REPATRIATION PROGRAM
FINALLY TO BEGIN

The return to Namibia of more than 50,000 refugees, originally scheduled to begin by May 15th, is finally slated to start on June 12th. This repatriation has been "on hold" for several weeks, putting in jeopardy the timetable for the holding of elections which are to lead to Namibian independence.

The decision to delay the return of Namibian refugees had been made by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, apparently with the approval of the "Three R Committee," for several reasons.

First, the continued campaign of harassment and intimidation of civilians in the north, led the Commissioner to conclude that it "would be unwise to attempt to resettle refugees in an atmosphere of terror."

A second problem was the continuing delay in the revocation of racist and discriminatory laws. According to UN Resolution 435, all such laws were to be off the books before the resettlement process began. The South African appointed Administrator General had refused to comply.

Other stumbling blocks, erected by South Africa, include a qualifying of the "blanket amnesty" that had been promised returning refugees, the proposal that refugees must produce proof of citizenship, the insistence that South Africa officials be involved in the processing of refugees, including, perhaps, requiring medical examinations for everyone.

On June 6th, in the face of a growing impatience, and a concern that the entire peace process would collapse, agreement was announced between the UN Special Representative, Martti Ahtisaari and the South African appointed Administrator General, Louis Pinaar.

Limited repeal of racial laws promised

Some, but not all, of the discriminatory laws will be repealed. Specifically revoked are AG 9, AG 27 and the infamous Terrorism Act, all of which provided for the indefinite and indiscriminate detention of Namibians. In addition, other laws which prevented public gatherings and hindered the formation of opposition movements were to be scrapped.

(continued on page 3)
"THOSE WHO WEEP AS THEY GO OUT... WILL COME BACK SINGING FOR JOY."

It is difficult to imagine the deep emotions that must fill the hearts of our Namibian friends during these days of "homecoming."

Joy, certainly! "The kids are coming home!" was already the cry back on April 1st, when the homecoming became only another tragic massacre. But this time the return is to be duly monitored. The UN will be there, along with moms and dads and wives and families!

Personal happiness will be coupled with national rejoicing. Planeloads of returning Namibians will be the most tangible sign yet that independence is really coming!

But in the hearts of Namibians, there must also be feelings of uncertainty, and apprehension, and sadness. What will the returnee be like? How will family relationships be rebuilt? Certainly the child who fled into the bush at age 13, who has been raised in refugee camps and foreign countries, and who now returns as a young adult of 24, will not be the same as was remembered, as was imagined, all these years. There will have been many changes. Babies have been born in exile, other people have died, without ever seeing their country again.

And how to provide homes and jobs and education for the returning exiles?? Already Namibians are being asked to open their homes and their hearts, to share what little they have so that those who are coming home will feel welcome.

The "long walk to freedom is not over." The struggle to build a new nation is just beginning. As is apparent from other stories in this Newsletter, South Africa will not withdraw graciously. The Namibians will have to reclaim their country, issue by issue, inch by inch.

So let us share in their rejoicing! Let us sing hymns of praise for the return of their loved ones. But let us also recommit ourselves to the task. Let us use our energies and resources to help them build a nation where justice and freedom reign!

Psalm 126
Paraphrased by Pastor Zephania Kameeta

When the day comes on which our victory will shine like a torch in the night, it will be like a dream. We will laugh and sing for joy. Then the other nations will say about us, "The Lord did great things for them." Indeed, he is doing great things for us: that is why we are happy in our suffering.

Lord, break the chains of humiliation and death just as on that glorious morning when you were raised. Let those who weep as they sow the seeds of justice and freedom, gather the harvest of peace and reconciliation. Those who weep as they go out as instruments of your love will come back singing with joy, as they will witness the disappearance of hate and the manifestation of your love in your world.
"THREE R COMMITTEE" TO COORDINATE RESETTLEMENT

Certainly some of the busiest people in Namibia these days are members and staff of the "Three R Committee" Chaired by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, with the task of "Repatriation, Resettlement and Reconstruction" for 50,000 to 70,000 refugees is a committee formed by the member churches of the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN).

Functioning as the indigenous partner of the UN, the RRR-Committee is to provide suitable reception centers, arrange temporary living accommodations, provide medical care, food, and clothing, and meet educational and spiritual needs for the returning refugees...a formidable task, indeed.

But Immanuel Dumeni, Coordinator of the Programme, is encouraged. "Our confidence was boosted," Dumeni says, "by the positive response of the churches and the people of Namibia. The immediate offerings of services and money boosted our morale. The success of RRR lies in the Namibian people as a whole, not in the hands of a few RRR officers or committee members. It is clear that we are involved in a nationwide program that has impressive backing from the Namibian people."

Namibians will enter the country via several entry points: refugees will be flown in at Windhoek, Grootfontein and Ondangwa. They will come by truck to Ruacana, Oshikango, Rundu and Katima Mulilo, all points along the northern border. From these entry points they will go to various church centers where they will remain until they can be permanently resettled.

Among the returnees will be 15,000 children, 3,000 of whom are under 11 years of age. Three locations have been identified as special centers where children will remain for up to twelve months. Plans are being made to provide for their schooling with as little interruption as possible.

Unfortunately left untouched was AG 8, which provides for racially determined "ethnic" administrations under the South African imposed governmental system. Only a month ago, UN spokesman, Cedric Thornberry, had stated that "AG 8 is based entirely on racially discriminatory principles...is unacceptable and must go before the first returnees are repatriated."

Now, however, the UN has compromised, announcing that they would accept the limited repeal of discriminatory laws that directly affected the election process and leave it to an independent Namibian legislature to "clean up" the rest.

