



EPISCOPAL CHURCHPEOPLE for a FREE SOUTHERN AFRICA

339 Lafayette Street  
New York, N.Y. 10012

Phone: (212) 477-0066

FAX: (212) 979-1013

18 May 1989

TO RENEW THE VOWS

South Africa's next state president, F.W. de Klerk, seems about to come to the United States within the next 6/8 weeks. Such a visit will consummate a long-coming public embrace of the apartheid state by the US government and will delight the international financial, industrial, business, military and intelligence communities - particularly at this time when the threat of stronger economic sanctions against Pretoria grows in the USA and around the world.

A US trip by the top Pretorian leader has been on and off since 1978. President Jimmy Carter issued an invitation to P. W. Botha and since 1981 there were several alarms that President Ronald Reagan would host his formidable counterpart. The visit never materialized for a number of reasons, among them Botha's overbearing countenance and attitude and because Washington was trying to persuade the apartheid regime to agree to the plan for Namibian 'independence', with the state visit as a reward. The former obstacle is to fade from view come September's South African whites-only elections and the latter is underway in its early and bloody stages.

De Klerk is touted as a progressive to the outside world. President George Bush - who yesterday vowed undying abhorrence of apartheid to South African church leaders - is anxious to add a point of light to his skimpy halo by untying the South African Gordian knot. As for de Klerk's liberalism, the best comment comes from an observer, who, when asked the difference between P. W. Botha and F. W. de Klerk, replied: 'Twenty years.'

DEMAND THE NEW APARTHEID CHIEF NOT BE ALLOWED IN THIS COUNTRY. CONTACT THE PRESIDENT, YOUR SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES.

\*A18 WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1989

THE WASHINGTON POST

## U.S. May Invite S. African Politician for Talks

### *Party Chief de Klerk Expected to Succeed Botha as President*

By David B. Ottaway  
*Washington Post Staff Writer*

The Bush administration is considering inviting the leader of South Africa's ruling white party, Frederik W. de Klerk, to Washington as part of a planned U.S. initiative to help bring about a compromise between whites and blacks there.

"A meeting with de Klerk is something being considered but there is no definite plan and no invitation yet," a State Department official said.

"He's obviously a very important person for us to be talking to if we want to get negotiations going," the official added.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said he did not anticipate "a presidential meeting" if de Klerk comes here, but added, "there could be State Department-level meetings with him."

No South African president, prime minister or National Party leader has visited here since the

late Hendrik F. Verwoerd, the man responsible for that nation's apartheid system, became prime minister in 1958, according to a South African Embassy spokesman.

De Klerk is expected to succeed South Africa president Pieter W. Botha after parliamentary elections scheduled for Sept. 6. De Klerk is leader of the ruling National Party.

Herman J. Cohen, the new assistant secretary of state for African affairs, will visit South Africa "sooner rather than later" to discuss a possible visit by de Klerk, among other issues, the State Department official said.

Yesterday, South Africa's state-run radio broadcast a commentary that said de Klerk might be invited to meet with President Bush.

"Such an invitation would be an important breakthrough in South African-United States relations," the commentary said. "In particular, a visit by Mr. de Klerk to the White House would be important in the context of the sanctions debate."

The commentary noted that Bush, like President Ronald Reagan before him, is a staunch opponent of further sanctions on South Africa.

Meanwhile, four prominent South African religious leaders led by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace laureate, are scheduled to address a gathering here today of U.S. officials, foundation heads, business and civil rights leaders on a new peace plan for South Africa.

The Rev. Allan Boesak, president of the World Council of Reformed Churches; the Rev. Beyers Naude, former secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, and the Rev. Frank Chikane, the council's secretary-general, also will address the forum. It is being organized by TransAfrica, the African lobby group that led the grassroots campaign for the economic sanctions imposed on South Africa in 1986.

*Staff writer David Hoffman contributed to this report.*

# Majority Rule 'Unjust,' Says Botha's Heir

*De Klerk Dampens Talk  
Of Any Policy Change*

By William Claiborne  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, May 12—Frederik W. de Klerk, minister of white education and the ruling National Party's designated next president, today unequivocally rejected the possibility of majority rule for South Africa because, he said, it would be "unjust."

In a major policy address to the whites-only chamber of Parliament, de Klerk said that including South Africa's black majority on common voter rolls on a one-man, one-vote basis would inevitably lead to majority rule by blacks.

"That is unjust toward the electorate of this house [whites] and certain other groups and therefore totally unacceptable," said de Klerk, who is widely considered to be in the progressive wing of South African white politics.

Instead of giving blacks an equal electoral franchise, de Klerk said, the government would seek to create a new political system of governance by consensus of nonelected representatives of racial groups. Such a system, he said, "will not be conducive to majority rule or domination."

De Klerk's speech was clearly intended to lower growing public expectations that upon the retirement of President Pieter W. Botha on Sept. 6, the National Party plans to embark on reforms that would give South Africa's black majority of 23 million a decisive role in running the country.

Those expectations were heightened last week when Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis said the government wanted to create a single national legislature that would include blacks. Heunis, the government's architect of constitutional reform, also proposed including blacks in the cabinet and on the parliamentary electoral college that chooses the president.

Amid signs of growing tension between Heunis and de Klerk, Heunis unexpectedly announced his retirement last night.

De Klerk's speech today made it clear that under the reforms to be proposed,

See SOUTH AFRICA, A12, Col. 4

THE WASHINGTON POST A12 SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1989

## Botha's Heir Assails Rule By Majority

SOUTH AFRICA, From A9

blacks may vote in some as yet unspecified kind of legislative institution, as long as they do not outvote whites.

