

Dateline: Namibia

Editorial

AND NOW SOUTH AFRICA

For Namibia the long nightmare of apartheid domination is over. Through their struggle and sacrifice, the people of Namibia, led by the political movement SWAPO, have triumphed over their oppressors and restored their country to the community of free nations.

Namibia's Christian churches played a major role in the freedom struggle, and Christians will be in the front lines again as the country attacks the poverty, illiteracy, and economic injustice that is the legacy of colonialism. They still need our spiritual and material support, and Americans should continue to raise up Namibia in action and in prayer.

But in South Africa itself the nightmare continues. The bright promise of change that followed Nelson Mandela's release from prison in February 1990 has fallen under the long shadow of bloodshed and oppression.

South Africans are still being killed by the army and police. Peaceful opponents of apartheid injustice are still being jailed and assaulted.

Namibia's friends remember that South Africa "negotiated" with the United Nations about the Namibian independence plan for over a decade while it tried to destroy the freedom movement through violence and terror. And now it seems the white government seeks to repeat that past, offering talks with the democratic opposition while continuing to arrest and torture and kill.

Until apartheid is finally abolished, American Christians are called to strengthen their bonds of solidarity with South Africa's oppressed. Let us work and pray for the day when South Africans can join their Namibian brothers and sisters in freedom.



Amid the ruins of war, symbols of faith and renewal. Parishioner holds the damaged crucifix of the Roman Catholic Church at Okanimakwa, northern Namibia, destroyed during the colonial war. The Namibian people have begun the long and difficult task of reconstruction.

Credit: John Liebenberg, Impact Visuals

PEACE TAKES HOLD IN FREE NAMIBIA

Namibia's birth last March 21 as a sovereign and independent country drew an impressive group of midwives. From U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, many of the world's most powerful political leaders squeezed into the Windhoek sports stadium to welcome Namibia into the community of free nations.

Precisely at midnight the crowd burst into cheers as South Africa's colonial flag was lowered forever on more than a century of foreign domination, and the red, white, blue and green banner of independent Namibia rose dramatically into the night sky.

Namibia's first months of freedom have been marked by encouraging signs of progress and healing. It has been a

time of transition — for the people as well as for the territory's Christian churches — a time to set new priorities and develop ways of meeting new challenges.

National Reconciliation

Perhaps the greatest achievement of Namibia's first months of independence has been the creation of a climate of peace and stability. The key to this heartening change is the ruling SWAPO party's far-reaching policy of "national reconciliation." This policy of inclusiveness has taken many forms, from the appointment of opposition party leaders to government positions to the recruitment of former members of the colonial army and police into the new nation's security forces.

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... Peace

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While the national reconciliation drive has not eliminated all political and racial violence in the country, few dispute that, practiced by the government and preached unceasingly from the pulpits of the nation's churches, it has finally broken Namibia's seemingly endless cycle of violence.

One measure of the policy's success can be seen in Simon Ndakewa, a former SWAPO soldier who, in 1986, was wounded and brutally tortured by the infamous Koevoet unit of the colonial army. His injuries have left him permanently disabled.

Ndakewa told the *Weekly Mail* newspaper that "the President [Namibian President Sam Nujoma] says we must *edhiminathanepo lyopashiqwana* — forgive and forget the past. Sometimes



Disabled former SWAPO freedom fighter at Nakayale clinic in northern Namibia. *Edhiminathanepo lyopashiqwana* — forgive and forget — is the watchword for a nation seeking to heal the wounds of the past.

Credit: John Liebenberg, Impact Visuals

when I take the wheelchair for a ride in the streets outside the hospital, I see the Koevoet men who tortured me. It's not easy to push down this desire for revenge, but I can forgive them."

Slow Pace of Change

But if the policy of national reconciliation has done much to foster peace, it has also drawn criticism from students, trade unionists, militant SWAPO mem-

bers and others frustrated by the slow pace of economic and social change. While international groups have criticized the appointment, in the name of "national reconciliation," of controversial SWAPO military chief Solomon Hawala to the post of army commander (see article page 6), the most common complaint among Black Namibians is that the policy has been used to protect the wealth and privileges of Namibia's white minority.

The government has moved quickly to repeal the laws establishing separate and unequal schools, hospitals and housing for Black Namibians. But even these important steps have not eliminated over 100 years of colonialism and apartheid.

