VIOLENCE THREATENS NAMIBIAN ELECTION PROCESS

Steadily escalating violence, initiated by the DTA, a South African backed political party, and carried out by former members of the South African Defense Forces, threatens to halt the Namibia peace process.

Instances of attacks by DTA supporters have increased markedly in the past two weeks. On the evening of September 26th, a DTA mob marched through Katutura, the black township near Windhoek, stoning people and houses. At least 15 persons were injured, some critically.

The following weekend was marked by widespread violence in the North, particularly in the Oshakati area, as former members of Koevoet and Battalion 101 attacked homes and cars bearing SWAPO colors. Thirty-three people were admitted to hospital during the unrest, six with serious injuries, while tens of thousands of rand's worth of damage was done to property.

Even the UNTAG office was attacked when an American photographer, Walter McGill, took refuge there. The DTA mob assaulted UNTAG personnel and confiscated McGill's camera. When the UN police went to the South West Africa Police (SWAPOL) to file a complaint they found the camera and the DTA thugs in the SWAPOL office.

Later, a renewed attack on the UNTAG offices necessitated a call to the UNTAG military to provide protection for the UN police. UNTAG ordered an emergency evacuation of its personnel from the township to the safety of its military bases.

On Saturday, October 7, new violence broke out following the largest political rally in Namibia's history. SWAPO President, Sam Nujoma, addressed a crowd of 70,000, calling for reconciliation between SWAPO and those Namibians who have fought with South Africa, i.e., Koevoet and Battalion 101.

Instead, violence erupted. In sporadic attacks, armed "ex-members" of Koevoet launched a grenade attack at a high school, injuring twelve students. Another grenade exploded at a SWAPO barbecue, killing one person. At least one UNTAG vehicle was attacked, as gangs of roving DTA supporters assaulted anyone suspected of SWAPO membership.

This Issue:
- Monitoring the Road to Freedom: Special Report #3
- Violence Threatens "Free and Fair" Elections
- Lawyer Anton Lubowski Assassinated
- ELCA Passes Strong Divestment Resolution

(continued on back page)
HOPE IN A DIFFICULT SITUATION

"The Exodus to freedom has begun. The labor and the birth pangs have commenced. A new nation will be born... but Pharoah is in charge of the midwives." So said Deputy Bishop Zephania Kameeta in a recent message of greeting to U.S. sisters and brothers.

Yes, South Africa is still clearly in charge of the midwives, of the birthing process for the nation of Namibia. Pretoria remains in control of the entire election procedure and of the present puppet Namibian government (including education, health care, visas, police, etc.) throughout the constitutional process following the election and up until months later when a new government is in place.

Decisions and policies of the South African government during the coming months have the power to shape Namibia's future, for good or for ill. As we go to press, South Africa has not completed the agreed-upon disbanding of Koevoet (the dreaded counter insurgency military forces), despite U.N. and international pressure. Other examples abound.

In the economic realm, decisions are being made which are aimed at bankrupting a future Namibia. Case in point is South Africa's September announcement of the privatization of Namibian pension funds which would very likely deplete Namibia's assets, financially burdening the future government so that it will find it difficult to meet obligations towards its citizens.

In the midst of arrogant continued intransigence of the South African government, come U.S. State Department statements such as: "South Africa has done everything correctly.... The South Africans have not refused a single request from the Secretary General's special representative." (Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen, speaking at a Columbia University symposium September 27).

Namibian artist John Muafangejo's print "Hope and optimism - in spite of present difficulties" describes the road ahead to freedom for Namibia's people. The road is still beset by many potholes, dangers and possible detours. Even after the destination of independence has been reached, both South African and international politics, greed and racism will make nation building a difficult route to travel.

People around the world are praying and hoping with Namibia for true independence to come, for the violence to end, for rebuilding to begin. At the same time, we in the U.S. have proven time and again that

we have a rather short attention span. Will we be able to hang in there for the long road ahead-for nation building, for an end to white South Africa's reign of terror in all of southern Africa?

South Africa is still clearly in charge of the midwives. Yet by faith, Namibians continue to be "slaves of hope." A recent Evangelical Lutheran Church in SWA statement concludes: "May the Lord go in front of us and lead us in the exodus, and at night give us light with His presence until we reach the promised land (Ex. 13:21)."

In the midst of a difficult situation, may we continue to hope with our Namibian sisters and brothers...to hope in active ways that help to give light on the way to God's promised land of freedom and peace!

A luta continua! The struggle continues!

Susan Burchfield

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"I passionately believe that the people of Namibia should become one nation and that we should not see ourselves as belonging to any ethnicity or tribe. Similarly, I also believe that we should, with the coming of independence, forgive the horrors of the past and build a united nation."

Anton Lubowski, 1987

ANTON LUBOWSKI ASSASSINATED

Anton Lubowski, the only white to hold a leadership post in SWAPO, was shot and killed in front of his Windhoek home just after dark on September 12th.