His remarks set the stage for an election campaign that is likely to be dominated by the issue of racial reform and not, as in previous elections, by such emotive issues as law and order and the security of the white minority.

De Klerk said he rejected both the majority rule policy of the Democratic Party, recently formed by white liberals, and the exclusive minority-rule policy of the white supremacist Conservative Party.

"The contrast is clear. The Conservative Party stands for a minority government in a South Africa that will, by their own admission, in perpetuity be populated by a majority of people of color. It is unfair and does not pass the test of justice," de Klerk said.

"The Democratic Party stands for a majority government. In a country with such a massive and wide diversity as ours, this is unfair toward the smaller peoples and population groups. Their policy, too, fails the test of justice."

De Klerk reiterated the National Party's longstanding proposal of a two-tier political system in which racial groups would separately exercise control over their "own affairs" while at another level of government their representatives, acting on the basis of consensus, would legislate matters of common or national interest. "Failure to reach consensus should be settled by a trustworthy referee," de Klerk said, without elaborating on how the referee would be selected.

While the "matters of common interest" have not been specified,



Party leader de Klerk arrives at Parliament in Cape Town for policy speech.

party strategists have said they would include such issues as fiscal affairs and foreign policy. The "own affairs" would include such matters as segregated education.

While neither Heunis nor de Klerk has been specific on the composition of the proposed multiracial legislature, National Party officials have said it is not envisaged as a directly elected body, but would consist of selected leaders of various racial communities.

These would probably include, party officials said, members of the white, mixed-race Colored and Indian houses of Parliament; leaders of the self-governing tribal "homelands"; elected leaders of black townships; leaders of legally authorized organizations with constituencies of all races and at-large members of the proposed advisory National Council which the govern-

ment is hoping to create as a forum to negotiate a new power-sharing constitution.

The governing principle, according to political analysts, would probably be consensus of concurrent majorities, meaning that minority racial groups such as the 4.5 million whites, 3.1 million Coloreds and 900,000 Indians would, in effect, have the same power as the black representative group.

Coloreds and Indians are represented in segregated and mostly powerless chambers of Parliament, while blacks have no vote and no representation in the central government.

The African National Congress, the main black nationalist movement battling white minority rule in South Africa, has flatly rejected all constitutional proposals based on the "group" concept.

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1989

## S African leader may meet Bush and Thatcher

By Stephen Robinson in Johannesburg

THE NEW LEADER of South Africa's National party, Mr Frederik de Klerk, who will become head of state after the September general election, plans to meet Mrs Thatcher and President Bush during a foreign tour this summer. The meetings would be "sooner rather than later", probably late next month or in July, South African sources said yesterday.

To satisfy Washington's powerful anti-apartheid lobby, Mr Bush might have to meet Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress, before he can see Mr de Klerk.

However, a meeting with Mrs Thatcher appears certain. The Prime Minister let it be known during a meeting last month with Mr Barend du Plessis, South Africa's Finance Minister, who ran Mr de Klerk a close second in the party leadership contest, that she wanted to meet the new generation of Afrikaner leaders.

That meeting was overshadowed by differences over the attempted arms exchange between a Paris-based South African diplomat and members of the Ulster Defence Association.

Mrs Thatcher is said to be determined to "get at" Mr de Klerk before he becomes involved in forming his new

administration after the general election.

Mr de Klerk, 53, is more than 20 years younger than President Botha, and it is hoped he will prove more flexible and realistic in his dealings with black political leaders.

However, it seems unlikely that he will be able to promise Mrs Thatcher much now that the election campaign has begun, and the National party is facing a fierce challenge from the extreme Right wing.

His recent pronouncements have been aimed more at nervous white conservative voters rather than satisfying the demands of Western leaders.

Mr Botha visited Mrs Thatcher in 1984. Their meeting apparently went well, although the South African president was soon to be diverted from his reformist path by the township uprising later that year.



# EPISCOPAL CHURCHPEOPLE for a FREE SOUTHERN AFRICA

339 Lafayette Street  
New York, N.Y. 10012

Phone: (212) 477-0066

FAX: (212) 979-1013  
NAMIBIA

#87

20 May 1989

Students from virtually all secondary schools in northern Namibia have left their hostels and returned home. The Namibia Communications Centre of London reports church sources say thousands of young people left school 18 May to be with their families as South African security forces continued to run unchecked.

The churches also say South African army units - supposed to be confined to base - still operate alongside members of the terror brigade Koevoet which Pretoria has transformed into policemen. The students demand the 3,000 Koevoet personnel be removed from the police. The young Namibians also insist that troops of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group 'must at all times follow the South West Africa Police wherever they go to prevent intimidation by police and further bloodshed'.



THE NAMIBIAN Friday May 5 1989

UNTAG officials in Windhoek acknowledge receipt of some 80 complaints of 'misconduct and thuggery' by South African forces over three weeks in one district alone. Stung by widespread protests from the north that UNTAG police monitors were ineffective, UNTAG Windhoek related how its policemen exercised an 'executive role rather than their customary monitoring one' by rescuing a South African soldier who had driven his motorcycle into a crowd of Namibian civilians. THE TIMES of London on 18 May reports on 'a new sport gaining popularity in northern Namibia' - South African security forces driving their armored vehicles into people on the roads. 'After a hard day killing "terrorists", it is a fun way to unwind.'

The Namibian people thought UNTAG was committed to help them achieve their independence. UNTAG's commissioner of police has submitted a report on intimidation, harassment and assault which UNTAG turned over to South Africa's Administrator-General. The report has not been made public. Could it contain - in addition to details of everyday South African depredations - evidence supporting assertions by news reporters and cameramen, and ballistics and forensic experts, that SWAPO soldiers were executed by Koevoet?