A significant element, however, is that the political base for the South African backed DTA party (the main opposition to SWAPO) lies in these "ethnic administrations." Leaving them intact is a thinly disguised setback for SWAPO.

Long-awaited amnesty promised

In addition to the repeal of discriminatory laws, the Administrator General agreed to abide by a 1979 agreement with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees that returning exiles would be granted a blanket amnesty.

Responding to this news, Lutheran Bishop Kleopas Dumeni said "The issuing of the amnesty is good news, but what we need now is to see the amnesty in practice—to see our sons and daughters arrive peacefully."

(For Bishop Dumeni and his wife, Aino, the return of exiles will bring a special joy. Their oldest child, Josiah, disappeared at the time of the Kassinga massacre in 1978. It was a year before he could get word to his grieving family that he had not been killed. So the Dumeni's share personally the hope of a safe return for the exiles.)

Massive "airlift" planned

Returning refugees will be flown into Namibia at a rate of 1400 per day, six days a week, for six weeks, an undertaking that will strain the energies and facilities of the Three R Committee and the welcoming churches.

NEW ADDRESS FOR COUNCIL OF CHUCHES

The Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) has moved to new offices in Katatura. Their address is:

8521 Mashego Street
Katatura 9000
Namibia
SOUTH AFRICAN ADMINISTRATORS IN NAMIBIA IN ANTI-435 PLOT

Windhoek: June 11, 1989—Leaked minutes of a South West Africa National Security Council meeting held last September reveal that officials of the South West Africa Police and the Administrator General's office schemed to subvert the goal of "free and fair" elections in the United Nations' plan for Namibia's independence.

The minutes, made public by "The Namibian" newspaper on June 7, have caused a furor in Windhoek. The person slated to run the upcoming independence elections, Mr. A.G. Visser, was a member of the National Security Council.

The UN plan specifically requires that the South African Administrator General (AG) will act "impartialy" during the transition period, yet the minutes show that members of the DTA and other anti-SWAPo political parties, the chiefs of police and army, and high ranking civil servants now connected with the AG's office were involved in plans to prevent SWAPO, the Namibian liberation movement, from winning the independence elections. Plans included the development of a "propoganda strategy" to prevent the state-run radio and television from reporting statements favorable to SWAPO.

The AG's office has carried on a well-coordinated campaign accusing the United Nations of being partial towards SWAPO, while continuing to claim, to the amazement of most Namibians, that Pienaar himself is impartial. Pienaar is a native South African citizen appointed by State President P.W. Botha—to whom he is solely responsible.

According to "The Namibian," the leaked minutes bring into question the role of the Administrator General, his staff, his police and especially his chief election officer.

NEW SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT: STONE NAMIBIANS

Onipa: June 4, 1989

Stoning children is the latest tactic of South Africa's occupation troops in Namibia, according to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the north. A young boy was tending goats at Onankali this week when a white soldier threw a stone from a yellow "bakkie" (pickup), hitting him hard in the face. The boy, Risto Namemne, was admitted to Onandjokwe Lutheran Hospital with a broken nose.

CHURCHES FORBIDDEN TO MEET NAMIBIAN REFUGEES AT ENTRY POINTS

Windhoek: June 12, 1989—The airlift of more than 40,000 Namibian refugees started today despite continued fear for their safety from patrols of the South African police.

Refugees will not be met at the airports by Namibian church officials as originally planned. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees has bowed to South African pressure forbidding the presence of the church at the five official entry points. Church leaders, mindful of the intimidation to returning refugees during the Zimbabwean conflict, had an agreement with UNHCR that they would be permitted to welcome the returnees, but South Africa's Administrator General vetoed the arrangement. The churches will continue to be the primary agency running the reception and resettlement camps.

There is continued fear for the safety of the returning exiles, most of whom are supporters of the liberation movement, SWAPO. The Lutheran Church in northern Namibia said June 10 that people are "still living in fear" with Koevoet, Pretoria's brutal counter-insurgency unit, "still operating in their old way."

"We are particularly concerned about what will happen after the returnees leave the reception centres and UN protection and return to their home places," said the Rev. Matti Amadhila, Assistant to the Bishop of Namibia's largest church.

Namibian children, herding their family's cattle, have become targets for South African bullies. Photo by John Liebenberg
A Koevoet soldier, brutal symbol of South African power.

KOEVOET STILL ROAMING
THE COUNTRYSIDE

Long accused of the harassment, torture and random killing of civilians, the soldiers known as Koevoet (crowbar, in Afrikaans) are the most hated in Namibia. Yet, in contempt of UN Resolution 435, which calls for the confinement to base and the demobilization of the South African Defense Forces, Koevoet continues to haunt the Namibian countryside.

South Africa accomplished this simply by instructing the Koevoet soldiers to remove their badges and be incorporated into the South West Africa Police Force (SWAPOL)! Nearly half of the 6000 member "police" force now consists of Koevoet! And, indeed, the founder of Koevoet, General Hans Dreyer, has been appointed to head the entire police force in the north of Namibia!

The ranks of Koevoet are filled with black Namibians, poor and uneducated, led by white Afrikaners. Once described by a Namibian High Court Judge as a group of "mechanised killers," it has been said that their record for brutality surpasses the more infamous atrocities of Idi Amin's reign in Uganda.

That Koevoet is allowed to continue to operate, thinly disguised as SWAPOL, is a cause of major concern. In Ovamboland, a student boycott demanding that Koevoet be truly disbanded, has closed virtually all the schools.

UN MUST SUPERVISE—NOT NEGOTIATE,
SAY BRITISH OBSERVERS

Windhoek: June 2, 1989
British Member of Parliament Peter Pike and human rights lawyer John Macdonald QC said here today that the UN peace plan for Namibia is in jeopardy because of the activities of South Africa's counter insurgency unit, Koevoet.