In the Black township near Usakos, for example, over 1100 students are crowded into an old and ill-equipped school, while the modern 800-seat school in the white area is almost empty. "Now that government policy has changed," says the white school's principal, Leon Venter, "we have no alternative [to integration] and we would like to see the school filled."

But the new government lacks money to buy the imported buses and fuel needed to transport the Black students to white Usakos. Nor can most Black parents afford to move into the affluent neighborhood near the school, although legally they are now entitled to do so. In such ways, poverty and history have conspired to keep apartheid alive in many Namibian communities — frustrating many people who believed that independence would sweep away the injustices of the past.

Power, But Not Empowerment

While the government has moved swiftly to double expenditures for health care, and has tripled the education budget, there are major obstacles that block a more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth.

The Namibian constitution has been rightly praised as a model for democratic government. However, it also limits the government's power to redress the economic injustices of a colonial economy that in 1988 generated an annual \$16,500 for each white Namibian, while family farmers, who constitute the majority of Black Namibians, averaged just \$85.

Some 70 percent of Namibia's farmland is owned by white farmers, who comprise just five percent of the total.

Much of this land was taken from Black Namibians by force, yet in order to return it to its rightful owners the constitution requires the SWAPO government to buy it back — an impossibility without massive overseas funding.

Private businesses, including the banks, mines, factories, insurance, energy and construction industries, are almost entirely in white, and often foreign, hands — and are likewise protected from government intervention.

The danger, explains Immanuel Ngatjzeko, treasurer of the ecumenical Council of Churches in Namibia, is that, "if we are not making progress toward ending poverty and injustice, the people will lose faith in democracy and we stand a good chance of losing it."

South African Ties

Compounding Namibia's economic difficulties is its continuing financial and political entanglement with the former colonial ruler, South Africa. A year after independence the country still relies on South Africa for most imports, technical services and expertise, and even its currency. At independence, for example, all of Namibia's banks were headquartered in South Africa, and South African companies still own a great deal of Namibia's natural resources and land.

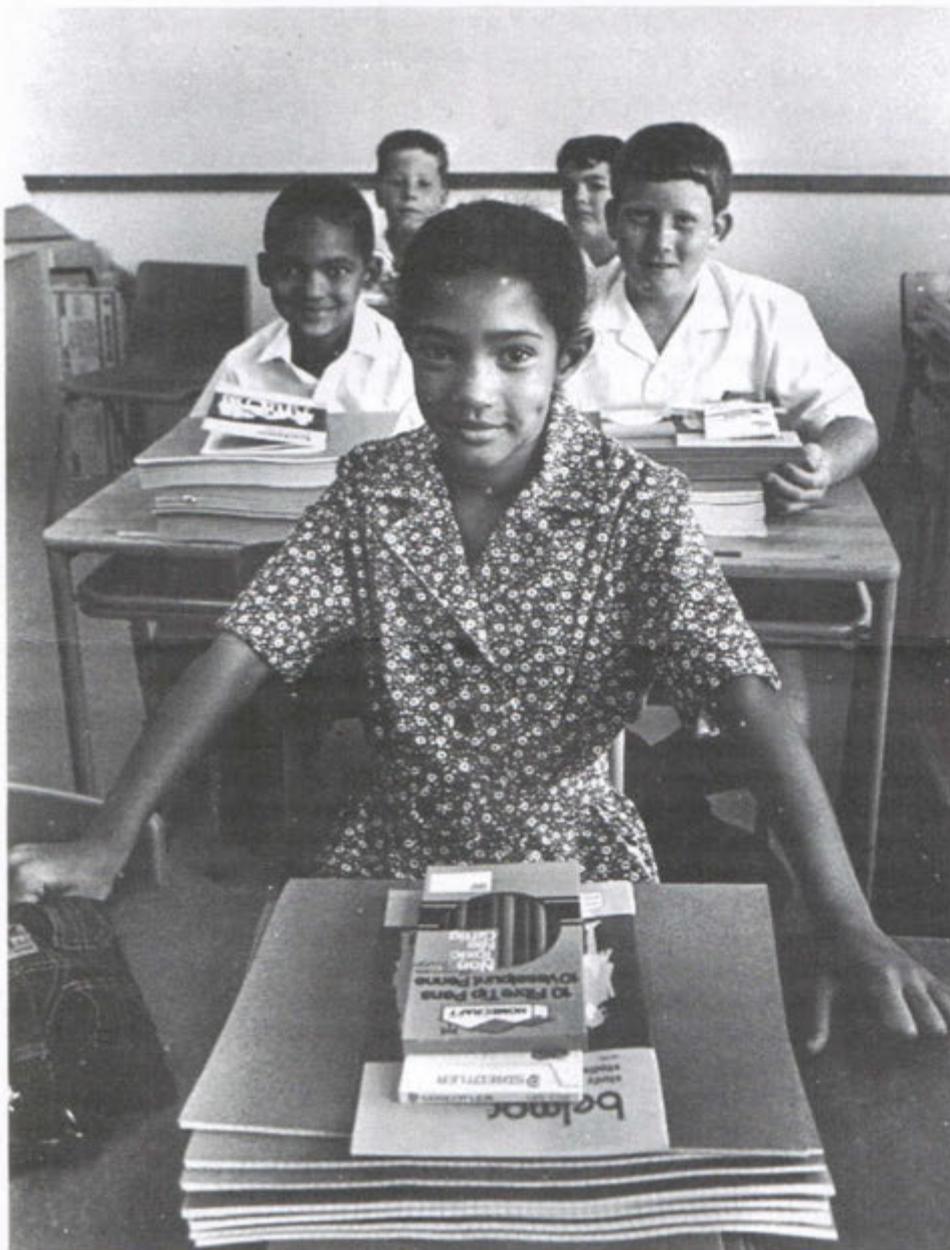
Moreover, the South African government is demanding that Namibia repay over \$280 million in loans raised by the colonial authorities during the illegal occupation — in effect demanding that the oppressed defray the cost of their own oppression.

