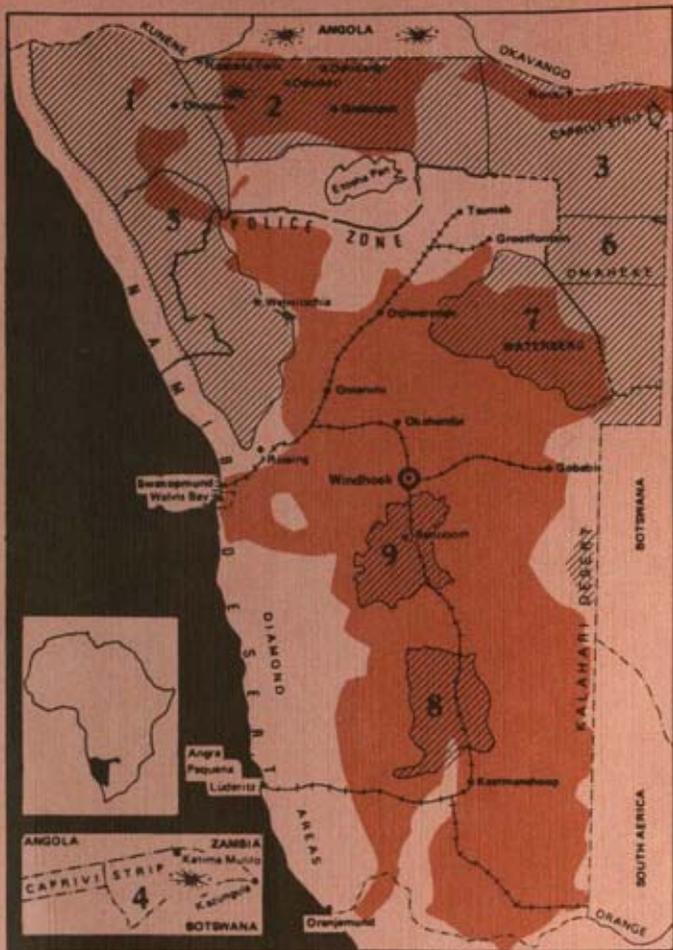


**NAMIBIA**

# NAMIBIA



## HOMELANDS

- |   |            |   |             |
|---|------------|---|-------------|
| 1 | Kaokoveld  | 6 | San Reserve |
| 2 | Ovamboland | 7 | Hereroland  |
| 3 | Kavango    | 8 | Namaland    |
| 4 | E. Caprivi | 9 | Rehoboth    |
| 5 | Damaraland | ☼ | War Zones   |

■ Concentrations of Black and mixed race population before colonization.

▨ Homelands to which Black and mixed race population was assigned in 1964. (Remaining area reserved for whites.)

# INTRODUCTION

## NAMIBIA

— a land of wealth and poverty, of awesome beauty and terrible oppression, perhaps the richest country in the world in relation to the size of its population; perhaps also the most exploited in the world in terms of the gathering of that wealth into foreign hands.

Namibia is a large country, 318,261 square miles—about twice the size of California, or as large as England and France combined. It has a small population, estimated by the United Nations as 1.5 million people. Its Gross Domestic Product averages over \$1,000 per capita annually, one of the highest in Africa. And yet over 80% of its population ekes out a living below the Poverty Datum Line, the income estimated by South African authorities to be necessary for a Black family of four to meet its minimal needs for food, clothing and shelter.\*

\*Because South Africa has taken no accurate census of the territory and refuses to report economic information on Namibia, all statistics are calculated estimates drawn from the most reliable sources available.

## RACE IS THE DECIDING FACTOR OF LIFE

In Namibia, race determines almost everything about a person's life. A nonwhite child has only a 50-50 chance of surviving disease and malnutrition to reach the age of five. For each White child, the government will spend over \$700 annually for education. For each Black child, government expenditure is only one-tenth of that amount. For Whites the total annual personal income averages approximately \$3,500 for every man, woman and child; for Blacks it is less than \$150, lower even than in a resource-poor nation like Tanzania.

**"You can never bring these people up to our level, and besides, they much prefer to keep to themselves. Why can't the Bantu (Black) be left alone in his ways and the White in his?"**

**— Afrikaner school inspector in Ovamboland, Namibia, 1979.**

During its occupation of the territory, South Africa imposed the apartheid policy of racial separation on Namibia that it enforces at home. The inhabitants of Namibia were classified by South Africa into three groups: Blacks, or "Natives," who make up over 80% of the population; mixed race groups, 10%, and Whites, under 10%.

The shaded portions of the map on the inside front cover show the distribution of the Black population in the country (before exten-

RACE IS THE  
DECIDING  
FACTOR OF LIFE

A BRIEF  
CHRONOLOGY  
OF COLONIALISM

THE FARM  
INDUSTRY

THE FISHING  
INDUSTRY

MINING

sive White colonization) in 1904.