"The United Nations' role is to supervise, not negotiate," they said. "We expect UNTAG to take a much tougher line in the future."

The two men were in the country to gauge the effectiveness of UN supervision over the transition to independence. Their findings were damaging. "People are frightened of the police," they reported. They met forty headmen from villages in the Endola region who all spoke of continuing police harassment.

"We asked how many of them had themselves been beaten by Koevoet. Twenty-six got to their feet. Many showed us the scars they still bore."

"On Tuesday afternoon we stood outside a homestead close to Endola with a young man of 25 who showed us the hole where he had been buried head first in the sand and beaten by Koevoet," they said. "In just five hours we verified five separate incidents of serious misconduct by the police, three of which happened this week. We saw evidence which would satisfy the most stringent standards of any court of law."

Pike and Macdonald called for UN police to accompany all South African police on patrol, and said an increase in the number of UN police monitors (above the current limit of 1000) may be necessary. They called on police to stop the use of Casspir armoured personnel carriers, with Koevoet to be "withdrawn at once as the first stage in their rehabilitation."
SOUTH AFRICA ACCUSED OF EXECUTING SWAPO

Forensic experts on two continents have examined photos of victims of the April 1-5 massacre in the north of Namibia, and have concluded that South African-led security forces probably executed captured SWAPO soldiers.

This grim possibility was first suggested by reporter, Simon O'Dwyer-Russell of the conservative London Sunday Telegraph, who, with photographer, Judah Passow, were among the few international journalists to actually go to the north of Namibia to see for themselves what was happening.

In a visit to the Oshakati police mortuary on April 6th, the reporters noticed the "clean head wounds" of the dead men. "We were immediately suspicious because the bodies bore none of the signs of soldiers killed by heavy caliber weapons," said O'Dwyer-Russell. "Instead, all had single wounds to the head. . . On two of the bodies, I could clearly see spherical areas of blackening around the bullet wounds. . . . When I asked if they had surrendered before being shot, one of the black Koevoet soldiers said simply, 'What does it matter? They are SWAPO and they are dead. That is all that matters.' "

Dr. Iain West, head of Forensic Medicine at Guy's Hospital in London, supports the execution theory. "By the photographic evidence I have seen, this pattern of wounding is not compatible with death in a bush gun battle. I would anticipate more wounds, much more randomly distributed around the bodies of the victims. . . . the pattern we see here is individuals shot in the back of the head or neck, often when they have been forced into a kneeling position."

Joseph Quirk, a ballistics specialist with the New York City Police Department agreed that the pictures indicated clear evidence of execution-style killings.

While these stories were widely reported in South African and British newspapers, they were ignored by the American press. The television program, South Africa Now, covered the story, with films of the bodies, and of South African troops burying victims in mass graves. Their production was shown to congressional aides and journalists by Senator Paul Simon, chair of the Senate sub-committee on Africa, but instead of worldwide outrage against these atrocities, there is only a deafening silence.

John Liebenberg, courageous photographer whose photos help to "make real" the Namibian situation, narrowly escaped death on Sunday night, May 7th, when a would-be assassin fired several shots into his car. Liebenberg has been a frequent target of harassment and death threats in the past, but this attempt illustrates how serious South Africa is about silencing its opponents.

Lured by an anonymous phone call telling of a "bomb explosion" in Katatura (the "black" township outside Windhoek), Liebenberg set off to cover the story with journalist Heidi von Egidi of The Namibian newspaper. As they approached Katatura, a car pulled alongside. As he looked over, Liebenberg could see the flash of gunfire. At least three shots were fired, missing the journalists by a matter of centimeters.

Lieberenberg attempted to report the incident to U.N. police, but their office was closed. He did make a report to the South West Africa Police (SWAPOL) but has little confidence in their willingness to investigate. . . . on the wall of the police station, as Liebenberg made his report, was a derogatory cartoon of himself.

S.A. RE-IMPOSES EMERGENCY

Announcing that the government still "faced a revolutionary onslaught," President P.W. Botha renewed the three-year-old State of Emergency for another twelve months. More than 30,000 people have been detained, usually without charge during the past three years.

The decision to extend the "emergency" was a disappointment to internal and international human rights groups who had hoped that it would be repealed in anticipation of September elections.
MONITORING THE ROAD . . .  

The Agony of April

"We thought the nightmare was over, but now it has begun all over."

Pastor Thomas Ndiwakalunga as he worked to dig a grave for the bodies of 22 SWAPO soldiers killed on April 1st.

For the people of Namibia, April 1 was to have been the day of deliverance. After 75 years of suffering under South Africa's apartheid colonial rule, the blue-helmeted peacekeeping forces of the United Nations had arrived to monitor the last steps toward freedom and independence.

Under UN supervision, the long war between SWAPO and South Africa's occupation army was to end. South African soldiers were to go home, and free elections were to pave the way for a democratic Namibian government. Namibians expected April 1st to be a joyous day, a day to thank God for the long-awaited blessing of peace and freedom.

But there was to be no peace. Instead heavy fighting broke out near the northern border. South Africa blamed SWAPO for the violence, saying that hundreds of SWAPO "terrorists" had invaded in violation of the UN independence plan. South Africa insisted that its soldiers be allowed to repel the "invaders," and the UN, with only a handful of its peacekeeping forces in place, agreed to South Africa's demand.

Joy turned to terror as the South African army, now fighting under the UN flag, killed SWAPO fighters and civilians alike in what one South African commander described as a "turkey shoot." By the time the fighting slackened, over 300 lives had been lost and the freedom plan for Namibia was in shambles. From Dateline: Namibia, June 1989.