Role of the Church

For Namibia's Christian churches, one of the first tasks is to repair the ravages of war. At Odibo, Anglican Namibians are rebuilding the church, hospital and education complex destroyed by South Africa during the independence war. Catholic and Lutheran Namibians are also beginning to rebuild from a brutal colonial occupation that too often made a target of the church.

The churches, particularly in rural areas, are working to establish income-generating projects for women; resettle and rehabilitate over 40,000 refugees who returned from exile last year; and to assist those permanently disabled by the fighting.

In health and education, a traditional



Big smiles at an integrated school in Windhoek, Namibia. The walls of apartheid are slowly coming down in democratic Namibia, but history and economics conspire against rapid and thoroughgoing change.

Credit: John Liebenberg, Impact Visuals

To Our Readers

For nearly a decade, *Dateline: Namibia* has tried to penetrate the veil of South African censorship and repression for a glimpse of the suffering and the resistance of Namibia's people under colonialism. With Namibian independence that task is completed.

This will be the final edition of the newsletter devoted exclusively to Namibia.

It is our hope that *Dateline* can continue in service to the struggle for liberation and justice in southern Africa, with interviews and reports from South Africa's faith community as well as on important developments in Namibia and other parts of the region. The editors and publishers wish to thank all those who have read and supported *Dateline: Namibia* over these many years. We look forward to our continued work together in the future.

— Nkosi Sikelel i Afrika —

God bless Africa. The struggle continues!

area of Christian responsibility in Namibia, some of the greatest changes are coming. For many years the churches were among the only providers of proper health and educational services to Black people. Now that Namibia is independent, primary responsibility for education and health will rest, as it should, with government.

At the Otjimbingwe Lutheran Hospital, for example, the government has already assumed the cost of salaries, medicines and equipment. The same is likely to occur at the country's 15 other church hospitals and clinics, easing a costly burden.

In the area of education, the churches have welcomed government efforts to improve and standardize the curriculum for all Namibian children. But the CCN's Ngatjzeko says that "for the time being the churches want to maintain their school programs."

It is not for lack of faith in government, he explains, "It is just that Namibia, as a secular state, has declared that religious education is no longer mandatory. We are naturally concerned that those who seek Christian education should be able to find it. We hope our schools will eventually be able to receive government subsidies."

Challenge to the Church

But Ngatjzeko also noted that the new government, offering higher salaries and greater power to effect change, has hired many skilled workers away from the churches. This government "brain drain" has been exacerbated by a reduction of funds for the Namibian churches from their partners in Europe and North America — funds that Namibia's poor parishioners are unable to make up.

