FOREWORD

Millions of words have been written about the struggle for Namibia, about the role of the League of Nations, the United Nations, the Liberation Movement and about the role of the Churches. All these parties have played a role in the liberation of Namibia and - though at varying degrees - they have made a decisive contribution which in the end culminated in the United Nations supervised elections in Namibia for the election of the first ever Constituent Assembly, which in turn would draft a constitution for Namibia.

As I am writing these words, the Namibian constitution is in place. It was adopted on the 9th February 1990 setting the stage for the long awaited Namibian independence, scheduled for 21 March 1990. The culmination of all these developments can be summed up in one word: THE FUTURE OF NAMIBIA WILL NOT BE WHAT IT USED TO BE.

When the Executive of the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) hurriedly established the Churches Information and Monitoring Service (CIMS) on the last day of March 1989, they had one aim in mind: to maximise scrutiny of the transitional dispensation with the creation of a network of monitoring structures around the country through which (national and international) observers would be deployed to monitor the process, in the hope that the implementing parties (South Africa and UNTAG) as well as the Namibian participating political parties would adhere to the letter and spirit of the independence plan. Needless to say, these observers played their role and I feel honoured to announce to the world that the CIMS Observers SAW IT ALL!

The CIMS Observer report is not a book or a research expose' of some sort. Rather it is a collection of raw material edited from observers’ field reports and daily observations throughout the transitional period.
I would like to Sinram, Mr Henk fellow monitors reports, helped various sections also go to the his staff.
express my profound gratitude to Mr Hermann van Apeldoorn and Miss Irene Aartisma, who, in addition to submitting their own me greatly in sorting out and compiling of this volume of reports. Special thanks Director of CIMS, Mr Vezera B Kandetu, and
DENIS B M'PASSOU
ED. TOR
May I take this project possible. this country for skill and audacity.
The many palmed a understand
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opportunity to thank all who made this The leadership of the Church movement in the dynamic leadership they provided with international observers and guests who came and daring responsibility which they did not very well and which at times proved dangerous.
The invisible local monitors and observers who served as the ground crew for and who formed the backbone to the whole operation, often risking their own lives. And to crown it all, let me thank the Namibian people at large, who made it all possible. Without their dedication to the struggle for justice and their determination to make the transition work, the UNSCR 435 implementation would have been derailed long before the arrival of the first Namibian exiles.
As the Namibian people celebrate their hard won freedom they do so with full confidence that the day shall come when all God's children will be at liberty to breathe the sweet air of freedom and when that day shall come, no person, no matter how many armoured tanks they command, will be able to reverse the course of events.
BY;
GENERAL OBSERVATIONS
This report covers dominant trends that I observed between 1-18 July 1989.

1. THE POLITICAL CLIMATE
Since the unfortunate events of April 1, the mood in Namibia has changed considerably and become increasingly positive and hopeful. This improvement has come about principally through the work of UNTAG and the desire of many not to let the opportunity for independence be stolen from the people. Nevertheless, Mr Martti Ahtisaari (SR) has declared (July 6) that conditions do not yet exist which would permit the holding of "free and fair" elections.

2. REGISTRATION
Registration began on July 3. By Friday, July 14 over a third of the estimated 650,000 people eligible to vote had registered. Both Isel Rivero y Mendez of the Okahandja UNTAG Office and Yolanda Auger of the Swakopmund UNTAG Office reported that registration was proceeding at a steady pace. Ms Rivero y Mendez is sending the mobile registration unit around part of the district a second time as she is not satisfied that all eligible voters have had a chance to register. In Swakopmund Ms Anger said businesses in Walvis Bay were cooperating by sussing eligible employees to Swakopmund to register. The line up at the registration office on Saturday morning (July 15) in Swakopmund numbered several hundred people. It would be helpful if more registration clerks could be hired for Saturdays when many people have time off from work to register.

Several registration irregularities have been reported in THE NAMIBIAN. Chief complaints are that registration forms have been incorrectly completed, the shortage of interpreters and misspelling of names. This raises the question of the validity of these registration forms at the times of election. There are also reports that UNTAG Officers are not monitoring the registration process with sufficient care. Further work needs to be undertaken by the Ecumenical Observer Group to ascertain the extent to which free and fair elections may be compromised.

3. PROBLEMS
Out of the 1800 strong SWAPO force in the north, 1500 are ex-koevoet members. Not surprisingly, koevoet members are reputed to be killers. The mere sight of koevoet in Casspirs is psychologically disturbing to the population. There have been widespread reports of koevoet harassment at night. Here are some examples of koevoet brutality and harassment in the north.
On Saturday, July 1, Loise Mutilitha and Gideon Neto were gunned down by ex-koevoet member, Muhambo Muneputu, see THE NAMIBIAN, Wednesday, July 5.

Mr John Rambuga, the UNTAG Regional Director in Oshakati told us of a man who found himself in an argument with another man because he was singing SWAPO songs. The man who objected to the songs left and returned with reinforcements. The SWAPO supporter was taken and tortured. His tongue was pulled out and he was locked up in prison. UNTAG will be using this case to demonstrate the unlawful action of the koevoet component in SWAPOL.

The O'Linn Commission is at present (July 10/11) investigating a complaint where DTA supporters opened fire on a bus holding SWAPO supporters at Onankali in June, while SWAPOL stood by. When SWAPOL eventually acted they arrested 13 of the SWAPO supporters and let the DTA supporters go free.