The 37-year-old Lubowski had been living with threats ever since his announcement, in 1984, that he had become a member of SWAPO. That decision cost Lubowski dearly. His promising legal career declined, he and his family were ostracized by the white community, and soon the death threats began.

For five years these pressures have continued—and certainly taken their toll. A crude example of the extreme hatred directed at those who "betray their race" was the distribution some months ago of pamphlets with Lubowski’s face superimposed on a rifle target. People were urged to "Take a Shot at Communism" by using his picture as a target and then sending the remains to Lubowski.

In the last several weeks the telephone threats have increased and grown more precise. But Lubowski did not turn back. Flamboyant, impulsive, and an extrovert he was, but he was also a man with a deep passion for justice and the courage to live out his convictions.

In a moving testimony in the South African paper, The Weekly Mail, columnist John Carlin referred to Lubowski as “the white man who gave his life for SWAPO,” and spoke of his indomitable spirit. Working as part of the legal team for 14 blacks sentenced to hang in the infamous Uprising trial, Lubowski was, according to Carlin, the one to whom the men turned to keep their spirits up.

Perhaps Lubowski’s most important contribution to Namibia was as an advisor to the labor movement, where he provided legal and financial expertise. At the time of his death, he was serving as deputy director of the SWAPO election campaign.

In a tribute to Lubowski which appeared in The Independent, Denis Herbstein wrote: “He will be remembered best as the high-profile white man with the build of a wing-forward, standing up to be counted with his black fellow-countrymen, or being arrested for this or that petty political offence, speaking out on platforms around the world and in Namibia and South Africa, against the cruelties of colonial rule. Which is why he had to die.”

DEATH THREATS CONTINUE

A report on National Public Radio said that SWAPO faced a unique problem in preparing for the November elections—how to keep its leadership alive until the election!! The danger to SWAPO officials was made all too clear with the murder of Anton Lubowski.

Other prominent whites, who have been active in the struggle against South African oppression, continue to receive the same detailed telephone threats which preceeded Lubowski’s killing. These people include newspaper editor, Gwen Lister, human rights lawyer, David Smuts, and photographer, John Liebenberg.

International pressure must be kept on the United Nations and on South Africa, as they are the responsible parties, to prevent political assassinations from spreading.
Inside Namibia

Windhoek: September 14, 1989
PRESS RELEASE BY THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN SWA

The Church Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in South West Africa (Rheinish Mission Church) at its meeting of September 13th and 14th, 1989, received reports of talks with former SWAPO detainees, and the SWAPO leadership, respectively.

These meetings took place at the invitation and under the auspices of the Executive Committee of the Council of Churches in Namibia in a spirit of reconciliation.

Having discussed these reports concerning the painful and sensitive issue, the Church Council resolved the following:

The Church Council does not view these tragic events in isolation from the nightmare of Colonialism and apartheid which the Namibians have been subjected to for more than a hundred years. To this day, we have been humiliated, held in contempt, oppressed, divided, exploited, imprisoned and maimed; and many of our people have been killed in cold blood.

We are, in this process, being bribed to betray our struggle for freedom. Thousands of Namibians have been killed as a result of this bribery. Consequently, suspicion and distrust has been spread among us. This has resulted in the break up of family and friendship ties. The unity of the oppressed has been disrupted and, in certain cases, completely destroyed.

The Namibia of our vision and for which many of our loved ones have sacrificed their lives, should not be born in a house of division, fear and hatred, but in the house of unity, reconciliation and peace.

The Namibia of our vision and for which many of our loved ones have, sacrificed their lives, should not be born in a house of division, fear and hatred, but in the house of unity, reconciliation and peace.

The Church Council welcomes the standpoint of SWAPO, that the torture of detainees is not the policy of the organisation, and that those who were responsible for such deeds will be held accountable for them. Furthermore, the Church Council welcomes SWAPO's declared commitment to reconciliation and its invitation to all Namibians, especially to those who were detained, to share in this commitment.

The Church Council calls upon all the members of the ELCSWA and all Namibians to maintain the unity of the Church and the Nation in this critical and decisive hour for our country, and not to lose sight of the objectives for which we have prayed and suffered so much, i.e., the termination of colonialism and apartheid, and the liberation of our country. Let us not allow the anguish and pain of the past to overshadow the anticipation and responsibility of this hour.

"May the Lord go in front of us and lead us in the exodus, and at night give us light with His presence until we reach the promised land" (Exodus 13:21).
DISCLOSURE OF SWAPO DETENTIONS: ONE MORE TRAGEDY FOR THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE

The revelation that Namibia's liberation movement, SWAPO, has violated the rights of persons which it held in detention, that persons were tortured and, apparently, some killed by SWAPO has cast a shadow over the triumphant return of its leaders.

With the return of the exiles has come a growing realization that SWAPO itself has detained people, sometimes for years, and that the inhumane conditions of the detention (reportedly pits in the ground), and torture had led to the deaths of an undetermined number of Namibians. Returnees, even some formerly prominent SWAPO members, have displayed scars, and offered chilling accounts of confessions extracted through torture.

Some of these detainees have bitterly denounced the organization and have formed a rival group, the Patriotic Unity Movement (PUM). Some have remained silent.