With independence and the dramatic changes in eastern Europe, funding for Namibia has begun to dry up. By the end of October 1990, the Council of Churches in Namibia had raised barely half of its 1991 budget. This will inevitably require deep cuts in the services Namibians so desperately need, and slow the healing of a nation still traumatized by racism and war.

"The greatest challenge to our churches," Ngatjzeko concluded, "is to heal the body and spirit of our people. Our nation is still bleeding from past wounds and we still have too far to go."

Lindi Kazombaue: The Church's Contribution to Community Development in Post-Colonial Namibia

Lindi Kazombaue is Director of the nongovernmental Namibia Development Trust. Previously she served the Catholic church as a social worker in the black township of Katutura. Her remarks, below, were delivered as a four-day Conference on the Future Role of the Church in Namibia, held in Windhoek, March 27-31, 1990.

The Church's Role in the Pre-Independence Period

We all know the church was part and parcel of the colonial structures. The church was and still is seen as a foreign institution with a hidden agenda. The church also undersigned apartheid by creating separate institutions like schools and hospitals for different color groupings in society. At this moment the church is still busy creating separatism by having schools and hospitals for the rich, and other inferior institutions for the poor. Christianity was also used to make Black communities powerless by preaching acceptance of suffering and directing people's minds to life after death.

Luckily, more and more African pastors in the Protestant churches took over the mission from their German and Finnish counterparts. This caused a revolution in those churches. We all can remember the breakaway of Lutheran pastors to form a more indigenous church and to have more control over the interpretation of God's word. This movement of Africanizing the church led to the formation of the Namibian Church Council. The actual task of this body is to foster ecumenism in the different churches in Namibia. The establishment of the Christian council led toward the splitting of the church of Namibia into two blocs, the progressive and conservative church. We still have this situation in Namibia. The Africanization of our churches still has a long way to go. The church is not yet home.

We have to acknowledge that the church did set up institutions for the underprivileged such as schools, hospitals and clinics. They were pioneers in this field while the colonial government denied us these services.

During the late 1970s, the Namibian Church Council became the Council of Churches in Namibia. During this period the CCN became very involved in pressing and keeping the Namibian political issue on the table for discussion. It was not an easy task because South African politics overshadowed our politics.

The CCN played an important role in directing the attention of the world toward the Namibian issue. The oppressed Namibians identified themselves very strongly with their churches because the churches spoke out about the suffering and the injustices against our people. It is a pity that the churches did not use this opportunity to organize political education and political empowerment of the masses. It may have been done in a very small and ineffective way. I personally feel the church leaders did not communicate to the people enough. They communicated more with the outside world.

In the pre-colonial period, development was only accepted



Lindi Kazombaue

through the channel of the churches and organizations affiliated with SWAPO. This meant the church nearly had a monopoly over development and development aid. We will discuss this subject again later in my paper.

The Churches' New Role in an Independent Namibia

The church has to change its role from a political to a development role. The people now identify for their political aspirations with the Namibian government. The church only wore this political hat because the people could not identify with the colonial government. The church should change its concern for only the soul to the person as a whole, and should understand the interrelationship between the soul, the body and the society. The church still sees its role as only a spiritual one, but I think that is just a part of its role. The church should adopt a holistic approach toward people. This can only be done if it acts affirmatively and puts up effective structures to ensure development.

Why Should the Church Play a Role in Development?

1. The church exists all over Namibia. You find the church in the most remote areas.
2. The church is at the moment the group with the largest membership. More than 90 percent of the Namibian population is Christian.
3. The congregations meet every Sunday. The church is the organization with the most access to the people. No other group in Namibia can bring together people all over the country, once a week. The church also does not need to advertise or organize this assembly of the people.
4. The people trust the church.
5. The church gives instruction in the catechism and is therefore involved in character-building, especially with children and young people.
6. At the moment there is very little being done for women in Namibia. The church is one grouping that has a lot of access to women. It is women who are the worshipers in our country. Because women have such a full schedule, it is very difficult to organize them, but I can assure you that the church is on their schedule. They have difficulty finding time for other activities but they surely have time for church.
7. The church has people from different ethnic groups, cultures, political backgrounds and economic levels, and there-

fore has a richness of people and talents, and can play an important role as a bridge in reconciliation and nation-building.