On July 10, I spoke with Ms Rebecca Ntinda, a teacher at Ambili Senior School who told me that koevoet prevented her from getting water on Oshakati because she supported SWAPO rather than DTA. General Dreyer, Head of SWAPOL in the north, assured us that koevoet were quite capable of doing ordinary police work. The numerous reports of harassment and cases of brutality make one question his confidence. It should be noted that there has been an improvement in the performance of SWAPOL over the past few weeks. The rate of reported incidents has declined from 6 to 8 a day to 5 to 6 per week. Night patrols have supposedly ended. The mounted machine guns on the casspirs have been removed and the use of these vehicles is gradually being reduced. One of the problems that UNTAG has at present is the lack of vehicles that are able to accompany the SWAPOL casspirs on patrol. SWAPOL gave UNTAG some casspirs but they have all proved to be unroadworthy. UNTAG is waiting to receive some casspirs which will be painted white. The last confirmed land mine explosion occurred eight months ago so it would seem that casspirs are really unnecessary for ordinary police work. SWAPOL, however, continue to use them. This week (July 11) it was reported that UNTAG is now using a helicopter to beef up the UN Police Monitoring work.

The UNTAG Police Force stands at 190 at present (July 5). There will be an increase of 310 UNTAG police shortly. The Regional Director of UNTAG at Oshakati said that 500 UNTAG Police are still not enough for the northern region. He is quite clear that the presence of UNTAG has raised the standard of SWAPOL performance in the north.

RECOMMENDATION
Every political party that we met supported the removal of koevoet from the north in order to terminate the actual and psychological intimidation of the people. Our group were unanimous on this point as well. While the military component of UNTAG is under employed the police component needs to be increased. Mr Ahtisaari would be pleased of support in this matter.

(b) FARM WORKERS

There are approximately 5000 white farmers in Namibia. many of the farms are isolated and the farm workers who make up 20% of the population are highly dependent on their employers for access to life beyond the farm boundaries. The law protecting private property makes it mandatory for a visitor to a farm to receive permission to meet with farm workers. Clergy have reported difficulty in gaining access to workers in the past and political parties now face the same problem.

Our visit to Reiner and Christine Thiessen's farm was very informative. Eight workers are employed there. These workers live on the farm with their families, making a total of 25 people. Reiner has discussed Resolution 435 over the past year with his employees for access to life beyond the farm boundaries. The law protecting private property makes it mandatory for a visitor to a farm to receive permission to meet with farm workers. Clergy have reported difficulty in gaining access to workers in the past and political parties now face the same problem.

Many farm workers are ill informed about the political choices before them and some have even thought that UNTAG

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AND PRAISE TO UNTAG AND CIMS

Throughout our visit to Namibia the presence of the UNITED NATIONS TRANSITIONAL ASSISTANCE GROUP (UNTAG) was evident. It is our view that this presence is major stabilising factor in Namibia politics at this time. Deeply committed to assisting the independence process, UNTAG is nevertheless entirely non-partisan in its advocacy of political parties. For this it is often maligned by groups who hope to make political mileage out of UNTAG and its officers. It is to be hoped that its declared aim of ensuring free and fair elections without intimidation and violence will be fully achieved. The CODE OF CONDUCT embodying attitudes of restraint, constructiveness and flexibility in political campaigning and signed on 12 September 1989 by nine political parties, is a noteworthy achievement of UNTAG initiative.

We were continually impressed by the calibre of person that UNTAG has within its ranks and by commitment of the international community to peace, justice and freedom in Namibia, which UNTAG's presence represents. South Africa should not discredit the value of some form of international mediation and referee in its own negotiations for new society.

AND THE CHURCHES AND CCN
Our last visit was to PASTOR NASHONGO of the EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH. We questioned him about the perception of the CCN as a SWAPO tool. He acknowledge that this perception was real but inevitable since CCN had aligned itself as a matter of Christian conscience, with the concept of sovereign independence for the Namibian people and consequent freedom from South African rule.

It is in our view quite unfounded. For example we would commend the CCN's Information Officer for the impartiality of a video report which he has prepared concerning returnees, voter registration and issues concerning the election itself.

CCN and its sub-division CIMS are doing a magnificent job in promoting awareness, exposing the international ecumenical community to this great moment in Namibia's history and working tirelessly for peace and reconciliation in the land. These are essentially biblical concepts and the Church must promote them with the substance and inspiration that only she can provide in the grace of the Holy Spirit.

We extend to CIMS our sincere thanks for an insightful and though-provoking journey. We were not able to meet other staff members of CIMS who had to be in Botswana at the time.

ONE

KAVANGO AND CAPRIVI STRIP

The two Districts of Kavango and Caprivi Strip are situated in the north eastern part of Namibia. They are close to the border with southern Angola, the stronghold of the South African-acked UNITA rebels. The total land area of the region is 53,233 km² with an estimated population of 168,000 people (120,000 in Kavango and 48,000 in Caprivi Strip).

This region had also a large presence of South African Defence forces, including the notorious koevoets. This large military presence and the fact that it is close to the Angolan border, particularly the fact that it is close to the headquarters of Savimbi's UNITA FORCES, PRESENTED PROBLEMS WHICH ARE REFLECTED IN THE REPORTS WHICH came from monitors who monitored the transition to independence in this region.