Settlement was largely in the fertile central highlands. Outlined on the map are the locations to which most of the population were to be forcibly removed under South Africa's 1964 Odendaal Plan. Separate "homelands" for ten of the eleven Black and mixed race groups are almost completely in either the arid desert regions or marginal agricultural areas. The "Colored" group has no homeland at all. The major agricultural and mining areas are part of the White homeland.

Whites also comprise different ethnic and language groups. About 30,000, or 30% of the White population, are German speaking people, many of whom are either descendants of the original colonizers of what was once called German South West Africa, or families of Nazi sympathizers who settled in Namibia after World War II. The majority of Whites are Afrikaans-speaking South Africans; English-speaking South Africans make up only 7% of the total White population.

Whites, however, have not chosen to divide themselves along ethnic lines as they have divided the rest of the country. They have one homeland. Although they make up less than 10% of the population, whites have claimed as their homeland, 60% of the total land area and an even higher percentage of the fertile land. At the time the Odendaal Plan was formulated, in a country where water is precious, whites owned or controlled 34,500 of the 35,000 wells surveyed.

"Have these three gods (race, language, color) taken the place of the Trinity in the hearts of our White brothers?"

— Rev. Zephariah Kameeta

## A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF COLONIALISM

- 1878-94** Britain laid claim to Walvis Bay; Germany invaded and placed the rest of the territory "under its protection."
- 1904-07** The Herero and Nama people of central Namibia rebelled and the Germans issued an Order of Extermination. Between 50,000 and 75,000 native people were killed or driven into the desert to die. Others died in prison labor camps. Only a third of the population survived; their cattle and land were taken from them.



Leaders of Nama resistance

- 1915-20** After the defeat of Germany in World War I, the League of Nations granted South Africa authority over "South West Africa" as a mandated territory, "a sacred trust of mankind" for the well-being and development of the inhabitants.

**1920-23** South Africa defeated the Ovambo people of the north, who make up half of Namibia's Black population, and put down revolts by the Nama and Rehobother people who had been led by Allied propaganda to believe that Germany's defeat would mean an end to foreign oppression.

**1946-66** South Africa refused to recognize the United Nations' right to oversee the South West African trust territory transferred from the League of Nations; despite international protest it moved toward annexation of the territory.

**1948-50** Chief Hosea Kutako of the Herero and others petitioned the United Nations for deliverance from South African control.

**"We beg U.N.O! Help! Help! Help!"**

—taped interview smuggled  
out of Namibia as testimony  
before the U.N.

**1953-59** South African police put down strikes by Ovambo workers with gunfire, and killed 11 persons demonstrating against relocation onto reserves.

**1960** The South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) organized

as a multi-racial national liberation movement despite South Africa's refusal to allow multi-racial organizations or to recognize nonwhite political organizations.

**1966** After the International Court of Justice ruled on a technicality that it could not decide a complaint against South Africa's maladministration of its mandate, SWAPO began armed struggle. The United Nations terminated South Africa's mandate.

**1967-68** The United Nations established a Council to act as governing authority of the Territory and officially recognized the name "Namibia."

**1971** The International Court of Justice declared South Africa's presence in Namibia illegal.

**1971-72** 13,500-15,000 Namibian workers struck for two months against the contract labor system run by South Africa and won modest concessions.

**1973** The UN Security Council unanimously decided to discontinue twenty-seven years of negotiations with South Africa over Namibia. The UN General Assembly recognized SWAPO as "the authentic representative of the Namibian People."

**1975-76** South Africa invaded Angola from

Namibia to aid the United States CIA-backed Angolan faction, UNITA, then were forced out after six months of serious casualties and international protest.



South African troops alight from French-built helicopter 5 miles from Angola.

**1975-  
Present**

South Africa has carried on negotiations with the United Nations to prepare for a UN supervised free election of a Constitutional Assembly for Namibia as required by Security Council Resolution 385. However, each time agreement has seemed within reach, South Africa has reneged. Meanwhile, South Africa has been moving ahead with the creation of an "internal" government which would provide the semblance of independence while leaving real control with the White minority.

**1978**

United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 adopted the Five



**Kassinga massacre**

Western Powers' (Canada, France, Great Britain, United States, West Germany) plan for a United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) to supervise and oversee the election of a Constitutional Assembly in Namibia. South Africa accepted the plan, then balked and conducted an internal election which was boycotted by all significant Black and Colored (mixed race) political parties and condemned as illegal and void by the UN Security Council. South Africa launched an attack against Namibian refugees at Kassinga inside Angola, leaving nearly 1000 children, men and women dead.

**1980-81**

New negotiations led to a conference in Geneva attended by the United Nations, the frontline states, South Africa, SWAPO, and some "internal parties" (though most Black and Colored parties

boycotted the conference rather than appear to be part of the South African delegation). After three days, South Africa broke up the conference by refusing to set a date for a ceasefire to prepare for elections.