Affirmative Action

1. The church can become a center for development. It must tap into the advantages it has, and use them as opportunities for development. The catechism classes must build persons spiritually, but also make them aware of their rights, must prepare them for life, and build the awareness of people in relation to their environment. People should be more community-conscious and must develop responsible attitudes. I can assure you that with this approach you will have more souls than you have now.

2. The church can become a bridge in nation-building and reconciliation, and therefore should abstain from all activities that help to separate the people. Namibia is ethnically divided, and the church can bring the people of the south together with the people of the north. Congregations that prefer to be separate from others should be challenged.

3. The church should become more democratic. It should listen to the grassroots. In the past, developments came from the top. Paternalism is welfare, not development. Handouts do not build confidence, but dependence.

4. The church should open its facilities for community use. I am going to say something now which may offend the church, but it is done in a good spirit. The church has many under-utilized farms while many Namibians are landless. Is it not time for the church to put these farms to proper use for resettlement of our landless people? I am part of a committee at the moment, busy with investigating church land and sug-



Homeless Namibians at a government squatter camp outside the capital city of Windhoek. The government provides land and toilets. The people must build their own homes. The church is challenged to become a vehicle for economic development and political empowerment.

gesting alternate uses for it as employment and income-generating centers for unemployed, landless Namibians.

5. I have already said that the church should not create division. The church should strive more effectively for ecumenism. There is no place in an independent Namibia for Catholic or Lutheran projects. By that I mean that although the project is executed by the Catholic church it should not benefit only Catholics. We are not in a competition for souls. Also, the



Black Namibian women who are wage-earners continue to work primarily as nannies and domestics for white employers. Only some employers allow the women to keep their own children with them.

church should address sexism in the church. The constitution of our country prohibits discrimination against women.

6. In order to do proper development, the church should employ trained development or social workers because the worker must have a clear understanding of what development is. If there are not skilled people in the country, give bursaries with certain conditions to ensure staff for the future. They have to create strong structures controlled by the people in the church for development.

7. The church hierarchy cannot be in charge of development if its relationship with the grassroots does not improve and if it does not have the understanding or the ability to empower those grassroots.

Possible Problems

1. Many clergy still do not see the church's role in development. They still feel they are called only to save souls without bodies.

2. There is no unity among churches. Even in one church you will find disunity.

3. Development workers in churches do not get enough support from the church hierarchy.

4. Church leaders control church resources so that people do not have access to those resources, e.g., foreign funding, buildings, etc.

5. Churches segregate people according to ethnic groupings and sex, e.g., different church services for different groups, females sit on the left side and males on the right, as if we are separate in front of God.

6. The church is still a foreign church. It estranges people from who and what they are. E.g., if I as a Catholic bless myself with holy water when I enter the church, it is religious. But if the independent churches cleanse a person from evil spirits with water, it is seen as heathenism. I realize many Namibians are Christians out of conditioning and not because it makes sense to them. Namibian theology should be created by Namibians. People are going to turn and feel proud about their roots. Is the church in line with this movement? Only by this process of Africanization can people retain their pride.

7. Lastly, I want to recognize the fact that our churches have operated in a very difficult situation in the past. But they must change their role and their image in order to meet the challenges of the future.

Credit: John Liebenberg, Impact Visuals

Credit: John Liebenberg, Impact Visuals

APPOINTMENTS SPARK CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The appointment of a controversial former guerrilla leader to the post of army commander has triggered the first major dispute between Church and State in independent Namibia.

At issue was the October 23, 1990, appointment of Solomon Hawala, former security chief of the independence movement SWAPO, to head the new Namibian army. Hawala has been accused by former inmates of SWAPO prison camps in Angola of imprisoning and torturing hundreds of Namibians suspected of spying for South Africa during the bloody anti-colonial war (see *Dateline: Namibia*, October 1989).

On October 25 the Executive Committee of the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN), representing some 900,000 Namibian Christians, urged the SWAPO-led government to "shelve" the appointment until a study of wartime disappearances and human rights abuses by both sides can be undertaken. Hawala's appointment was also attacked by Namibian opposition parties and newspapers, and criticized by Amnesty International and other Western human rights and Namibia support groups.

