1. Election Aftermath

Since the results were announced on November 14 and UN Special Representative (SR) Ahtisaari certified the elections that evening, SWAPO (with 57.3%) has received messages of congratulations and support from all over the world. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) described SWAPO's victory as a victory for the people of Namibia while Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida expressed "utmost joy" at the outcome. The Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) Executive Committee extended their heartfelt congratulations as did the South African Council of Churches. Former U.S. Vice President Walter Mondale expressed his "personal congratulations to SWAPO" for their victory. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker III wished President Nujoma and all the members of the Constituent Assembly "success in setting the foundation for democracy and social justice for Africa's newest nation."

While welcoming the results, SWAPO officials stressed that the entire outcome had to be viewed in the context of the persistent obstacles which plagued the transition process. SWAPO party representatives at a November 21-23 aid conference in Norway highlighted problems in the plan's implementation, including South Africa's biased administration, the unstable security situation, delays in the promulgation of the registration and electoral laws, the consistent and unchecked bias of the South West Africa Broadcasting Corporation (SWABC) and UNTAG's "reluctance to assume an active monitoring and supervisory role." Reflecting on these obstacles, one SWAPO leader commented that while the elections were free, they certainly were not fair.

An "Election Post-Mortem," published by the CCN's Information and Monitoring Service (CIMS), indicated that while the parties accepted the election results, all expressed some dissatisfaction over their performance. For example, the Namibia National Front (NNF) noted that its 5,344 votes amounted to less than their eligible voting
membership and SWAPO voiced concern over the unexpectedly low number of votes they received in Windhoek (44,200 out of 96,379) and some southern districts. DTA was disappointed with its Ovambo results, which amounted to only 4% of the total votes cast. CIMS was also concerned by the "high correlation" between party allegiances and ethnic origin. SWAPO's victory hinged on the 92% majority it received in Ovamboland and on Ovambo voters in other districts. Similarly, the DTA captured the Herero vote, the UDF the Damara vote and the ACN (and DTA) the white vote. No party has been eager to acknowledge this aspect of the results, stressing instead national reconciliation as Namibia's first priority.

2. Overall Security Situation

Though the atmosphere during election week was surprisingly calm, post-election violence has erupted throughout northern Namibia. The day after the results were announced, prominent SWAPO supporters Franz Indongo and Nathaniel Maxuilili were attacked, and badly beaten, reportedly in the wake of a DTA supporter's death the previous day. On November 16, Indongo's house was set on fire and over the following weekend several SWAPO supporters were shot and killed or wounded, allegedly by DTA members. These incidents prompted UNTAG regional director John Rwambuya to accuse the police force of failing to do its job. He contended that "if they (South West Africa Police [SWAPOL]) were interested and determined, this could end."

Despite pressure from UNTAG, the churches and local political parties, the violence continues. In a press release calling on the Administrator General (AG) and the SR to control the law and order situation in the north, SWAPO estimated that 10 people died and over 50 were injured in the 15 days following the announcement of the election results. During the weekend of November 25-26, three people were killed in Ovamboland, and three prominent SWAPO supporters died in a car crash involving two police Casspirs. The incident originally looked like an accident but recent reports indicate that one of the SWAPO vehicle's passengers may have been shot. Over 15 homes in the Caprivi have been burned to the ground in the last two weeks, allegedly by DTA supporters. Inter-party violence in Kaokoland led SWAPO and NNF leaders to ban the public display of weapons as of November 27. CNN General Secretary Shejevali, who is currently visiting the northern regions, condemned SWAPOL for being "reluctant to cooperate with the initiative of the headmen."

SWAPOL has also received strong criticism from Acting Judge Bryan O'Linn, chair of the Commission on Intimidation and Election Malpractices, who criticized police conduct of investigations and called on the AG to train qualified and impartial police personnel. Not long after the O'Linn decision, The Namibian released a report from prisoners in Grootfontein claiming SWAPOL members regularly beat them for no apparent reason. Greatest concern was raised by reports that SWAPOL is involved in activities possibly aimed at destabilizing a
future independent Namibia. On November 20-21, SWAPOL Commander and Koevoet founder Hans Dreyer reportedly addressed groups of ex-Koevoet members and former 101 Battalion members, allegedly to recruit the ex-fighters to join the Western Caprivi's infamous 32 Battalion, now stationed in Pomfret, South Africa. Similar drives were reportedly launched in Kavango, and sources in the north confirm the ex-Koevoet and South West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF) members are leaving the country for South Africa.

In a November 25 statement, SWAPO alleged that this "recruitment" is an attempt to re-group the former security forces in South Africa "and keep them bonded there as potential destabilizers of Namibia." SWAPO called on "every Namibian, black and white, to remain [in Namibia] and contribute to the task of national reconciliation, reconstruction and development."


Under Resolution 435 all SADF troops are to complete their withdrawal by one week after the certification of the elections. As of November 24, three days after the deadline, all 1,500 SADF troops, which were confined to Oshivello and Grootfontein during the pre-election period, had withdrawn. The SADF's 61st Mechanized Battalion, previously confined to Oshivello, is now stationed at Walvis Bay, replacing the 62nd Mechanized which will move to Upington, just across the border of Namibia in South Africa. After the switch, a total of 1,750 SADF troops will be stationed in Walvis Bay.

