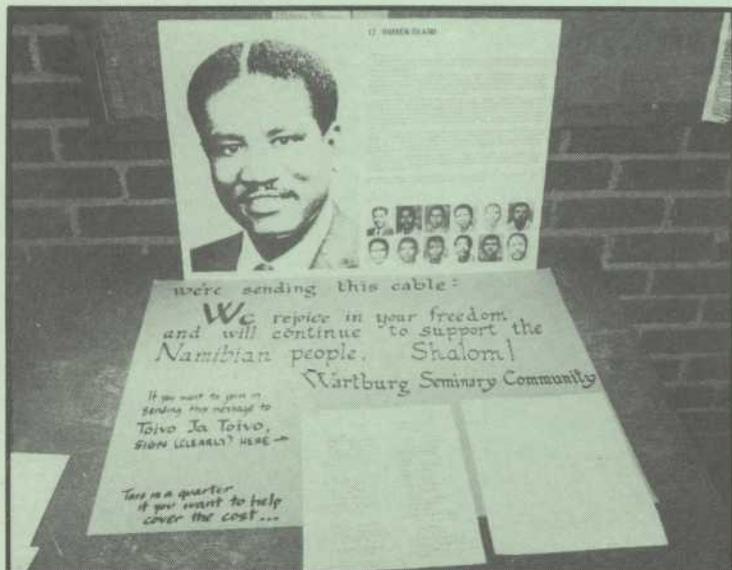


# Namibia Newsletter

Wartburg Seminary

Dubuque, IA 52001

March, 1984



Wartburg Community Sends Cable to Toivo ja Toivo.

Dear Friends,

We have just returned from doing Namibia education events in Seattle, Los Angeles, Phoenix and Tucson. It was encouraging to see that awareness of the Namibian tragedy is growing among Lutherans in this country. For our struggling sisters and brothers in southern Africa, the concern of other Christians is a source of strength.

The high point of these conferences was the presence of Namibians and South Africans. It is a joy to be with these bright, good people. Their gentleness, their strength, and the depth of their Christian faith was an inspiration to all of us.

As is always the case, the real work begins when the conferences are over. Each of us must now find a way to begin--it may not be a major project, or a dramatic, earth-shaking movement. Our action might seem small and insignificant. But the important thing is that we begin--that we do something.

In the New Testament, the followers of Christ "could not help but speak of what they had seen and heard." It is that spirit that will allow the Namibia story to be told, from person to person, from congregation to congregation, until finally the powerful interests, which benefit from the enslavement of southern Africans, will be forced to listen.

Shalom,

*Solveig Kjeseth*  
Solveig Kjeseth  
for the Namibia Concerns  
Committee

## TOIVO JA TOIVO RELEASED

News from Namibia is often discouraging. But on Thursday, March 1st, the telephone lines began humming with excitement. Herman Toivo ja Toivo, co-founder of the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), had been released after serving sixteen years as a political prisoner of the South African government.

Toivo ja Toivo, born in the Ovamboland region of Namibia, was a young clerk in Cape Town when he organized the Ovambo People's Organization in 1959. The name was later changed to SWAPO to reflect the nationwide support for this nationalist movement.

In 1966 Toivo ja Toivo was arrested and charged with breaking a law which did not even exist at the time of his alleged crimes. Under a hastily passed law, made retroactive to 1962, Toivo was charged with promoting guerilla warfare with the intent to overthrow the government.

After two years of imprisonment, beatings and torture, Toivo was brought to trial along with 36 other Namibians. His last public statement, made in the Pretoria Supreme court in February, 1968, has become a credo for Namibian patriots. He rejected the right of a South African court to try him and accused South Africa of having betrayed the "sacred trust" placed in them by the League of Nations. "We are Namibians, and not South Africans. We do not now, and will not in the future, recognize your right to govern us, to make laws for us in which we have no say; to treat our country as if it were your property, and us as if you were our masters...."

The surprise release of Toivo ja Toivo is seen by some as a propaganda ploy by South Africa, which is desperately trying to set up an internal government in Namibia. South Africa has tried several times to organize political alliances which might be able to defeat SWAPO in an election, but none of these has found any real support. Its current effort is to sponsor (unfortunately with U.S. support) a "Multi-Party Conference" (MPC). Most analysts agree that the release of Toivo ja Toivo was a calculated effort to boost the image of the MPC and cause a leadership struggle which would split SWAPO. It appears that this gamble did not pay--Toivo ja Toivo has pledged his "support to the current leadership of SWAPO and loyalty to all the Namibian people." As for the reaction of the Namibians--there was dancing in the streets as word spread that the "father of their country" was free!

Messages of support and thanksgiving are to be sent to:

Herman Toivo ja Toivo  
c/o Council of Churches in Namibia  
P.O. Box 41  
Windhoek, 9000  
Namibia/Southwest Africa

## PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES COMMIT THEMSELVES ON U.S. POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

As part of the 1984 presidential campaign, the Namibia Concerns Committee sent a questionnaire on U.S. policy in Southern Africa to the eight Democratic presidential candidates and to the incumbent, President Reagan.

