Dateline: Namibia

Editorial

In Memoriam
Josef Dumeni

Tragedy that strikes at family and friends is always tragedy made real, for it affects our lives in painful and very personal ways. And, for many Christians in North America, the tragic and brutal occupation of Namibia by South Africa's apartheid army took on that painful, personal dimension with the news that a South African bullet had struck down Josef Dumeni, the brother of our own brother in Christ, Lutheran Bishop Kleopas Dumeni.

We may never know whether Josef was singled out for execution as retribution for his brother's courageous witness in that afflicted land, or whether he was simply the first Black target to enter his killer's sights on that terrible morning.

We do know that Josef, a farmer and teacher, was unarmed when he died—shot down without warning by South African troops waiting in ambush. We know too that Josef Dumeni is but one of hundreds of Namibians who are killed each year by South Africa's occupation army, while thousands more have been beaten, detained, tortured, or driven into exile. And finally, we know that the presence of South African troops in Namibia and neighboring Angola is illegal, a presence that continues with the tacit blessing of our own government.

We will pray for the Dumeni family, especially Josef's widow and five children, and feel their sorrow and loss as our own. But we should also remember that their pain is felt in a million other hearts in that suffering nation, and that Namibia's agony is being prolonged by the policies of our own country. Through advocacy, and prayer, and together with our church partners, the liberation movement SWAPO, and other people of good faith, we can hasten the day of freedom and peace in Namibia. There could be no better way to remember our fallen brother, Josef Dumeni.

Bishop Dumeni's Brother Killed by South African Army in Namibia

Josef Dumeni, the younger brother of Lutheran Bishop Kleopas Dumeni, was shot and killed by South African soldiers in Angola early in the morning of Sunday, June 14.

Mr. Dumeni was shot while returning to his home in Namibia from southern Angola, where he and five others had traveled to recapture cattle stolen from the Dumeni farm on June 7.

According to church sources, Dumeni was riding his bicycle behind his cattle early in the morning when he was ambushed by South African security forces.

The South African Defense Force has issued a statement about the incident, claiming they laid an ambush for guerrillas of SWAPO, the Namibian liberation movement. The official statement accuses Josef Dumeni of breaking the dusk to dawn curfew imposed by South Africa in northern Namibia.

Josef Dumeni was 41 years old, married and the father of five children. Mr. Dumeni was a teacher of carpentry at secondary school in the Ombulanu area as well as a farmer.

In an effort to "correct the falsities and lies" being spread by the South African government, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia Bishop Kleopas Dumeni has issued a statement about the circumstances surrounding the death of his younger brother, Josef Dumeni, at the hands of the South African Defense Force. The full text of that statement appears on page 2.
Terror Continues in Northern Namibia

Fresh evidence of the reign of terror being conducted by the South African occupation forces in Namibia emerged from the northern war zone this spring. The area, in which three quarters of a million people are garrisoned by an estimated 100,000 South African troops, is virtually cut off from links with the outside world.

The most serious single incident took place when South African troops clashed with a group of SWAPO guerrillas in the Onamutayi area north of Ondangua. The local headman reported that two South African Casspir armored personnel carriers retreated from the contact and drove towards some nearby homes with their guns blazing in all directions. The headman’s daughter, Rebecca Nangolo, who had been sitting in a millet field eating her lunch, was killed in the firing.

The Casspirs then drove to another homestead and smashed into one of the huts, killing two elderly sisters, Kaunapawa and Kaunaithi Shindondi. Three other people were injured in the incident.

Another brutal episode recently occurred in a small Ovambo village on the Angolan side of the border, when South African soldiers arrived to question a farmer about his sons. A white soldier spotted one son, Leonard Haikali, in a hut and seized him by the neck. “He asked me whether I understood Afrikaans and I replied in the negative,” he said. The soldier then assaulted him with his fists and ordered the Black soldiers to make a fire.

“The white soldier ordered me to sit on the fire but I refused and he forcibly threw me into the flames. As I struggled he would kick me back in,” said Mr. Haikali, speaking from his hospital bed where he is now receiving treatment for the burns he sustained.

Another civilian from the same area, Mariu Itula, aged 23, was accused by soldiers of being a “SWAPO terrorist.” They made a fire, but he was told they would “cool me off nicely before braaing (barbecuing) me,” recalled Mr. Itula. “A hole was dug in the ground and filled with water and then my head was forced into it and covered with soil.”