Others refuse to leave SWAPO. They do not exonerate those responsible for these violations of human rights, but they seem to have come to terms with the flaws in the exiled movement.

For example, Aaron Mushimba, Nujoma's brother-in-law, was interrogated and thrown in a pit last February. (You might remember his description of torture at the hands of South Africa in the movie, "Cry for Freedom.") Mushimba says, "SWAPO was at war. Of course both sides had spies. It is easy to understand how suspicion gets sowed under those conditions."

Others have indicated they will stay with SWAPO for the sake of unity at this crucial time. Ben Boois, an early leader of PUM has rejoined SWAPO saying, "they are the only party fighting to rid the country of colonialism. Once we have got rid of South Africa's occupation, we will have a democratic government..."

Johannes Gaomeb, a deputy commander of an elite fighting group, twice commended for battlefield courage, was abruptly arrested in 1984, tortured and imprisoned in a pit until his release last July. He states, "It is not a question of destroying SWAPO, it is a question of ridding ourselves of pollution. For me, and others like me, it is only the security clique (of SWAPO) which is guilty of these crimes."

Certainly the issue of SWAPO detentions must be seen both in perspective and in its context. The number of detainees involved may prove to be fewer than the number of civilians killed in a single South African attack on the refugee camp at Kassinga. In any case, the extent of the violations by SWAPO pales by comparison with the tens of thousands of deaths for which South Africa is responsible.

The whole nation has been systematically brutalized. It is perhaps not surprising that some Namibians have adopted the attitudes and techniques of their oppressors.

And, it is true that these incidents happened in the context of more than a century of brutal occupation and oppression. For decades, the Namibians have been humiliated, oppressed, divided, exploited, imprisoned. For decades, suspicion and mistrust have been tools of the oppressor. The whole nation has been systematically brutalized. It is perhaps not surprising that some Namibians have adopted the attitudes and techniques of their oppressors.

It is equally true that South Africa and its allies within Namibia, including the DTA and other political groups, have seized on this issue, and are exploiting it for their own, sinister purposes.

(continued on page 6)
Having said that however, there can be no justification for what has happened. In an "open letter" from the Green Party in Germany to their comrades in SWAPO, Uschi Eid, a member of the German parliament states, "A liberation movement which is fighting for respect for human rights in its own country must never lose sight of this aim in dealing with its own 'dissidents'."

SWAPO has enjoyed widespread support from churches of every denomination precisely because its cause was just. Perhaps the danger of individual abuses were overlooked because the struggle for liberation, for justice, is a biblically based struggle.

"A liberation movement which is fighting for respect for human rights in its own country must never lose sight of this aim in dealing with its own dissidents."

There is no doubt that, as the election draws nearer, SWAPO has been weakened by these actions. Opposition parties have exploited both the facts of the case and also wild rumors and speculation about the scope of the problem.

And clearly, even committed SWAPO supporters have cause to wonder whether such abuses will be a part of a SWAPO government. Unless the evil is named, confession made, and reconciliation sought, loyal Namibians will have cause to fear for democratic and human rights in the future.

Thea Ben Gurirab, SWAPO's foreign minister, has stated that these actions are not SWAPO policy, and that those responsible will be held accountable. "We have evidence that some detainees were spies, and some of them are still under suspicion. But some officers went too far and took the law into their own hands, making many mistakes where innocent people were arrested. We regret those mistakes, and if any of these officers are in the structures of the movement, they will be called to account," said Gurirab.

Unfortunately, this has not yet happened.

As concern mounts, both internally and internationally, SWAPO leadership must move quickly to clarify the situation. Decisive actions must be taken to account for all missing detainees. Rumors of torture and killings must be investigated and the responsible parties brought to justice.

SWAPO has led the Namibian people on their long march toward independence. They must not stumble at the goal line.

In this situation, as in nearly everything that has happened for the last century, it is the Namibian people who suffer. That some of their leaders have failed them at this crucial time does not invalidate their struggle. It is but one more tragedy for the Namibian people to overcome.

Solveig Kjeseth

SOUTH AFRICANS REGISTER TO VOTE

The headline reads: "Old South Westers—Return to your Roots! Join our Free Coach Trips to SWA/Namibia and Register to Vote—FREE!"

What follows is an advertisement, which appeared in newspapers across South Africa, for "Operation Namibia," a plan launched in July to encourage thousands of South Africans to vote in the Namibian elections.

According to registration regulations, drafted by South Africa, South African soldiers or civil servants who were based in Namibia, their children who happened to be born in Namibia, even South African business persons, who never actually lived there, are eligible to vote in the November election.

Promoted as "purely a business venture" by a Johannesburg consulting firm, Project Namibia was funded by "sponsors from big business and private enterprise" but no names could be revealed. Reports in the Namibian newspaper linked Project Namibia with South Africa's National Party and Namibia's South African supported DTA party.

As registration ended, 9,512 residents of South Africa had come by bus or van to register at points closest to the southern border of Namibia. The more affluent were able to fly directly to Windhoek, register, and return to South Africa the same day.