The questionnaire was first sent to the declared candidates in November, 1983. Six Democratic hopefuls responded: Cranston, Glenn, Hart, Hollings, McGovern, and Mondale.

There is enough similarity in the answers to suggest that the U.S. must rethink its policy toward southern Africa no matter who is elected next November. Clearly there is growing grass-roots sentiment for a shift in U.S. involvement in southern Africa.

In response to growing pressure, the Reagan administration has been eager to demonstrate that its policy of "constructive engagement" toward South Africa is bearing fruit and has some promise of breaking the stalemate on free elections in Namibia. When South African Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha on January 31, 1984, announced a 30-day disengagement of South African troops from Angola (after denying for years that the troops were there), friends of "constructive engagement" cautiously hailed the move as a breakthrough. The *Time* article (February 13, 1984) with the picture of U.S. Undersecretary for Africa, Chester Crocker and Prime Minister Botha smiling at each other seems to imply that there might finally be light at the end of the Namibian "tunnel". Alan Cowell of the *New York Times* (February 6, 1984) is not as encouraging. He sees Botha's disengagement as "partly cosmetic" and "cloaked in ambiguity" since South African aims in Namibia remain the same. South Africa still insists on Cuban withdrawal from Angola and has made no firm commitment to allow free elections in Namibia.

Another move which appears intended to demonstrate the value of "constructive engagement," at least for the U.S. electorate in this presidential year, was South Africa's surprise release on March 1st of the Namibian patriot and co-founder of SWAPO, Herman Toivo ja Toivo, after 16 years of imprisonment on Robben Island. The best guess is that South Africa released the charismatic Toivo ja Toivo in the hopes that his presence would cause a power struggle among the leaders of SWAPO (see story on front page...).

Whether these new South African moves represent a real shift or the latest in a long line of stalling maneuvers, the basic question of United States policy in southern Africa remains the same. The candidates' answers to nine questions raised by the Namibia Concerns Committee profile a new possibility for United States involvement in South Africa.

### Question 1

What do you consider to be the strengths and weaknesses of the Reagan Administration's policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa?

None of the candidates who responded to the questionnaire found any strengths in the policy of "constructive engagement". Each felt that the policy had given comfort to the South African government without addressing the agonizing issue of apartheid rule in South Africa. McGovern charged that the Reagan Administration's policy "reflects the short-sighted and negative policy of supporting any government, no matter how bad, which waves the anti-communist flag."

### Question II

The United States stands alone in insisting that Cuban troop withdrawal precede U.N. supervised elections in Namibia. To what extent should the Cuban presence in Angola influence U.S. policy on free

elections in Namibia?

From Mondale to McGovern the candidates viewed the normalization of relations with Angola as a crucial step in addressing the issue of Cuban withdrawal from Angola. Hart expressed concern that the "linkage" issue, i.e., tying Namibian elections to previous Cuban withdrawal from Angola, will impede future diplomatic negotiations on Namibian independence. Glenn insisted that we not lose sight of one "simple, irreducible fact: South Africa continues to illegally occupy Namibia in violation of international law."

### Question III

It has been charged that the Reagan Administration's policy of permitting increased exportation of high technology to South Africa has extended to sensitive military areas and may constitute a violation of nuclear non-proliferation agreements. How do you assess this charge? What changes do you think should be made in this area?

The candidates agree that controls on the export of United States high technology must be tightened. Glenn's answers were the most detailed, charging that the Reagan Administration's entire nonproliferation policy has been a "disaster"; it has violated the spirit of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Act (NNPA) in dealings with South Africa in at least three ways:

1) it allowed South Africa to escape a 5-year nuclear fuel embargo by giving tacit approval to U.S. nuclear brokers who arranged a fuel purchase for South Africa from a European utility;

2) it approved the purchase by South Africa of a scientific computer that has the capability of aiding in weapons design;

3) it approved the application by an American company to provide nuclear services involving the transfer of technology to aid the operation of South Africa's Koeberg reactors.

Mondale did not enumerate specific violations, but, sensing real danger, called upon the present administration "to reveal the extent of its nuclear cooperation with South Africa to the appropriate committees of Congress, so that its policy can be reviewed and debated."

### Question IV

The U.N. has recognized SWAPO as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people. Yet South Africa challenges this legitimacy and seeks to picture SWAPO as a Marxist terrorist organization. How do you evaluate SWAPO and its role in the future of Namibia?

The candidates agreed that SWAPO is a legitimate representative movement of the Namibian people. If elections were held in Namibia today, SWAPO would undoubtedly be the winner. The candidates recognized "many ideological persuasions" within SWAPO but saw this as no great issue. According to McGovern, the U.S. "cannot refuse to deal with an organization just because another country (in this case, South Africa) calls it a terrorist organization."

(Continued on page 8)

"Constructive engagement" causes a deterioration of U.S. relations with the whole of black Africa: "The United States is perceived to be walking in league with the government of South Africa in perpetuating the system of apartheid. The damage of this perception will take years to erase."

