among the population. His house in Oshakati was surrounded by security fences and guarded by his bodyguard and by a military camp built beside his residential area.

In Walvis Bay the expansion of Rooikop military base was going on. We met some Afrikaners who were very aware of the fact that the annexation of Walvis Bay was a strategic choice rather than anything else. Pity that the city is at the same time the only harbor for South West Africa, they said. They continued that in order to guarantee orderly transfer of power in South West Africa it was necessary to take Walvis Bay temporarily under the control of the Cape Province of South Africa.

As Prime Minister Vorster said when he agreed with the Western proposals to withdraw the South African army from Namibia, 'South African forces would return to the Territory in the event of hostilities breaking out in the electoral process. Our troops are not there to take or hold the Territory, but to protect life and property.' Could it be more clearly stated? If it seems that the results of the election do not suit the South African plan, is it not very easy to organize a provocation which then would legitimize the South African intervention to protect the 'security' of the white population?

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## THE FREEDOM TO BE FREE: THE MASERU DECLARATION

Statement by delegates of the Anglican Church of Namibia meeting in Maseru, Lesotho, from the 2nd - 6th July 1978.

We delegates from the Anglican Church are forced to meet outside our country because of the actions of the illegal South African regime in deporting certain of us from Namibia. We wish to thank the Bishop, clergy and people of the Anglican Church in Lesotho for offering us hospitality and the chance to meet together in a friendly African country.

We reaffirm that the Bible teaches the inalienable right of all people to true liberation and because of this we meet to rededicate ourselves to work for the freedom of our country. Furthermore, we bind ourselves to stand with all those, inside and outside Namibia, who are working, suffering and dying to that end.

We view with increasing alarm the systematic increase of troops and massive build-up of weapons in our country and the continuing presence of the illegal South African regime, which defies the decision of the International Court of Justice in 1971 and violates the demands of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 385. We wish to see South Africa's immediate withdrawal and, in stating this, we make our stand on international law.

With regard to the initiative of the five Western Powers, we wish to make the following statement:

The Western proposals, in connection with independence for Namibia, can only be effective if there is trust and good faith on all sides.

The barbaric attack on Kassinga and the detention of SWAPO leadership within Namibia under Proclamation AG 26 have clearly demonstrated the aggressive nature of the South African regime and the bad faith of its rulers. The plans can no longer work.

Under these circumstances the proposals presented by the Western contact group can now not be considered as giving sufficient safeguards to the suffering Namibian people in the period before independence. The fact that South Africa has already begun the registration of voters without United Nations' supervision and with the continuing presence of its army in Namibia is a further reason to regard the Western proposals, which were formerly accepted by the Churches in Namibia, as having been by-passed.

We further see the Western intentions as being based on greed - aimed primarily at securing their continuing exploitation of Namibia's mineral wealth. We also see the five Western Powers blatantly attempting to coerce those forces which are working for the true liberation of our country and believe that their actions have done little to achieve basic changes in South Africa's policies and the structures of Namibian society.

The Anglican Church, along with other Churches, deplores the mass slaughter of innocent men, women and children at Kassinga and elsewhere, and offers its deepest condolences to all those who have been thus bereaved, including our brethren from the Lutheran Church, Bishop Leonard Auala, Pastor Cleopas Dumeni, and others who lost loved ones in the massacre. The names of the dead will be added to the long list of those who have lost their lives in the struggle for a free Namibia.

We, the delegates at the Maseru Conference, reaffirm our Church's commitment to the Gospel of Jesus Christ which speaks of freedom, justice and the worth of every human being. We see two forces at work in Namibia: the oppressive force of the South African regime and those who cooperate with it and, opposing them, the forces representing the poor and the oppressed people of Namibia.

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In this confrontation there can be no place for neutrality. The Church has to decide with which side she should stand. We wish to make our choice clear before the eyes of the world. We see Jesus himself poor, and rejected by the oppressive forces of his day, taking his stand on the side of the poor and oppressed: we in Namibia can do no less.

Therefore, we appeal to all Churches and members of the international community to continue to help us and all others who are providing funds for the defence of political prisoners in Namibia, to assist us as we care for their families.