The most prominent of these problems is the one regarding the fact that many Angolans were either persuaded or forced - some reports say at gun-point - to cross the border into Namibia and vote for DTA to ensure that UNITA will continue to enjoy the military support of South Africa as DTA would be a continuation of South African rule legalised through the implementation of Resolution 435. MOST of the reports report of Angolans crossing the Okavango river -- which forms the boundary between Angola and Namibia in this region -- to register as voters and later to cross again to vote.

Other reports express the suspicion that identity cards and registration forms may have been smuggled into southern Angola to enable the Angolans to register in
their own country. Whatever the case may have been the result is that Angolans did cross the border to vote in the elections in Namibia. The number is not oertAip, and will probably not be known.
The large presence of South African Defence Forces and Koevoets made the area a DTA stronghold with a high rate of intimidation. This is also reflected in the reports. A total of 76,993 voters cast their votes in Kavango and Caprivi Strip. As already stated we will never know how many of that number were Angolans. The issue becomes even more complicated because of the fact that many families in Kavango and Caprivi Strip have relatives on the other side of the border and the other way round.

- The Editor

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BOTSWANA

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REPORT ON KAVANGO JULY 19th - 24 JULY

We arrived at Tam-Tam (in the bush) and we were informed to go to Karukuvisa. Fourteen people attended the meeting on the subject of registration. Then we came back to Tam-Tam, where the meeting was attended by five Bushmen. We slept at Tam-Tam. The next day we came to Noushe where 42 people including the Chief attended the meeting. From there we went to Naingopo where another 35 people attended the meeting. Further on at Goama 35 people attended. On Friday 21st July we were at GCwatjinga, and then to Gcaru and on to Gcigo and to Ncaute. Meetings in all these places was attended by an average of 35 people and chiefs attended. On Saturday we visited Cuma and Ncuncuni. People from Hamrigi came to Ncuncuni to attend the meeting. Then we went to Nainami and on to Sarukcw here.

On Sunday, July 23 we spent the whole day at Sarukwe because being Sunday people had to go to Church first before coming to the meeting, which was well attended by 240 people. On Monday, July 24 we were at Mavanze, where another 220 attended the meeting.

REGISTRATION PROBLEMS

At Sarukwe 36 people have not been registered and there could be more people who also have not registered her Elizabeth Simbara, 19, was denied registration and no reason was given for the refusal. Natalia Kambembe, 19, was also refused registration. She was told that it was because she did not have an ID, and was not advised to get the headman or someone to give evidence about her. Regina Nyama, an Angolan, has stayed in Namibia for six years. Her ID was burnt out but she is over 20 years old. Others who were also refused registration for various reasons which could be rectified numbered 2 12 people in all.
REPORT ON VISIT TO CAPRIVI
BY TORSTEN BOEHMER AND DORIS PESCHKE, 21.-26.07.1989

After an overnight stay at Rundu we travelled through the Caprivi to Katima Mulilo on 21st July 1989. The whole Western region of Caprivi, from Bangani to Kongola, is demarkated as a Game Park. Control points are registering the time of entering and departing, registration no. and persons in the car. Overnight stays are prohibited.

While in Caprivi we stayed at Katima Mulilo. From there we visited Linyanti (South West), Ngoma (South), Kalimbeza (East) and Masokotwane (Central). Because of the flood in the Eastern swamp area, it was not possible to go there.

Discussions were held with Paddy Mwazi (CCN/SWAPO), Edwin Mweenda (Director of CCN school), Father John (Roman Catholic Mission), Lucas Stock (UNHCR), Nicolae Ion (Rumanian Civilian Component of UNTAG, Head of Caprivi District), Simon Konda (Zairean, his deputy), Joachim Mueller (West German, also member of civilian component UNTAG), Christine Planas (Spanish, UNTAG leader of Registration Team No. 3), Henry T. Enzlin (South African officer in charge of Registration Team No. 3), Richard Kapelwa (SWAPO Head of Regional Election Directorate), Gilbert Muhongo (Returnee).

This report will focus on some observations:

1. INFORMATION AND MEDIA
The only accessible public media is the Caprivi SWABC programme. Even this, we were told, does not reach all the areas. UNTAG is now making the announcements on registration programmes through SWABC, complemented by cars with loudspeakers driving through the areas concerned informing the people on the places of registration. Initial difficulties in SWABC’s cooperation with UNTAG seem to be solved.

Newspapers are hardly available in the whole of Caprivi. Twice a week, approximately 100 copies of each edition of the ‘Nambian’ are flown in. Although the majority of people in Caprivi are able to read, most of them also English, since it is the school language in Caprivi, hardly any written information is available.

2. UNTAG PRESENCE
a. Three UNTAG battalions are stationed in Caprivi. 30 military UNTAG observers are monitoring the South African military, forces based at the airport of Katima Mulilo. On 7-24.07.89, 33 UNTAG police monitors had arrived in Caprivi of 38 expected to be there as from the end of the month. In the district centre of, UNTAG: three members of the civilian component are based. The Head of the UNTAG District told us that they were in contact with the administration of Caprivi, all political parties as well as the churches. Recommended CCN for its participation in the:435 Implementation process. UNTAG is trying to attend most, if not all, political rallies and meetings held in the district, provided they were informed in time. UNTAG police monitors are patrolling and also going to different political meetings.
On all the ways, including border checkpoints to Zambia and Botswana, we have seen and met UNTAG police monitors, the impression was of a good and adequate presence all over the region.