-- Senator Alan Cranston, -D., California  
(an original sponsor of the Clark Amendment)

#### FOUR JANUARY CONFERENCES HEIGHTEN AWARENESS

On January 28-31, 1984, people in Seattle, Los Angeles, Phoenix, and Tucson gathered around the theme "God's Family in Namibia: Suffering and Hope." Wartburg Seminary's Namibia Concerns Committee initiated advocacy training events in each of these locations in an effort to spread the story of the situation in southern Africa. The conferences addressed the following issues in workshops: "The Role of the Church in the Struggle", "The History of Namibia's Struggle for Freedom", "Ministers of Advocacy-Biblical Basis", "Divestment and Sanctions", "Solidarity and Material Aid", "United States Foreign Policy", "A Vision of Namibia after Independence", "Organizing the Local Congregation", "Political Advocacy", "Southwest Africa People's Organization", and "Naming South African Myths."

Namibians and South Africans were present in each location to share first hand the story of the suffering of their parents and grandparents, as well as the story of their daily struggle against the absurd injustice of the current apartheid system. Their story was also one of hope that the lives of their children would be different. Along with their children, the Rev. Kapi and the Rev. Emma Mujoro, pastors of the ELC in Namibia, spent ten days in Seattle prior to the conference speaking and preaching in several locations.

Also present were United States church-related resource persons whose concern about the injustice and brutality of apartheid has led them to ministries of advocacy on behalf of the suffering people of South Africa and Namibia.

The three days were filled with information and inspiration. We recieved much from the Southern Africans and the other resource people. What follows is an attempt to share with **Newsletter** readers some of the flavor of these Namibia Awareness events.



Ed May, Director of the Office on World Community for Lutheran World Ministries, talks with Dumisani Kumalo, Project Director for the American Committee on Africa.

In answer to the question, "Why are we here?", Dumisani Kumalo read the following notice from **Date-line: Namibia**:

#### LOST SON

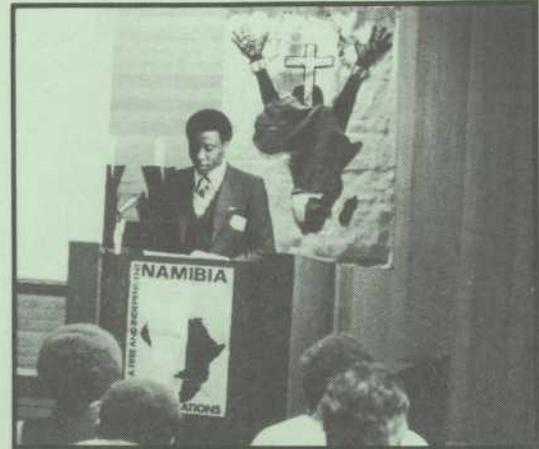
I am looking for a boy named Sakamo Nafingo. He was born in Oshihedi area. He was taken by South African Soldiers from his home on the 8th of August 1982 -- till today.

If anyone saw him, please help me with the information. Rumors say he is still alive, please help me.

Festus S. Ngeeshalulu

"Children disappear in Seattle, too. There are tragedies here, too. But when a child is lost here, it is not the Army, or the Marines that has taken the child. You can ask for help. You can call the police. But in Namibia, this parent can only advertise in the church newspaper.... That is why we are meeting here tonight."

-Dumisani Kumalo



Gabriel Uahengo, Namibian student at Augustana College, Rock Island, told of his experiences during the Kassinga Massacre in May, 1978.

"Your presence here is a great encouragement to us. Moments such as this are indeed precious to us southern Africans. These moments are to you a matter of Christian responsibility, an act of goodwill, and brotherly and sisterly love. But to us, these moments are literally a matter of life and death. For these moments address at their base the whole system of apartheid, a system that hovers over the masses of Namibia and South Africa, a system whose rules reduce the people to subhumans, a system that kills us inside ourselves. It requires that we be mere human animals and remain such until we descend into our graves, when natural death delivers us from this unnatural death."

-Gabriel Uahengo



Dumisani Kumalo, Kakena Nangula, SWAPO representative, and John Evenson of the LCA, were part of a panel discussion, addressing the "hard questions".

"Life for every Namibian is misery, especially for the people who live up in the war-torn north. They live with a curfew from dusk to dawn. As soon as the sun goes down and you go out of your house, they shoot at you. And they shoot to kill. They don't shoot just to warn you. And that's the kind of thing the people live with... They live in a kind of suspense. They don't know if they will live to see tomorrow. And they don't know what tomorrow will bring. Maybe the police will come and arrest the husband, arrest the wife, come and rape the wife, or take away the boys in the family, or accuse them of being terrorists or supporters of SWAPO."

-Kakena Nangula



Grace Lutheran Church in Des Moines, Washington, was the site of the Seattle conference. Here Pastor Ed Markquart and John Evenson discuss the day's events.

"Everything that we hate about Communism is what South Africa is doing to our brothers and sisters in Namibia. They have no right to vote, no freedom of movement, no freedom of speech or religion--all the conditions that we criticize in the Soviet Union are present in Namibia."