Pretoria has long asserted a commanding position over UNTAG. UN staff personnel recruited for the UNTAG team have had to have the approval of South Africa's mission in New York. Some are still awaiting clearance from the illegal occupiers. At a joint press conference at Windhoek airport 31 March, the UN Special Representative said he welcomed observers of governments and organizations other than the UN. The South African AG cut in: 'May I correct one aspect. It is the South African government which has to decide on the admission of observer groups', adding coyly, '...as far as I am concerned these observer groups will be made most welcome.'

When UNTAG acquiesced in the release of South African troops on 1 April to hunt down SWAPO soldiers assembling peacefully in northern Namibia, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe declared: 'I have to say that certain decisions and actions taken by the Secretary-General's Representative are tantamount to monumental errors of judgement and display a shocking insensitivity to the feelings of the Namibians...He granted South Africa's request to drive away SWAPO combatants reported to be crossing into Namibia...Once he gave this authority, it would appear that Mr. Ahtisaari is now either incapable or unwilling to withdraw it and, as a result, the South African forces continue their terror and murder campaigns against innocent Namibians.'

4 Friday May 5 1989

# POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

by Gwen Lister



IT'S fine for the Administrator General to issue a press release prohibiting civil servants from using their offices to promote or impair the interests or cause of any political party. We just wonder about his definition of 'civil service'. Mr Louis Pienaar issued a statement on the 'do's and don'ts' for civil servants during the election period to assure 'impartiality', but it appears that these rules concern mainly government offices (ie second tier administrations) and educational institutions. My question is: what about the army?

MR PIENAAR, in his statement this week quite rightly prohibited the use of government facilities and manpower from promoting or impairing the interests of any political party. I have no problems with this, although I must emphasise that those same civil servants or teachers or pupils should be free to attend the political meetings of their choice outside working hours. But then I have a few questions for Mr Pienaar:

- why, if he claims that since teachers may not "influence their pupils party-politically" do those same schools allow members of the military to address educational institutions on their assessment of 435, thereby certainly trying to "influence" pupils and teachers. - apart from the government service, does Mr Pienaar not consider the army as 'civil service'? Or are they, as we have always suspected, a law unto themselves? If so, this situation should be stopped immediately. It should be strongly prohibited that members of the SA Defence Force be allowed to conduct their own 'political campaigns', making free use of schools and government institutions to do so. After all, they are highly jaundiced view of the settlement plan - they are hardly unbiased and impartial - and their so-called 'information meetings' are nothing other than propaganda exercises. One cannot therefore prevent certain civil servants from involvement, when the army, for one, is excluded. Once again, the Administrator General needs to be impartial and consistent, when applying such rules.

- the Administrator General does not make himself clear on the issue of newspapers, for instance. A civil servant of the Ovambo Administration, Mr Oswald Shivute, was pulled on the carpet and warned not to cooperate with, or give information to, The Namibian. Is the act of responding to press queries about human rights violations, a political issue, we wonder? Also in connection with newspapers: there are nurses at the Katutura State Hospital who complain about the fact that many of the South African matrons in charge there, permit their staff to buy Die Republikein, but prohibit them from going out to get The Namibian. Are 'civil servants' not allowed to read the newspaper of their choice? The same applies to many schools throughout the country - where pupils are encouraged to read the free copies of pro-South African newspapers, but are prevented from buying or getting The Namibian for their libraries?

- there have also been many reports in recent weeks of 'tribal' offices being leased to pro-South African parties for the election period. Does Mr Pienaar plan to rescind all these agreements, in order to be consistent in his prescriptions?

I would be pleased if Mr Pienaar would also indicate the 'do's and don'ts' for members of the army: there have been sufficient reports of soldiers sporting DTA colours and intimidating people to do likewise, to justify action on his part. There have also been enough reports of army intelligence officers giving 'information' briefings on 435 at various schools and other government institutions, to warrant action on his part. And more than adequate evidence of political intimidation.

Civil servants can therefore not be expected to adhere to the Administrator General's requirements for 'impartiality in the government service' if they are not consistently applied.

POLITICAL activities of any party are prohibited from being held on educational campuses, according to Administrator General Louis Pienaar. In a press statement released on Wednesday, Mr Pienaar explained what was allowed and what was not allowed with regard to the use of government facilities for party-political purposes, and the participation of civil servants in political activities.

His six-point statement was issued purportedly "to ensure the impartiality of the Administration during the execution of the independence settlement plan."

Mr Pienaar had, in consultation with heads of departments, thus drawn up a list of "guidelines".

He said that while it was "desirable" that government officials and others kept themselves abreast of political developments, "officials and enfranchised students and pupils are free" to attend party-political public meetings "without getting personally involved in party-political activities".

"With a view to the effective functioning of Government service, and the thorough conclusion of the educational programme of schools, it is

essential that the attendance of political meetings ... are conducted after working hours and outside school hours." Mr Pienaar said.

He added that government officials must "conscientiously respect" the codes of conduct issued in accordance with the Law of Government Service (1980).

Point 3 on Mr Pienaar's list states that "no official may use his office or official facilities to promote or impair the interests or cause of any political party". This, he says, is to protect officials and teachers from accusations of favouring or disfavouring political parties.

Mr Pienaar added: "This also specifically applies to teachers, who may not influence their pupils party-politically."

No government buildings or facilities are to be made available for the holding of meetings or any related activity of a political party.

Mr Pienaar's Point 5 states: "In particular, party political activities on campuses are prohibited in order to avert any losses of teaching time, polarisation, possible violent confrontation between pupils and the resulting damage to state property."

In conclusion, the South African governor appealed to all political parties and the voting public to "conduct the political debate outside school premises and other state property".