Since the earliest days of its administration of the territory, South Africa has attempted to make Namibia an integral part of its own country. Although it now claims to intend to grant independence to the territory, South Africa has obstructed and delayed the negotiations for independence while continuing to reap the profits of its exploitation of Namibian resources in defiance of international law. Those profits are enormous.

## THE FARM INDUSTRY

Although much of Namibia is desert, the large central plateau is well suited to grazing sheep and cattle. Most cattle are raised for the foreign market, especially for South Africa. Similarly, almost all of the very lucrative market in karakul sheep pelts—marketed as "Persian Lamb"—is overseas.

The Hudson's Bay Company of Canada is the largest single wholesaler of Swakara (South West African Karakul furs). By mid-1970, 5.5 million skins were being exported annually with a net retail worth ranging from \$193 to \$330 million.

*Where the Herero and Nama people of Namibia once tended their own herds, their descendants now maintain the land and livestock of White farmers of German or Boer ancestry who have replaced them.* Under the contract labor system that South Africa maintained until 1977, the strongest and healthiest laborers (the "A and B boys") were singled out for work in the mines or factories and only the youngest, oldest, or most infirm—designated "C Boys"—were assigned to farm labor. Farm workers nonetheless make up the largest segment of the work force. Their earnings, starting as low as \$5 a month, average less than one-tenth what South Africa regards as a minimum for an African family to survive.

Since 1978, workers have had the legal right to seek employment in any sector, but only with the approval of South African-controlled homelands and labor bureau officials. They are still forced by poverty to travel long distances from their families to accept work. The "homelands" to which they have been restricted are too poor to provide either

THE FARM  
INDUSTRY

THE FISHING  
INDUSTRY

MINING

employment or subsistence agriculture sufficient to meet their needs. Once they accept employment, they may face blacklisting penalties from employers and harassment by officials if they attempt to break their contracts.

On the karakul ranches where the precious skins are stripped from carcasses, the workers may not be allowed to add the meat to their diet. It is often fed to dogs or livestock instead.

"The dogs of White men live ten times better than I do!"  
— Namibian man's taped testimony, smuggled to the UN.

## THE FISHING INDUSTRY

The waters of the long Namibian coastline are a rich fishing ground for the commercial vessels of many nations. The products of the fishing industry — canned sardines, fish meal, fish oil and rock lobster — are second only to mining in economic importance to the territory. South Africa reported in the mid-1970's that investment in canning factories, equipment and fishing vessels in Namibia stood at about \$65 million (U.S.). Annual sales totaling about \$90 million were being made each year to over 60 countries, including Belgium, France, Panama, Puerto Rico, Sri Lanka, Thailand, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Zaire.

The total annual profits of Namibia's major fishing companies, all White-owned, passed \$33 million, of which over \$11 million was paid to South Africa in the form of taxes. The UN adopted Decree #1, which declares illegal under international law any exploitation of Namibian resources under South African control. Nevertheless, American consumers have been sold Namibian products under such brand names as Del Monte and Spruce sardines and Purina cat food.

Most of the fishing industry, including the canneries, is in the vicinity of Walvis Bay, the only deep water port along the more than 1,000 mile coastline of Namibia. South Africa has laid claim to this port as an integral part of South Africa — even though it is 700 miles from the nearest stretch of South African Coast — because it was originally seized by Great Britain as part of the Cape Colony. Since 1977, South Africa has stopped administering it as part of Namibia and now governs it as part of the Cape. Even in the event of Namibian independence, South

Africa has announced its intent to retain Walvis Bay, thereby divorcing the profitable fishing industry from the Namibian economy. Furthermore, since the rail lines in Namibia terminate in South Africa and in Walvis Bay, South Africa would have total control of all traffic to and from Namibia except by air, and could tax, restrain or even blockade all commerce whenever it chose to.

*Black workers in the fishing industry are paid better than those on farms, but they still earn less than half the Poverty Datum Line figure. Like the farm workers, they work long and erratic hours.*



**Women workers  
in Fish Cannery**

These workers are mainly migrants from the "homelands", living in single sex barracks where they are bedded on mats on concrete bunks and fed coarse meal mush from buckets and shovels. Resentment against these conditions led to large strikes in 1959 and 1971. The 1971 strike spread to other workers and eventually over 13,500 workers throughout the country joined in a general strike against the contract labor system. In

spite of harsh retribution, black workers for the first time won some minor concessions from the South African administration. SWANLA, the hated Native Labor Association, was dismantled, though its functions were merely decentralized and the contract system continued.

A tragic irony is that Namibia, a country with a bountiful supply of fish, a rich source of protein, has one of the lowest rates of fish consumption of any coastal country in the world. Almost all the fish is handled by workers too poorly paid to buy the products of their labor. The workers know that kwashiorkor, a disease of protein deficiency, and other ailments linked to malnutrition are destroying the lives of their children left behind in the homelands.