Two young boys, with their school principal. The boys have lost arms by picking up live mortars while playing. Photo by J. Liebenberg
MONITORING THE ROAD . . .
The Difficult Path to Fair Elections

The U.N. Peace Plan continues to move ahead, in spite of grave problems, tragedy, and treachery. That it is moving at all comes as somewhat of a surprise to observers who watched as it very nearly fell apart last April.

During the past few months there has been reason to be concerned about several issues.

Voter Registration

The voter registration laws, drafted by South Africa's Administrator General, were problematic.

For example, black Namibians in Walvis Bay were effectively disenfranchised. Even though many residents of Walvis Bay were born elsewhere in Namibia, and should, therefore be eligible to vote, they were required to produce their birth certificates in order to register. In Namibia virtually every white is born in a hospital, but many blacks are born in remote areas and do not possess birth certificates. Thus, whites living in Walvis may be able to vote while most blacks may not.

Also, as noted elsewhere in this Newsletter, the registration laws were written to encourage participation by South African residents. South Africans could register to vote if one parent was born in Namibia, if they were born in Namibia, or if they had lived in Namibia for four years. The DTA is certain to benefit from the 10,000 plus South Africans who have registered.

There were problems, especially in the North, with mobile registration units not keeping to their schedule, and people who had walked miles to register being told to return the next day. In addition, hindrances to registration ranged from racist remarks, to refusal to register known SWAPO supporters, to outright sabotage, as in the case of a fire that destroyed thousands of registration cards.

In the south, especially on isolated farms, the registration rate was low, possibly due to intimidation of the workers by the farmers. There were also incidents reported in which the farmers had confiscated the workers' registration cards supposedly for "safe keeping."

 Nonetheless, as the registration period ended, some 67,000 people had registered, nearly 10,000 more than had been predicted. The eagerness of the Namibian people to participate in a free election is overwhelming.

Proposed Election Law

If the registration law was troublesome, the proposed election regulations were a disaster. In fact, the reputable Commission on Independence for Namibia suggested that unless the election laws were drastically altered, the U.N might not be able to certify the election as free and fair.

The principle objections were:

* lack of secrecy of the ballot—the ballot was to be placed in an envelope bearing the voter's identification number. In addition, voters needing assistance could be helped only by a government official, raising the issue of lack of secrecy, and the possibility of fraud on a widespread scale since over half of the voting population may be illiterate.
a complicated process of voter verification, and vote counting, which required that all ballot boxes would be flown to Windhoek, opened and resealed three times during a three week period before votes would be counted. The possibilities for error or fraud seem limitless.

Apparently the U.N. Secretary General has become increasingly concerned at the lack of firmness shown by his Special Representative, Martti Ahtisaari, in dealing with the South African appointed Administrator General. In any case, Paul Szasz, a retired U.N. legal expert, was sent as a special envoy to negotiate more acceptable election laws.

At the time of this writing, it appears that significant compromises have been made. Only one month remains before the election, and still there is no published election law. However, it is reported that registration numbers will not be enclosed with the ballots, U.N. authorities will assist illiterate voters, and ballots will be counted locally, with results announced in three days.

The voting period will be November 7-11, with ten parties contesting seventy-two seats.

Biased Radio Coverage

Radio broadcasts are the primary means of obtaining information for as many as 90% of the people of Namibia.

Reports of biased programming on the state controlled South West Africa Broadcasting Company (SWABC), and especially on their “ethnic” radio stations, continue to be heard.

As the election campaign gets into full swing, it is essential that UNTAG monitor all radio broadcasts, and insist on fair and balanced coverage of all events. Equal access must be given to all political parties.

Intimidation

Far and away the most serious road block on the road to a free election is the continuing atmosphere of intimidation and terror with which the Namibian people live.

“The Namibian peace process has turned into a mockery of the United Nations and an agony for the peasants.”

Victoria Brittain
Correspondent for the
London Guardian

Writing from Windhoek in the September 1, 1989, issue of the Guardian, veteran reporter Victoria Brittain stated that the peace process had turned into “a mockery of the U.N. and agony for the peasants.”

Brittain went on to describe a “nightly reign of terror against SWAPO supporters” by the supposedly disbanded Koevoet, two secret SADF bases in north eastern Ovamboland being used to supply UNITA, local leaders who cooperate with South Africa against SWAPO having armed gangs in their compounds, the dreaded casspirs still racing along the roads.

In addition, she reports that the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), backed by South Africa, has hired both white and black former military personnel and embarked on a campaign of violence against SWAPO. “Many UNTAG officers and other monitors have seen the guns, knives, sjamboks, arrows and knobkerries of the ex-soldiers dressed in DTA shirts used against SWAPO supporters,” said Brittain.

Failure to de-mobilize Koevoet

Conditions for a free and fair election are a “very, very long way off” according to John Rwambuya, the senior U.N. official in Oshakati. “Koevoet, General Dreyer, and casspirs are linked forever in people’s minds here. If things are to change, and people are to believe that they have changed, all three will have to go.”
In August, the U.N. Security Council passed Resolution 640 insisting that Koevoet be properly and formally disbanded before the last day of September.