In Pastor-death case

# 'GOOD FIGHTER' FINED R200

By Chris Shipanga

TWO SOLDIERS accused of killing Pastor Frederick Nghihalwa yesterday walked away from court having been told to each pay a R200 fine. Presiding magistrate Mr APJ Kotze found 101 Battalion members NJA Prinsloo and Shatyohamba Kashihakumwa not guilty of culpable homicide, preferring instead to find them guilty of assault for which they were ordered to pay R200 or serve 50 days in prison.

The magistrate said he had considered giving the men suspended sentences but, in the light of the latest "terrorist" incursion in the north, he

felt the two accused would be required to go back to their units to fight.

The two accused denied all charges.

Throughout yesterday's proceedings, the prosecution Mr P.J. Miller, who was instructed by state advocates, called no witnesses.

Speaking after the trial, the pastor's wife, 65-year-old Linda Nghihalwa said she could not believe that a magistrate who was supposed to be completely impartial was talking about the two accused fighting "the enemy".

"It was clear my husband was clear to these two (the accused) that my husband was not a terrorist but

nevertheless they assaulted him."

Pastor Nghihalwa died in Windhoek State Hospital on July 23, 1987 allegedly as a result of the injuries sustained during assaults by the two accused on March 30 and 31.

One of the accused - the recently-promoted Captain Prinsloo - is also

cont. on page 3

## 'SECRET' UN REPORT ON INTIMIDATION

THE United Nations has completed an investigation into allegations of police intimidation at the Oshikuku mission station in northern Namibia, and has asked South African representative Louis Pienaar to take action.

UN official Cedric Thornberry said that the report by UN police commissioner, Steven Fanning, would not be made public, but had been referred to Mr Pienaar with a request that he

inform the United Nations as soon as possible what action will be taken.

One can presume from this that commissioner Fanning has found sufficient evidence of security force

intimidation.

Residents of the area around Oshikuku had told church officials

cont. on page 3

## SECRET UN REPORT

cont. from page 1

that police had threatened and harassed them in an attempt to make them give information about Swapo fighters in the area.

Mr Thornberry pointed out that the United Nations' role was to monitor the election process and the administration of the territory, but not to run the government. For that reason, he said, commissioner Fanning's report would not be made public, but that it would be up to Mr Pienaar to take action satisfactory to Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

Residents of the north say that

security forces shot civilians and tore down villages during the recent fighting.

This follows recent allegations by a US television film that the South African-led security forces "effectively executed" Swapo fighters after they were captured.

South Africa said yesterday that the allegations were part of a propaganda campaign by Swapo, but did not comment directly on the charges.

Mr Thornberry said that by the weekend more than 4 000 UN military and police personnel would be in the territory.

He added that five PLAN guerrillas were waiting at UN assembly

points to be taken back to Angola.

A sixth fighter was being held by the SWA Police (Koevoet) near one of the border assembly points, and the United Nations had ordered an investigation into reasons for his detention.

In addition, security forces say they have captured 32 guerrillas during the fighting, but no decision has been taken as to what will happen to them.

Representatives of Cuba, Angola and South Africa met at Ruarua yesterday to discuss procedures relating to the withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia and the departure of Cuban troops from Angola.

## PASTOR DEATH SEQUEL

cont. from page 1

one of the six army men accused of the murder of Swapo veteran Immanuel Shifidi.

At yesterday's hearing at Ondangwa Magistrates Court, Captain Prinsloo admitted the Pastor was assaulted by both himself and his army colleagues.

Captain Prinsloo said that when he first saw the pastor outside the church at Ohalushu "I was under the impression that I had to deal with a terrorist". Prinsloo claimed that it was only later that he realised the man they were dealing with was actually a 65-year-old Pastor.

In previous evidence, co-accused Kashihakumwa - who yesterday wore a DTA badge as he sat in court - said they had first seen the pastor standing next to the church office at Ohalushu with a bunch of keys. Before the pastor could enter the office, said the soldier, Captain Prinsloo fired at him, at which the pastor sat down. Prinsloo then jumped down and kicked the pastor in the head.

The army patrol headed by Prinsloo took the pastor to their temporary base where the Captain admitted he further assaulted the churchman before ordering him to go home.

"I saw him walking off, apparently in pain, into the dark," said Prinsloo. However, the pastor was detained at the base by other soldiers who carried out further assaults, the court was told. The pastor was heard crying out as he was assaulted.

Prinsloo said he did not know the churchman was still being held until an hour and a half later when soldiers asked the accused whether Pastor Nghihalwa could be released. Prinsloo said he gave the pastor a "mild punch in the ribs" before allowing him to leave.

Sentencing the two in a courtroom packed with friends and relatives of the late pastor and members of the security forces, some of whom wore DTA T-shirts, Magistrate Kotze said the accused were acting in a common purpose of "ensuring the safety" of

the population of the north.

"Had the deceased not violated the curfew, these two men would not be standing in front of the court facing these charges," said Mr Kotze. "The pastor paid with his life for breaking the curfew."

Mr Kotze said that, "because of the circumstances" the two accused had to be punished and that it was rare for those convicted of assault to be given such a heavy penalty as the R200 fine imposed in this case.

"I would have considered giving both men a suspended sentence but opted not to do so in view of the present situation in that terrorists have infiltrated the region and the two accused will be required to get back to their units to fight."

Mr Kotze continued to say that was not certain that the assaults by the accused led to the death of the pastor and so was giving Prinsloo and Kashihakumwa the "benefit of the doubt".

"It is possible that some other people could have inflicted the blows that caused the death. Or it could also be that the deceased just got sick."