Several water “treatments” followed, then Itula’s arms and legs were grabbed by the soldiers and his back was literally roasted over the flames. After the torture, the soldiers robbed Itula of R240 in cash (about $120), clothing and blankets. An army spokesman said the matter was being investigated.

In Oshikango parish, a headman and his wife were admitted to Onandjokwe hospital on March 7 with serious injuries after being beaten by Koevoet, the feared police counter-insurgency unit. The headman, Shindjala Nghaamwa, had protested that the police were committing atrocities against villagers being questioned about the whereabouts of guerrillas.

The headman may lose several fingers because of the attack, while his wife’s arm was broken. Afterwards he said: “These men say they are here to defend us but look at what they have done to me and my wife. Why don’t they fight SWAPO in the bush?” Once again, the matter is in the hands of the police.

In another Koevoet assault, a schoolgirl from Ontsinka suffered a broken arm and head injuries after being “questioned” by Koevoet over the movement of guerrillas. When the girl, Miriam Kanjamba, aged 18, told them she knew nothing, “a white Koevoet accused me of lying, grabbed me by the arm and slapped me across the face.” The man broke a thick branch from a tree and attacked her. She is now receiving treatment in hospital for her injuries.

This matter has also been reported to the authorities, but should be viewed in the light of an attack last January 1 on a 14-year-old Ongwediva schoolgirl, Christofina Thomas. She was shot after refusing to have sexual intercourse with a soldier. She has since undergone three operations and is still in considerable pain. An army brigadie promised an investigation, but there have been no apparent developments.

So serious is the situation in the north that some cases have been taken up by the South African-backed Ovamboland tribal administration. The Namibian newspaper said such incidents “can no longer be fobbed off with the excuse of ‘propaganda’. . . It is time that the interim government, which makes a publicity stunt of their so-called Bill of Fundamental Rights, reacts to these consistent and often reported human rights violations.”

Statement From Bishop Kleopas Dumeni on His Brother’s Death

I reluctantly make a statement about the death of my brother, Josef Dumeni, who was killed by South African forces on 14 June 1987 in Angola. Although I feel sorrow and the loss for my family on his death, I wish to express my concern and sorrow for the deaths of thousands of my fellow Namibians of whom my brother is now the most recent victim. I make this statement reluctantly, but feel compelled to do so to correct the falsities and lies which have been put out surrounding his death.

My brother, who lived near the Namibian/Angolan border, had cattle stolen from him and followed the spoor from his home across the border in the vicinity of Xangongo, also known as “Ofooti,” in Angola. Having recovered his cattle, he turned back to Namibia and on Sunday morning at roughly 0500 hours, according to an eyewitness who was with him, he was killed by South African forces in Angola. As far as I am aware, my brother was in possession of the required official documents to lawfully recover his cattle in Angola and, as far as I am aware, the South African Government has no right to kill people on the pretext of “enforcing” the curfew provisions in Angola.

I also express my concern and sorrow with the killers who are killing our people. Killing is a sin which is compounded by a further sin of telling lies. I am concerned and have sorrow for those who have committed these sins and pray that they will repent, and if they do so, they will be forgiven. I also wish to express my disappointment that those in power do not appear to care about the deaths of thousands of Namibians, simply because they are Black people.

I recently, together with my fellow church leaders in Namibia, sought an interview with the South African State President to express my concern about the escalating violence and loss of lives in Namibia and I wish to reiterate my great regret that the State President sought to avoid our meeting and our plea for peace and reconciliation in Namibia.

I call upon my fellow Christians in Namibia and elsewhere in the world to continue to pray for peace with justice and reconciliation in our country and it is our sincere hope that God will hear our cry soon.

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WHEN THE WOMEN SPEAK:  
AN INTERVIEW WITH NASHILONGO ELAGO

Namibian Women’s Voice is a national ecumenical organization of women drawn from the member churches of the Council of Churches in Namibia. Since its founding in June 1985, the organization has initiated a range of educational, health, community development, and economic self-help projects for Black women in the South African-occupied territory. Dateline: Namibia spoke with the General Secretary of Namibian Women’s Voice, Nashilongo Elago, in April.