What did happen in April? Certainly the situation was confusing for those trying, from the outside, to piece the story together. Perhaps it would be helpful to look in detail at events of that first week, in terms of how they were first reported and then, in terms of what we learned later.

April 1—The world press announced that hundreds of heavily armed SWAPO guerrillas had crossed into Namibia and fierce fighting was occurring with South African Defence Force troops. Casualties were reported as "heavy."

Later we learned: There were a number of confrontations on April 1st, in several areas along the border. For example, eight persons were killed by helicopter gunfire at Onanghulo, in eastern Ovamboland, as they were sitting at an outdoor cafe, killed allegedly for wearing SWAPO T-shirts; a large group of SWAPO soldiers was attacked at Okahenge, near the center of the Angola border. They were apparently killed as they were eating lunch; further to the west, near Ruacana, 38 "guerrillas" were reported killed. A South West Africa Police (SWAPOL) official reported 30 "contacts" on April 1.
Several questions remain: Apparently both South Africa and the UN knew there were SWAPO troops on the Angolan border preparing to join their comrades already in Namibia on April 1st.

★ Why did the UN do nothing to prevent the incursion?

★ Did the SWAPO troops simply walk into a large scale ambush?

★ Why were SADF troops not confined to base on April 1? Terms of the UN agreement specified that SWAPOL would be "limited to the carrying of small arms in the normal performance of their duties." Yet the forces that opened fire on April 1st were traveling in armoured troop carriers with mounted large caliber machine guns.

The claim by South Africa, that the SWAPO soldiers were discovered by a "routine police patrol" out searching for car thieves, became ludicrous when it was revealed that SWAPOL was patrolling in heavily armed casspirs!

Eyewitnesses reported SWAPO troops were attempting to find the UN peacekeeping forces (UNTAG) in order to deliver their weapons and be confined to bases during the coming weeks. Not a single report, even those coming from South Africa, indicated that the SWAPO troops had initiated the fighting. The report of the UN Secretary General indicated that SWAPOL had crossed into Namibia "without hostile intent." Yet, they immediately were condemned for breaking the ceasefire. The report of the UN Secretary General indicated that SWAPOL had crossed into Namibia "without hostile intent." Yet, they immediately were condemned for breaking the ceasefire.

April 2—The world press reports statements by Pik Botha, that this action by SWAPO could jeopardize the "peace accord." Margaret Thatcher, in Namibia on April 1st, strongly condemns "the breach by SWAPO" and, in a meeting with UN Special Representative, Martti Ahtisaari, gives full support to Botha’s announcement that six SADF battalions, including the infamous Battalion 101, had been activated in the north.

Lutheran Bishop, Kleopas Dumeni challenged the decision to authorize the use of SADF troops simply on the basis of South Africa’s reports, and asked Ahtisaari to come north to see for himself what was happening.

Later we learned that, with fewer than a thousand UNTAG soldiers in Namibia on April 1, and almost none of them in the north, Ahtisaari had quickly accepted the South African version of the so-called "invasion" and, frightened by the threat that South Africa would "call the whole thing off," authorized their troops to "stabilize the situation."

Thus, to the utter amazement of observers, the very same soldiers who have terrorized northern Namibia for years were again rampaging through the countryside, this time in the name of the United Nations. "Hunting season is open again," was reportedly the cry of Koevoet members.

How ironic that the worst bloodshed in the twenty-three year war should happen under UN supervision!

... to the utter amazement of observers, the very same soldiers who have terrorized northern Namibia for years were again rampaging through the countryside, this time in the name of the United Nations.

April 3—World press reports still hold SWAPO forces responsible for breaking the ceasefire. At the United Nations, the Security Council held a "closed door" meeting at the request of Margaret Thatcher, who continued her denouncement of SWAPO. The Security Council called it a "flagrant violation" of the Peace Accord, and supported the UN decision to call for SADF troops to respond.

What we know now is that since SWAPO was never a part of the Peace Accord negotiations conducted between Cuba, Angola, and South Africa, with the U.S. and Russia as observers, it was perhaps unrealistic to believe the agreements would go smoothly. Significantly, on March 22nd, SWAPO had requested a meeting with the UN command in Namibia to clarify the procedure by which SWAPO soldiers inside Namibia would turn in their weapons and be demobilized. The UN had not responded to the request.

April 4—World press continues to refer to SWAPO as "invaders" from Angola. Christopher Wren states in his
While the bodies of white soldiers killed in the fighting in northern Namibia were being ceremoniously flown home for burial, black soldiers were being dumped in mass graves. Taken in trucks from the Oshakati mortuary to a burial site on scrubland next to a shanty town, the bodies were thrown into a pit by black members of the security force, while their white colleagues looked on.

New York Times article that there were 1,200 guerrillas who had crossed the border. He reports that 129 SWAPO and 18 police had been killed.

South Africa continues to refer to a “broken agreement” by SWAPO to remain behind the 16th parallel in Angola.

What we know now is that the journalist’s accounts of what was happening during those first days of April were being written in Windhoek, five hundred miles away from the scene, and most significantly, according to an admission by Christopher Wren, were prepared from “intelligence briefings” provided by South Africa! Reporters had not been allowed into the combat zones to verify the information!

Secondly, the purported “breach of agreement” by SWAPO—the “breach” which supposedly justified the unleashing of South African troops against SWAPO and civilians—does not appear to exist!

The stipulation that SWAPO should remain behind the 16th parallel was stated in a secret protocol, signed in Geneva last August... so secret that on April 8th the UN spokesperson in Namibia indicated that even the UN was not officially aware of that provision!