3. REGISTRATION

Until 22nd July, 14,428 persons were registered. UNTAG expects to have registered around 18,000 by the end of the fourth week of registration. There is one permanent registration point at Katima Mulilo/Ngwezi, as well as three mobile registration teams covering the area. They will go a second time to all places, where they know people were not registered yet for several reasons, sickness etc. Also in the beginning, they said, people were not informed in time. In the Eastern region, registration will start on August 14th, as it is not yet accessible due to the flood. Out of the total population of 45,000 approximately 23,000 are estimated to be eligible to vote. UNTAG has requested helicopters and boats to be able to go to all places in the swamp area. Asked on the discrepancy of 18,000 already registered voters. by the time, while a lot of people are said to be living in the flooded areas - 2,000 alone. on the island in the far Eastern part - the South African officer in charge of registration team no. 3 said that people normally move to the West when.

the flood is coming. To what extend this is true, no one was able to answer exactly.

The registration's team no. 3, which we visited a whole day at Masokotwane waworking"efficiently to our judgement. It was led by a Spanish UN'official'with one South: African officer, four registrars and one translator'. Two SWAPOL officers and three' UNTAG police monitors were present, but kept in some distance from the registration desks.

Many people are driven to the registration points by DTA people. Sometimes these people are giving affidavits for persons not holding-an ID* However, the UNTAG team leader 'did not accept all these affidavit', but asked for other persons to testify. One person was rejected after the DTA organiser told a witness what to say about person wanting to register. One Zambian and one Botswanan citizen, respectively, were rejected while we were there. However, we were told that these were more or less individual cases, they did not come in large numbers.

A group of school children was registered, although every single member of the team, including the registrars, expressed doubts on the age of some of them. A list with names and dates of birth was provided by the school principal who had been asked to bring the school register. The list was signed by him. The UNTAG team leader'said that she believes, he cannot forge the school register, since, if he did, he could be held liable. One person came with a paper issued by the administration in May this year, indicating that the person had an ID and the no. of his ID. The UNTAG team leader consulted with the South African counterpart, since no IDs were to be issued after April 1st, 1989. He said that this papers just certified the possession of an ID which he had apparently lost.

We were told by the UNTAG team leader that this team had stopped asking the"Kuta and Idunas, the tribal authorities in the villages, for affidavits and
information on persons, because they felt that most of them were too much party linked and often did not know the exact data either.

4. RETURNEES

The secondary reception centre is located at the Roman Catholic Mission. It was only established around July 10th, when the first group of 117 returnees had arrived. The first days they were accommodated in the school's dormitories as the school girls were not present for Come days. Only then the camp was put up on the Mission's ground. We were told that original plans for a centre were cancelled in April, so that they were taken by surprise when people arrived. The UNHCR provided everything for the camp and water connections were established on 21st July. By that time a second group of 120 returnees had arrived. From the first two arrivals only 51 were still in the camp, the majority had been picked up by or gone to their families. On 25th July a third group of 121 returnees arrived, welcomed by many relatives, some of the returnees left already that evening. A fourth group was expected to arrive on 27th July, said to be the last. There was uncertainty about the place where people could pick up their food rations and who the contact person is.

5. POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING

Parties to be seen in the public in Caprivi are only SWAPO and DTA. Especially DTA T-Shirts are seen all over, everyone told us they were handed out freely. But also the DTA signs were seen in most of the Western region, but also in Ngwezi. Most rallies and meetings are held by SWAPO and DTA, beginning of the week we were told by UNTAG NPF also informed them on a meeting, but seemed to be small. When we arrived on Friday, a group from UDF whom we had met at the Rundu hotel already, also arrived. Among them were Mr. BeZuidenhout and Mr. Diergaardt. On Saturday, four red "Road Transport Service" busses brought in a large number of people, all with UDF colours blue-white-green. They were using the clenched fist as greeting, which we had seen before only for SWAPO. Their slogan on stickers on the cars was "One Namibia - One Nation - One People - One Aim". In some discussions at the hotel, they told us that there were too many DTA here, that DTA was strong here because they received a lot of funds from West-Germany. They said this was a fact, they knew. They wanted us to find out from which organisations these funds are coming. Most of the UDF people we saw were from Southern Namibia, areas of Mariental etc. were mentioned by some of them.

On Saturday we attended a SWAPO rally at Linyanti. SWAPO officials told us that this was the stronghold of DTA, as the DTA leader Muyongo is originally from this village. We were told also, that Muyongo had not publically appeared in this area, since the return of Richard Kapelwa for the SWAPO Election Directorate. A lot of people went their by cars, villagers were standing in the background, watching and listening but not actively participating. This seems to be the case in many places. At the beginning of the rally, some DTA supporters tried to disrupt the meeting. The police was called upon to act through
microphones, and the DTA 'people were taken out of the place by SWAPOL. This was the only incident observed. We were told, however, that T-shirts of SWAPO had been confiscated by some DTA persons and SWAPO called on them to hand them out over the weekend, otherwise they would have to be legally charged. We were told about shots after the rally the week before, but no casualties were reported.