I am Nashilongo Elago and I am General Secretary of Namibian Women’s Voice, an ecumenical organization of women in Namibia.

Q: How many members are there?
A: The organization is made up, officially, of the women’s organizations of all those churches who are affiliate members of the Council of Churches in Namibia. Because we don’t have a women’s desk at the Council of Churches, we are the coordinating body of women’s activities. But it’s difficult to say right now because I’ve been away for six months. Our membership is increasing almost every day. More women are finding out about what we’re doing and getting involved in the projects of the organization. I would say (there are) tens of thousands of members.

Q: What kinds of problems do Namibian women face?
A: The whole apartheid regime—the South African system—has been set up in a way that is aimed at discouraging women from participating in anything! If you look at the structures in education, for example, there is no opportunity for Namibians to advance their education. If you look at the secondary schools, and the dormitories they have for the students there, they usually have more rooms for boys than for girls.

In the (urban) work force (there is) the whole thing of low wages for women. In the rural areas, where they introduced the migrant labor system, they are taking the men from the villages to come and work in the industrial areas—leaving the women to take care of the land and the children and everything. The whole burden of the family is now on the woman.

The health services also. One issue is family planning. It is being used to abuse the African woman in Namibia. They use Depo Provera, which is an injectable contraceptive manufactured in this country, the United States, by Upjohn. It’s not approved (for use in the U.S.) by the Food and Drug Administration, but the South African government is injecting it in our women—without their prior consent, and without any information. (The FDA barred the use of Depo Provera as a contraceptive in the United States in 1978 after tests linked the drug to breast and uterine cancer and birth defects. Nevertheless, under Federal law it is legal for the Upjohn pharmaceutical company to sell the drug abroad—Ed.) When you go to the clinics for birth control, this is the only method available. No alternative methods are available. They are exploiting the need of the women to use birth control.

The other thing is rape—how women have been raped by the white South African forces. And also Blacks who are involved in this thing. When they take the case to court they say that African women do not have the same emotional effects from rape that white women have. And so the whole case is treated like it’s not a serious issue. All those things are happening within this so-called legal system. It’s not at all protecting the women.

So those are just some of the issues that are affecting women in Namibia.

Q: The migrant labor system must be very difficult on relationships, with the men going off and then trying to force a whole year of living into a few weeks together.
A: One thing it means is that the woman is like a single parent most of the time. She’s the one running the house. She’s running the family. She’s making the major decisions because somebody has to do it in the absence of the husband, where they would normally sit and discuss it. Now she is the one. The children grow up without a father figure in the house. (South Africa’s system is) taking the husband away and keeping him in some town or some farm for a year or more. Coming back for a month and trying to catch up, it’s not enough. His own child doesn’t know who he is! He is being so alienated from his family.

You also find that the men meet women in the areas where they are working and get involved with them—and stop sending money back to the women who are trying to take care of the household.

The other indication that they are targeting the family is that where the men are working the women cannot come and visit. And then it might be that her husband is not necessarily in the migrant labor force, but when he’s at home he might be abducted, he might be killed or anything. Her sons face the same thing.

The woman herself has also become the target of exploitation and attack by the South African government. For example, where you have her whole house being destroyed because she’s suspected of housing the freedom fighters or feeding them, or something like that.
The family as an institution, which in our culture—and probably the rest of the world—is the strong basis for the whole society, has become the target for the South African government. The system is just breaking up the family. And especially the churches are becoming worried about that.

Q: Let's talk some more about family planning and the use of Depo Provera. Why is this drug used? What are the politics behind the government's family planning and birth control program?

A: The politics are to reduce the African population. It's a population control strategy. It's only administered to African women—they don't use it on white women (because) Depo Provera is known to have a lot of side effects. Women need to have that information and also the right to choose first if they want to be on birth control and secondly if Depo Provera is the method they want to use.

But since Depo Provera is not approved for use in the United States, where it's manufactured, we don't want it used on our women either.

How it's administered is another crime I think is committed by the South African government and Upjohn against the Namibian people. One thing is that they introduce the drug to women soon after they deliver. One of the things that is known about Depo Provera is that there's a high concentration of it found in the breast milk of women who breast-feed. The infants take it in and then they go on birth control right away. Infants that take this have the risk of getting brain tumors and liver tumors.