-John Evenson



When he wasn't stepping outside for a cigarette, Bill Johnston discussed U.S. foreign policy with conference participants.

"We must recognize that, aside from Pretoria, apart from South Africa itself, the chief obstacle for freedom for Namibia is the United States government."

-Bill Johnston



"If we view Christian mission as an opportunity to encounter each other, at which time we gain, then our motivation will be to save ourselves from the isolation which allows us to be a part of a society that oppresses people."

-David Mesenbring

David Mesenbring, Southern Africa Advocacy person for Lutheran World Ministries, listens during a plenary session.

Mokgenedi Tlhabenello, former Minister of Information and Publicity for SWAPO, told about the origins of that organization. "On December 10, 1959, women were demonstrating in Windhoek against the conditions of life in the "locations" and on that day (it was not the first time this had happened) the South Africans opened fire on these peaceful people who were simply carrying placards. Ten were killed, many were injured. This incident made people realize that ever since 1884, we had been told to register our grievances in a peaceful way. But every time we did this, we had been violently crushed. So, in 1959, a few young guys came together and said, We have now to seriously think in terms of that national organization we have been debating about."

-Mokgenedi Tlhabenello



Kakena Nangula visits with Mokgenedi Tlhabenello who, just a week earlier, had returned from a trip to Namibia. Thus, he was able to bring an up-to-date report from home.



In Los Angeles we enjoyed warm weather and sunshine. Talking "southern Africa" around an outdoor display table are Kumalo, Gloria Espeseth, one of the coordinators of the L.A. event, Sheryl Biegert of Namibia Concerns, Dr. Fran Burnford of the Southern Pacific (ALC) District Office, and Solveig Kjeseth of Namibia Concerns.

"The biggest problem that I've found in speaking about South Africa is that it is unimaginable. Sometimes things that I tell people are so hard for them to imagine. It is like me hearing that there are places in Minnesota where the wind chill is 50 below zero. I ask myself, what can that mean? People could never live under that! I know you have exactly the same feelings. I mean, when you hear about someone preaching in the pulpit, and then stepping down, and a bullet is shot into the pulpit And I say, "Hey, you can't call the police. It is the police who are doing it. . .

"When I talk about life in South Africa, it is very hard to comprehend. There are things in life that words cannot describe."

-Dumisani Kumalo



At the Los Angeles event in Christ Lutheran Church, Long Beach, Namibian student, Victor Tonchi, currently studying at UCLA under a SWAPO scholarship, shared his story of imprisonment and persecution.

"And God has given us a mouth in order to speak of what we have seen and what we have heard. We must speak to those who we also hope will have ears to hear and eyes to see, that they may become sensitive to the needs of our neighbors. God has given us hands which serve, and knees which bend in prayer so that our entire bodies are involved in what is going on at this seminar...."

-Ed May



A post-conference "wrap-up" session at St. Andrew's Lutheran in L.A. provided one last chance for resource people to soak up sunshine before heading back to winter weather.



Bill Johnston addressed the group meeting at Alzona Lutheran Church in Phoenix. Eighty five people attended in an area that, up till now, had shown little interest in southern Africa issues.



Pastor Emma Mujoro preached at the closing eucharist service in Seattle.

For the oppressed people of Namibia and South Africa, Christ has become incarnate to liberate them from slavery. It is our responsibility as Christians to work harder than ever. It is in our freedom, granted by Christ, that we should free others from apartheid. We are messengers of the liberation message of God. There is hope only because Christ is with us.

-Emma Mujoro

## DIVESTMENT ENCOURAGED ON LUTHERAN CAMPUSES

Divestment is an issue which has been actively pursued on college campuses in the past few years. Students are becoming more and more aware of the impact that such action can have upon the system of apartheid in South Africa, and are encouraging their respective educational institutions to remove their investments from those corporations doing business with or in South Africa. Several colleges have already divested all or part of their financial interests in such corporations, finding the impact to be both symbolic and economic against the South African system and at the same time not financially detrimental to the divesting institution. We have found such successes in this movement to be encouraging and we are now inviting Lutheran colleges throughout the U.S. to take similar action. The precedent set by colleges which have already divested, coupled with the ALC statement requiring divestment of its own funds, naturally leads us to believe that Lutheran colleges are primed for divestment action.

In light of this, we are beginning a project to establish an informative and encouraging network between the Lutheran colleges to help speed up the process of divestment on the various campuses. We will provide information concerning divestment and periodically report on the progress of the colleges. Suggestions we have made include showing films, holding information meetings on the conditions in South Africa, and perhaps arranging public debate on the topic of divestment.

In establishing this college network we would like to receive names of faculty and students interested in implementing a program of divestment on their campuses. Please write to us to inform us of interested persons at the various ALC-LCA schools.

Paul and Laurie Stumme-Diers  
College Coordinators

## STATES CONSIDER DIVESTMENT LEGISLATION

The Namibia Concerns Committee has been monitoring three divestment bills in state legislatures this spring.