6. EDUCATION
We were told that at present about 40% of the entire population of Caprivi is schooling. Most schools are now run by the administration. English is the taught language, but science is not taught at schools. There are many who finished school with matriculation, but no jobs or scholarships for further studies seem to be available. The CCN run school is assisting those who dropped out of school and the impression was of high motivation. However, the school is still not connected to electricity. This is simply refused by the administration. This is extremely difficult for the evening classes as their is no sufficient light for reading.

7. GENERAL IMPRESSIONS
The situation in Caprivi appeared to us as being relatively calm. There are former Koevoet members personally known to be now SWAPOL. We were told that over the past 4-6 weeks the tense situation had relaxed so that people now dared to come out more openly showing the colours of political parties. However, it seems that people are still worried that the situation might worsen again. So some were talking about Battalion 202 transferred to South Africa for further training to become a destabilizing force in a future independent Namibia. Concern was also expressed about the activities of the NAMWI foundation running an office in the building of Namib Air. NAMWI is spreading leaflets attacking and threatening SWAPO members. Due to a lack of time we could not follow up on NAMWI's activities.

8. RECOMMENDATIONSAWe would like to suggest to fields for further activities in the region:
   a) The churches could assist far more in informing the people properly on the procedures of the 435 implementation process. This could help people to get more certainty than at present when most information is coming directly from different parties, sometimes the information being contradictory.
   b) Since irregularities cannot be excluded in the registration, e.g. determining the age of registering persons or their nationality, CCN could assist the people in the region to have access to knowledge about how to check the voters list when they are published by the AG. People there did apparently not know the rights properly. UNTAG however told us that political parties had access to all the papers after two weeks from the registration.

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NB: The Caprivi Game Park is not covered by the UNTAG District of Caprivi. We were told it belongs to Kavango. Since a number of
people are living there, we could not find out anything on this area, which may be
difficult to be visited, as overnight stays
are prohibited.

- 18
MEMORANDUM
14 August 1989
TO: CIMS
RE: DEVELOPMENTS IN RUNDU
Faustinus advised the following:
1. UNITA had a rally at Jamba on 3 August 1989 where people (Angolans) were
strongly encouraged to register in Namibia for the coming elections. The crossing
point was SEKONDO and the registrants were transported by the following
vehicles.
a) A Nissan bearing registration SW 63024 b) A Toyota vehicle bearing
registration SCA 1391 The following are the people responsible for organising
and transporting the registrants.
1. K. Savimbi
2. Thomas - a driver at Read Runners 3, Freddy (Resident of Rundeu)
4. Feiverinus
5. Caicaui - (Resident of Rundu)
6. Dinit De Moral - (Resident of Oshakati) The abovementioned are all Angolans
that are resident in Namibia.
UNTAG police monitors were informed about the developments and noted to
witness the people crossing. However, they refused to accompany the complaints.
The incident was reported to them at 3 am.

REPORT ON A VISIT TO EAST CAPRIVI
DATE: 18-20 September 1989
The report gives information on the situation of the BUSIIN in BAGANI
and OMEGA and on the situation of groups of ex-Angolans in this area
(Delta and Buffalo).
Prior to this trip there was almost no information on those groups, because
the area was a military zone with checkpoints on the road to Katima and
patrols by the army and military police. The Churches (Roman Catholic and
Lutheran Church) were not allowed in. The checkpoints still exist and are
controlled by SWAPOL, monitored by the Finnish Battalion (FINBATT).
Since the departure of the army SWAPOL is also responsible for control in
the game-reserve (all the land except the main road to Katima), and for
law and order. The main base of SWAPOL is in the OMEGA-camp. 70
km east from Bagani which is occupied by 32 persons, who are not
monitored by UNTAG, although this was requested by FINBATT. 70

BA G A N I
There is a former army base just after the bridge at Bagani. The base is
now in the hands of FINBATT. There we got some background information
on the presence of Bushmen in and around the base on both sides of the river. Most of them are from the Barakwena tribe. In fact Bagani is the area of the MBUKUSHUS estimated to be 35 000, with Alfons Ma avaro, as the headman. We obtained most of the information on the Bushmen from a major in the SADF, who after the withdrawal of the army remained behind and will be working as a civilian until 1991. He will be doing the same job serving as the responsible person for about 1500 Bushmen in the Bagani-area of West-Caprivi whom the Major described as "my people". The people are originally from Angola and Botswana where they served the colonial power. Their educational level is low. Part of the group lives in another base OMEGA, 70 km from Bagani. Their headman is Lipi George who is 22 years old, he lives near Bagani. In that area of Namibia the Bushmen almost fully depend on the army in which they served. The future of the group is very unsure as the help of the South Africa government (food, salaries, medical help, etc) will stop at the end of March next year. Major XMoro confirmed the information that there are plans to resettle the group in the Republic of South Africa. These plans are in their final stage, he said, but from a developmental aspect of the problem he pleaded against removal to SA. He is in favour of resettling the groups of Bushmen in West Caprivi along the river-banks. He is unsure about the outcome of the debate on the future. It was obvious that most of the people are under the influence of the DTA telling from the DTA T-shirts they were wearing. Major Marte referred us for more information on OMEGA us to speak to his colleague Major Bartingh.