"Selective Morality"

But government and SWAPO officials strongly defended Hawala. Both the widely respected Prime Minister, Hage Geingob, and Information Minister Hidipo Hamutenya accused critics of "selective morality" in singling out Hawala for attack. They noted, correctly, that many of the opposition parties had collaborated with South Africa during the colonial era, and thus bore a measure of responsibility for atrocities committed by the occupation army.

SWAPO leaders also pointed out that many of the voices being raised against Hawala — including that of the church — had been silent about the retention in the Namibian army and police of several former South African-appointed security officers who are also suspected by Namibian religious and human rights groups of involvement in human rights abuses. The officers were reappointed under the government's national reconciliation policy of forswearing punish-



Major General Solomon Hawala.

ment for former soldiers and officials of the colonial regime. The policy seeks to foster unity and forgiveness among Namibians after decades of apartheid division and war.

In a long and bitter editorial about the controversy, the semi-official SWAPO paper *Namibia Today* charged that the "CCN Executive faction" was "not speaking for the majority of the Christian Community" in opposing Hawala's appointment. The paper faulted the CCN for "not at the same time calling for the purging of the public services of all those who perpetrated political arrest, torture, detention, disappearance and death of so many SWAPO supporters."

The only alternative, the paper cautioned, was a divisive "mass purge, Nuremberg-type of trial and consequent retribution." To single out only one person or party for human rights abuses, it asserted, "is an exercise in hypocrisy and opportunism."

Reconciliation Through Justice

Yet it is difficult to understand how there can be genuine forgiveness for the wrongs of the past without confession and repentance of the guilty. For the bitter debate over Solomon Hawala is less about his alleged misdeeds during the war than the fact that neither he nor the party leadership have provided a full account of that tragic period in Namibia's history, or acknowledged responsibility for the injustices committed. Hundreds of Namibians reportedly detained at Hawala's command are still missing and unaccounted for. While it seems certain

that many of those detained by SWAPO were spies for South Africa, it is equally clear that hundreds of patriotic Namibians were unjustly detained and abused. They have been falsely branded traitors, yet the nation has failed to acknowledge the injustice of their suffering or restore their dignity.

Much the same can be said about the victims of colonial detention. Thousands of Namibians were routinely assaulted, tortured, and even murdered in South Africa's colonial jails, and at least 60 people have never been accounted for. Yet several high-ranking former colonial security officers, including Department of National Intelligence head Johan Maritz, Special Branch Brigadier A.T.C. Nel, and police Brigadiers Mullendorf and Badenhorst, continue to serve in the Namibian army and police.

Without a full accounting of the missing and abused on all sides, and acceptance of responsibility by those guilty of human rights violations, there can be no forgiveness by the victims and no assurance that abuses will not occur in the future. While SWAPO has rightly charged that opposition parties are seeking to exploit the detainee issue, the churches' desire is not to punish, but to heal.

The Church Response

As CCN General Secretary Abisai Shejvali observed in his reply to the *Namibia Today* editorial, "The Namibian constitution does not oblige the government to appoint persons who are allegedly notorious human rights violators.... We are in no way calling for a 'Nuremberg type of trial.' Our point is that it is not wise to entrust the security of independent and democratic Namibia to persons who have allegedly abused human rights on a gross scale."

If the controversy over the appointment of Solomon Hawala and others suspected of human rights violations has been harsh, it has also demonstrated the strength of Namibia's young democracy. The press conducted a vigorous, even shrill, debate on the issue, and virtually every part of Namibian society — the churches, trade unions, student organizations and politi-

Credit: John Liebenberg, Impact Visuals

cal parties — have freely weighed in with their views.

Indeed, public discussion of the painful detainees issue began shortly after independence on March 21. In July, after a highly partisan debate on the matter in parliament, Prime Minister Geingob began a round of private meetings with political leaders, church and human rights activists, and representatives of the former detainees themselves. His goal was to win consensus among all concerned Namibians on an inquiry to investigate the fate of those on both sides of the war

who disappeared in detention. Yet he found himself unable to keep his discussions with the opposition parties from the anti-SWAPO press, and with the appointment of Hawala his efforts ceased.

A Solution Sought

Finally, on November 9, the Namibian National Assembly ended the frustrating deadlock by requesting the assistance of the International Committee of the Red Cross in determining the fate of Namibians who died or disappeared during the freedom struggle. The Red Cross

will also be asked to confirm or refute allegations that some Namibians are still being detained in neighboring countries.