Defence witness Commandant Willem Jacobus Kruger, second in command of 101 Battalion, said the pastor was killed during the rain season - the period of peak infiltration by Plan fighters - a time when many security force members, guerrillas and civilians lost their lives.

Soldiers had strict instructions to enforce the curfew, said Commandant Kruger. Prinsloo's actions were logical considering it was a time of war.

He then praised Prinsloo for being a very good fighter and that the latter had received good service recommendations.

When the magistrate delivered his judgement, the court room was filled with murmurs of discontent from the pastor's friends and relatives. The pastor's daughter, 25-year-old Sirkka Keija Nghihalwa said: "I hope my father is the last victim of this type."

UN monitors protest at conduct of SA police

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE.

FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1989

# Race law hitch to Namibia freedom

## UN to Double Its Force In Namibia, to 1,000

Reuter

UNITED NATIONS, New York — Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar told the Security Council on Thursday that he would double the UN police force in Namibia to 1,000 officers.

The council president, Crispin Tickell, who is the chief British UN delegate, told reporters of the decision after the secretary-general gave members an account of developments in the territory at a closed meeting.

Mr. Tickell said that Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar had also proposed strengthening the position of his special representative in Namibia, Martti Ahtisaari, and was considering naming someone to replace Cedric Thornberry as Mr. Ahtisaari's deputy.

African members, who bitterly criticized Mr. Ahtisaari, a former Finnish diplomat, for his handling of the situation in Namibia have been pressing for more African representation in the top echelon of the UN operation.

UN policemen and a military force of 4,650 are assigned to ensure free elections in the territory, also known as South-West Africa, and to guard against interference or intimidation by South African and Namibian police and troops.

### A Crucial Weekend

William Claiborne of the Washington Post reported earlier from Johannesburg:

The decolonization of Namibia on the timetable established by the regional peace agreement last year hinges on whether nationalist guerrillas and South African-led security forces can be returned to their bases this weekend, Mr. Thornberry said Thursday.

He noted that a two-week process of verifying the withdrawal of South-West Africa People's Organization guerrillas from Namibia expires at 6 A.M. Saturday.

Mr. Ahtisaari and officials from South Africa, Cuba and Angola will attend a joint monitoring commission meeting Monday at the border town of Ruacana to determine whether the seven-month timetable leading up to Nov. 1 independence elections for Namibia can still be met.

The timetable was endangered April 1, when an estimated 1,600 armed SWAPO guerrillas crossed the border from Angola and were confronted by South African-led Army troops and territorial police

counterinsurgency units. More than 300 guerrillas were killed before the SWAPO president, Sam Nujoma, ordered the rebels to return to their bases in Angola.

On April 21, South Africa ordered a 60-hour standdown of its forces to allow the remaining guerrillas to leave Namibia without fear of being attacked, but since then there have been sporadic clashes between the security forces and small SWAPO units that remained.

Under the peace agreement, all SWAPO guerrillas were to have pulled back to bases 160 kilometers (100 miles) north of the border by April 1. Although SWAPO was not a signatory to the Dec. 22, 1988, regional peace accord, Mr. Nujoma reaffirmed in March his organization's agreement with the plan.

South Africa has said that territorial armed forces would not be confined to their bases until all SWAPO guerrillas had left Namibia.

Under the complex independence timetable, these are the inter-related events that must occur by the end of this weekend for the independence plan to proceed on schedule:

• South African forces in Namibia, estimated to have reached 60,000, must be reduced to 12,000.

• Rules for the Nov. 1 election of a Namibian constituency assembly must be issued by the UN group and the South African-appointed administrator-general of Namibia.

• The repeal of all racially discriminatory legislation that could affect the election campaign must be completed.

• The command structures of citizens forces, home guards and other paramilitary commando units must be dismantled and their military equipment placed under UN supervision.

In theory, UN officials said, if any of these elements are delayed, the Nov. 1 target for elections would have to be postponed, possibly until next year, because of the advent of the rainy season.

That, in turn, would raise the question of whether Cuba would demand a rescheduling of the withdrawal from Angola of its 50,000 troops, something that was negotiated under the U.S.-brokered peace agreement. In previous joint monitoring commission meetings, Cuban delegates have suggested they may demand a renegotiation of the troop withdrawal if the Namibian independence schedule is delayed.

Billy Paddock  
in Windhoek

**N**AMIBIAN independence is being threatened by growing disagreements between UN representatives here and South Africa's administrator-general, Mr. Louis Pienaar, over the scrapping of discriminatory legislation and the monitoring of security force actions.

Concern at the continued disruption of the independence process is reflected in reported plans by the UN Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, to make an unscheduled visit to the territory next month.

It was previously intended that Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar would come to Namibia only after independence, and it is assumed that his intervention is now considered necessary to try and smooth over disputes which have arisen.

It is becoming apparent, from press conferences and interviews with key figures, that relations between the administrator-general's office and the UN Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) have been going sour over differing interpretations of UN Resolution 435.

As a result it now appears certain that the planned return of Namibian refugees from abroad — which should have

started next week — will have to be delayed.

The return of the refugees is contingent on the scrapping of all discriminatory legislation in the territory, as required by Resolution 435. But the South African authorities and Untag are apparently unable to agree on what this means.

The key obstacle is Proclamation AG8 — a law that makes provision for racially segregated administrations under the territory's second-tier governmental system. Mr. Pienaar insists that, by merely dissolving the political component, the administrations themselves can continue to function within the terms of Resolution 435.

But on Monday Mr. Cedric Thornberry — the spokesman for the UN Special Representative, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari — said the legislation was totally unacceptable.

"AG8 is based entirely on racially discriminatory principles, and as far as the UN is concerned this is unacceptable and it must go before the first returnees are repatriated," he said.