In Namibia we see Jesus in our midst in many forms - in the poor, in the despised, the hungry, the wretched, the tortured, and in the political prisoner. Moved by the deepest feelings of compassion, we believe that true justice demands the release of all Namibian political prisoners held on Robben Island and in other prisons by South Africa.

We wish to make known to the world the continuing indiscriminate use of torture by the South African regime in Namibia. We see the failure to make effective protest against the use of torture as a moral weakness: we, for our part, will continue to protest so long as its use continues in our land. We stand with those Churches and individuals in Namibia who protest against the use of torture, and are grateful to such groups as Amnesty International for their unwavering support for the victims of South African violence.

We recognize the Church by its own efforts cannot achieve political and economic liberation and independence of our country, but we claim the right to identify and give support to those forces which can. In this respect we support the efforts of those countries in the United Nations who, upholding the findings of International law, are supportive of the liberation struggle in Namibia.

Though we have seen the deportation of three bishops of the Anglican Church, the daily harassment of our clergy and people, the hostility and violence of the occupying regime against us, we assert our right as Christians to speak out against such violence as conscience and the law of God demand.

God, who in the Bible identifies himself with the oppressed and firmly opposes the oppressor, demands that we, his servants, should also make our stand with all in our country who are oppressed, exploited, despised, harassed, intimidated, in prison for political offences or arbitrarily tortured for reasons of conscience, by a regime which, to sustain itself, is increasingly resorting to violence.

At a time when the unity of the oppressed is essential, we are opposed to any attempts, internally or externally, which seek to weaken that unity. There is one struggle of the oppressed people, just as there will be one victory.

To those governments and institutions who have offered scholarships and training programmes or domicile to Namibians in exile, we offer our grateful thanks.

We meet at a time when Anglican bishops from all over the world will be preparing for the forthcoming Lambeth Conference. We call upon the bishops there to make a strong and determined stand with us in our struggle for the liberation of our country. We would ask them further to condemn the violence, the racism, together with those forces of international capitalism, which assault us and exploit us as well as other people throughout the world.

We view with alarm the increase in the forces of racism and neo-Nazism which have manifested themselves with increasing strength in certain countries in the West. From our own experience, we look to the Churches in those countries to identify themselves with and give the same support to the victims of racism as we are attempting to do here in our country.

Finally, we rejoice that God has called us to witness to his redeeming and liberating love through sharing the suffering of the oppressed. In his strength we shall continue to strive for the final liberation of our country from the evils of racism and oppression which now hold us in bondage.

Reconciliation will only come to Namibia when true justice is accorded to the oppressed. As we work for that liberation we acclaim God the Holy Spirit who Himself has inspired all the oppressed with the freedom to be free.

## KEY NAMIBIA LEADER FACING OPPOSITION

### Nujoma's Group Beset by Internal Strife More Threatening Than Rival Political Parties

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, July 31 — With acceptance of the United Nations plan for majority rule in South-West Africa, the South African Government will open the possibility of a militant black state on its borders ruled by a man who once worked as a sweeper for South African Railways.

Sam Nujoma, president of the South-West Africa People's Organization, is a strong candidate to head the government that will emerge from elections provided for in the United Nations plan. However, Mr. Nujoma could find challenges from within his own organization more troublesome than those of rival political parties, which have trailed the nationalist group in straw polls.

Like many African movements, Mr. Nujoma's group has been riven with personal and ideological rivalries. Such a rivalry, two years ago, culminated in Mr. Nujoma's prevailing upon President Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia and President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania to jail dozens of his onetime supporters. The former supporters had accused Mr. Nujoma and his associates of corruption.

Approval of the United Nations plan, long resisted by Mr. Nujoma, poses a new and potentially more serious threat. The plan provides for the release, before the election campaign, of all South-West African political prisoners in South African jails. Among these is Herman Toivo, a founder of the nationalist group, who has been imprisoned since 1967.

#### Held on Robben Island

Mr. Toivo, sentenced to life in jail under South Africa's Terrorism Act, has been isolated in the fortress of Robben Island, in Cape Town harbor. Fellow inmates who have been released report that he has kept in close touch with developments in South-West Africa and intends to re-enter politics on his release.

At the nationalist group's offices in Windhoek, the territorial capital, spokesmen insist that Mr. Toivo will maintain a common front with Mr. Nujoma. But other associates of the jailed leader say that he regards Mr. Nujoma as a usurper. When Mr. Toivo was sent to prison, he held the title of chairman; he has since been demoted to vice president, under Mr. Nujoma.