Consequently, on September 29th, in a move designed to divert international criticism, the South African appointed Administrator General, Mr. Louis Pienaar, announced the demobilization of 1200 members of Koevoet—an action that should have taken place on April 1st.

While this announcement received widespread coverage in the world press, it appears to have been only one more public relations trick, one more instance of South African "mockery of the United Nations."

When UNTAG officials arrived for the scheduled demobilization, they found only junior Koevoet officers and 930 persons dressed in civilian clothes. Nothing was presented to UNTAG to establish the identity of the people on parade or their links to Koevoet.

When UNTAG officials asked to see the Koevoet uniforms and count their weapons, they were told the storerooms were locked—and that the only officer with a key had gone on vacation. If UNTAG wished to see Koevoet personnel, it would have to return on October 15th, when the soldiers returned to pick up their pay! (Koevoet, and the rest of the SADF, apparently will receive pay until Namibian independence in 1990!)

Thus, South Africa still has not complied with the requirement of Resolution 435 that they demobilize their forces on April 1st. How long the U.N. will tolerate this insolence is anyone’s guess.

Headlines in The Namibian on October 4th read: “Disband Again.” The U.N. Special Representative, Martti Ahtisaari, was dissatisfied with the “disbanding” and thus could not “verify demobilization.” The exercise will have to be repeated, according to the report.

Meanwhile, the Administrator General has confirmed that an additional 1800 Koevoet are, in fact, integrated into the police force, and not available for demobilization.

And so the long march to freedom continues, a battle at every step. What have the past weeks taught us—we who are walking together with our Namibian brothers and sisters?

Again, we have learned to be vigilant, to weigh every news report carefully. Dishonesty, treachery, and terror continue to be the weapons of apartheid. And, to our sorrow, we have been reminded that it is possible for evil to be present even among those who struggle for justice.

We can only join the Namibian church leaders in their prayer, “May the Lord go in front of us and lead us in the exodus, and at night give us light with His presence until we reach the promised land.”
COUNTDOWN TO ELECTIONS

If the postal system is cooperative, you should receive this Newsletter just at the time that our Namibian friends are casting their ballots in their historic election.

Certainly it is clear that we cannot be optimistic regarding the crucial days just prior to those elections. The overriding issue continues to be that fear and intimidation are a daily fact of life in Namibia. Though the curfew is gone, Namibians still are confined by "the terror that stalks at night."

In spite of all the promises made by South Africa, "Koevoets" continue to roam the bush roads and the villages of the North. The SWA police stand by as villagers are beaten, and sometimes killed.

What can we do?

A. Political Action

Pressure needs to be kept on our government. It is inexcusable that Assistant Secretary of State, Cohen, would make the statement that South Africa has complied with the terms of Resolution 435. They have not disbanded their forces; they continue to aid UNITA, they have encouraged thousands of their residents to register in Namibia, etc., etc.

Please contact your legislators, the State Department, and the United Nations. Our country and the UN must insist on full compliance with 435 and the end of intimidation in Namibia.

Contact:
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The United Nations
New York, NY 10017

Senator
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B. Solidarity

Certainly these next weeks will be a time of prayer in a country unique for its religious faith. We are asked by the churches in Namibia to join our prayers with theirs.

Send letters of support to church leaders, asking them to share your concern with their congregations.

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RESOURCES

FAX MACHINE AT NNC–DENVER OFFICE
During the NNC Board Meeting last April, it became evident that a fax machine would be extremely helpful in keeping up with the rapidly changing situation in Namibia. Through the gracious gifts of three board members, NNC purchased a fax machine. We are now able to receive copies of news and observer reports from Namibia the same day in a matter of minutes. This new resource will be of great assistance during the coming months of elections and constitution writing. We are happy to fax information to any of you in the NNC network who have access to a fax machine and need last minute information before a meeting, event or writing a letter. Just let us know! Our fax number is: 303/830-2414.

RESOURCE ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE
Does your congregation or organization want to learn more about Namibia? Are you planning an educational event or special worship? Do you need resources for action? The NNC offices have videos, films, and print resources available in quantity. An Information Packet (including samples of bulk resources) is available for $3.00 "Namibia: Resources," "Namibia: Action," and "Namibia: Worship" are available for $10.00 per hundred copies. Additional "Namibia Newsletters" are available as quantities allow. Videos rent for $10.00. A complete listing of videos, films and books available from our office is listed in "Namibia: Resources." Also available for sale are T-shirts (three styles), mugs, bumper stickers and book bags. For more information or to place an order, phone or write to us either in Denver or Dubuque.

NEW VIDEO RELEASED
Voices from Exile: Namibia’s Hidden Tears is a new 25 minute documentary chronicling the pain and struggle of the Namibian struggle for independence.