Disagreements over the interpretation of Resolution 435 are being compounded by growing hostility between the two sides over the conduct of the local security forces.

On Monday Untag disclosed that a senior officer in the local South-West African Police

Force (Swapol) had been suspended after complaints by UN police monitors about his conduct.

At first the South African authorities denied this, but subsequently backed down.

On Tuesday a more confident Mr. Thornberry said that Untag's police monitors were "investigating another 60 cases of intimidation, assault and misconduct by — to our great dismay — mostly officials in northern Namibia."

An agitated Mr. Pienaar came back with a statement that the UN body was not entitled to interfere in the administration of Namibia, and that "UN police monitors have no legal standing to investigate police intimidation, assault and misconduct."

Yesterday Mr. Thornberry tried to pour oil on troubled waters by denying that UN monitors were going beyond the ambit of 435.

"Maybe we would find it useful and maybe the administrator-general would also find it useful to sit down with our various police advisers and clarify this whole procedure," he said.

But he added, provocatively, that the UN police were investigating much more than the 50 cases he had referred to the previous day. "A considerable amount more than 50. In fact there are 50 cases at Oshakati alone," he said.

THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER, Thursday, April 20, 1989 3

## Untag update

• The UN Special Representative, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari has expressed "profound concern" over the increasing numbers of allegations of intimidation, assault and other misconduct mainly from the north. Mr. Ahtisaari has ordered an immediate police investigation into allegations of assault and misconduct brought at the Oshikuku mission station in Ovambo. The Administrator General, Mr. Louis Pienaar, has also expressed his "deep anxiety" at the situation. UN spokesman Mr. Cedric Thornberry did not elaborate on the incidents, but unconfirmed news reports said security forces were harassing civilians who supported Swapo, while other reports, also unconfirmed, claimed violent intimidation of DTA supporters by political activists.

• Mr. Pienaar announced yesterday, that a permanent commission of enquiry will be appointed to investigate allegations of intimidation, assault and similar conduct hampering free and fair elections in the territory. The commission, which will be open to the public, will be chaired by the President of the Windhoek Bar Council, Mr. Bryan O'Linn, SC. Mr. Pienaar said he had discussions with the top command of the police and military who had given him assurances of their full co-operation. The planned commission of enquiry will be in continuous session and report back continuously their findings to Mr. Pienaar. The public will have free access to lay complaints before the commission.

• Mr. Ahtisaari is in daily contact with Swapo and the CCN and was planning daily liaison with the DTA and Trade Union movements.

N A M I B I A

SUMMARY OF (DRAFT) REGISTRATION LAW, 1989\*

(promulgated by South Africa's Administrator-General in occupied Namibia)

Registration officials. Chief registration officer; district officers (one for each of approximately 27 (magisterial) districts in Namibia); supervisors (one per district); (district) registration officers; controllers (chief registration officer appoints as many as needed; one may substitute for him in his absence).

Registration of voters. Registration shall take place during a period determined by the Administrator-General. He may alter period by proclamation, for entire Territory or one or more districts.

Qualification for registration (to vote). Any competent person at least 18 by the end of the registration period is qualified if he/she was born in Namibia (apparently excluding Walvis Bay) OR has been "ordinarily resident" in Namibia for a continuous period of 4 years immediately preceding his application to register OR is the "natural child" of a person born in Namibia.

Registration on private property. Registration officers may enter private property during daytime to register persons working or living there; a controller or supervisor may order the person in charge to assemble such persons to be registered.

Application procedure. A person who wishes to register goes to any registration officer anywhere in Namibia; identifies himself (by official identity card or otherwise); fills out an application form, providing additional information if required; swears to contents of the form; and signs the form or affixes a fingerprint.

Registration procedure. The registration officer: fills in a registration card in duplicate with information from the application form; requires the applicant to sign the card; enters the registration card number on the application form; issues the original registration card to the applicant; forwards duplicate card to chief registration officer; and forwards the numbered application form to the district officer.

Refusal to register. If he refuses to register the applicant, the registration officer records the refusal and his reasons (qualification not proved or false information) on the application form and returns it to the applicant. The applicant has 21 days to appeal to the district magistrate.

-----  
\* Registration of Voters (Constituent Assembly) Proclamation, No. AG -----

Appeal of refusal. Rejected applicant presents application form, reasons for appeal, and evidence at time and place determined by magistrate. Magistrate conducts ex parte hearing in a manner "best calculated to enable him to arrive at a just decision...." The decision is final.

Objection to registration. Each district officer keeps the application forms (sent to him by registration officers) available for inspection, by registered voters only, for 21 days after receipt. Any objection must be made by filing with the district officer a notice of objection (in strict compliance with complex requirements) within those 21 days; it may be made by a registered voter only.

The notice is forwarded to the district magistrate, who endorses on it a time and place for hearing. The objector must serve the respondent with a copy.

Hearing of objection. The magistrate conducts the hearing in a manner "best calculated to enable him to arrive at a just decision...." If the respondent doesn't appear at any stage, and the objection appears well-founded, the magistrate may adjourn the hearing  sine die. If the respondent appears at a subsequent hearing, the magistrate may decide the objection "whether or not the objector is present or had notice of such further hearing."

Appeal to judge. A decision of a magistrate is final unless within three days the losing party requests him in writing to submit a statement of the case to the Supreme Court for decision by a judge in chambers. The judge's decision cannot be appealed.

Replacement of registration card. A registered voter whose card is lost, destroyed, or illegible may apply to the district officer, where his application form is filed for a replacement card. If a registration officer is satisfied, a new card may be issued and the former card cancelled.

