



EPISCOPAL CHURCHPEOPLE for a FREE SOUTHERN AFRICA

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#83

27 January 1989

NAMIBIA - The Struggle for independence at the United Nations

On 23 January, United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar issued a report requested of him by the Security Council in its resolution 629 of 16 January concerning implementation of the ten and a half year old resolution 435, which with its attachments, sets out the UN plan for independence for Namibia. In his 20 page document, the Secretary-General proposed cutting virtually in half the size of the world body's UNTAG group which is to monitor the electoral process in Namibia. It was an attempt to satisfy the five permanent Security Council members - the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, China and France - who continue to demand a cut-rate exercise in Namibia.

A storm of protest rages. The Council of Churches in Namibia on 21 January sent another urgent appeal for UNTAG's size not to be reduced. The Non-Aligned countries and the Africa Group strongly objected. Namibia's friends - non-governmental organizations and individuals - around the world have messaged the UN and their governments. Have you protested to President Bush, whose administration is the guiding light in the effort to cripple the United Nations' responsibility to assure true independence for Namibia? Press your legislators and your church leaders to join in supporting the United Nations and the people of Namibia.



COUNCIL OF CHURCHES IN NAMIBIA

Ongongahangano yEer. iIeka moNamibia
/Awe/nacs Kerkneq. dis Namibia Ina
otjirata tjOzongeriki moNamibia
Rat der Kirchen in Namibia
Raad van Kerke in Namibia

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Windhoek: January 21, 1989

TO: THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS
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FROM: AN EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COUNCIL OF CHURCHES IN NAMIBIA (CCN)

Sir,

Having just received information from New York concerning the present impasse in the Security Council, which poses a threat to the implementation of Resolution 435, we have convened today in Windhoek and wish to make the following statement further to our telex of 16 January 1989:

1. We confirm the contents of our above mentioned telex and wish you to know that we are extremely worried over what we see as a critically urgent situation in the proposed reduction of the UNTAG military component from the original 7,500 to 4,500.

2. Considering that the resolution 435 is a child of the Security Council and has stood for ten solid years, it is to our disappointment, and beyond our understanding that the Security Council (and particularly the 5 permanent members) who knew all along what the costs would be, should now appear to renege on their own agreement. We appeal especially to those countries who have from the beginning been champions of the cause of Namibia in the Security Council to continue in their support and not to desert us in this last and crucial hour.
3. If this matter is merely concerned with finance, we beg that consideration be given to the terribly high price already paid by Namibians in their struggle for freedom and to the inestimable cost that would be paid should one life be lost because there were not enough members of the UNTAG group to monitor and control the already known excesses of those disposed towards the South African system. A cheaply acquired settlement will ultimately prove astronomically costly to this region and consequently to our trading partners. The ultimate choice is between South African colonialism and Namibian freedom.
4. We are deeply concerned at the size and unmonitored activities of the South West African Police (SWAPOL) forces which are known to be surrogates of the South African racist regime. The number of these forces should be known and specified and limited. The threatened reduction of the UNTAG military component from a minimum of 7,500 would allow the SWAPOL forces unbridled control over the election process.
5. We express our gratitude to the Secretary General, the member countries of the non-aligned nations, and the members of the African group for the position they have taken, for their understanding of our situation, and their sympathetic action on behalf of the Namibian people. In particular we express our admiration for General Prem Chand of India, for his witness for and support of the Namibian people's desire for a peaceful settlement with justice and dignity for all.
6. Please do not cut the costs on Namibia's future.
Please do not reduce the UNTAG military component.

Signed:

THE RT. REV. HENDRIK FREDERIK (President, Council of Churches in
Namibia (CCN), The Evangelical
Lutheran Church)

DR. ABISAI SHEJAVALI (General Secretary, Council of
Churches in Namibia)

THE RT. REV. BONIFATIUS HAUSHIKU (Roman Catholic Church)

THE RT. REV. JAMES KAULUMA (Anglican Diocese of Namibia)

THE REV. BARTOLOMEUS KARUAERA (African Methodist Episcopal Church)

THE REV. K. SHUUYA (Evangelical Lutheran Church in
Namibia)

THE REV. J. MASSEY (The Methodist Church of Southern
Africa)

Communiqué on the question of Namibia, issued by the Co-ordinating
Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries on 23 January 1989

The Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries held an urgent meeting in New York on 23 January 1989 in the wake of persistent disturbing reports that some permanent members of the Security Council were subjecting the United Nations Secretariat to undue pressures to propose a reduction in the military component of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) from 7,500 to 4,500 as a cost-saving measure in the budget for the preparations leading to the independence of Namibia.