Ideological differences between the two men are also possible. Although Mr. Toivo launched the guerrilla war against South African occupation, he was not considered a Marxist at the time of his arrest, except by the South African authorities. In contrast Mr. Nujoma subscribes to Marxist doctrine.

Under Mr. Nujoma's stewardship, the South-West Africa People's Organization has become heavily dependent on the Soviet Union and its allies, particularly East Germany. The East bloc nations have trained the group's guerrilla leaders and provided their arms, as well as financing its political activities, including offices in half a dozen capitals. Mr. Nujoma has personal ties with leaders in a number of East bloc nations.

#### Details of a Split

Mr. Toivo, 54 years old, could find allies within the organization. The split that resulted in the jailing of large numbers of opponents two years ago is believed to have alienated a number of other figures in the group. Accounts of the dispute vary. The one that has gained most credence among western diplomats in Lusaka attributes the split to an attempt by a younger, mostly Christian elements in the party to bring Mr. Nujoma and his associates to account for what they considered misappropriation of party funds, as well as for a betrayal of its democratic principles.

The challengers, coalescing around Andreas Shipanga, a former information secretary, are said to have drawn up lists of arms, ammunition and medical supplies that they believe to have been sold by the group's leaders for private gain. But before they could make headway with their charges, Mr. Nujoma persuaded President Kaunda, who was wary of nationalist splits after the murderous feuding among Rhodesians exiled in Zambia, to put the dissidents in jail.

Lawyers for the group obtained writs of habeas corpus from the Zambian High Court, but Zambian Government lawyers announced that the men involved had left Zambia of their own accord for Tanzania. There, they remained captives until two months ago, when President Nyerere, for reasons that are not clear, released them. The freed men have alleged that hundreds of other opponents of Mr. Nujoma remain in Zambian jails.

Mr. Shipanga and his associates, 19 in all, have formed a new group, the Swapo Democrats, and have aligned themselves with a newly formed multiracial coalition, the Namibian National Front, that will contest the elections. The front, insisting on the entrenchment of fundamental rights in the new constitution, as well as on private enterprise, is seeking to stake out a middle ground between the Nujoma group and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, a coalition of moderate to conservative whites and black tribal leaders also committed to democratic principles.

A recent survey by Andre du Pisani, a lecturer at the University of South Africa specializing in South-West Africa, credited the Nujoma group with the backing of 42 to 52 percent of the territory's voters, estimated to number 440,000. The Turnhalle Alliance received 20 to 35 percent, with much of the rest going to the Namibian National Front. Almost all analysts expect sharp shifts in the polls once limits on full-scale campaigning are removed.

#### INACCURACY AND DISTORTION IN PRESS REPORTS ON NAMIBIA

- Toivo ja Toivo was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment; he has served half that time, and remains on Robben Island.
- Toivo was regional organizing secretary for the North of Namibia.
- Toivo did not launch SWAPO's war against South African occupation of his country. As he eloquently stated in court on 1 February 1968, Toivo did not favor armed struggle in the 1960s but he did not refuse to help his comrades.
- The imputation that Toivo opposes SWAPO President Sam Nujoma is completely false. The regime in Pretoria has sent in several renegades from SWAPO to try to persuade ja Toivo to agree to support the Turnhalle Alliance. To no avail. Toivo and other political leaders on Robben Island are well informed and resolute. A message from Toivo assured his loyalty to Sam Nujoma and to SWAPO in their struggle for the liberation of Namibia.
- Sam Nujoma is the first and only President of SWAPO, having been elected in 1960.
- A report in the LONDON/MANCHESTER GUARDIAN refers to ja Toivo: 'There is nothing that would please Pretoria more than the sight of an alliance between Shipanga and Toivo' and goes on to say that Mr Toivo ja Toivo was a founder of SWAPO who has 'reportedly given no guarantee in return for an early release. In any case, it seems certain that he would join SWAPO's president-in-exile, Mr. Sam Nujoma, rather than split the party he helped create.'
- Father Edward Morrow says: 'There is only one SWAPO. It is wrong to say there are factions or that they don't have a unitary mind.'