## MINING

Namibia is the fourth largest producer of minerals in Africa. At least half of Namibia's annual GNP of \$1.5 billion comes from the exploitation and export of base metal ores including copper, lead, zinc, and other metals, as well as recently discovered uranium.

Diamonds, however, were the first mineral exploited in Namibia. A railroad worker discovered the first diamond while cleaning tracks in 1908. A diamond rush followed; by 1921 a stretch of coastal desert 210 miles long and 60 miles deep had been sealed off as the private preserve of the Consolidated Diamond Mines (now CDM), a subsidiary of the South African De Beers Corporation. As many as two million carats of diamonds are dug out annually, a very large proportion of gem quality. From these, CDM earns about \$250 million each year, \$160 million of which is returned in taxes and fees to the South African administration.

The largest base metal mine in the world is



Western built computers like the one above at CDM, manage Namibia's mining operations as well as South Africa's military operations along the Angolan border.

also in Namibia. It is the Tsumeb mine in northern Namibia, jointly controlled by two American firms, Newmont Mining Corporation and AMAX. From an investment of under \$2 million in 1945 when they purchased the mine, these two corporations reported dividends of \$175 million in the first twentyfive years of operation.

The most recent development in Namibia's mineral exploitation has been the Rossing mine at Swakopmund near Walvis Bay, the largest opencast uranium mine in the world. Despite controlling uranium sources in other countries, the British firm Rio-Tinto-Zinc chose to develop Rossing to meet England's nuclear fuel demands.

It is estimated by the South African press that Rossing's production of uranium is now greater than all the uranium mines in South Africa, and that Namibia produces one-sixth of the total uranium output of the non-socialist bloc countries. France, Japan, and West Germany are reported to be purchasers of this uranium, as well as South Africa and Britain. The company reported untaxed profits of \$125 million in 1980. However, details of the mine's management and production are shrouded in the secrecy of South African security legislation. Because Rossing is not subject to international scrutiny, there is no information on how much of the approximately one million tons of uranium ore removed each week is diverted to military use.

In recent years, South Africa has been aggressively acquiring nuclear technology from the United States, France and Israel and is now widely assumed to possess nuclear weapon capability. Hearings held at the United Nations in 1980 discussed South Africa's 1977 nuclear test site in the Kalahari desert, the mysterious nuclear blast in the South Atlantic in 1979, and the existence of a

secret facility at South Africa's Sasol II coal gasification plant which could process weapons grade uranium. Since these hearings, a second unexplained explosion occurred off the South African coast.

*Nowhere is the plunder of Namibia more evident than in the mining sector of the economy.* First, the amount and percentage of Gross Domestic Product going to foreign owners, shareholders, and entrepreneurs, as well as to South African revenue collectors, are rising. By the mid-1970's, less than 60% of the wealth produced annually remained in the country. Second, not only are the benefits flowing into foreign pockets, but also the mineral wealth is being developed at a rate that threatens to exhaust existing mines before the end of the century.

Finally, the industry is built on the exploitation of Black labor by multinational mining interests under a system of control enforced by the South African Army. Even in this best-paid sector of the Black Namibian work force, most workers earn below the Poverty Datum Line. Most workers live in single-sex barracks, denied the right to have their families near them. AMAX and Newmont Mining Corporation, owners of the Tsumeb Mine, Namibia's largest single employer, have repeatedly rejected stockholder actions calling for equal pay for equal work in the mine. Even a South African survey described Tsumeb's wage scale as substantially below the South African norm for Black mine workers. Although Tsumeb will not give information on current operations, figures available earlier in the 1970s showed that, in the whole term of AMAX-Newmont ownership, only about 5% of the total wages paid at Tsumeb had gone to Black workers, although those workers made up 80% of the labor force.

At the Rossing mine, workers carry out the task of blasting out a million tons of ore each week in a swirl of radioactive dust. The parent company, RTZ of England, has no health compensation plan for Black workers and gives them no regular health checkups, as it does white employees. Although there is a doctor on 24-hour call, workers report that only White employees are automatically eligible for medical attention. Blacks, except the very few in middle management positions, are not likely to be treated. Furthermore, the huge piles of radioactive tailings left by the mining process — containing particles which will remain deadly for several thousands of years — lie only a few miles from the Black township, while White employees enjoy the greater safety of Swakopmund, 40 miles away.

## LIBERATION AND THE CHURCHES

"In nearly every African nation that has been liberated to date, the churches have ended up in poor standing because previously they had always been identified with the ruling colonial power. The churches had always compromised with the government. Here we don't compromise; we confront. And if SWAPO ever becomes the government and we disagree with what it does, we'll confront SWAPO, too.

— Dr. Johannes Lukas de Vrles,  
former Bishop of the  
Evangelical Lutheran Church.