Pursuant to the peace plan, SWAPO's bases in Angola were also closed following certification of the elections. By November 24, all bases were closed and 316 persons were repatriated to Namibia. Of these, 285 were PLAN fighters who stayed at the Ongwediva reception center until December 3, when all but 19 returned to their families. Approximately 50 women and their children remain to be repatriated.

4. A Namibian National Army?

On Monday, November 27 the Association for Handicapped in Namibia placed a full page advertisement in local newspapers, calling on the new Namibian government to start a development force rather than a defense force in order to "save lives, prevent disability, develop Namibia and obey God's will." The advertisement sparked a debate over the likelihood of a defense force in the new nation. SWAPO spokesperson Eddie Amkongo argues it would be "national suicide" for Namibia not to create a defense force given "the reality of [its] history and [its] geographical position." NNF leader Kenneth Abrahams suggests that Namibians should train a "peoples' militia" rather than a national army, expressing concern over the prevalence of military coups in Africa. UNTAG, while apparently recognizing the need for a defense force, stressed that countries often spend too much on arms to the detriment of development. The AG's spokesperson
wryly noted that South Africa "would have no need to worry about a country with no defense force," suggesting instead a "land service commission, wherein young people could do compulsory service learning...agricultural skills."

5. Development

Though a national defense force will probably be one of the new government's chief concerns, it is likely that national development will be its first priority. SWAPO's secretary for economic affairs Ben Amathila outlined the new government's immediate development plans, focusing on agricultural production with an eye towards food self-sufficiency, development of the manufacturing sector, better distribution of mining sector revenues, especially towards the agricultural and manufacturing sectors, changes in the fishing sector, and limited land reallocation.

The need to emphasize development was most clearly evidenced in a November 25 speech by Ahtisaari in which he presented some startling provisional statistics prepared by the UN Department of International Economic and Social Affairs. According to these initial estimates, approximately 45% of the population is under 15. Blacks constitute 85% of the population, and whites 5%, with the latter contributing 71% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The black population in the modern economic sector comprises 40% of total population and accounts for nearly 25% of GDP. The traditional economy employs 55% of the population and accounts for less than 4% of the GDP. On a per capita basis, GDP in U.S. dollars is $1,044 for total population, $14,560 for whites, $663 for blacks in the modern sector and $63 for blacks in the traditional economy. An overall economic report prepared by the UNDP and other UN development agencies is scheduled to appear sometime in the next two weeks.

6. Constituent Assembly

The newly elected 72 member Constituent Assembly held its first meeting on November 21 before a packed house of local and international press and observers, and encircled by a throng of cheering SWAPO supporters. In a political first, long-time opponents SWAPO President Sam Nujoma and DTA Chairman Dirk Mudge sat down together to draw up the fledgling nation's constitution. The Assembly's first act was to elect SWAPO election director Hage Geingob as Assembly chair by a 47 to 24 vote. The vote reveals the likelihood of speedy constitutional process as only 48 votes are needed for the 2/3 majority necessary to adopt the constitution.

SWAPO seized the political advantage on the Assembly's first day by its surprise motion to adopt the 1982 Constitutional Principles as guidelines for the Assembly. (The principles stipulate that Namibia be a unitary, sovereign and democratic state, with a fundamental bill of rights, and the constitution as the supreme law of the land, providing for the organization and powers of all levels of govern-
ment.) The principles were drafted by the Western Contact Group in 1982 and were considered part of the binding documents governing the process. Before the elections, SWAPO argued against inclusion of the 1982 principles into the AG's Constituent Assembly Proclamation (as did the UN), sparking suspicion that they might oppose the principles altogether.

Tension in the House erupted during the Assembly's second week over whether the 1982 principles should be openly debated, as the DTA preferred, or considered within committees which would then make recommendations to the entire body, as SWAPO preferred. A compromise motion was quickly adopted, providing for lengthy and detailed consideration of the various constitutional proposals by the Standing Committee on Rules and Orders and Internal Arrangements, which will then submit reports to the full House for the final decisions. Various constitutional proposals were introduced December 4 and the Standing Committee's recommendations will be returned on the 12th. Likely areas of material disagreement between the two major parties include the electoral system (DTA prefers proportional representation while SWAPO supports single-member constituencies), the powers of the president and the nature of the legislative branch.

The AG appropriated R2.1 million ($840,000) to the Assembly, of which the Assembly's Chair receives R5,796 ($2,318) per month and the regular members receive R5,504 ($2,201).

7. Anton Lubowski's Murder

Information has surfaced in the last two weeks linking the assassination of SWAPO leader Anton Lubowski to the assassination earlier this year of white South African human rights activist David Webster. A South African suspect, believed to be former narcotics policeman Ferdi Barnard, has been detained in connection with both cases. Recent information indicates he may have been working for South African Military Intelligence since his dismissal from the police force. A second suspect, Donald Acheson, who was detained immediately following the assassination, has been charged with the Lubowski murder and is expected to appear in Windhoek court on December 6.

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