Writing in London’s The Guardian, David Beresford says, “The implications of an absence of any agreement by SWAPO to withdraw behind the 16th Parallel are huge. It would mean that responsibility for the present bloodshed would be attributable to the side which first broke the ceasefire....There is considerable evidence to suggest that Pretoria’s forces first opened fire, and SWAPO guerrillas were caught unprepared, having entered the territory thinking they would be protected by the ceasefire.”

Unfortunately, by the time this type of information began to appear, the U.S. press was no longer interested in the issue of Namibia. Even the revelation of prisoners apparently executed by South Africa was not considered newsworthy.

An editorial in The Nation calls it “a propaganda coup... a triumph for South Africa, whose purpose all along has been to subvert the possibility of a SWAPO victory at the polls in November.”

What have the past weeks taught us—we who are committed to “monitoring the road to freedom” along which our sisters and brothers are walking?

Certainly, we have learned that vigilance at every step will be required. The treachery of evil is boundless. We must weigh every report carefully. We must watch every action of South Africa with a critical eye.

After decades of illegal occupation, broken promises and barbaric behavior, any move made by South Africa should be treated with skepticism. Certainly that has been the lesson for us, and hopefully, for the UN during the past two months.

“There could be no greater tragedy for a country which has witnessed a trust betrayed in the past and which has now put its trust in the UN and the international community, if that trust were once again broken. The international community has a responsibility to act firmly and decisively with all the power and resources at its disposal to restore peace and bring the full implementation of Resolution 435.”

Paul Boateng
Member of the British Parliament
The churches of Namibia, through the RRR program, stand ready to receive the 75,000 returning refugees. The sacrifices made by the Namibian people continue to be immense as they prepare to welcome home the exiles.

We are being asked to help in several areas:
★ to put pressure on our Congressional representatives and the State Department to see that the UN effort is fully funded;
★ to find ways to inform our neighbors about what is really happening in Namibia;
★ to indicate to the UN that its representatives need to be far more skeptical about South Africa's intentions, and far more forceful in taking action to protect the lives of Namibians.

WRITE
A. Write letters of support to Namibia.
Express your solidarity and commitment to keep informed during this crucial year. Assure them that you and others are praying for safe return of the exiles and a free and fair election; and that you are carefully monitoring the situation and acting to make developments known to the U.S. Congress. Send letters of support to:

Bishop Kleopas Dumeni
ELC in Namibia
Onipa, Private Bag 2019
Ondangwa 9000
NAMIBIA

Dr. Abisai Shejavali, General Secretary
Council of Churches in Namibia
8521 Mashego Street
Katutura 9000
NAMIBIA

Gwen Lister, Editor
The Namibian
P.O. Box 20783
Windhoek 9000
NAMIBIA

B. Write letters of advocacy to the U.S. Government.
Urge that Congress appropriate full funding for the Peacekeeping Force (UNTAG) without any conditions. Ask for careful monitoring of the election/constitution process. Urge Congress to guard against South Africa's interference and control. Send letters of advocacy to:

The Honorable  The Honorable
U.S. Senate U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20510 Washington, D.C. 20515

Secretary of State James Baker
The President
Department of State
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20520
Washington, D.C. 20500

C. Write letters to your local newspaper.
Since coverage of the Namibia issue is nearly non-existent, we can do much to raise awareness through local "letters to the editor" columns. For help in drafting or for sample letters, contact NNC.

CONGRESS TO ACT SOON ON AID TO UNITA: URGENT LOBBYING NEEDED

Congress is considering the authorization of even higher levels of aid to UNITA, supposedly to compensate for the loss of South African military assistance. But Savimbi himself has indicated that, before the Namibian Peace Accords went into effect, South Africa gave UNITA enough arms equipment and spare parts to last two years!

Additional reasons to oppose aid to UNITA include:
★ a history of attacks on civilians, making Angola the amputee capital of the world, with the highest child death rate in the world. (UNICEF)
★ a growing record of atrocities committed by UNITA leadership among its own ranks.
★ its history of alliance with South Africa.

URGE YOUR CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION TO OPPOSE ALL AID TO UNITA!
SWAPO ANNOUNCES RELEASE OF ITS DETAINEES

The Namibian liberation movement, SWAPO, announced that it had pardoned and freed "misguided elements who infiltrated SWAPO with the aim of serving the war efforts of the adversary."

UN officials confirmed in May that they were in contact with 199 persons who had been detained by SWAPO, and who would be returned to Namibia as part of the repatriation program.

A group of journalists who visited the ex-detainees at the invitation of SWAPO, reported many had been subjected to beatings, rape, mental torture and deprivation. Most claimed to have been held in detention for long periods of time and that they had suffered psychological damage as a result.

Moses Garoeb, Administrative Secretary of SWAPO acknowledged that mistakes had been made, but defended the movement's action by stating that SWAPO "has been fighting a war of survival. Many lives have been lost in camps and on operations as a result of the activities of South African agents. . . . If these people have suffered, it is nothing in comparison to what has been happening to our people in SADF camps. . . ."

UN ROLE QUESTIONED

Headlines tell the story: "South Africa and UN in Trial of Strength," "Namibia Storm Breaks Over UN Leader," "United Nations Looks on Helpless at the Slaughter," "UN Falls at the First Fence," "Impotent UN Fears Namibia Election Delay" . . . .

Since the decision by the UN Special Representative to call out the South African troops on April 1st, serious concern has been expressed about the effectiveness of the UN presence in Namibia.

Long accused by South Africa and the "right wing" in this country of being partial to SWAPO, UN management of events in Namibia during the first two months of implementation have given rise to the opposite interpretation.

Apparently eager to prove their "impartiality," UN staff "bent over backwards" to appease South African interests. Recent reports, however, indicate a slight stiffening of UN resistance to South African manipulation.