In Iowa, Senate File 2085 calling for divestment of state pension funds from companies doing business in or with the Republic of South Africa was defeated in committee last week. Senator Charles Miller of Burlington, whom many considered to be in support of the measure, passed his vote, allowing the bill to fall one vote short of the needed majority. Although he claimed that the three year proposed timetable was too short, he did not choose to propose an amendment extending the timetable, so the bill did not reach the Senate floor.

However, similar bills in Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota are still alive. House Bill 0569 in Illinois has passed its third reading, and will be debated this spring. Minnesota has a Bill in process calling for "no further investment" in companies doing business in South Africa, scheduled for debate in March. Assembly Bill 834 in Wisconsin is presently in committee. A hearing on the bill held February 28th lasted over four hours. Among those who testified in support of the measure were Ruth Jorenby of the Southern Wisconsin ALCW and Rev. Ted Steege with the Lutheran Office on Public Policy in Wisconsin, both of whom are part of the "Namibia Newsletter Network!"

More information on these bills is available from Namibia Concerns at Wartburg (319/589-0326); Duffy Taylor, Southern Africa Advocacy Program, Lutheran World Ministries, in Minneapolis (612/330-1009); The Lutheran Office on Public Policy (608/255-7399) (for the Wisconsin bill); the Minnesota Anti-Apartheid Legislative Coalition at (612/870-1501); and the Committee for Illinois Divestment from South Africa at (312/492-7323).

## LUTHER HOSTS CONFERENCE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

Luther-Northwestern Theological Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota will be the site of a conference on Namibia and South Africa on April 27 and 28.

Entitled "A Conference on Southern Africa: Christian Perspectives on Apartheid," the conference will address the present situation in Southern Africa and the response of the Church to the issues involved.

Speakers will include Dr. Albert Pero of the Lutheran School of Theology in Chicago, Rev. Zedekiah Mujoro, a Namibian pastor now studying at Wartburg Theological Seminary in Dubuque, Iowa, Ms. Tandi Gcabashe, a South African with the American Friends Service Committee in Atlanta, Georgia, Mr. Chuck Lutz, Director of the Office of Church in Society of the American Lutheran Church, and others.

The conference will begin at 7:00 p.m. on Friday, April 27, and go through the next day. The registration cost is \$10.00 (\$5.00 for students and special circumstances). A meal package for Saturday at the cost of \$8.00.

If you are interested in attending, contact:

Jim Knapp-Langworthy  
c/o the Dean of Students Office  
Luther-Northwestern Seminary  
2481 Como  
St. Paul, MN 55108

## HELP---

The Southern Africa Awareness group at St. Olaf College is pressing the St. Olaf Board of Regents to examine its stock portfolio and to consider divestment from companies doing business in South Africa. (It is alarming to discover that St. Olaf's holdings in South African related companies have increased in the last few years--in spite of the ALC decision to divest.)

The student group is hoping to sponsor a debate on the issue, and is circulating a petition in support of their concern for divestment. They are asking for help, particularly from St. Olaf alumni or from persons whose children are connected with St. Olaf.

We encourage you to call President Harlan Foss (507/663-3000) or write to him at St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, 55057. We also urge you to contact a member of the St. Olaf Board of Regents, or write to the chair: Mr. Leonard Hoeft, 901 W. 94th Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 55420. The arguments for divestment are clear, both ethically and financially. If you need information about this issue, please contact Namibia Concerns at Wartburg.

Many colleges and universities have divested. It seems strange that our church related colleges should lag behind on this issue. (You "Oles" out there should know that Carleton began divestment in 1979...)

**Case Study:**  
**THE DIVESTMENT DEBATE AT LUTHER COLLEGE**

On Sunday evening, Feb. 5, 1984, the Spiritual Life Committee of Luther College, Decorah, Iowa sponsored a debate on divestment. Three members of Wartburg's Namibia Concerns Committee took part. Peter Kjeseth spoke in favor of the strategy of divestment in debate with David Rokke, Executive Secretary of the ALC Board of Trustees, who questioned the effectiveness of the divestment strategy. Maurice Wick, co-chairperson of Namibia Concerns, set up a literature table, discussed the issues with Luther students, and gathered names of persons wanting to receive the **Namibia Newsletter**. Thor Kjeseth assisted him.

About 110 students and faculty from Luther attended the debate chaired by the Rev. Karen Bockelman, Campus Pastor. The Luther College Treasurer, Frank Barth, indicated that the college has approximately \$1,300,000 invested in nine corporations which have some operation in South Africa. IBM holdings of about \$230,000 lead the list which includes City Corp., Ford, General Electric and General Motors. It came as a surprise to learn that all these South Africa related investments were made **after 1980** when the American Lutheran Church voted to divest from companies doing business in South Africa.

Luther College turns over its investments to a professional investment group with the understanding that Luther can monitor the work of the investment firm when moral issues are involved. So far, according to Frank Barth, the college has issued no instructions to the investment group concerning moral questions.