# 'Buried alive' charge

DAVID MARTIN reports on allegations of torture in Namibia

WIDESPREAD and brutal torture of detainees, which churchmen and other independent observers say has become institutionalised, is being carried out in Namibia by officers of South Africa's security police.

One detainee was twice buried alive in a dried-up river bed near Windhoek.

For 11 years the churches in Namibia have been making representations about torture and have demanded an independent judicial inquiry. But South Africa has consistently denied that institutionalised violence is occurring.

On Friday, two prominent Namibian churchmen who have continually spoken out about torture and other forms of intimidation were given one week to leave the country. One of them, the Rev Ed Morrow, Vicar-General of the Anglican Church of Namibia, referred recently, while addressing students in Cape Town, to South Africa's 'jackboot policies' in Namibia.

The other, Father Heinz Hunke, Superior of the Roman Catholic missionaries in Windhoek and northern Namibia, has published a 62-page booklet entitled, 'Torture, a Cancer in our Society'.

The booklet, which was banned by the authorities, contains sworn affidavits from security police victims and corroborating affidavits from doctors who examined the detainees after their

release. The Allegations, Father Hunke wrote, revealed that 'the present system of law and order which legitimises itself as Western, democratic and Christian, is just another form of ill-concealed barbarism.'

In Windhoek earlier this month, one former detainee was re-arrested by security police while on his way to see me. He had laid charges against security police officers for assault, but no action had been taken.

## Horror details

Another former detainee, Festus Thomas, aged 35, gave me details of his horrific ill-treatment by security police, when I interviewed him in Windhoek three days after his release. He had been held in custody for 74 days and has made a full statement to a lawyer about his treatment.

Thomas was arrested on 10 April, a fortnight after the Herero tribal leader, chief Clemens Kapuuo, was assassinated in Windhoek.

During the first 12 days of his detention, he says he was given electric shocks on his genitals and anus, was frequently beaten and hung off the ground with his hands manacled behind his back.

On 21 April, the torture took a new and horrifying twist, he says. Four members of the security police, including two captains, a sergeant and an African took him handcuffed from their headquarters.

First they stopped at the

shopping centre in Windhoek's fashionable whites-only Pioniers Park suburb while the security police officers bought beer and meat. Then, after they left town, Thomas says he was blindfolded and put in the boot of the car.

They stopped about 30 kilometres out of town and when the blindfold was removed he was standing in a dried-up river bed. First the security police officers lit a fire to cook their meat. Then Thomas says he was told to lie down, discovering minutes later that he was being measured for a grave.

He was told to dig the grave and lie in it. Stones were piled on him and then sand, with an air hole left for him to breathe.

He was left buried for 30 minutes and then dug out, shovels and stones being rammed into his body as he was excavated.

His respite was brief. Thomas says he was ordered to clean the grave and then lie in it again. This time he was completely covered and lost consciousness. When he came to, he was lying on the side of the grave with water being poured on him.

Next, some sort of grenade was exploded near his body. After that Thomas says he was made to stand on a rock while the sergeant fired a pistol sending chippings into his legs. Finally stones were thrown at him.

Thomas's legs and body are covered in scars, consistent

with such treatment. Late on 22 April he was admitted to Ward Four in the hospital on the edge of Windhoek's African township, Katutura.

Officials of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), for whom Thomas acted as a driver and salesman of membership cards and T-shirts, learned of his admission to hospital and began making inquiries. Thomas was immediately moved back to police cells, after being given X-rays, injection and pain-killing tablets.

This time he was in the custody of the regular police, who said he had had a fever and had recovered. His medical records were removed from the hospital.

Four days later he was again collected by the security police. This time he was taken to a river on the Okahanja road, severely beaten and held under water until he lost consciousness.

## Complaints

He complained three times to a visiting magistrate about torture, but no action was taken. Finally, after more than a month in regular police custody during which most of his wounds healed, he was released.

The Churches in Namibia have made repeated representations about cases of torture since January 1967. The South African authorities have consistently denied there was any truth in the allegations.

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN for SOUTH AFRICA

Room 1005, 853 Broadway  
New York, N. Y. 10003

Address Correction Requested

—For A Free Southern Africa—

Mr & Mrs H. F. Beeman  
234 Spartan Avenue  
East Lansing, MI 48823