"Register of voters." The duplicate registration cards kept by the chief registration officer constitute the only register of voters. The chief registration officer "may, if he deems it necessary, compile from the duplicates... from time to time a list of voters in the manner he thinks fit" and allow persons to consult it on payment of a fee set by him. He may also compile a list of registration cards that have been cancelled.

Offenses. Offenses include the standard ones relating to fraud, forgery, false statements, interfering with officials, etc. Penalty is R6,000 (\$2300) or three years or both. It is also an offense to urge or incite not to register, whether by speech or conduct, lawful or unlawful. The penalty is R10,000 (\$3800) or five years or both.

# Wealthy Namibian sees bombing of business as warning for backing SWAPO

By Peter Honey  
Sun Staff Correspondent

OSHAKATI, Namibia — Frans Indongo was furious. Even in the hard shade of the hotel veranda, you could see his cheek muscle twitching.

Two days earlier, they had bombed one of his businesses — an insurance office — scarcely a mile from where he now sat overlooking the scattering of tin shanties and small, luridly painted stores that litter the stark, chalky sands of these northern parts.

It was a warning, he said. A warning to him to stop supporting the South West Africa People's Organization, the guerrilla movement that has been fighting since 1966 to end South Africa's control of Namibia.

"Why should I not support SWAPO? It is not illegal, and SWAPO is my party," he declared.

Whom did he suspect in the bombing?

He could never prove it, he said, but circumstances pointed to people connected to Koevoet, or "Crowbar," the paramilitary unit of the South African security police in Namibia.

In its 10-year history, the 3,000-member Koevoet unit, made up mostly of black Namibians and led by white officers, was responsible for 90 percent of the several thousand SWAPO guerrillas killed inside Namibia.

It didn't matter that Koevoet had officially been disbanded, Mr. Indongo said. Its members were simply being absorbed into the colonial police force. They were still active.

The police had come to his bombed-out offices later, of course. And they had taken away samples for analysis.

"But we already know what they will say: The explosives came from Russia and were probably planted by SWAPO 'terrorists' — the story is always the same," he said.

Across the road, someone with a bush knife was hacking at a side of beef hanging from a wooden frame. A small crowd stood around, coins glinting in the sunlight. A dog darted for the chips of meat and bone that flew from the butcher's knife.

No one seemed to be paying much attention to the armored cars rumbling by on the highway. Two decades of South African military occupation inures one to these things.

But now the trucks were mostly moving southward, away from the Owambo tribal region, out of the war zone and, if all went well in the next few months, out of Namibia forever.



THE SUN/PETER HONEY

Frans Indongo (above) calls bombing of his business a warning.

Already a handful of United Nations troops, foreigners with their blue berets and white Land Rovers, had arrived to prepare for the task of monitoring the 12-month independence process that was to begin in a week, on April 1.

"But they are so few," Mr. Indongo remarked. "I don't see how they will be able to keep an eye on all the tricks that Koevoet could get up to during the election campaign."

He could not have known that scarcely a week later the peace process would erupt in violence on its first day, when hundreds of armed SWAPO guerrillas would begin crossing into the territory from Angola in violation of international truce agreements and engage in bloody clashes with Koevoet.

It was to be the worst conflict of Namibia's 23-year war and would bring the armored cars rumbling back, the helicopters and jet fighters in the skies. Hundreds would be killed and wounded in the first few days of fighting.

Perhaps Mr. Indongo did sense some impending conflict when he said, "Everybody knows independence will come. But we don't know why the South African soldiers are still moving around, giving out T-shirts and pamphlets for the DTA [the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, SWAPO's main political opposition]. The army is supposed to be here to fight, not to make politics."

What, then, was his role?

"I am a businessman, not a politician," he replied.

If not a politician, then surely he is a shrewd tactician.

Back in the early 1960s, while his countrymen were still plotting to take up arms against the South African colonists, Frans Indongo was setting out to make money.

Today he is a multimillionaire; one of the richest men in Namibia, although he declares himself to be "not rich, but strong."

At 53 he is sole owner of the territory's Nissan and BMW dealerships and a director of a major bank. He owns a brewery, a food processing plant, numerous properties, a hotel, an insurance company, trading stores — the list goes on.

It would be a remarkable achievement for anyone. But for a black person in white-dominated Namibia, with a seventh-grade education in Afrikaans, who has lived and worked most of his life in war-ridden northern Namibia, it might be considered miraculous.

When he started in 1963, selling beer, candy and bicycle parts from a grass hut, Owambo was very different from what it is today, Mr. Indongo recalled.

Nearly all the businesses were run by whites. The Owambo people were treated as nothing more than a labor commodity to be contracted and dispatched to the copper and diamond mines and white-owned farms in the south.

THE SUN

TUESDAY, APRIL 25, 1989

BALTIMORE

**A SWAPO guerrilla evacuated after being wounded in clashes early this month.**



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Elderly Namibians speak of watching sparsely clothed Owambo men, with cardboard labels tied with string around their necks, boarding trains or buses for the south. The labels bore the names and addresses of their prospective employers, because few Owambo tribesmen were able to read, write or speak the language of their oppressors.

Sometimes, on their way home, the workers would be driven to stores owned by unscrupulous white merchants, locked in and told they could not leave until they had spent most of their earnings. The result was that relatively little money made its way back into Owambo.

The Namibians' response to this kind of exploitation was SWAPO, first formed as the Owambo People's Congress, in 1958. But it was to be eight years before the movement embarked on its armed struggle for independence.

Owambo is the most densely populated part of Namibia, which is almost the size of Texas and Oklahoma combined. Roughly half Namibia's 1.3 million people are Owambo, and most are believed to be SWAPO supporters.