The debate was intended to clarify issues and give information to the Luther community in preparation for a discussion on divestment with the Luther College Regents.

Kjeseth argued that divestment is one of the most effective means of bringing economic and political pressure to bear on the U.S. government and on South Africa to work toward ending the apartheid system within South Africa and the illegal, military occupation of Namibia. Politicized black leaders like Desmond Tutu, Kleopas Dumeni, and Zephania Kameeta, argue that the only goal of any strategy must not be immediate economic gain for black laborers, but political freedom and self-determination for the majority black populations of South Africa and Namibia. The effectiveness of the divestment strategy may be seen, Kjeseth asserted, by how much money and effort the South Africa government expends to head off divestment legislation. Moreover, leaders in the black liberation movements see every divestment action as a significant gesture of solidarity from which they take encouragement.

David Rokke, clearly indicating his total opposition to the apartheid system, asserted that divestment is a largely futile strategy. We should rather approach the South African government through our government and work on the problems through people-to-people contact. Rev. Rokke expressed faith in the effectiveness of stockholders resolutions -- a view which Kjeseth challenged.

The Luther Regents decided to postpone action on a divestment resolution until their meeting on May 19-20. One student leader said, "It's going to be a long hard struggle, I'm afraid. And it shouldn't be, in a college related to the American Lutheran Church." A student from overseas expressed dismay, "I'm not optimistic. I understand that one of Luther's regents was on a business trip to South Africa even during the time of the regents' meeting."

The Regents and the college treasurer have expressed willingness to have their investment portfolio eva-

luated by experts in socially responsible investments.

Four groups at Luther, BIKO: Students for Positive Action, the Black Student Union, Namibia Concerns Group and the Luther College Congregation have submitted the following resolution to the Luther Regents:

**BE IT RESOLVED** that the Luther College Board of Regents instruct Investment Advisors Inc. to divest the Luther College portfolio of all stocks in U.S. Corporations involved in South Africa or to change to an investment firm which specializes in responsible investments which will carry through this action.



Namibia struggle for independence is portrayed in this banner by Wartburg student, Steve Meyer.

**WHAT'S HAPPENING IN ADVOCACY**

After Selma Ashipala spoke to his World History class at Hempstead High School in **Dubuque**, teacher Tom Determan asked the students how they wanted to respond. Within a few days, the students, led by Brian Gross, had launched a "Get the Lead Out -- Do Something!" campaign. They have gathered 600 pencils for shipment to students in Selma's refugee camp in Angola.

"People in **Eagle Grove** Iowa aren't asking 'What is a "Namibia" anymore ... they're discussing divestment!" commented Marvel Varland who had circulated a petition following services at Evangelical Lutheran Church. Her efforts quickly became ecumenical. Baptist, Jewish, Catholic and "none of the above" persons joined Marvel in a petition drive that garnered 400 signatures which were delivered in person to their representatives in the Iowa State House. One Eagle Grove woman, in her late 80's, telephoned thirty-seven people to ask them to come to their party caucus to vote on the South Africa resolution. The resolution was passed in at least seven caucuses, both Republican and Democratic, in the Eagle Grove area and was also placed on the agenda for discussion at the Fort Dodge Conference meeting.

(Continued from page 2)

#### Question V

How do you feel about IMF loans to South Africa in view of their human rights record?

The candidates supported current restriction on International Monetary Fund loans to countries which practice apartheid. Glenn strongly affirmed the finding of Congress that "the practice of apartheid results in severe constraints on labor and capital mobility and other highly inefficient labor and capital supply rigidities which contribute to balance of payments deficits in direct contradiction of the goals of the International Monetary Fund."

#### Question VI

How do you evaluate the effectiveness of the divestment movement as a means of bringing pressure on South Africa to abolish the apartheid system and to withdraw from Namibia?

Several candidates responded to this question by reiterating their support for the Export Administration Act (HR 3231), especially the **Gray Provision** in the Act which calls for an end to new U.S. corporate investment in South Africa and the **Solarz Provision** which mandates fair employment practices for U.S. corporations in South Africa, prohibits commercial bank loans to the South African Government and bans the import of South African gold coins.

Hart articulated the near-consensus among the candidates when he evaluated divestment on the part of universities and other institutions as an important tool for self-education and for "influencing the private sector and elected officials to exert their own leverage on the South African government."

#### Question VII

The Clark Amendment continues to prohibit covert U.S. action in Angola. What stand do you take on attempts to repeal this amendment? What is your assessment of the role of Savimbi/UNITA in southern Angola? What do you think U.S. policy toward Angola should be?

All the candidates opposed the repeal of the Clark Amendment. Hart called for the termination of U.S. support of Jonas Savimbi and his UNITA rebels who play into the hand of South Africa and for official recognition of the government of Angola.

#### Question VIII

How do you evaluate the new constitution which the South African voters recently adopted under the leadership of the Botha government?

The candidates together challenged the value and legitimacy of the new constitution as a step toward dismantling the apartheid system. Hart charged: "at best the provisions of the new constitution are stopgap measures that will not come close to addressing the inequity built into that society."