For example, UN staff initially seemed willing to discount reports of intimidation on the part of SWAPOL. But in mid-May, a "more confident" UN spokesman said Untag's police monitors were "investigating another 50 cases of intimidation, assault and misconduct by—two our great dismay—mostly officials in northern Namibia."

HITLER'S BIRTHDAY / BIAS REMEMBERED IN NAMIBIA

In a recent column, Peter Hillmore, correspondent for the London Observer, took note of the strong Nazi influence still present in parts of Namibia.

Hillmore wrote "More than a few glasses were raised in Swakopmund, Namibia last week; more than a few voices paid tribute to a misunderstood hero. Not to the founder of the town, not to some local dignitary who had recently died. Last Thursday, 20 April, was the 100th birthday of Adolf Hitler. And the toasts were for him."

Last Thursday morning, the red, white and black Nazi flag flew in a misty sky from the highest point in the town. The local mayor ordered it to be taken down, and then complained that people would want to sensationalize the incident, as if there was nothing sensational about a Nazi flag flying from a municipal building.

I went into Peter's Antiques, just off Kaiser Wilhelm Strasse. There, among the Second World War German bayonets and Nazi medals, I saw piles of T-shirts bearing swastikas, mugs with swastikas, car bumper stickers with swastikas. People were buying them . . . .

About 80 percent of Swakopmund's small white population is German . . . . Most are middle-aged. And many are former Nazis.

The influx of German visitors reached a peak after the Second World War. Namibia became the poor man's Paraguay for fleeing Nazis, a place where they could blend in with the community, a place so big they could lose themselves, and a place where their savings would go a long way . . . .

Nowadays, most of the tourists who come to Namibia come . . . .from Germany. A Canadian officer with the Untag team (United Nations Transition Assistance Group) told me that when he got off the direct flight from Frankfurt an official was waiting by the steps to collect UN people. 'Untag?' he would ask the passengers. 'Guten Tag' many passengers would reply, happy with the familiar welcome."

The symbol of right wing Afrikaners, right, bears a striking resemblance to the Nazi swastika on the left.
ELCA PENSION BOARD INCREASES TOTAL SOUTH AFRICAN INVESTMENTS

A report by its president, John Kapanke, that the ELCA board of pensions had recently made new investments in companies doing business in South Africa, brought a storm of protest from members of the national Church Council.

According to council member, Dr. George Forell, "it is simply not defensible," that after actions by the ELCA Constituting Convention and the Church Council, "we are still buying in companies in South Africa."

Citing the fear of a negative impact on portfolio value, Kapanke indicated that investments are not made in South Africa only if the risk and return of two comparable investments are equal. The board continues to defend its actions by citing its legal "fiduciary responsibility" which it says would leave board members open to suit if pension funds were not managed in a "prudent" manner.

Kapanke admitted that while the amount of ELCA holdings in companies with direct investments had decreased, the investments in companies doing business indirectly had increased drastically, thus increasing the dollar amount of overall holdings.

Dr. Jerald Folk of the ELCA Commission for Church in Society, expressed disappointment with the new investments. "We will have to probe the law on fiduciary responsibility" to see how the mission and identity of the church can be reflected in our investments.

Meanwhile, at the time we go to press, the divestment of pension funds continues to be the Number One mandate of the ELCA Synod assemblies meeting throughout the country.

CITIBANK AIDS SOUTH AFRICA WITH $666 MILLION LOAN EXTENSION

"Citibank has gone the extra mile for apartheid," said Tim Smith, director of the Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility, upon hearing that the bank had extended until 1997 the repayment of South Africa's outstanding loans.

"The bank's action amounts to bailing out the apartheid regime, giving them confidence to continue imprisoning, torturing and even murdering the people of South Africa," commented Reverend Frank Chikane, head of the South African Council of Churches.

Economic pressure on South Africa, through the denial of loans, is one of the measures consistently called for by church leaders in Namibia and South Africa.

A report on National Public Radio on June 13th revealed that even the limited sanctions that have been imposed have had a serious effect on South Africa's economy. The value of the Rand is $.35, an all time low. With gold prices also falling, South Africa is desperate to see its international loans extended. (Hence the planned visit of de Klerk, South Africa's future president, to London and Washington.) Thus, the action by Citibank takes on even more significance.

We can respond! If you have been using a Citibank Visa card, simply cut it in two and return it with a short note indicating that you do not wish to be involved with a bank that is in partnership with apartheid. (Personal note: the Kjeseth family did that, and have received three form letters and one phone call urging us to reconsider. Clearly this type of action is noticed.)

OXFAM AMERICA LAUNCHES "FREEDOM NOW: THE CAMPAIGN FOR NAMIBIA"

Oxfam America, a non-profit, international aid organization which funds self-help development and disaster-relief projects, has launched a campaign to focus on the development needs of the Namibian people after independence. In launching "Freedom Now: The Campaign for Namibia" on May 4th, John Hammock, Oxfam America's executive director, emphasized that development means more than providing material assistance. "It also means providing moral support and helping to create a local and international environment in which Oxfam project partners can freely develop."

Hammock said the campaign, in which Oxfam organizations in five countries are participating, will help foster a supportive climate by focusing international attention on the independence process and the development needs of an independent Namibia.

As a part of this campaign, Oxfam America has developed a special Namibian Development Fund with the goal of raising $500,000, and will participate with five other Oxfam organizations in a three year, international effort for grassroots literacy.
Resources

Apartheid's Contras: Rural Terrorism and Mozambique's Struggle for Survival, by William Minter, 1988. Published by Washington Office on Africa Educational Fund and the Mozambique Support Network, 1988. This eight-page booklet provides a concise history of RENAMO terrorism in Mozambique and draws the parallel between the contras in Central America and the South Africa supported RENAMO bandits in Mozambique. Available from Washington Office on Africa for $1.00.