The Bureau recalled that in 1978 when the Security Council, through its resolution 435 (1978), set an upper limit of 7,500 military personnel to prevent intimidation and infiltration and to ensure the safe return of refugees and their free participation in the electoral process, South Africa had 45,000 soldiers and a 2,500-strong police force in Namibia. Today, the Pretoria régime maintains about 100,000 soldiers and a 10,000-strong police force, a 24,000 to 35,000-strong territorial force and other para-military and ethnic military units in Namibia. The Bureau, therefore, was deeply concerned that, in the light of this vast increase in South Africa's forces of repression and after the Namibian people had been subjected to decades of brutalization by the same instruments of oppression, a reduced United Nations force would hardly restore confidence among the people of Namibia and assure them that they can freely participate in the electoral process without fear of coercion and intimidation from the ubiquitous South African forces.

The Bureau noted that the proposed reductions were contrary to the letter and spirit of Security Council resolution 629 (1989) which, after expressing concern at the increase in the police and para-military forces and the establishment of the South West African territorial forces since 1978, requests the Secretary-General to identify cost-saving measures, wherever possible, but without prejudicing the ability of UNTAG to carry out its mandate.

The Bureau denounced the manoeuvres to impede the preparation by the Secretary-General of a fair and honest report and warned that such actions could delay consideration of the report by the Security Council. It also rejected the deliberate and mischievous representation that Security Council resolution 629 (1989) directs the Secretary-General to effect cuts, and determined that the motive for the contemplated downsizing of the military component of UNTAG can only be aimed at strengthening the hand of the South African Administrator-General and his forces to manipulate the electoral process, while placing the United Nations at a disadvantage. The Bureau, therefore, called upon the international community to reject in advance any such moves as sinister and unacceptable.

Press statement issued in New York on 20 January 1989 by the
African Group on Namibian independence

The African Group at the United Nations has learnt with grave concern of reports to the effect that some members of the Security Council are trying to pressure the United Nations Secretariat to propose severe reductions of the budget for the preparations leading to the independence of Namibia.

According to this information, these members want the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) military personnel to be reduced from 7,500 to 4,000. This is not only contrary to the letter and spirit of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which set an upper limit of 7,500 military personnel, but also would be going counter to the provisions of Security Council resolution 629 (1989). The latter resolution requests the Secretary-General to propose cost-saving measures, wherever possible, but without prejudicing the ability of UNTAG to carry out its mandate.

It is important to point out to the international community that the racist Pretoria régime already has over 100,000 soldiers in Namibia and other para-military and ethnic forces, not to mention a police force of over 13,000.

After decades of being brutalized by the racist régime's instruments of coercion, a meagre United Nations force of 7,500 is barely adequate to restore the confidence of the long-suffering Namibian people, let alone the 4,000 being proposed to cover a territory of about 824,269 square kilometres. At a time when the Namibian people are anxiously awaiting free and fair elections, the reduction of UNTAG military personnel will deprive them of the right freely to choose their representatives.

The African Group at the United Nations rejects the proposed reduction and calls upon the international community to raise its voice against the cuts.

WEEKLY MAIL, January 20 to January 26 1989



A Swapo prisoner, centre, points out an arms cache to his Koevoet captors

From KOEVOET!, by JIM HOOPER, Southern Books, R39,95.

Luanda alleges secret 'Renamo' plan

As the first batch of Cubans depart for Havana, suspicions flare again. The Angolans and Swapo claim that SA is plotting to form a secret 'Renamo' force in Namibia. SA denies it
 By ANTON HARBER in Lusaka and RAJAH MUNAMAVA, Windhoek

THE South African government is already creating conditions for the destabilisation of an independent Namibia, a senior Angolan minister and independent sources in Windhoek have alleged.

The claims have surfaced in the week that the first batch of Cuban troops returned to Havana, marking phase one of the implementation of the recently-achieved sub-continental peace deal.

At a press briefing in Lusaka this week, Angola's Minister of Petroleum and Energy, Pedro de Castro Van Dunem, said Luanda had already received "some signals" of South African plans to destabilise the region despite the tripartite peace accord.

In particular, he said elements were being transformed into "commandos" that will play a similar role to Renamo in Mozambique.