After more than a century of occupation, Namibia stands on the brink of elections, on the edge of independence. At first glance one might wonder about the timeliness of a video dealing with Namibians in exile. However, we strongly recommend this video as a valuable resource in understanding the background of many of the challenges that will have to be met as Namibians attempt to build their nation.

Produced by the Namibia Information Service, P.O. Box 43234, Washington, D.C. 20010, it is available for purchase ($33.00) or rental ($10.00) from NNC.

STAY INFORMED WITH ELECTRONIC NETWORKS
Through the use of computer networks, news stories from South Africa and Namibia can be available to you long before the print media gets them out.

On the NWI (Networking and World Information) system, news from southern Africa can be found under Lutherlink. Specific "meetings" on Lutherlink include "Namibian Communications Centre," Namibia Report," and "Southern Africa." Those with access to TCN (Telecommunications Cooperative Network) should look under ELCANET for "South Africa Forum." Also available on TCN, for an additional surcharge, is the Inter Press Service, a global news wire service that specializes in coverage from the developing nations.

NEW T-SHIRT AVAILABLE
National Namibia Concerns has a new t-shirt design! On the upper left front, the new shirts have a strand of barbed wire and the words "Free Namibia." Centered on the back is an outline map of Africa, with Namibia highlighted. Barbed wire runs across the map, and the words "Free Namibia" are repeated.

The shirts come in red, green, royal blue, navy, grey and white, in sizes Small to XXLarge. There are a limited number of royal blue and white in children's sizes.

These may be ordered either from the Denver office or from Dubuque. Cost: $8.00 plus $1.00 for shipping. If you would be interested in selling these shirts at a youth gathering or other event, please let us know.

Celebrate the elections with a new T-shirt!
CALL FOR SANCTIONS INTENSIFIES

"Partial sanctions have been a partial success" is the opinion of many, nearly three years after the imposition of U.S. sanctions against South Africa. The nine industrialized countries that have imposed major sanctions against SA have cut their trade with Pretoria by one-third. South Africa's finance minister admits that the economy is "hamstrung" by sanctions.

Even partial sanctions have pushed Pretoria to the negotiating table. During the past year, SA business has lined up to talk to the ANC. During 1988-89 Pretoria negotiated with Cuba and Angola and moved toward independence for Namibia not because of a sudden change of heart, nor because of U.S. "constructive engagement." A major factor in Angola and Namibia agreements was the cost factor - South Africa's adverse economic position made the war in Namibia and Angola too costly to continue.

Present sanctions have had important economic impact, but are not enough for at least two reasons. One: Present U.S. sanctions have been only partially enforced. Two: Present U.S. sanctions are only partial.

'Shocking Lapse' in Application of US Sanction Law

Because the State Department failed to provide the U.S. Customs Service with a list of South African products barred from entering the country, U.S. sanctions have been only partially enforced. This was the conclusion of a special report prepared by the General Accounting Office (GAO), the investigating agency of the U.S. Congress and released this August by Senator Edward Kennedy. Kennedy said the report uncovered a "shocking lapse by top Reagan administration officials, who failed to apply elementary enforcement procedures in carrying out the anti-apartheid law."

Because of this inadequate enforcement, South African sanctions-busting tactics have been able to help business circumvent embargoes. Of the 8,000 registered exporters operating in South Africa last year, 5,700 had begun business only since sanctions went into effect. It is likely, for example, that quantities of South African gold have moved via these companies through Britain and Switzerland to illegally enter the U.S.

Window of Opportunity

South Africa faces a foreign debt crisis during 1990-91 which offers a "window of opportunity" to intensify sanctions against Pretoria. South Africa's short term debt agreement with international banks is due to expire in June 1990. Additional long term debt comes due in 1990-91. All told, 40% of the country's total foreign debt of $21 million is up for repayment at the same time.

South African church leaders, together with numerous U.S. and world churches, anti-apartheid and human rights organizations have all issued reports calling for the imposition of strong financial sanctions to prevent international banks from "rolling over" South Africa's loans once again.

Yet, in the face of this international agreement for the necessity of financial sanctions and the tightening of trade sanctions, the Bush administration recommends no new sanctions. On 3 October 1989, Asst. Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. Herman J. Cohen, stated "the administration recommends that no new sanctions be considered at the present time." Cohen also stated that we are committed to "actively supporting the U.S. business presence."

We need to gear up for advocacy. Stay tuned and ready for action as sanctions legislation rolls along in Washington, D.C. Contact the NNC offices (phones and addresses on page 2) and Washington Office on Africa (202/546-7961) for information. For excellent reports see Africa News August, 1989 issue; and South Africa: The Sanctions Missions, Report of the WCC Eminent Church Persons Group, Zed Books, World Council of Churches, 1989.

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ELCA VOTES TO DIVEST

After nearly 15 years of organizing efforts, convention actions, and promises from the ELCA and its predecessor bodies, Lutherans' stubborn concern over apartheid brought yet another clear vote on divestment. At its August Churchwide Assembly in Chicago, the ELCA became the first mainline U.S. church body to establish a timeline for total divestment of its pension funds from corporations doing business in South Africa.