The other thing is they're injecting it in all girls who are reaching child-bearing age. These (South African-created) "ethnic governments" have adopted the program and say it is to prevent teen-age pregnancies. So they put girls from thirteen-years-old on Depo Provera! And one of the things Depo Provera does is cause sterilization. You might be temporarily or permanently sterilized, depending on how long you use it.

Besides that there are other side effects that have been proven.... We have had some mothers who have been injected with Depo Provera while in the first trimester of their pregnancy. One of them has a child with a brain tumor, but the doctor is refusing to relate that to Depo Provera.

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Q: But why would someone administer a birth control drug to a pregnant woman?

A: I don't know. I think it's one of their strategies, you know. They don't care what they do to African people. Because the South African government is the one controlling all the drugs in Namibia it's easy for them to exploit the ignorance of the people. This particular woman went to the doctor because she was suspecting she was pregnant, and wondered whether she should go on birth control. But he went and injected her anyway.

Q: Aren't women told about the dangers involved and the alternatives that are available?

A: Not by the system. There is no information as to alternative methods of birth control or the dangers of Depo Provera. We have a brochure they distribute at the clinics in Katutura and all the Black clinics around the country that says Depo Provera is good, it's convenient, it's 100 percent effective, the woman will never get pregnant.

The women do need to space their families, and the young girls need to not get pregnant, so they all line up for Depo Provera without being tested. And there are contraindications, conditions where you cannot be taking Depo Provera. But for us in Namibia, if you go to the clinic you get Depo Provera anyway. There's no alternative given—the pill, the diaphragm or any other method.

The whole issue of how it's administered is very criminal. They cannot force the people to take a drug when they don't know what it is.

What we're trying to do through Namibian Women's Voice is to contact women's groups in the United States, Britain and Canada to get information on Depo Provera—what it is, how it functions and its effects. We are getting this information and translating it into simple language the women can understand. And this is not just reaching the women but also the men. They are finding out what the effect of Depo Provera is on the whole nation.

Apparently, in 1985 about 50,000 women in Namibia used Depo Provera. We are estimated to be 1.5 million people, so it's a big proportion of the population.

We want women's organizations in different parts of the world to help us in our campaign to have Depo Provera removed from the market in Namibia until it's proved safe for use on humans. We are also going to work out guidelines on birth control programs in the country.

Q: So it's really the intention of the South African government to enforce birth control for political reasons, not to provide Namibian women with options for family planning?

A: Yes.

Q: Are there privately operated family planning clinics, or are they all state-run?

A: All state-run. Some private gynecologists might prescribe some of these things, but other than that it's all state-owned. And it's free. It's one of the few free things in Namibia, you don't have to pay for it.

Q: Let's turn to financial matters. Is it easy for women to get jobs?

A: No. Rural women...are farmers and that is a full time responsibility. Now, the government doesn't provide any subsidy for that kind of farming. They do for whites but not for Africans, even though this is a major source of survival (for African families).

Q: What about agricultural extension services and things like fertilizer and credit?

A: Nothing. Nothing at all is done about it.

Now, a woman in the city has to buy everything—she must have money to survive. But because the majority of women in Namibia are not educated, they do not qualify to enter the best paying jobs.
Interview

So most of the women in Namibia are domestic workers, they work in the houses of whites in the white suburbs. She has to wake up early, about five A.M., take a bus to some suburb and relieve the white mother of her responsibilities for the child and the house (although) most white women don't work. She works until the afternoon and then takes a bus back home where she's supposed to take care of her own house.

The only thing she gets is about 60 rands ($30) a month. And from this she has to pay rent for the house, pay for the water, the food, lights, the bus, and everything.

Q: Conditions sound bad for women in town and in the country. What does this mean for poverty levels, hunger and things like that?

A: There was a survey done in Katutura last year that Namibian Women's Voice contributed to. One of the things they came up with is that 161 out of every 1000 African children die before age one. They die of things like malnutrition and gastroenteritis—things that can be prevented.

For white children the figure is only 21 out of every 1000, and they are not dying of diseases that are killing African children, like tuberculosis.

(The survey) also found that the average family in Katutura needs 365 rands a month for food and basic things. If you get only 60 rands and you need 365, then you can see the inequality.