He added that he feared South Africa and Zaire would co-operate in concerted action against an independent Namibia, and would use the Angolan rebel movement Unita to continue to destabilise the Luanda government.

He said the process of preparation had begun "some time ago, under the auspices of the United States ... there is no doubt about that".

There are also reported to be "sustained rumours" in Namibia itself of South African plans to "form a rebel group along the lines of Unita or Renamo, should the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) emerge victorious" in the independence elections scheduled for November this year.

A well-placed source in Windhoek claimed "it is believed that as early as last year, South Africa began looking for the 'betting horse' among its protégés in Namibia in case of failure to stop Swapo coming to power."

Although the source could not give more concrete details of the alleged plans, he claimed two potential rebel leaders had been suggested: Moses Katjuongua, the interim government's Minister of Health, and Me-



Withdrawal: A Cuban soldier and his Angolan girlfriend brandish a huge poster of Fidel Castro during a march-past in Luanda to mark the departure of 450 Cubans

Picture: REUTER

shack Muyongo, former Swapo vice-president and now leader of the (internal) United Democratic Party and vice-president of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

According to reports received by the Namibian newspaper, a decision was made in favour of Muyongo, but he has set down conditions for co-operation. The South African Administrator-General, Louis Pienaar, was unable to comment on the allegations, as he was still on holiday.

Swapo officials have also claimed that arms caches are being stockpiled in Namibia "in preparation for a possible insurrection against a future government".

Swapo secretary-general Andimba Toivo ja Toivo was reported in Lon-

don last week as saying "Herero tribesmen" loyal to Katjuongua were being trained at Unita's Jamba headquarters in southern Angola.

An SADF spokesman said yesterday that "Swapo is afraid of losing an election in SWA."

"The Defence Force predicted that this kind of climate-creation would increase as the implementation of UN 435 continues.

"Furthermore, Swapo's track record since their unilateral declaration of a cessation of hostilities last year paints a dismal picture of incompetence, duplicity and a total lack of control over their terrorists."

Meanwhile in Lusaka, where he was attending a US-sponsored conference, Angola's Van Dunem said

the recent rehabilitation of the Cabinda military base was undertaken to facilitate covert support for Unita in the future. "We already have information that over 3 000 Unita troops have been trained in Cabinda," he said.

Van Dunem said he was concerned about the developments, and his government had discussed the matter with the Zairean authorities. "They say they have no knowledge of Unita elements in Zaire," he said.

The "Angolan government is ready to do everything to see the (peace) accord materialises. But on the South African side it is a bit different. They often do not honour their accords."

Van Dunem attacked the recent statement by South African Defence Minister Magnus Malan that an Angolan government attack on Unita would be regarded as a breach of the accord. "This is Malan's own interpretation. South Africa will always search for a pretext to withdraw from the agreement, and now they have found this one. But it is neither in the letter nor the spirit of the accord."

Asked why his government would not speak to Unita leader Savimbi, he said the rebel chief should first renounce violence and accept the Angolan constitution "since he started this war". His government was following a policy of "national harmonisation" whereby anyone who put down their guns and accepted the country's constitution would be welcomed back.

Angola's priority was to "restructure the economy". Even before the Soviet Union's introduction of perestroika, he said, his government had decided "serious transformation had to take place".

A senior US official at the Lusaka conference, Herman Cohen, made it clear that Washington would act firmly against any party that broke the Angola/Namibia agreements — and said the Soviet Union took the same view.

Cohen said the US, which has so far refused to recognise the Angolan government, could be expected to establish an "official presence" in the country within the next six months. He implied this would be a step along a gradual path to full recognition.

Peace breaks out ... but Namibia's call-ups continue

LARGE numbers of young Namibians have been conscripted into the SWA Territorial Force despite the country's impending independence and the earlier-than-required Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

Progressive groups and lawyers have condemned the call-up as an act of bad faith in the light of South Africa's promise to implement Resolution 435 in less than three months.

At least one white Namibian has refused to serve in the South West African Territory Force. Richard Pakdeppa, a Windhoek resident and education co-ordinator for the National Union of Namibian Workers, was due this week to report for two years military service but has announced his decision not to do so.

He said it was the duty of young Namibians to "cancel" the call-up as the authorities had not done so.

The director of the Legal Assistance Centre in Windhoek, David Smuts, said this week that he found the January intake inexplicable, especially on the eve of the implementation of Resolution 435.

In terms of Resolution 435, the South African Defence Force is required to withdraw from Namibia, including its units grouped in the SWATF.