The South Africans have generally refused to recognize the existence of Black political parties, preferring instead to deal with traditional chiefs whenever they could be swayed through financial support and flattery. But a large number of political parties have grown out of the determination of Namibians to reclaim their country.

During the present period of struggle and diplomatic maneuvering, two political groups have been prominent: SWAPO, which functions both as an external liberation movement and an internal political party, and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), a multi-ethnic grouping of White and Colored politicians and Black tribal chiefs, created and funded by South Africa.

Less well known outside Namibia, but im-

portant internally is the Namibian National Front (NNF), also a multi-ethnic grouping, this one dominated by the South West African National Union (SWANU), a Herero party and SWAPO's largest single rival for support. Like SWAPO, NNF has vigorously opposed the DTA program for Namibia and called on South Africa to permit United Nations supervised elections.

Two other parties, SWAPO(D) and AKTUR, have played a role greater than their numbers indicate. The first is a small splinter from SWAPO which is dissatisfied with the regular party leadership but supports the aims of the original party. The second, an acronym in Afrikaans for Action Front for the Retention of the Turnhalle Principles, is a white party closely allied with the South African Nationalist Party, but opposed to its policy of supporting the DTA and modifying petty apartheid.

SWAPO (The South West African People's Organization) developed out of the resistance of Black Ovambo workers to the brutal contract labor system of Namibia. Its size and strength in the early 1960's surpassed other nationalistic groups because of its initially larger ethnic base (Ovambos are half the Black population), its efforts to recruit among other Blacks, Coloreds and Whites on a non-ethnic basis, and its willingness to speak out forthrightly against oppression. SWAPO hoped that the united voice of Namibian labor would carry to the United Nations, and that from the world organization relief would come.

Those hopes seemed dashed in 1966, when the International Court of Justice refused to rule on South Africa's maladministration of its mandate in South West Africa. At that point, militants from SWAPO began to organize outside of the country to begin arm-

ed struggle. In the view of SWAPO leaders, labor was the first arm of their struggle; the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) was the second.

In 1968, Herman ja Toivo, a founder of SWAPO, was tried along with thirty-six other Namibians for giving aid to the guerrilla elements of SWAPO. He was sentenced to twenty years on Robben Island by a South African court, under that country's Terrorism Act which was passed after his arrest.

"I am not by nature a man of violence and I believe that violence is a sign against God and my fellow men . . . but the South African Government is not truly interested in whether opposition is violent or nonviolent . . . Violence is truly fearsome, but who would not defend his property and himself against a robber? And we believe that South Africa has robbed us of our country."

— Herman ja Toivo

South Africa has responded to SWAPO's struggle with ever increasing intimidation and torture, with a military force now estimated by the *Daily Telegraph of London* at 100,000 men armed with sophisticated weapons from the Western world's arsenals, with an expensive publicity campaign to discredit SWAPO, and with its continuing refusal to confront SWAPO in an internationally supervised election. By the South African government's own reckoning in 1980, in a freely administered election, SWAPO would get over 80% of the vote.

In 1965, the Organization of African Unity

(OAU) recognized SWAPO as the liberation movement of the Namibian people. In 1973, the UN General Assembly recognized SWAPO as the "authentic representative of the Namibian people."

**"The Namibian Black churches have stood together with the liberation movement because they too were not spared oppression."**

**— Theo Ben Gurirab,  
SWAPO Representative to the UN**

The churches have been crucial to the struggle for liberation in Namibia, and the churches have paid a heavy price for their commitments to conscience and to justice. After the defeat of Germany in the First World War, the churches in South West Africa gradually began to transform themselves from foreign missionary institutions to indigenous churches with Black leadership. Many of the leaders of SWAPO and the other Black political parties were educated in church-run schools. Thus, both the political and the religious leadership of Namibia have sprung from the same formative spiritual ground.

Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, has said, "There are three parts to the freedom struggle of Namibia; the part played by SWAPO internally and externally, the part played by the People's Liberation Army, and the part played by the Church."

Cooperation and resistance in the Namibian churches have allowed Black ethnic groups and Whites to call international attention to Namibia while resisting apartheid.

The Reverend Michael Scott, a White Anglican stationed in South West Africa, car-

ried the petitions of Namibians to the United Nations in 1949. He was banned from South West Africa by South African authorities, as later were his fellow Anglicans, the Bishops Mize, Winter, and Wood. James Kauluma, the present Anglican bishop, as a Namibian national, cannot be expelled as the others were. But, for speaking out courageously against oppression, intimidation, and torture, his church has been ransacked by South African troops and he has been marked for assassination by White terrorist groups.

When the International Court of Justice finally ruled in 1971 that South Africa's presence in Namibia was illegal, two of the leading Black churches—the Evangelical Lutheran and the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango—representing about half the Black population of Namibia, issued a pastoral letter to their congregations with their first public denunciations of South African apartheid: "We can no longer be silent... if we, as the church, remain silent any longer, we will become liable for the life and future of our country and its people." Support came from the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches; then the United Evangelical Mission of West Germany and the Finnish Missionary Society joined in expressing their solidarity.