Then the problem is that we expect the women to participate in the struggle for liberation. But the burden on her is so much that hers is a struggle for survival, to feed first her family and then herself. And after that maybe you can talk about issues that have made this whole life of hers a misery.

That is one of the things we are dealing with in Namibian Women's Voice. To try and point out to the women that your life is like this because of the (South African) system and that there is something you can do about it—something we can do about it together! To get involved and participate together in the liberation struggle for the independence of our country and to change all these things.

Q: How is Namibian Women's Voice helping women cope with these day-to-day problems?

A: We're trying to identify projects that are going to make the women independent, help the women break away from this whole system. But it's very difficult to tell a woman domestic worker just to stop going to that white person's house unless you have something concrete for her to do. Just to say stop—that is suicide.

Now, one of our groups in Arouab—it's a very small town at the edge of the Kalahari desert—identified the need for a community shop because the shops in Arouab are owned by white farmers (who charge) three to four times the prices in the nearest town.

Unemployment is very high there, so they started a soup kitchen to feed the children. Then they came to us and said, "We want...a sewing project to generate funds to feed these people." They had a contract with a local school to make school uniforms, so we bought three sewing machines and some material and sent it down to them. They also wanted a knitting machine for sweaters, but we didn't have money for that.

The next thing they said was, "We want to have our community shop to sell the things we are sewing. We also want to start baking bread."

We could afford to buy a few bags of flour, and they started baking bread at home to take to the shop and sell.

This project is still growing. Every time they identify another project it's going to create employment, and not just for women, because they're also using the menfolk. They are feeding people in the community and making decisions about their own projects as far as finance and administration are concerned.

These projects are not just to see women make dresses or bake bread and sell, but a preparation for independence. You have to create a situation where people become independent themselves so they can fully participate in the overall liberation of the country. That's what we are trying to do.

Q: What role does your organization play in the liberation struggle?

A: The church in Namibia has a unique role to play because the majority of people in Namibia are Christians and are oppressed. Most of us are also members of the liberation movement SWAPO. We want the independence of our country and we are participating at the political level.

But we remain Christians. There is no clear-cut line between the Christians and the politicians in Namibia. We are all one group.

That is why the church is directly involved in the struggle for liberation—pushing for the implementation of Resolution 435 and educating fellow Christians abroad, especially the Lutherans.
But the women in most cases are not involved in this. The women are saying that survival is the priority. How can you encourage people struggling for survival to get involved in the struggle for liberation?

So we women in the church are reaching out to the grassroots, to women who are going to church on Sunday but are not participating (in the independence struggle). One of the things we are doing is getting women to look at their lives in relation to this evil regime and work out solutions.

SWAPO has mobilized and the people are aware of the forces working toward the liberation of Namibia. But as women we must mobilize ourselves to get involved and speed up the process.

Q: If people in this country wanted to support your work, what could they do?

A: One thing that struck me about your country is that people don’t know Namibia, where it is or what problems the people face, especially the women. One thing that could be done is to educate the people in this country about the situation in Namibia.

I’ve mentioned some of the projects we have started and I think you might be able to help support some of those. The other thing is to provide educational opportunities for our people, particularly the women. We’re trying to work out a rural health training program in Zimbabwe, and we’ll need financial support to take people to Zimbabwe for the training and then to run the program back home. Also, a lot of mothers in the townships are working and need a place to leave the little ones, and the so-called government in Namibia doesn’t provide for that. So we have started something... where unemployed mothers will take 10 or 15 children, and their mothers will donate something at the end of the month. But we need education-oriented toys and also clothes because the money is never enough. So there’s that sort of thing.

“161 out of every 1000 African children die before age one. They die of things like malnutrition and gastroenteritis—things that can be prevented. For white children the figure is only 21 out of every 1000.”

We also need information about birth control and about these dangerous pesticides that are not used in other countries because of the danger, but are still being used in Namibia.

And finally, we need more exchange between women in this country and Namibian women. While I was here I was always jetting off somewhere to speak, because most people never heard someone from Namibia before. We have the SWAPO office here (in New York) for people to contact Namibian women... and also through the Council of Churches in Namibia. That’s the best channel, SWAPO or the council. It will reach us if somebody needs a woman from Namibia to speak. I think that kind of networking is just so important.