"Either these members must withdraw from Namibia, or the units themselves must be disbanded within the next few months," Smuts said.

It was recently decided to disband the police counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet. "One questions the motive of those in authority by calling up these people if security force units are already being disbanded," he said.

Smuts confirmed that several Namibians had approached the centre for advice on their options regarding conscription.

"People have come to us on the grounds that, although not hardline Swapo supporters, they in principle oppose conscription into the South African Defence Force and its units in

Hundreds of youths have been called up for two years in Namibia — although independence is months away. MARK VERBAAN reports

the SWATF," he said.

On Tuesday morning, hundreds of young Namibians, speaking a diversity of languages, collected at various points around Windhoek to await transportation to Luipardsvallei base on the outskirts of the capital.

It is understood that officers in the SWATF will be seconded to camps in South Africa where they will complete two years' national service.

According to Sapa, Swapo said yesterday South Africa was trying to sway the Namibian elections set for November 1 by forcing young men to join the army.

"More than 3 000 new conscripts are to begin their basic training this week before being deployed to serve in the SWATF," said the Namibian Press Agency.

The new recruits would "perform an intimidatory role during the planned elections, thereby influencing the results of such elections in favour of South African collaborators in the territory".

Earlier this week, a Swapo representative said South Africa was trying to influence the elections by giving Angola's Unita rebels Namibian citizenship.

Commenting on the allegations, an SADF spokesman in Pretoria said Swapo was "afraid of losing an election in SWA/Namibia."

"This silly statement is aimed at creating a climate which will enable Swapo to dismiss the elections as unfair and undemocratic if they lose. The Defence Force predicted ... that this kind of climate creation would increase as the implementation of ... Resolution 435 progresses.

"Furthermore, Swapo's ... record since their unilateral declaration of a cessation of hostilities on September



Fond farewell. A teenager joins the army in Windhoek

Picture: JOHAN LIEBENBERG

1 last year paints a dismal picture of incompetence, duplicity and a total lack of control" over insurgents.

Commandant Fanie Krige, of the SWATF liaison department, said various factors had contributed to the SWATF's decision to go ahead with this year's national service intake.

"The most important factor was that the safety of Namibia and its residents was still being threatened, as indicated by two recent land mine incidents in Owambo."

"The enemy faction, Swapo, has still not made any formal announcement regarding the halting of its terrorist activities," said Krige. "If Swa-

po, as the story goes, plans to continue with the armed struggle if it loses the election, the SWATF must have the necessary trained manpower available."

SWATF also had a duty to provide a large number of servicemen for essential services such as education and agriculture; Resolution 435 made provision for 300 troops to perform these duties.

"The halting of conscription for the 1988 and 1989 intakes, and their obligations after the implementation of Resolution 435, are matters which must still be finalised between the relevant parties," said Krige.



THE NAMIBIAN
Friday 14 January 1989



Koevat, the Crowbar patrol, passes by. The men who serve in it are unlikely upholders of a peace for independent Namibia

Terror of the crowbar

In the first of two articles, **David Beresford** reports on the security unit that even when it is disbanded will threaten Namibia's hard-won peace

IN THE NORTH of Namibia good rains have fallen early, ending something of a drought. Many of the Owambo people, who have taken the brunt of the territory's war of liberation, are seeing it as a favourable omen.

In the south of the territory the Finger of God — a (previously) perpendicular limestone formation which was a popular tourist attraction as well as a national monument — has fallen down, apparently as a result of shock waves from the Armenian earthquake. Some whites are seeing that as an omen too, the South African neo-Nazi leader, Eugene Terre-Blanche, warning it means that God is closing his fist on South West Africa.

So the portents are there, to suggest that 1989 is indeed the year in which this country will finally win its independence — to the rejoicing of the black majority and chagrin of the white minority, whatever the Almighty's thoughts on the matter.

And everything is now in place for that momentous moment in the history of this much-bloodied land. The UN Security Council has formally endorsed the peace plan for the region — agreed last year between South Africa, Angola and Cuba — and has confirmed April Fools Day as the "trigger" date for the 7-month implementation of Resolution 435. The territory's "Transitional Government" announced on Friday, after talks with South Africa's acting State President, Chris Heunis, that it was about to dissolve itself in preparation for the independence process.

But otherwise there is little happening in this rambling little capital to suggest it is about to dissolve the curtain on the final act in the decolonisation of Africa.