OMEGA
Before talking to major Hartingh we obtained background information from UNTAG and some local people. Major Hartingh who is Deputy-Director of the administration in the OMEGA-camp, received us in his office and asked a white SWAPOL-assistant to join in the discussion. He was informed by Major Maree about our visit and questioned us about the aim of our visit. In the beginning he was very reluctant to say anything. He told us that OMEGA was established in 1974 as the para-military forces fled to the South from Angola. In the beginning there were mainly people from 2 Bushmen groups: Barakwena and Vasekele. The people were called flethers, because of their work in Angola. The army brought them to OMEGA where they were employed by the SADF in Battallion 201. Since 1976 the camp was organised as it was, with wooden house (kimo’s) and a special area for the SADF and the whites. The SADF area is now taken by a FINBATT-platoon. In 1975 Battallion 201 was split in Alpha and Bravo, later called 31 and 32 respectively. They worked together
in the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF). Later the other group, based in the camp BUFFALO remained 32. This group had connections with the former FNLA. The OMEGA group was 210. The population lived on wages from the army people. The families are living in the camp and in surrounding Bushmen villages (+10). There are around 750 ex-army people in total. The total population is 6359. The camp is well-organised. There is a hospital, schools (up Flechas (= Portuguese for arrows) This was a black unit run by PIDE the Portuguese secret police to hunt and eliminate guerrillas in pre-independence Mozambique. The Mozambiguan and apparently also Angolean version of Koevoet.

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to std 7) a bank, pharmacy and some shops. Everything is managed by a large group of white South Africans (about 50), who were in the army and are now civilians. The hospital and clinic receives 3000 patients per month, the medical bill is RIO0.000 a year. The water-bill (pumped from far away) is R1,2 xillion.
At the end of March the payment will stop, and all South African will leave the country because of the implementation of the UNSCR 435. The majority are visibly DTA supporters and in the camp and along the Katima road adults and children all have DTA T-shirts and caps. There is a big DTA office in the camp. The South Africa flag is still waving. SWAPO organisers tried to enter one time, but we're kicked out according to Hartingh. Other parties are also not welcome. According to Major Hartingh SWAPO is seen as an enemy.
We tried to talk to DTA-Officials but the office was closed. Other DTA people did not respond to our questions in English and Afrikaans. Major Hartingh explained that it is difficult to communicate and that Bushmen hated black people and other nationalities. 'In fact I see no future for them' he said. He is in favour of resettlement in South Africa. We saw a lot of pictures of possible new spots in South Africa and doubt Maree's statement that he was against relocation. He did not want to tell us the place of the resettlement, but we discovered later that most probably it will be COPPERTON, near Prisca in the Cape Province, 400 km from the Namibian border.

- 23 =
5 Be confirmed that his boss and the Bushmen leader of OMEGA were on their way or already in Pretoria to discuss the matter. He referred us to two civil servants of the first degree office of the Government in Windhoek, Mr Swanepoel and Von Bach, for more information.
We found that the Barakwena Chief Lipi George was not in favour of relocation to South Africa.
Major Hartingh told us that the people were not forced to go. To his knowledge 40% of the Barakwena wanted to stay; 60% wanted to go, while 100% of the Vasakele wanted to go. The whole plan was based on the promise of GENERAL JANIE GELDENBUYS of the SADF, made in 1974 that 'THEY WOULD NEVER BE LEFT ALONE'. Last year he came back and repeated his promise. These plans are also intended for the groups in BUFFALO, Tsumkwe and Mangetti block.

Of importance is also that different Chiefs are claiming that the Bushmen in West Caprivi belong to their group and jurisdiction. Major Eartingh told that there is a 'tribal' conflict inside OMEGA. The SWAPOL man told us about the task of SWAPOL in the area and was proud on the success of the last 6 months with the arrest of many game poachers. Major Hartingh provided little information on DELTA. Be said black people from Angola were there, it looked well-organised, but very isolated.

UNTAG inside OMEGA told us that there were 32 SWAPOL members living in the camp in a special zone. They used some Casspis. There is no UNTAG civil police in OMEGA, despite the wish of FINBATT. FINBATT is guarding the entrance gate to the camp. There are also 5 military monitors living in the camp but they are accommodated in Kimbo's outside the FINBATT area. 'We are independent', they said.

BUFFALO

The camp is in fact now empty, because in the beginning of this year the whole group, the 32 Battallion was taken to South Africa and resettled there. Only FINBATT and the so-called 'nature conservation' people are there. There were reports that koevoet in civilian clothers were still around and that weapons and grenades were understandably dumped in a waterpool at some places. We were not able to cross check this information. The place is very isolated and like everywhere in West-Caprivi there are 'No entry'signs.

With the assistance of two UNTAG military monitors from OMEGA we proceeded to DELTA in the east of West Caprivi. The place was also isolated. It is a village of about 5180 people. All were black and of Angolan origin. Most of them spoke Portuguese. They had arrived in Namibia since 1977 because of the 'Cuban invasion' in Angola. They arrived in Rundu and stayed in a base, later used by koevoet. They were all civilians and there was no connection with any armed forces, according to themselves. The group came from different areas in Angola and from ten different groups: Tjokwe, Ngandjela, Ombwela, Vimbundu, Nyemba, Kwanyama, Limbundu, Lunda, Luvale, Kambinda. After their arrival they were settled by the SADF in an abandoned army base called DELTA. Some stayed in Rundu because they
found work there. The army promised the group protection, food, medicine, et al. During the years 1980-81 many relatives joined the group. According to the group their composition was then as follows: Old people (65 years) 180, men 865, women 709, boys (10-20 years) 983, girls 977, small boys (1-10 years) 816, small girls 830. Babies were not counted. They have lived in isolation from everything and everyone for more then 10 years, and they regarded themselves still as Angolan refugees. We spoke to the elected headman Hr Briao Lundoui through an interpreter and a Roman Catholic priest from Angola who come with the group, Roy Kangende. The people were very religious. Besides Kangende there was a protestant pastor. They helped the people in their daily existence and with building an infrastructure, setting up a clinic, a school (under the trees), and with distributing food, etc.