The churches appealed worldwide to fellow Christians to attend to the cries of suffering in Namibia. Their voices protested the brutal intimidation South Africa used to force Namibians to vote in rigged elections. Their unity in the Namibian Council of Churches has continued to refute the South African claims to represent the majority in Namibia. At great risk, the churches have continued to investigate and refute South African propaganda against the liberation movement. For these acts, church officials have been jailed and

harassed, more foreign clergy have been expelled, churches have been bombed and church property destroyed by the South African Defense Force.



Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church press building bombed 1980

And, finally, it has been the sad task of the churches to offer last rites to those who have perished through the violence of bloodshed and the violence of starvation and sickness.

In 1979, the Reverend Paul Wee, General Secretary of the Lutheran World Ministries, traveled to Namibia to witness conditions there. "Twice during my brief trip I had a gun pushed into my stomach and many times their guns aimed at me during searches of our car and our suitcases," he recounted in his notes on the South African military. "It is the South African army together with units of the Home Guards which detain and beat the students, hospital personnel and pastors, applying sand and electric shock torture to those accused of aiding SWAPO. It is these who are responsible for harassing, intimidating, blackmailing and bribing the population. . . . It is they who deserve the name 'terrorists'."

## UPDATE

### THE INTERNATIONAL STALEMATE

Since 1977, Namibia has seemed on the verge of internationally supervised and controlled elections to install an independent government, but such elections seem further off than ever, and the war continues.

The five Western powers — Canada, England, France, West Germany and the United States—acting as a contact group between South Africa and SWAPO, and consulting with the African frontline states—Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Zambia—drew up a proposal to carry out UN resolutions calling for UN controlled elections.

South Africa accepted the proposal in the spring of 1978 and predicted that SWAPO would balk at an election. Despite a delay by SWAPO after South Africa's attack on SWAPO refugee camps deep inside Angola left nearly a thousand men, women and children dead, SWAPO did accept the proposal for an election.

Then South Africa and, later, SWAPO raised objections to the interpretations that the other was putting upon parts of the plan. Both sides expressed fears of possible intimidation during the election.

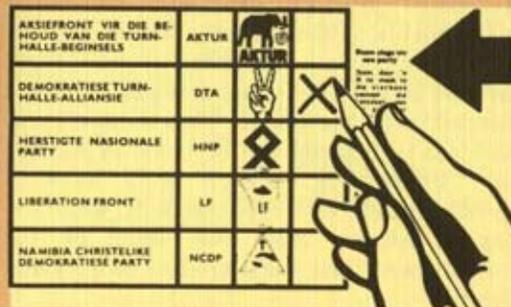
After more negotiations, in which South Africa raised additional conditions, UN supervised elections seemed assured when SWAPO agreed to allow South Africa to maintain 20 military bases in a "demilitarized zone" to be established along the Angolan border of Namibia. This DMZ had earlier been added to the plan to allay South African fears of SWAPO infiltration from Angola. But, after SWAPO made this concession, South Africa raised still more objections to the agreement.

## THE "INTERNAL SOLUTION"

While the movement toward an international solution has been stalled, South Africa has been moving relentlessly toward an "internal solution" for Namibia.

In 1977, South Africa financed the formation of a multiracial alliance of White, Black and Colored "moderate" parties, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA). Soon afterwards, the leading English and German language daily newspapers in Namibia were purchased by a German concern and transformed from their former liberal independent stance to become organs of support for the DTA.

In 1978, South Africa carried out an election without international supervision, boycotted by all the Black political parties of Namibia and all but two small Colored parties. This election was for a "constituent assembly" which then became a National Assembly. Forty-one of the 50 seats were won by the DTA, the White nationalist party AKTUR winning six and the Colored parties and the far right White HNP winning one each. Later, the Namibian National Front (NNF), a multiracial alliance which boycotted the elections, was offered seats in the



Sample ballot of boycotted 1979 interval election.

assembly, but only the White minority party in the Front was willing to accept this token membership.

From the National Assembly, a Council of Ministers has been formed to act as an executive committee (a cabinet with extensive powers) for the South African Administrator General. The National Assembly has conducted elections on an "ethnic" basis to elect a second tier of government, that is, ethnic "homeland" governments.

Under the DTA plan for Namibia, each homeland will have a largely autonomous government. The White "homeland" contains most of the agricultural and mineral wealth of the country; the Black areas are destined to remain impoverished and politically helpless to effect change. Although petty apartheid restrictions have been lifted and Blacks can purchase land in any part of the country, in fact few can afford to live in the prosperous White areas. Furthermore, although travel is not legally restricted, Blacks and Coloreds will be enfranchised only in the barren homelands to which they were assigned in the 1960s.