#### Question IX

During the years Dick Clark served as our Senator from Iowa, we were impressed with his work as chairman of the African Sub-Committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. How would you plan to make use of his expertise in foreign policy, and specifically African policy, when you set up your new administration?

All the candidates respect Dick Clark. According to McGovern, American prestige and respectability in Africa were never higher than when UN Ambassador Andrew Young and Senator Dick Clark were in office. He could see Dick Clark either as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs or as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

The answers to the questionnaire, coming as they did only from Democratic candidates, clearly highlight

the difference between Democratic and Republican policy on southern Africa -- unless the Reagan administration shifts or softens its line before the November election. An early indicator of where the country is going may come soon when the House-Senate Conference Committee goes to work on the provisions of the Export Administration Act (H.R. 3231). The future direction of United States policy toward Southern Africa will perhaps be signaled by what happens to the **Berman provision**, which reinstates Carter administration controls on exports to the South African military and police, and the **Wolpe amendment**, which expands nuclear non-proliferation controls. The signs are clear that a redirecting of policy is in order after three years of "constructive engagement".

#### CAUCUS RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED IN IOWA

On February 20, 1984, political caucuses met throughout the state of Iowa. I attended the Democratic caucus of the 14th precinct in Dubuque, Iowa, along with many of my classmates. One of our main concerns was the acceptance of resolutions concerning Namibia. It was important to get these resolutions accepted so that they could be sent to the Committee on the County Platform to be incorporated into the platform for the county convention. We have hopes that these resolutions will make the long journey to the National Convention of the Democratic Party where they can become a part of the National Platform.

From our local caucus three resolutions concerning Namibia were approved and sent to the Platform Committee. I was elected as a member of the Platform Committee. At the committee meeting I was delighted to discover that many other precincts had also approved similar resolutions concerning Namibia. These resolutions addressed free elections in Namibia, the withdrawal of South African intrusion from Namibia and sanctions to be implemented against South Africa until compliance with UNSC resolution 435 has been reached. At least 11 precincts had passed the resolution calling for one person--one vote elections in South Africa. The County Platform sub-committee on Human Rights and International Affairs is currently in the process of condensing the resolutions into one solid plank in hopes of having it accepted into the platform for the Dubuque County convention. Please keep Namibia and the committee in your prayers.

-Mark Sofio

(Editors' Note: Namibia Concerns sent sample resolutions on Namibia and South Africa to over six hundred Iowans before the Caucuses.)

Our work has expanded almost beyond our capacity! We now share time on two loaned micro-computers, both inadequate for the job. The mailing list alone has over 4,000 names, an increase of 30% in the last six months. We did about 200 thank you letters in the last six weeks. As the network grows and the need for specialized mailings increases, we find our tools inefficient and restricting.

What we really need is a mini-computer or a small mainframe computer "friendly" enough so volunteers in the office can operate it. Any ideas?

(Continued from page 7)

More than 900 books were donated by the **Westfield School District** in Wisconsin. Mary Jean Thalacker wrote: "It was a very hot day when the four of us picked them up from the Oxford Grade School. We enjoyed it anyway, and when we had loaded and unloaded all the books, we went out to eat together." Later about a dozen people, including Pastor Arlyn Olson, worked to pack and ship the books. So far they have shipped seventy bags. The remaining books are packed, but money for shipment is lacking. Can you help with this?

(In a letter dated March 1, 1984, from Paulinum Seminary, Englehard !Noabeb- whom many will remember as a student at Wartburg last year- tells us "the textbooks sent by Arlyn's congregation have started arriving...it seems more are arriving everyday....I will tell you in the next letter how many more have arrived.")

From **Soldiers Grove**, Wisconsin, Pastor Mark Petersen reports that thirty five congregations have responded to that District's Namibia Committee request that each church designate one person to keep the congregation informed on Namibia issues. Information will go from the District Namibia Committee to the congregation's Namibia representative---to keep the issue alive and to be a "network for action" on matters of immediate concern. It would be great if such a network existed throughout the whole Church!

In **Blanchardville**, Wisconsin, home of Ruth Jorenby, tireless worker on behalf of the Namibian people, fifty one boxes of school books were packed during December and January. The congregations of Blanchardville Lutheran, York Memorial, Trinity Lutheran (all in Blanchardville) and Hollandale Lutheran in Hollandale, Wisconsin, raised \$872 to ship these books to Martin Luther High School in Namibia.



Ruth Jorenby, Namibia Advocate, Southern Wisconsin.

From Immanuel Lutheran, in rural **Carthage**, Illinois, came a generous gift with the following note: "May this gift and many like it, along with prayers of Christians everywhere, help to bring forth the great day of independence in Namibia."

Kathy Beck, one of the Wartburg "Namibia Nuts," has been educating the people in the **Worland**, Wyoming, area for several years. Recently she called from **Richmond**, California, where her husband has accepted a new call. Kathy didn't even break her stride: "Please send me a couple of films. I have four Sunday programs on Namibia lined up!"