Until 1985 they sometimes were visited by a Reverend Dias a Catholic priest, who came from Rundu and a certain Reverend Frater. After our visit we tried to find more information on them but nobody in Rundu knew their naues. The two Reverends brought them clothes. We were most welcomed because we were the first Church people who visited them since the visits from the two Reverends. They were visited by a medical Doctor but he had stopped coming since November 1988. Since February food and diesel oil (for the waterpump) did not come anymore and the situation became critical. At the moment of our arrival in Delta two ex-army trucks (‘the army left them behind’) brought food (big bags filled with a mixture of souppowder and dry vegetables) to the village through the high sandy road. From information in Omega and Rundu we learned that the food most probably came from DTA. The coming of the food coincided with a sudden change in the attitude of the headmen towards registration for the elections. A month ago he refused, because they were Angolans, waiting to go back. But the previous week he changed his mind and offered UNTAG to register his people. UNTAG came and registered 250 persons only, because most of the people had no documents at all. Most of those registered qualified for registration because they carried hospital documents. The headman told us that up to that time no political parties had been in Delta, and that he would welcome all the parties. They were free to campaign. We doubted this Statement. As we were getting ready with a registration team along from Rundu the day settlement. Consequently for their registration cards to leave an UNTAG car arrived from Bagani.
They had forgotten to bring the stamp they registered the 250 people in the all those who registered had to come back to be stamped. All in all the situation of both the Bushmen and the Angolan refugees was critical and deserved immediate attention. The Priest expressed the hope that the Roman Catholic Bishop would visit his village.

On September, 25th, we visited the Offices of the central government in Windhoek, Tintenpalast. We spoke with Mr Von Bach who is responsible for the area of West-Caprivi, and represents the interest of the Bushmen people and others who are living the game reserve. He is the Chairman of the "SAM Belangekommissie", a Commission which plays a Coordination role in West-Caprivi, and meet 4 times a year.

He looked surprised when he heard our information in detail, and was a bit nervous. He confirmed that there was a promise from the SA army (Geldenhys) to resettle the Bushmen in South Africa. The plans were already in discussion since the beginning of this year. He also said

that the central government felt responsible for the people but people were free to go where they wanted. It was not them who decided, it was the army Mr Von Bach said. The final date was the end of the financial year. But it was also possible that they would leave earlier. Hr Von Bach said that they could not do anything to stop the proposed relocation. There were some priorities and they could not find money to maintain the Bushmen. Besides they could not stop the army.

Mr Von Bach said eventually that the Pretoria government would be responsible. Doubting if the resettlement would go through, he stated that: "You see, Bushman are a bit spoiled. They did service for the army and therefore their living conditions were lucrative. Now they have the alternative to stay in Namibia in an insecure situation, without wages, without the basic needs, or they can choose an-known place in South Africa. But with wages continued, houses, medical care, schools etc. I have the impression that at this moment the majority in Omega are in favour of going to South Africa"

Mr Von Bach further stated that: "it is not a free choice. The alternatives. But West-Caprivi projects care almost impossible. the problem is the money. Bring us I am against those plans, because re is of course thinking about is a reserve, thus development We could enlarge the area a bit. some from outside".

REPORT FROM KAVANGO
REGISTRATION
Until September, 23, 64,617 voters were registered in Kavango and Western Caprivi. In the extended week 458 people registered. The target of 61,000 was over-fulfilled, the general feeling was that almost everybody had registered but
that in the bush, far from the river, where less people live, few people might not have been reached.

In September a number of people living in Angola came to register. UNTAG estimated that 1,500 - 2,000 came, but that only slightly over 1,000 had been registered until 15.9. Their transport was organised by DTA and there were some convincing stories that Unita had supported the attempts of DTA to bring them to register. A Lutheran minister told us about his talk with an Angolan headman. He and many people had been called to a Unita post and told to register for the Namibian elections. He had refused because he was an Angolan unless he was given a good reason. The reason he was given by Unita was: Savimbi was told by the South African government that he should send his people to Namibia to register and vote for DTA because if DTA would loose the elections there would be no support for Unitas anymore. UNTAG said that the registration of Angolans was perfectly legal in terms of the Proclamation on Registration. Only Angolans who could provide Namibian ID cards were registered. A minority of those were according to their IDs born in Namibia. the others had to provide some prove as stipulated in the proclamation that they had stayed in Namibia, like drivers' licences, hospital records etc. If they could not provide that they were turned back. The people all said that they came from Angola. They did not have to make a statement of intent to stay in Namibia or that they regarded themselves as Namibians. No Angolan in Kavango made such a statement. That kind of statement is in terms of the proclamation only required fro, South Africans seconded to the SWA administration.

SWAPO representatives have objected to the registration of some Angolans, but their objections were turned down as the respondents (the persons objecte to) could not be found. According to the proclamation - and to Namibian civil law - the complainant has to inform the respondent about the case in the Magistrate's Court and SWAPO has no access to Angola. In 25 cases (see attached list), people who are known to live in Angola gave villages in Kavango as their residential address. The objection against them was turned down. The objections of people who gave their address as Angola has not yet been decided upon.