Typical of the "non-racial" approach of the DTA is its design for education in a country where less than half of the Black children complete primary schooling. University education is to be nationally funded and free to all. But primary and secondary schooling, as well as all other social services, are to be funded by the homelands. Thus the Black and Colored homelands will be taxed to support the university, which will have a predominantly White student body, while trying to educate their own youth on the resources of their impoverished peoples and lands.

Finally, the DTA has avowed that it will re-



South African soldiers on the streets of Windhoek, Namibia.

quest the continuing presence of the South African military and police to maintain law and order in Namibia. Already the DTA has instituted a military draft to raise a local supplementary force. Thousands of Namibians from all political parties have fled the country since the beginning of 1981 to escape being drafted to fight against SWAPO.

South Africa has repeatedly denied an intention of carrying out an "internal settlement"; it has also repeatedly professed weariness with the pace of UN negotiations. It continues to exercise direct authority through the all-powerful position of Administrator General; however, it has downgraded that position; two prestigious Afrikaner incumbents have been succeeded by a young minor official in the post. And the Council of Ministers now describes itself as the "Government of SWA/Namibia."

## SWAPO Wants:

Immediate ceasefire followed by United Nations supervised elections (UN Security Council Resolution 435).

Withdrawal of all South African forces (UN Security Council Resolution 435).

National constitution to be drawn up by assembly elected on the basis of one person, one vote (UN Security Council Resolution 435).

SWAPO's position regarding elections is the same as that of all other Black and Colored parties in Namibia except the DTA.

SWAPO, according to South African intelligence estimates, would win over 83% of the vote in a fair election.

## DTA Wants:

No ceasefire and no internationally supervised elections until the DTA has "a 50-50 chance of winning," plus guarantees among outside parties (South Africa, the western Contact Group) on special White minority privileges and non-aligned status included in the constitution as a precondition for allowing elections for independence.

Continuation of a South African military presence "for protection."

"Two-tiered" government in which ethnic homelands governments (including Whites) could veto any national legislation.

DTA's opposition to United Nations elections is shared only by two White parties -AKTUR and HNP.

DTA probably would finish third to the NNF in a fair election. It has already lost to AKTUR in the White homeland election.

## WHAT NEXT?

In January, 1981, South Africa again broke off negotiations with the United Nations to set up internationally supervised elections. At the same time, South African troops were again invading Angola from Namibia to attack SWAPO bases.

With the latest rejection of a negotiated settlement, South Africa again faced threats of United Nations sanctions. However, in April of 1981, the U.S., France and Great Britain again chose to veto any such sanctions.

Instead, the U.S. is now trying to encourage its allies to support an internationally imposed constitution for Namibia prior to internationally supervised elections. This solution would undermine the intent of UN Resolution 435 to allow a one-person, one-vote election in Namibia in which the people themselves would decide the constitution of their country free from the coercive pressures of the South African occupation forces.



1981 Geneva Conference for Namibian Settlement

Furthermore, America's allies and the African states are watching to see if the U.S. will abandon its own creation, UN Res. 435,

by offering to accept an election not controlled and supervised by the UN.

#### A NEW U.S. FOREIGN POLICY TILT

Three months after President Ronald Reagan took office, he was interviewed by Walter Cronkite on CBS News. The interview seemed to confirm a dangerous new tilt toward the white minority regime in South Africa. President Reagan took the position that:

As long as there's a sincere and honest effort being made (to end apartheid), we should be trying to be helpful. Can we again take the other course? Can we abandon a country that has stood beside us in every war we've ever fought, a country that is essential to the free world, that has minerals?

This new policy seems based on inaccurate information, inadequate analysis, and dubious morality.



Pres. Reagan and South African Foreign Minister Botha confer at White House in 1981.

Leaders of the Nationalist Party, the party that has ruled South Africa since 1948, were interned by the British during WW II because they sympathized with the Axis powers, not the Allies. Former South African Prime Minister Vorster himself equated his "Christian Nationalism" with fascism and National Socialism.

Despite having major stores of various strategic minerals, South Africa does not have a monopoly, nor are the U.S. stockpiles as critically short as alarmist propaganda would lead us to believe. Some of the same voices which now tell us that the U.S. has a vital interest in South African chrome were telling us a few years earlier as an argument against Rhodesian sanctions that it was Rhodesian chrome that we could not do without. In fact, the U.S. ended imports of chrome from South America during the boycott of Rhodesian chrome and the International Trade Commission recommended tariffs on chrome imports from South Africa to protect U.S. chrome production.

Another indication of a tilt toward the South African perspective is the Reagan administration's attempt to repeal the *Clark Amendment*. This legislation prohibits a repeat of covert CIA attempts at military destabilization in Angola without congressional approval.

Finally, the current morality of supporting "moderately repressive regimes" with concern only for "U.S. vital interest" seems to ignore the reality that this morality of expediency has not succeeded in keeping in power tyrants as varied as the Shah of Iran, Somoza, Lon Nol and Batista, but that U.S. support for them has left a legacy of Anti-Americanism which has poisoned the international atmosphere and may smother the hope of world peace for decades to come.