The assembly overwhelmingly voted for a divestment resolution "with teeth," thanks to help from dozens of delegates, a pivotal handful of bishops, and the organizing work of the broadly-based Pension Members for Justice (PMJ) - in which National Namibia Concerns is a partner. Now there is no question about the church's mandate for total divestment. All that remains is the Board of Pensions' implementation of the church action.

The resolution contains the following:

1. a mandate for "intentional (not passive) and complete (not partial)" divestment of all pension funds from companies doing business either directly or indirectly in South Africa;
2. a timeline requiring total divestment by Sept. 1, 1991;
3. an immediate prohibition on any new investments in South African-related companies;
4. a "continuing resolution," added to the ELCA constitution which strengthens the church's directive;
5. instruction to the ELCA bishop to make public each act of divestment.

After numerous attempts to achieve divestment in the predecessor bodies, a 1987 ELCA Constituting Convention resolution pledged that the church would "work tirelessly to see that none of our (ELCA) Pension Funds will be invested in companies doing business in South Africa."

In its regular reports to the ELCA Church Council the Board of Pensions responded that it had "developed a process that would lead to divestment," a claim similarly made by ALC Trustees years before. In fact, its policy provides no change; the board sells South Africa stocks and bonds only when it can find a better profit elsewhere.

So it came as little surprise to some veterans of the divestment struggle when it was revealed that in the past year there were increases in the total amount of South Africa-related investments. In fact, in several cases the pension board had re-invested monies formerly divested from companies doing business in South Africa. Justification for this non-divestment policy was found in the legal term "fiduciary responsibility," interpreted by the board to mean that fiscal responsibility and social responsibility were incompatible.

Forty-four synods, representing two-thirds of the church, responded with strong divestment resolutions. Equipped with forceful language challenging the Board of Pensions, many leaders expected something similar to come before the assembly. In July however, the Memorials Committee was encouraged by the Board of Pensions to compromise the synods' appeals. It issued a resolution that affirmed the passive approach of the pension board and laid responsibility for responsible ethical investment in the laps of individuals.

In preparation for the Churchwide Assembly, Pension Members for Justice identified delegates supportive of divestment in at least 50 of the 65 synod delegations. Packets of informational materials on the issue were published to counter a ten-page upbeat report distributed to delegates by the Board of Pensions.

At the Assembly PMJ sponsored their own open forums. Joseph Diescho, a Namibian scholar and author spoke on why South African Black people are opposed to financial investment there. Larry Albrecht, an attorney from Wisconsin Legal Action, spoke to concerns about "Divestment and Fiduciary Responsibility." Through these efforts PMJ was able to increase understanding among many delegations about apartheid, divestment, and the need for a strong resolution from the ELCA.

At the end of an hour-long floor debate, the assembly virtually ignored the weak resolution presented by the Memorials Committee. It voted by at least an 85 percent margin to substitute the stronger resolution.

Pension Members for Justice will continue monitoring the Board of Pensions on their progress toward the goal of complete divestment.

Excerpts from an article by Tom Witt in "Peace Notes," the quarterly newsletter of Lutheran Peace Fellowship.
NNC Board President, Barb Fullerton, did an "education and advocacy workshop" at the Southern Ohio Women of the ELCA conventions. In addition to full-time seminary studies, and full-time parenting, Barb is nearly a full-time Namibia volunteer.

STUDENTS ACTIVE ON NAMIBIAN ISSUE
Members of Anti-Apartheid group at the University of Wisconsin held their second annual fundraiser on September 22nd. The dance and raffle raised nearly $900 which will be sent to Namibia for SWAPO's campaign expenses. Last year a similar amount was contributed to the Mozambique Support Network for its ongoing program.

Seminarian Phil Hirsch often spoke of his concern for southern Africa during his internship at St. Martin's Lutheran in Marine City, Michigan. He had visited South Africa and Namibia while studying in Zimbabwe. At his farewell luncheon in August, St. Martin's congregation presented Phil with a $425 gift, designated for the People's Primary School in Katatura. Our thanks to St. Martin's!

TSELES ARRIVE IN CHICAGO
Join us in celebrating the arrival in Chicago of Molefe and Modiehe Tsele and their children Tsepo and Polesa. Many of you will recall past articles and action alerts in "Namibia Newsletter" about South African Lutheran pastor, Molefe Tsele. Detained for two years, Molefe was released on Christmas, 1988. After a long wait for a visa, Tsele was finally allowed to leave South Africa and come to the U.S. to take up graduate studies at the Lutheran School of Theology in Chicago. Modiehe will also seek to continue her studies. Tseles wrote from South Africa, thanking all of you who prayed and wrote letters on their behalf.

To Molefe and Modiehe we say: "Welcome to the United States! Please continue to teach us how to be faithful in our world today. Your courage and hope continues to be a strong witness in our midst."