Should the Red Cross take up the Namibian request, their report should go a long way towards resolving the troubling and painful issue of detention and torture. In the meantime the government may wish to consider whether, in the interest of national reconciliation and justice, all those suspected of human rights violations should be removed from positions where they would have the power to torture again.

AMERICA LAGS IN AID TO NAMIBIA

The international community has begun marshalling resources to help Namibians confront the poverty, underdevelopment and racial injustice that is the endowment of apartheid colonialism.

Namibian President Sam Nujoma flew to New York in June to meet with possible financial donors. Namibian officials arrived with detailed proposals for \$810 million in assistance over the first three years of independence.

Partnership

The resulting pledges, some \$360 million in grants and loans, were welcomed by Namibian Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab as a "good first step." But Eastern Europe, Central America and the Persian Gulf are putting heavy demands on Western treasuries, and the chances of finding additional money for Namibia appear slim.

Additional assistance is coming from Christian and secular non-governmental

organizations in Europe and North America.

American Episcopalians, for example, are providing funds to Anglican Namibians for the reconstruction of the Odibo education and health care center.

U.S. Role

In the future, the most important contributions by U.S. Christians to Namibia's future may come in the crucial area of education and training.

Many of Namibia's church leaders, including Anglican Bishop James Kauluma and CCN General Secretary Dr. Abesai Shejavali, studied in the United States. An extensive scholarship program for Namibian students was developed by the Lutheran college system. Expansion of educational opportunities for Namibians in the United States over the next few years would be an important form of solidarity.

Many United States citizens have as-

sumed that their government, a vocal champion of democracy around the world, would be a leading provider of assistance to Namibia. Sadly, however, the world's newest nation appears to be at the bottom of Washington's priorities.

For this critical first year of Namibian independence, the Bush administration had originally budgeted just \$500,000. Concerned Congressional leaders eventually increased Namibia's funding to \$10 million. But even this amount is scheduled to drop to just \$7.8 million in 1991.

It is worth considering the views of Howard Wolpe, the head of the Africa Subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives, who said of American aid to Namibia:

"For us not to encourage the reform process there as well as throughout Africa — and see it through," Rep. Wolpe noted, "leads to the perception that we have a racial double standard."