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Namibian Women’s Voice
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SWA/Namibia
Torture Revealed in Court

A major trial in Namibia has produced dramatic evidence of brutal treatment of political detainees by South Africa's counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet. One security policeman described how a Koevoet officer repeatedly "laid into" prisoners with a hosepipe and tore a medical drip out of a man's arm before interrogating him.

This evidence, submitted at the trial in March, is the most explicit confirmation ever heard in court that members of South Africa's police in the occupied territory were engaged in wanton abuse of detainees.

Andreas Heita and seven other members of SWAPO, the Namibian liberation movement, are on trial in Windhoek supreme court on nearly 200 charges alleging "terroristic acts," murder and the possession of arms. They face the death sentence if convicted.

But Judge Harold Levy heard evidence that their captors had routinely inflicted harsh punishment during interrogation. The unusually frank admissions were heard in open court as defense counsel challenged the admissibility of statements made by the accused while in solitary confinement. The Namibians have been held from periods of 33 to 109 days under South African-style "detention-without-trial" laws.

Captain Frantz Ballach of Koevoet was said to have "laid into prisoners with a hosepipe" on a number of occasions. A security police officer described how Ballach tore out the drip from the arm of the badly-wounded Heita, and then flogged him with a hosepipe. Heita stripped down to the waist to show the court scars on his chest, back, head and ear. A special branch officer who had arrested him said that all the injuries, apart from a gunshot wound on his arm inflicted during his arrest, were the result of assaults under interrogation.

The special branch officer, Nkodemus Nampala, said the attitude of the police was that the only limit on maltreatment was that the prisoner should not be killed. "You trash a prisoner until he cracks—points out what has to be pointed out."

Asked by defense counsel if it were possible to report a case like this to the police authorities in order to protect a prisoner, Nampala, who has been in the force for 13 years, replied: "For what purpose, your honor?" Had he ever reported such an incident?: "Certainly not, your honor."

Parade of death in Namibia. South African armored car displays body of slain SWAPO fighter in Ondobe.

"Parade of Death" in Namibia

In March the South African authorities finally admitted that troops of the occupation army paraded corpses of dead SWAPO insurgents through a Namibian village last December. The ghoulishepisode was recorded by an anonymous photographer in the Ovamboland village of Ondobe. The picture appeared on the front page of the January 16 edition of the Windhoek newspaper, The Namibian, headlined "Parade of Death."

The troops, in a Casspir armored car, had one corpse lashed to a spare wheel on the side, with two more bodies tied to the front bumper. It is believed that the vehicle belonged to Koevoet, the police counter-insurgency unit feared for its brutal treatment of the local population in the northern war zone.

When the photograph was first published, a police spokesman denied its authenticity, while an army spokesman said that "if anyone did such a thing, he would be prosecuted. A Christian organization, such as the South African Defence Force, would not publicly exhibit the enemy's dead." At the same time, the South African Directorate of Publications banned the offending issue of The Namibian on the grounds that it was "a threat to state security, the general welfare and good order of the territory."

But, in a complete reversal of earlier denials, Inspector Kierie du Rand, police public relations officer in Windhoek, confirmed that a Casspir was in the area at the time. The official explanation is that the bodies were being taken to Oshakati, South Africa's main police and military base in the north. Asked why they had not been carried inside the vehicle, the inspector said the Casspir only had room for 12 people in the back. "There was not enough space for the bodies as well as the soldiers, boxes of ammunition and rifles."

Following publication of the photograph, both the newspaper and the Council of Churches in Namibia have received complaints of similar incidents from people in the north. Communities in Ovamboland have called such actions "barbaric and irresponsible." Ten years ago, a secret South African Defence Force paper on winning the "hearts and minds" of the local population warned that parading bodies in this way was counter-productive.

It is not known whether the policemen responsible will be prosecuted.
Pray and Advocate for Freedom in Namibia

The knowledge that their sisters and brothers in America are praying and working for justice can strengthen the Namibian people in their struggle for liberation. Write:
Bishop Kleopas Dumeni
Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church in SWA/Namibia
Oniipa, Private Bag 2018
Ondangwa, SWA/Namibia

Letters to your political representatives in Washington are extremely important. The diplomatic pressure that the United States can bring to bear, can force South Africa to remove its occupying forces from Namibia. Write in support of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435.

United States Senate: The Honorable
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

House of Representatives: The Honorable
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515


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