In "the Bastion", the ugly Windhoek headquarters of the local military, SWATF, charts are still on the walls boasting of their "terrorist" kill rate. And in the annual ritual of conscription mothers have once again been saying their tearful fare-

wells to some 2,000 of their sons, as they leave home to do their youthful duty in the war against Godless communism and the "terrs".

The call-up, earlier this month, is on the face of it a cynical gesture in the run up to a national election which, in the opinion of most pundits, will shortly give control of the country into the hands of the "terrs" themselves — the forces of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo). But then cynicism seems to be the order of the day here.

The only evidence of electioneering, for instance, are the activities of the National Party busily gearing up for March elections to the White Assembly — part of the racially-divided second tier of Government scheduled to be dismantled at the end of March under Resolution 435.

That white assumption, that it is "business as usual", is also reflected in the absence of evidence as to any flight of capital — which one would expect as a pointer, albeit a negative one, to the imminence of independence — other than unconfirmed reports of politicians in the Transitional Government shifting their funds to the South African enclave of Walvis Bay.

But for all of that there is apparent confidence across the political spectrum here that the

final act is indeed about to be performed, a confidence qualified, however, by a vague sense of unease. As one of the territory's newspaper editors confided: "It looks like it's going to happen, but something is going on behind the scenes that I just can't put my finger on."

On present indications the behind-the-scenes activity taking place is focused on the security front, most overtly in an attempt by the permanent members of the Security Council to rid themselves of the "Namibian problem" on the cheap.

The Security Council is currently pressuring the Secretary General to reduce the UN monitoring force — which is meant to oversee the independence process — from 7,500 men and women to some 3,500. A compromise of 4,500 is now being negotiated.

Theoretically this might seem something of a technicality: South Africa, by agreeing to the implementation of Resolution 435, is committed to de-mobilising or withdrawing almost all the troops in the territory (Pretoria admits to a force of 25,000 men, while the UN claims it stands at 100,000) as well as signing a cease-fire with Swapo.

To Swapo supporters, however, the waters are greatly muddied by the position of Koevat, the territory's notorious counter-insurgency unit. Koevat (Crowbar) was originally

formed by the South African Police, but was transferred to the Namibian police (Swapol) in 1985 — some seven years after Resolution 435 was passed and the composition of the 7,500 strong United Nations Technical Assistance Group (Untag) agreed upon. In terms of 435 responsibility for the maintenance of law and order will remain with the "existing police forces", which seemingly includes Koevat personnel.

The reputation of Koevat is usually characterised by accounts of rapes, murders and acts of torture in which they have allegedly been involved. Defenders of the unit insist these are greatly exaggerated. So it suffices, in characterising them, to quote a sympathetic book on the unit which has just gone on sale in Namibia, written by an American journalist who was given the unprecedented facility of living and patrolling with them for more than six months.

The author, Jim Hooper, describing them as "hunter, killer teams", says of Koevat: "They very much fit the mould and psychological profile of other elite special warfare units... extremely aggressive and thriving on adrenalin highs... the fact is most of them love and need the constant stimulation of combat... their entire raison d'être is killing 'terrs' and their record on that is un-

matched in the operational area and one in which they take great pride."

Some insight into the "psychological profile" is provided by passages in the book quoting members of the unit along the lines of: "... I had to keep this gook worried and I just squeezed off the shots, one by one. I shot off three-four before I could reach him and then gave him everything I had. Blew his head off. It was... exciting."

It was apparently in anticipation of criticism at the maintenance of Koevat that the South African Government recently announced the unit was being "disbanded" as a gesture of "goodwill". Police headquarters in Windhoek confirmed to me, however, that all of the unit's 3,000 members are being "reintegrated" into the main body of the police force.