A Woman's Place is in the Struggle, Not Behind Bars! Issued by the Federation of Transvaal Women. Published in the U.S. by The Africa Fund, 1988. Women have often been at the forefront of the struggle for freedom in southern Africa and have courageously borne the brunt of South African repression. Quoting from the files of the Detainee Parent's Support Committee, this booklet gives a glimpse into the effects of the state of emergency on women, statistics on women in detention, and moving testimonies to the pain of detention and the loss of loved ones. Available from NNC or American Committee on Africa for $3.00 plus postage.

Uprooting Poverty, the South African Challenge by Professor Francis Wilson and Dr. Memphela Ramphele. 1988. Compiled by two professors from the University of Cape Town, this book is drawn from a decade of research papers dealing with conditions of poverty, health and housing for South Africa's black majority. Scandalous statistics illustrate the severity of the crisis: Two million children physically deformed for lack of calories in a country that exports food; A black area in the Eastern Transvaal with one water faucet for every 760 people; In the KwaZulu area, women must walk an average of five miles for each load of wood for cooking and heating. Available from Renaissance Books, 46 S. Broadway, Denver, CO 80209. $27.00 plus postage.

And Still They Dance: Women, War, and the Struggle for Change in Mozambique, by Stephanie Urdang, 1989. When Mozambique celebrated its independence in 1975, hopes were high for the development of the country, for liberation of its women and for respite after years of struggle. However, the hoped for peace has been denied by South African backed RENAMO, the promising beginnings of health care and education for the people have been eroded by war, and equality for women is a goal yet to be realized. Urdang's book is a tribute to the courage of Mozambican women. In the face of everything, they dance, no longer in praise and thanks for their independence, but rather they dance in an inspiring determination to survive. Available from American Committee on Africa. $12.00.

Namibia: Apartheid's Forgotten Children, by Caroline Moorehead. Oxfam, 1989. Dedicated to the children of Namibia, and filled with the expressive photography of John Leibenberg, this book is a must for libraries and individual collections. It is complete with historical background, maps, personal stories and interviews, with an introduction written by Dr. Abisai Shejavali. Available from NNC or Oxfam for $6.95 plus postage.

No One Can Stop the Rain; Glimpses of Africa's Liberation Struggle, by George M. Houser, 1989. Thirty years of African peoples' struggles to emerge from colonial domination to independence is documented first-hand by George M. Houser, head of American Committee on Africa from 1955-1981. He watched the development of national liberation movements in such countries as Algeria, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. His chapter on Zimbabwe gives insight into the problems which Namibia faces in its struggle for independence.

Not an adventure story, but full of intrigue, this book covers the role which the U.S. government plays in African affairs, the dynamics of liberation movements, and the people who were and are prominent in the formation of the new African states. Available from The Pilgrim Press, 132 W. 31st St., New York, NY 10001. $15.95.

A large "Thank you" to all who have responded to our March fund appeal. Your support is greatly appreciated.

While we are still operating "from month to month," you have enabled us to produce this Newsletter as well as provide updates and basic materials for a record number of Synod Assemblies and other conferences.

We are grateful. . . and also hope that your support will continue!
ELCA SYNOD ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS
SUPPORT NAMIBIA

Several Synod Assemblies of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America have passed resolutions expressing concern for the struggle of the Namibian people. For example, the St. Paul (Minnesota) Area Synod requested its congregations to remember the people of Namibia in prayer, and to contribute to a special Namibia Support Fund to be collected between the 4th of July and Thanksgiving, the goal being one dollar per baptised member.

The South Dakota Synod resolved to receive a special Namibia offering "on November 5th, (All Saints Sunday), remembering all who have died in the struggle for Namibian independence and coinciding with Namibian elections on November 1."

The Rocky Mountain Synod resolved to memorialize the 1989 Churchwide Assembly, meeting in August, to set the date of November 1 to 8, 1989, as a week of prayer and solidarity for the people of Namibia and that the ELCA Church Council be encouraged to contact President George Bush, leaders of Congress and representatives of the UN, expressing concern for the safety of Namibian church leaders, and the success of the independence process.

LOOKING FOR A PROJECT?

The People's Primary School in Katatura, the black township outside of Windhoek, is a venture of faith! Started four years ago by parents whose dream for their children is a quality education, the school operates without governmental support, depending instead on the small amounts that the parents can pay.

Enrollment is growing quickly, much faster than classroom space. With more than 600 children, some classes must meet on verandas, or under a tree. While the school is in need of funds for many purposes (books, pencils, desks, teachers) the director, Selma Shejavali, feels the most urgent need is to bring electricity into the main building. "The parents are eager to learn to read and write themselves, so we have begun evening classes by candlelight."

The estimated cost for wiring is 7500 Rand ($3700). They have received donations for a third of that amount. If you would like to help, please send your check to NNC and designate it for the People's School.

"LUTHER LINK":
PATH TO INFO ON NAMIBIA

With the help of your computer and a modem, you can stay informed about developments in Namibia. Reports from the Namibia Communications Centre as well as updates from this office appear regularly. For information on how to join, please contact NNC.

COORDINATED EFFORTS IN
ELCA REGION V

Namibia Concerns representatives from the Synods of Region 5 met at Wartburg Seminary on May 20, 21st and agreed to coordinate fall efforts in support of independence. Since elections for a Namibian national assembly are to be held on November 1, congregations are to use the month of October for learning about Namibia and for advocacy efforts on behalf of the struggle.

All congregations of Region 5 are urged to make a "Namibia emphasis" on World Communion Sunday or on Reformation Sunday as an occasion for Special prayers and information sharing.
Lee and Kent Johnson hope to take their "personalized" license plate with them to Namibia as they play their roles in the implementation of Resolution 435.