The **South Pacific District** has recently approved a district level task force for advocacy on behalf of Namibia/South Africa. Gloria Espeseth, co-chair person of the January Namibia Awareness Event in Los Angeles, has been appointed to convene the committee. For information call Gloria at 805/644-7091.

We do not want our chains made comfortable,  
we want them removed.

-Bishop Desmond Tutu  
South Africa Council of Churches

#### EXPERTS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA SPEAK ON CHRISTIAN ADVOCACY

Jean Sindab, Executive Director of the Washington Office on Africa (WOA), and David Messenbring, Lutheran World Ministries, spoke to the "Christian Advocacy" class at Wartburg Seminary on January 12. One issue of focus for the class was pending legislation calling for withdrawal of state funds from companies doing business with the apartheid regime in South Africa. In addressing that concern, Ms. Sindab described the function of WOA, a church-sponsored lobbying organization that concentrates on a responsible U.S. foreign policy toward southern Africa.

Ms. Sindab emphasized the cruciality of lobbying in political advocacy and indicated the WOA's efforts in lobbying had played a vital role in the recent passing of the Export Administration Act (HR 3231) in the U.S. House of Representatives. That Act contained four important South African provisions: the **Gray Provision**, ending new corporate investment, the **Solarz provision**, prohibiting commercial bank loans and the import of Krugerrands; the **Berman provision**, reinstating controls on exports to the South African military and police; and the **Wolpe provision**, expanding nuclear non-proliferation controls.

Ms. Sindab explained that lobbying involves not only generating legislation and convincing a congressperson to endorse it, as in the **Berman provision**, but also supporting a bill that has already been introduced in congress. That entails proper timing and efficient networking. Through WOA, several organizations (including the ALC and the LCA) are contacted and asked to have their members write and call representatives concerning the bill. Such personal contact with representatives really makes a difference, maintained Ms. Sindab, especially if the congresspeople know little about the issue and vote on the basis of the opinion of their golf or luncheon partner.

When asked how WOA could be helpful to us in Iowa, Ms. Sindab said her office could supply us with facts of where investments are in South Africa and the pros and cons of divestment. To effectively lobby in Iowa, she said, it is of utmost importance that we know detailed facts for both sides of the argument. For example, faced with the argument that \$300 million of Iowa's retirement fund would be lost in divestment, we need to be informed about the Alternative Investment Plan where the \$300 million would be safely reinvested in socially responsible firms.

Ms. Sindab emphasized that it is our social responsibility to be advocates for divestment in South Africa; anyone in South Africa who would even try to advocate divestment could be imprisoned, or even sentenced to death.

Bonnie Nash

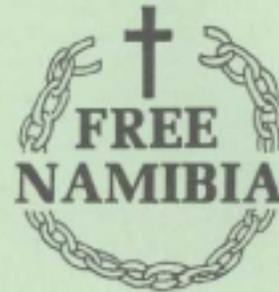
#### **GWEN LISTER CHARGED**

It started last May at Jan Smut's Airport in Johannesburg South Africa. There, Gwen Lister, a political journalist for the **Windhoek Observer**, was detained and searched by security police on the pretense of a "telephonic search warrant." They consequently seized documents that Gwen had acquired at the United Nation's Paris conference on Namibia. One of the documents taken by Security Police was the Southern Wisconsin ALCW resolution in support of the suffering people of Namibia. Last month she was finally charged by the South African government for the possession of banned documents, failure to declare them, and importing them. These charges are in violation of South Africa's customs and excise act, the publications act, and the internal security act. The latter carries a penalty of three years imprisonment. Gwen's trial is set for May 7 in Kempton Park Magistrates Court near Johannesburg.

Gwen Lister is a co-founder of the **Windhoek Observer**, the only independent English language paper in Namibia. Gwen with Hannes Smith started the paper after resigning from the **Windhoek Advertiser** in 1978. Their resignation followed instructions that they were to adopt a stance favoring the South African-created political grouping, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA). The paper, under Smith's editorship, has hit hard at the high level corruption and the horrors that South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia has brought. Gwen's recent articles in the **Windhoek Observer** have been searching analyses of the Multi Party Conference, South Africa's most recent attempt to set up a compliant government in Namibia.

The charges against Lister are hard to accept in our own view of freedom of the press. This is especially true when many of the documents that she is charged with possessing were not banned until after they were confiscated from her. Others seem to have been banned by the government -- yet no one was notified of the fact. South Africa appears to be carrying out a campaign to silence any organization that criticizes their policies. How Gwen Lister's case will end is impossible to tell. We can only remember and support her while she undergoes this difficult time, especially on May 7th when she goes on trial.

John Cawkins



**Namibia Newsletter**, printed in Dubuque, Iowa.  
Editors: Solveig Kjeseth, Dan Heath, Peter  
Kjeseth, Maurice Wick, Kathy Gerking



**Namibia Newsletter**  
Wartburg Seminary  
333 Wartburg Place  
Dubuque, IA 52001

Non-Profit Org.  
U.S. Postage  
**PAID**  
Permit No. 24  
Dubuque, IA