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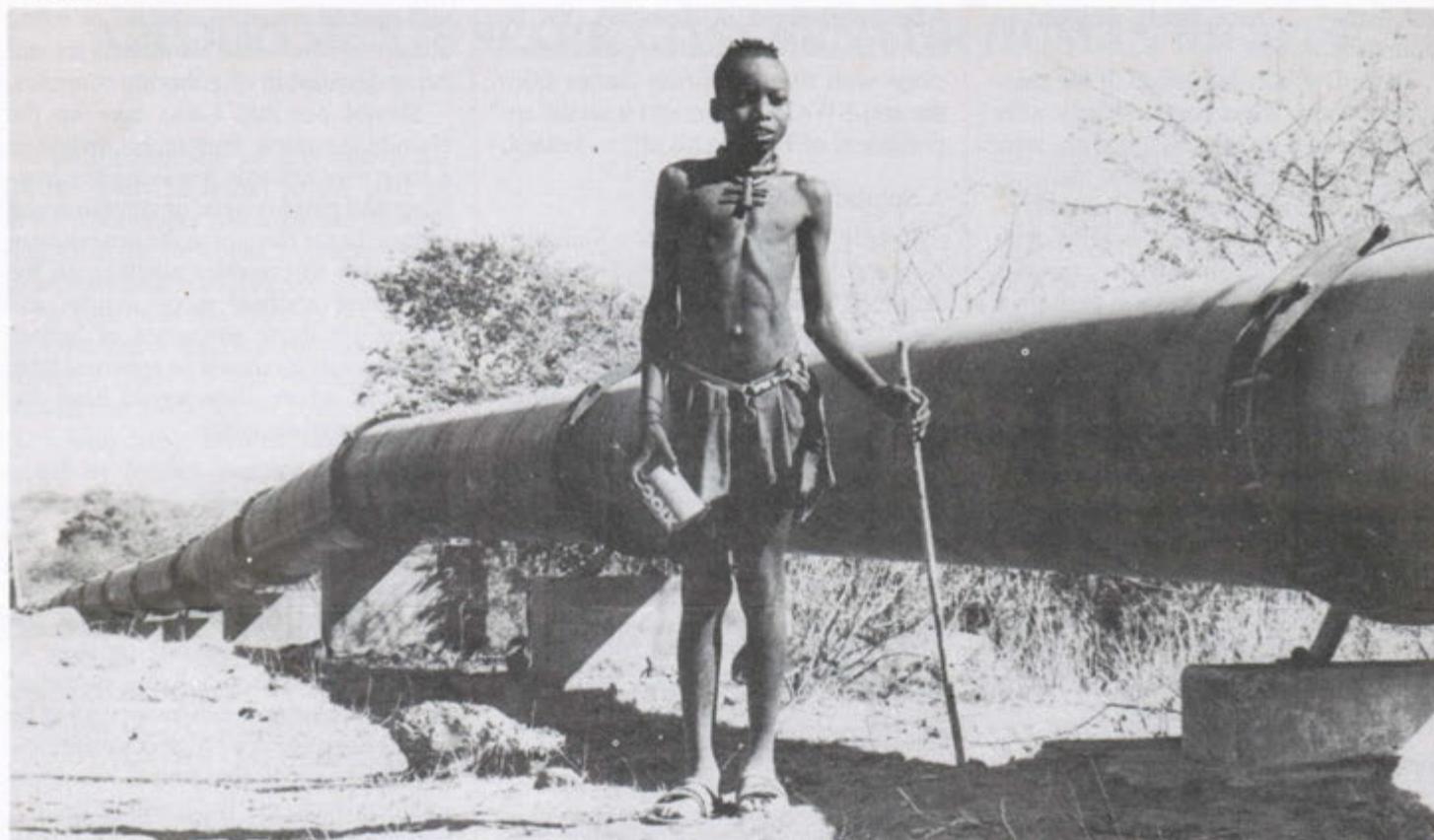
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Credit: John Liebenberg, Impact Visuals

With peace, a bright future. Young Namibian cattle herder in front of the massive water pipeline from Angola. With peace and development, Angolan water could turn arid northern Namibia into the nation's breadbasket, and benefit both countries. Should war continue, the future for this young man and all the peoples of the region is grim. The U.S. government is providing millions of dollars of weapons to rebels fighting the Angolan government. The pipeline, damaged by fighting in 1989, is dry.

MEETING THE CHALLENGES OF FREEDOM

Freedom has brought great change to the mission and ministry of Namibia's Christian churches. Gone, thankfully, is the need to mobilize international outrage at the racial violence and rampant injustices of apartheid rule. With independence, Namibians have finally regained the right to determine their destiny.

Keeping Faith

Today's enemies are poverty, illiteracy and disease. The schools, hospitals, jobs and economic opportunities needed to combat them are costly. Therefore the church must continue as a beacon of hope for the poorest, and as an unflinching foe of human rights abuses and injustice. These too can impose high material, spiritual and political costs.

If American Christians are to keep

faith with their Namibian brothers and sisters, they too must change — adapting the form and content of their material aid, education and advocacy efforts to the new circumstances. Episcopalians, for example, might help support the reconstruction of the Odibo center. American Lutherans could join a critical Lutheran World Federation project to help the San, or so-called "Bushman" people of northern Namibia, preserve their culture, identity and way of life.

Working locally, congregations and concerned individuals can work to establish "people-to-people" partnerships with Namibian congregations and counterparts, and "sister city" ties between their community and a Namibian town. Local colleges and universities can also be asked to provide scholarships for

Namibian students, and to assist the new nation in expanding and improving educational opportunities at home.

Advocacy

Advocacy continues to be important. America's government officials should be reminded of Namibia's importance as a model for change in South Africa and other African countries, and citizen advocates can make a difference. Do your part as an individual and as members of the faith community to impress on Congress and the State Department the need for America to provide its fair share of financial, diplomatic and moral support for the freely elected Namibian government.

The fate of Walvis Bay and other lands still under South African occupation should also be highlighted. Namibia will never be fully free until these areas are returned, and the United States government must be urged to speak out forcefully and publicly on behalf of United Nations Security Council Resolution 432, which recognizes Walvis Bay as "an integral part of Namibia."

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