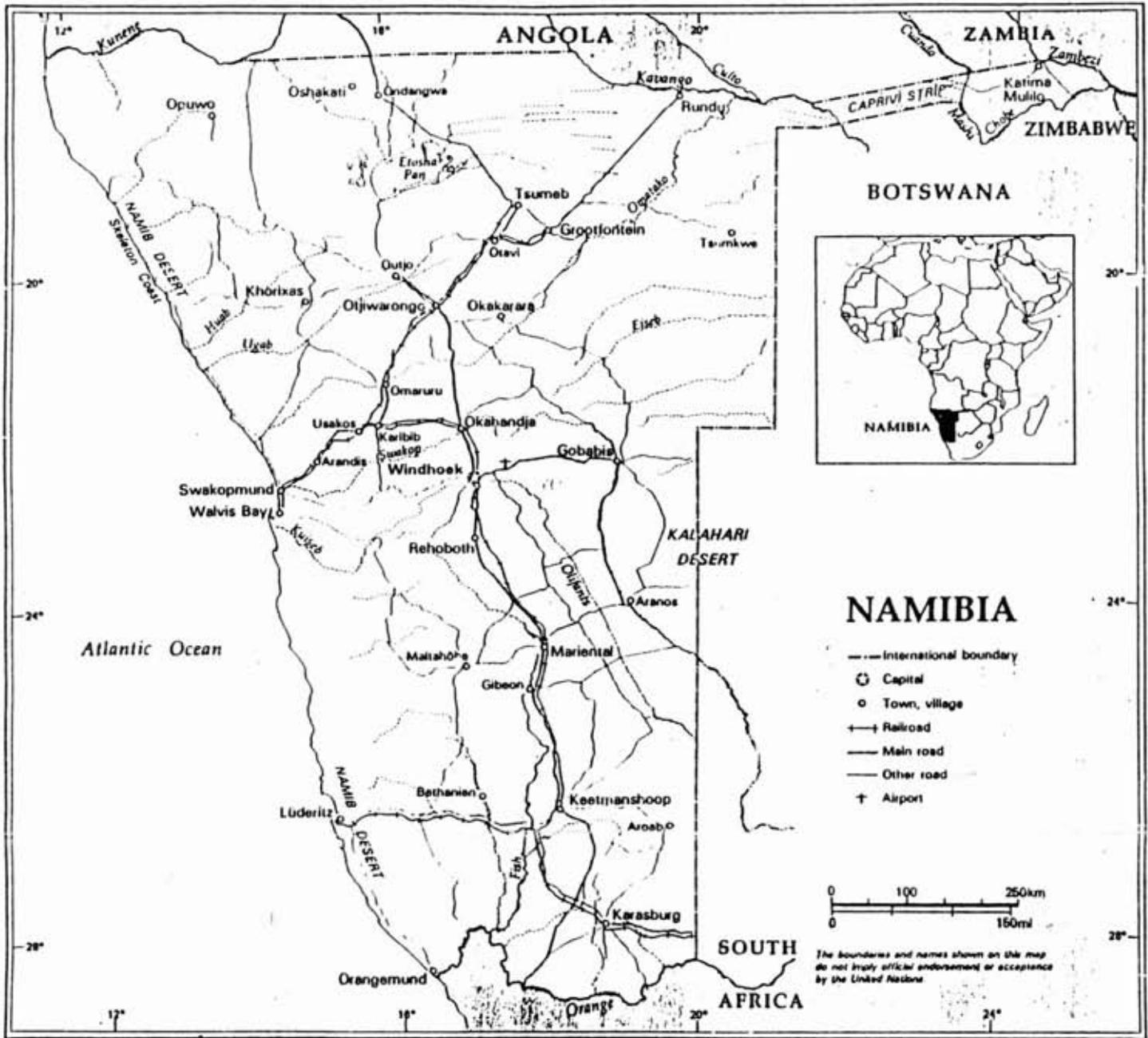
The idea of such men supervising "law and order" — as the "terrs" they "blow away" with such "pride" make their electoral bid for power — is obviously incongruous and accounts for some of the indignation expressed a senior Swapo official here, involved in the internal organisation's "security" side.

"If you compare South Africa to Western countries, South Africa is, is... is..." he stuttered, at a loss for words to describe the enormity of the duplicities with which he and his comrades have held Pretoria guilty over the years.

Koevat would be used as drivers, guides, and translators for the Untag forces, said the official, launching into a litany of covert activities in which he claimed the perfidious South Africans were already engaged: troops were touring the operational areas, telling people "peace has been reached and Swapo has been defeated". Swapo was being so closely watched it would be impossible to guarantee the safety of its leadership if they tried to campaign: followers of the Angolan rebel movement, Unita, were being brought across the border and registered as Namibians for the election; Unita itself was organising in the Owambo and Kavango; reports that South Africa was establishing arms caches in the northern areas had been coming in since November; a member of the cabinet in the Transitional Government had already been tentatively selected by the South Africans as Namibia's new Jonas Savimbi.

"For people who are not used to South Africa we might seem unreasonable. But people born and bred under South Africa know how difficult it will be to have a free and fair election," he said.

"And if we win this election South Africa is not likely to just sit back and watch."



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