INDEPENDENT NEWS PROGRAM NEEDS SUPPORT

South Africa Now, the independent weekly television news magazine, is at a critical point in its development. It has now been made available to the entire Public Broadcasting Network, so it is important that persons call their local PBS station to request that South Africa Now be added to their programming schedule.

Accurate media coverage of the situation in South Africa and Namibia is essential to the struggle. Unless the truth about what is happening in southern Africa is broadcast through programs like South Africa Now, the killings, repression, and gross economic oppression will remain unchecked.

KENT AND LEE JOHNSON RETURN TO NAMIBIA

Two young Iowans have been asked to assist the RRR Committee in its repatriation work. Kent and Lee Johnson expect to leave for Namibia by July 1st.

Kent will serve as Senior Accountant, assisting the RRR treasurer, Mr. Carl Scholz. Johnson will be specifically responsible for the internal monitoring of funds and the coordination of projects of the World Council of Churches.

Lee will interrupt her program as a 4th year medical student in order to assist Dr. Aspara, the Coordinator of the RRR medical services. She will work first in the repatriation program, and later work in his medical practice in Katatura.

It will be a "coming home" for the Johnsons. Immediately following his graduation from Luther College, Kent served for 22 months as a Lutheran World Ministries Volunteer working as an accountant with the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Windhoek. Lee joined him for nine months, assisting in the health/education department of the CCN.

NNC BOARD MEETS

The Board of Directors of National Namibia Concerns met for its annual meeting April 7 - 9 in Denver, Colorado. Special thanks were given to retiring Board members Mark Gilderhus, Jim Fuller and Susan Wolfe. New Board members elected to serve were Venita Vinson of Denver, CO, David Preisinger of Florence, OR, Shekutaamba Nambala of St. Paul, MN, and Jim Knutson of Chicago, IL. Continuing Board members include Barbara Fullerton (President), Harold Schlauchenauf (Vice President), Gabriel Uahengo, Paulina Elago, Ruth Jorenby, John Evenson and Elizabeth Landis.

NNC RECEIVES HAEFNER BEQUEST

Dr. Alfred E. Haefner, well-known professor at Wartburg College, Waverly, Iowa, was a man with a passion for justice. A faithful supporter of this organization from the beginning, National Namibia Concerns has now received an $8500 gift from his estate.

Until his death in June, 1989, Dr. Haefner kept up-to-date on current world events, and was a strong advocate for peace and justice. Always concerned about the Namibian situation, he eagerly followed the struggle toward independence. Convinced that U.S. policy could be directed to hasten progress toward that goal, Haefner never hesitated to speak his mind to his congressional representatives.

Dr. Haefner's life was devoted to teaching Greek at Wartburg College. After earning his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, "Doc" Haefner served Wartburg College in various positions, including Dean and Registrar. He also served Wartburg Seminary as a visiting professor, Greek instructor, German instructor, and accreditation consultant.

We are grateful for the memory of Dr. Alfred Haefner, a partner in the struggle!
ATTEMPT TO POISON HEAD OF COUNCIL OF CHURCHES FAILS

Evidence indicates that exposure to an organophosphate anticholinesterase caused the illness and near death of the Reverend Frank Chikane on four occasions during the past weeks.

The "nerve gas" contamination now seems to be linked to clothing carried in his luggage during recent trips to Namibia and the U.S. This was revealed at a June 8th press conference, held at University Hospital in Madison, Wisconsin, where Chikane has been treated since mid-May.

In the U.S. for a scheduled meeting with President Bush, Pastor Chikane visited first in Madison where his wife, Kagiso, is a student. While visiting with Namibian activists at a May 12th luncheon, Reverend Chikane, head of the South African Council of Churches, suddenly became ill. He was taken to the hospital, where he experienced nausea, abdominal pain, weakness, loss of consciousness and respiratory arrest.

Symptoms were similar to an earlier attack while on a trip to Namibia in late April. Two subsequent incidents, on May 21st and May 27th, followed the same pattern.

Doctors noted that thorough exams revealed Chikane to be in excellent health except during the acute episodes of illness, a fact which led them to suspect "an exogenous toxin." The clinical syndrome and metabolic abnormalities were all consistent with exposure to an organophosphate anticholinesterase, a compound found in toxic pesticides and "nerve gas."

We are reminded of the danger to those who fearlessly oppose the evil of apartheid, and of the ruthlessness of those who defend the system.

Some months ago, Reverend Chikane wrote:

"It seems—and this is a painful thing—that the international community does not respond unless we die in great numbers. When we want to take on the system, some say 'You're committing suicide, you know. You're going to be murdered.'

"And we say, 'Can you help us?' If they say 'No, we cannot help you,' what they are really telling us is to leave the system to oppress us indefinitely.

"So we find ourselves in a vulnerable situation where we cannot do otherwise but, in fact, offer ourselves for sacrifice. I don't believe we can avoid the cross. . . . For us to go over into victory, we will have to go through the cross. . . ."

The purpose of Frank Chikane's trip to the U.S. was to plead, once more, that this country impose comprehensive sanctions, that we demand that our banks not give loans to South Africa, that our pension funds be withdrawn from companies invested in that country.

Although he has been detained and tortured several times, Frank Chikane risks his life in the hope that we will hear and join in the struggle against the evil that is apartheid.

"Assassinations are used as one of the methods of controlling government opposition when all other methods, such as detention or intimidation, have failed."

David Webster, S. African lawyer, in a report written for the South African Human Rights Commission shortly before he was gunned down in front of his house on May 1, 1989.

National Namibia Concerns

915 E. 9th Avenue
Denver, Colorado 80218
(303) 830-2774

Address Correction Requested