## WHAT CAN WE DO?

In keeping with the Quaker belief in speaking truth to power, the American Friends Service Committee invites public expressions of opposition to the continuation of South African rule of Namibia or its replacement by a settlement which would deny the Namibian people the opportunity to develop a united, prosperous and democratic country. The ending of South African rule would mean an end to the violence and the beginning of a new, human-oriented society.

"We feel that the world as a whole has a special responsibility toward us. This is because the land of our fathers was handed over to South Africa by a world body. It is a divided world, but it is a matter of hope for us that it at least agrees about one thing—that we are entitled to freedom and justice. . . . We are sure that the world's efforts to help us in our plight will continue. . . ."

— Herman ja Tolvo, 1968.

## SPECIFICALLY, WE CAN

1. *Inform Ourselves.* Review the list of suggested readings. Check out the following periodicals: *Southern Africa Magazine* (monthly) 17 W. 17th Street, New York, New York 10011 and *Africa News* (weekly) Box 3851, Durham, North Carolina 27702.
2. *Get In Touch With Others.* Offices of the AFSC (listed on the back) can help you reach groups active in your area. Churches, schools, college and community organizations are places to start.

3. *Ask city councils, state legislatures, civic and religious organizations to pass resolutions supporting United Nations efforts to force South Africa to relinquish its control of Namibia.* Churches and universities can be asked to sell stock holdings in companies with South African interests. They can also be encouraged not to do business with banks that lend directly or indirectly to the South African government or its instrumentalities. For ideas, resources, speakers contact an AFSC regional office.
4. *Speak Up:* Let your state or congressional representatives know your views on the U.S. link to Southern Africa. As specific issues arise, write letters to the editor; telephone your views to radio talk shows; express your views to local television news and program staff. *Encourage implementation of UN Resolution 435 and continued support for the Clark Amendment.*
5. *Help Namibian Refugees.* The AFSC and other groups have sent material aid to refugees from Namibia now living in southern Angola, Botswana and Zambia. The AFSC is appealing for selected material aid and donations of money. Get in touch with an AFSC regional office.

## RESOURCES

First, Ruth. *South-West Africa*. Baltimore: Penguin Press, 1963.

Liberation Support Movement, ed. *Namibia: SWAPO Fights for Freedom*. Oakland, Calif: LSM Information Center, 1978.

Lowenstein, Allard K. *Brutal Mandate: A Journey to South West Africa*. New York: Macmillan, 1962.

*Namibia: The Facts*. London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1980.

Roberts, Alan. *The Rossing File: The Inside Story of Britain's Secret Contract for Namibian Uranium*. London: The Namibia Support Committee (CANUC), 1980.

Seidman, Ann and Neva Seidman. "Namibia: An Outright Colony." *South Africa and U.S. Multinational Corporations*. Westport, Conn.: Hill, 1978.

*A Trust Betrayed: Namibia*. New York: United Nations, 1974.

Vigne, Randolph. *A Dwelling Place of Our Own: The Story of the Namibian Nation*. London: International Defense and Aid Fund, 1973.

Winter, Colin O'Brian. *Namibia*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1977.

### Suggested Films

*Free Namibia*

16mm Color/27 Minutes/1978

UN Production

*Namibia: A Case Study in Colonialism*

16mm Color/18 Minutes/1975

UN Production

Rental or Purchase from

California News Reel

630 Natoma Street

San Francisco, CA 94103

415-621-6196

INFORMATION AND  
RESOURCES ARE ALSO  
AVAILABLE FROM:

American Committee on Africa, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038

Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, 853 Broadway, New York, NY 10003

Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027

International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, MA 02138

TransAfrica, 1325 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Ave., N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002

## AFSC IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Since 1957, AFSC representatives have been based in Southern Africa in a variety of capacities, initially as "Quaker International Affairs Representatives." Since 1964, the AFSC has had an ongoing community development project in Zambia. In 1974, a Southern Africa representative, stationed in Tanzania, was appointed to relate specifically to the liberation movements in Africa and to stimulate interest and participation in their struggle among people in the United States. In 1979, TAMAPSA, a Technical Aid and Material Assistance Program for Southern Africa was initiated in Zambia and later moved to Zimbabwe, where it continues to work.

Today AFSC carries on steadily intensified education and action programs on Southern Africa throughout the United States, creating and promoting literature, providing a monthly news clipping service, distributing films and slide shows, scheduling speakers, helping to organize educational projects, collecting clothing for refugees, and stimulating efforts to influence American foreign policy in Southern Africa.

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The American Friends Service Committee is a corporate expression of Quaker faith and practice. It is rooted in the conviction that each human life is sacred, each person a child of God, and that love, expressed through creative action, can overcome hatred, prejudice and fear.

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