PAULINUM LIBRARY RECEIVES WARTBURG GIFT
From Professor Lou Smith at Paulinum Seminary comes word that the library of the Seminary has grown by at least 30% with the arrival of hundreds of books from Wartburg Seminary. These books represented the theological library of Wartburg's Denver House of Studies. When the Denver House closed, its library was donated to Paulinum. Thanks to Wartburg Seminary for this valuable gift; thanks to Nancy Panum and Peder and Eric Kjeseth, who prepared the shipment; thanks to Lou Smith and his wife who catalogued and shelved the books at Paulinum.
FOCUS ON NAMIBIA AT NATIONAL LUTHERAN GATHERING

Saturday, August 24, 1989, was unofficial "Namibia Day" at the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) Churchwide Assembly, meeting in the sprawling Rosemont/O'Hare Conference Center near Chicago. Sixty Namibian College students appeared before the Assembly to sing freedom songs, receive a standing ovation, and mix with friends and sponsoring groups.

On stage with the students were two special guests of the Commission for Women and the Women of the ELCA, Emma Mujoro, professor at Paulinum Seminary in Otjimbingwe, and Nashilongo Elago, founder of the Namibia Women's Voice.

Pastor Mujoro shared powerful passions with the delegates and visitors: "Women in Namibia suffer triple oppression: race, sex and class. People even use the word of God to suppress the people of God...The time has come for the women of Namibia not to keep silent anymore."

In his current role as legal advisor to the Lutheran churches in Namibia, Ralston Deffenbaugh, Director of the Lutheran Office for World Community, brought a report on the current status of negotiations toward "free and fair" elections. He summed up his observations with a greeting from Lutheran Deputy Bishop Zephania Kameeta: "Tell the Assembly to pray for us. The labor and the birth pangs have begun. The new nation will be born. But tell them also that Pharoah is in charge of the midwives!"

Some four to five hundred delegates and visitors signed petitions circulated by National Namibia Concerns. These petitions were sent to U.S. Secretary of State, James Baker, and to the South African appointed Administrator General in Namibia, insisting that the dreaded Koevoet forces be finally disarmed and confined to bases, and that Colonel Hans Dreyer, founder of Koevoet and recently appointed as a Commander of the South West African Police (SWAPOL) be removed from the country.

Another petition to the U.N. Secretary General urged him not to approve the election law proposed by the Administrator General until it was rewritten to ensure secrecy of the ballot, local counting of ballots and immediate announcements of the results.

SYNOD TASK FORCES SPONSOR RESOLUTIONS/SERVICES

Bishop Herbert Chilstrom of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) participated in a worship service at Bethel Lutheran, sponsored by the Chicago Metropolitan Synod and Prince of Peace Lutheran. In solidarity with Namibian Christians, the theme of the service was "Celebrating with Namibia—Freedom is Coming."

From Ron Freimark, pastor of Trinity Lutheran in Sleepy Eye, Minnesota, we received a report of their Synod resolution and offering designated for the provision of health care for returning refugees.

The North East Iowa Namibia Task Force has distributed a series of bulletin inserts which encourage both awareness and advocacy efforts at the parish level. They are also offering two seminars on Namibia at their Synod's Mission Festival in October.

In Ohio, the Lutheran Namibia Task Force continues to disseminate information, raise money for projects (congregations are encouraged to use Thanksgiving offerings for need in Namibia), and organize their telephone tree.
HERO’S WELCOME FOR NUJOMA

On September 14th, after 29 years in exile, SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma returned home to a hero’s welcome. Thousands of singing, cheering Namibians declared a holiday from their jobs in order to meet their leader at the airport and accompany him on the 30 mile ride to his home in Katatura.

Also present at the airport was Nujoma’s 89-year-old mother, Helvi Kondombolo, who had come down from the north to greet her long awaited son. She wore a traditional “Ovambo dress” but in non-traditional colors of red, blue, and green. (Since April 1st, the whole country seems awash in the SWAPO colors!)

As a young man, Nujoma was one of the leading activists who protested against the forced relocation of blacks into Katatura in 1959. After police action which left thirteen people dead, the “removal” from Windhoek to Katatura was accomplished.

Nujoma fled from Namibia and, in 1960, was instrumental in the organization of SWAPO. He has served as its only president.

In a press conference held in his Katatura home, Nujoma pledged to commit himself to national reconciliation. “Let us, from this day on, leave the sad chapter behind us, those memories of long, bitter years of conflict, racial hatred and destruction. Let us open a new page, a new chapter based on love, peace, human rights, patriotism, respect for one another, and genuine national recognition.”

(continued from page 1)

Church and community leaders suspect the violence is a deliberate attempt to abort the UN peace plan. An observer on the scene noted that the attacks on UNTAG personnel, and the failure of SWAPOL to intervene in the violence “underscores the vulnerability of the local population and the helplessness of the UN who can’t even defend themselves under the groundrules of Resolution 435.”

That such blatant intimidation goes unchecked less than a month before elections does not set the stage for “free and fair” voting.

In addition, if the attacks by DTA and Koevoet continue, chances increase for an armed response from SWAPO and the outbreak of civil war.

Both possibilities could signal the collapse of the UN peace plan, and would certainly mean an indefinite delay in the long-awaited independence of Namibia.