Over the last 20 years, the harsh terms of the contract labor system have largely been abolished, although thousands of migrants still move to and from the tribal reservations, and South Africa's military economic infrastructure, particularly in Owambo, has expanded dra-

matically, bringing wealth to traders such as Mr. Indongo.

"Even though there is war, things are far better now than in the 1960s," he said.

For 26 years, while he was amassing his fortune, he walked a narrow, cautious political line between the South African authorities and SWAPO.

He served the last 14 years as finance minister in the Owambo tribal assembly — a body that, until its disbanding under the United Nations' independence plan this month, was derided by SWAPO supporters as a South African-created government of "puppets."

As the war dragged bitterly past a first and then a second decade, and as the colonial security forces kept a firm muzzle on SWAPO's political activities, the frustrated nationalists often took vengeance on members of the tribal authority. Several were attacked, even killed, but Mr. Indongo and his businesses remained largely unscathed.

Rumors abounded — never confirmed — that he was paying protection money. Some said he gave a regular \$10,000 a month to the movement, and sometimes more when they came to him with "special requests."

Mr. Indongo doesn't like to speak of money, but he acknowledges that he has given, and still gives, assistance to SWAPO.

"I give them maybe a car or two.

But you have to be careful in this place. If the South Africans think you are SWAPO, they could shoot you," he said.

The South Africans, and their surrogate Namibian army, were just as likely as SWAPO to bomb or shoot up the home of anyone who they believed was acting against them. But as long as Mr. Indongo was part of the government, his safety was assured from that side.

Seven years ago, he felt secure enough to help form a moderate party that, although sympathetic to SWAPO's political ideals, opposed its war. Called the Christian Democratic Action for Social Justice, the party was led by a former Anglican clergyman and head of the Owambo government, Peter Kalangula.

Many people supported Mr. Kalangula then, he said, because it was dangerous to show support for the guerrillas. But now that the movement was being allowed to campaign under U.N. supervision, the vast majority of Owambos were beginning once again to wear the blue, red and green colors that showed they were SWAPO supporters.

"Kalangula is finished, and the DTA does not have many supporters. There is only SWAPO now in Owambo," he said.

Earlier this year, Mr. Indongo met SWAPO leaders in New York, London and Lusaka, Zambia, and pledged to help them financially during the election campaign.

"I have been back only a few weeks and already my business is attacked," he said.

Mr. Indongo admitted that SWAPO's socialist policies and its ill-defined approach toward nationalizing industry had worried him over the years. But he said his recent talks with the SWAPO leadership had laid his fears to rest.

"I am convinced they are not communists; that most of what is said about them is just South African propaganda to scare people away from SWAPO," he said.

Mr. Indongo said he has no doubt that SWAPO will win the election scheduled for November. It is debatable, however, whether the movement will gain the necessary two-thirds majority that would enable it to set up its own constitution for independence.

He said he did not think that a one-party system would be the most suitable for Namibia. But he said he would rather chance SWAPO domination than the possibility of another decade or more of colonial rule which he thought would come about if SWAPO lost.

THE SUN

BALTIMORE

TUESDAY, APRIL 25, 1989

# SOUTH AFRICA NOW

## Viewing Schedule

### New York, NY

WNET, Channel 13  
WNYC, Channel 31  
CUNY-TV

Channels A & 14 - Manhattan  
Channel 33 - Outer Boroughs

Saturdays, 12:30 PM  
Wednesdays, 9:30 PM  
Fridays, 9:30 AM / 1:30 PM / 5:30 PM / 9:30 PM

### Washington, DC

WETA, Channel 26  
WHMM, Channel 32

Tuesdays, 11:00 PM (special premiere 4/20/89, 11:00 PM)  
Mondays, 8:00 PM

### Boston, MA

BNN, Channel 3  
Cambridge Community Access

Mondays, 6:30 PM  
Tuesdays, 9:00 PM / Thursdays, 5:30 PM

### Champaign-Urbana, IL

Champaign-Urbana Community Access

Mondays, 7:30 PM

### San Francisco, CA

KQEC, Channel 32

Thursdays, 8:30 PM

### Oakland and Piedmont, CA

Cable Oakland, Channel 50

Tuesdays, 7:00 - 8:00 PM  
Thursdays, 7:00 - 8:00 PM  
Saturdays, 7:30 - 8:30 PM

### Denver, CO

KBDI, Channel 12

Thursdays, 9:00 PM (premieres 4/27)

### Nationally

ITN Satellite Network  
Vision Interfaith Satellite Network (VISN)  
Segments on: CNN's *World Report*

Check local listings  
Saturdays, 6:00 PM, 12:00 AM, 12:00 AM EST (premieres 4/8)  
Sundays, 3:00 - 5:00 PM  
Sundays, 12:00 - 2:00 AM

### Internationally

Mozambique, Angola, Zambia



361 West Broadway  
New York, NY 10013

(212)941-0255



## HOW YOU CAN HELP

1. Contact your local PBS Station: urge them to carry the program.
2. Help us raise the money to stay on the air.
3. Promote us in your church publications.



*A dead soldier of the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia slung as a trophy over the wheel of a South African Casspir armored vehicle.*

Another Namibian newspaper prefers to concentrate on other aspects of destruction of the country's natural resources.



Members of an anti-poaching unit stand behind the carcass of an elephant with its tusks removed obviously killed by poachers in the Palmwag district.

**EPISCOPAL CHURCHPEOPLE for a FREE SOUTHERN AFRICA**  
 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012-2725

NON PROFIT ORG.  
 U.S. Postage  
 PAID  
 New York, N.Y.  
 Permit No. 8125

...the money to stay on the site  
 ...in your church publications