This situation is very unsatisfactory as if respondents are in Angola or not to be traced it is de facto impossible to object to these registrations.

On the other hand many of the refugees from Angola who have been staying in Namibia for years (estimated 20,000) according to UNTAG have not registered. In Delta village in the east of Western Caprivi where about 5,000 Angolan refugees stay, in August nobody wanted to register. Then DTA asked the registration team to go there again and people wanted to register. DTA apparently had talked to the headman. But as they had no ID cards only about 250 people who were mentioned in the hospital records could register.

ELECTION PROCEDURE

According to UNTAG there is good co-operation with the SWA administration in registration and they expect similar good co-operation for the elections. The believe that they will be involved in the planning of the elections. According to preliminary informations they will have 53 permanent and 18 mobile registration stations which they believe is of a scale which could be sufficient, but they will on
the basis of registration figures, assess the plannings and find an adequate schedule.

- 30

INTIMIDATION
On cases of intimidation by DTA see report of Ilse Hanak.
The situation had cooled down from end-August to mid-September. The number of incidents of intimidation reduced.
DTA claimed that SWAPO supporters were intimidating them. They had reported 24 cases to the police in the last time (about two months). One of them is the last case mentioned in the report of Ilse Hanak. One incident took place beginning of August in Kasivi village. Students supporting SWAPO had allegedly, instigated by a teacher, built barricades near a DTA rally. DTA-members removed the barricades but when they left their buses were stoned. This, we were told, was the latest in a number of cases of that kind. the teacher is the same who DTA people allegedly were looking for and then beat the brother (see second last item in Ilse Hanak's report).
A pamphlet criticising the Catholic Church was distributed on 25.8. (see attached copy and translation). The author and publisher were not stated. A known DTA car was seen distributing this pamphlet, Father Wirth learnt from a reliable source. He knows the number-plates. 
KOEOVOET
Koevoet had in mid-September not yet been confined to base in Kavango. End of August Major van der Weerd said that they have no list of former Koevoet members, they were monitoring the bases and their movements as far as possible with their limited resources but they were not able to distinguish individual members of SWAPO as former Koevoet.
(The following is based on talks with Marco Hausiko, SWAPO regional director, on 28. and 30.8.89.)
SWAPO Kavango has had two talks, in the week up to 25.8. and on 29.8., with representatives form Arens Nes, a Koevoet base 10 km south of Rundu. The representatives called themselves members of the council of the base. They were black Koevoet officers, they complained that they were rejected by SWAPO-supporters, not allowed to SWAPO meetings and called names. SWAPO told them their new policy that Koevoet-memebers should be re-integrated into the community, they should be accepted in their families, not be insulted (although Mr Hausiko could not guarantee that all SWAPO-members would act accordingly) and that they were allowed to all public meetings, that only internal SWAPO meetings were not open for Koevoet members as they were not for the general public. SWAPO saw these talks as an exercise in reconciliation. They felt that Koevoet were ignorant about what they had done to the Namibian people and that they should go to political meetings of all parties to understand better the situation of Namibia.
PRELIMINARY REPORT BY RUNDU NADEL LAWYERS BASED ON REPORTS, INTERVIEWS AND OBSERVATIONS IN KAVANGO,*7TH-8TH NOVEMBER 1989.

Fears were expressed by Swapo concerning the bringing in of Angolans by DTA with the connivance of UNITA.

II. Our observations concerning those fears are as follows:

1.1. The Kanango people live on both sides of the Kavango River.
1.2. Some of the Angolans voters may have satisfied the the electoral requirements for eligibility as voters and others may not.
1.3. Rev. Sindano told us that 59,000 voters were expected to register but over 65,000 had registered.
1.4. A headman from ANGOLA INFORMED US THAT THAT HE AND ABOUT 60 OF HIS people had been forced at gun-point by a UNITA Colonel and his ten to cross the river and vote for DTA. They were threatened with death if they refused to do so. (Copy of their statement was given to Utag on the eve of the election.)
1.5. An Angolan worker told Swapo head office that he had about 118 people who had been forced at gun-point by UNITA TO CROSS OVER AND VOTE FOR DTA. They were threatened with death if they did not comply.
1.6. A shopkeeper at Karangora identified an alleged UNITA soldier to us who apparently escorting the Angolans together with three other UNIT soldiers.

2.1. Every reported Angolan who crossed the border did so under the cover of darkness, in suspicious circumstances.
2.2. On Friday, 3rd and Saturday, 4th and Sunday 5th November 1989 DTA began to hold parties on the banks of the Kavango river to provide a cover for Angolans crossing over. These "river-side" parties were not held before this period leading to polling.
2.3. Many of the Angolans who crossed were being housed, fed and transported by DTA officials.
2.4. Although some Angolans stayed with their relatives many were held at Rundu, Kayengona, Kapako, and Mseke by DTA and Tribal authorities against their will. (This was reported to Untag)
2.5. We received reports from the AG Staff that there were many voters who voted at polling stations in areas where they were not registered. We suspect these were registered in Angola.
2.6. We saw a Windhoek bus, registration number SW39845 driven by a white man in several places in Eastern Kavango, 4UNITA soldiers were allegedly seen in this bus.

32 WE FEEL THE FOLLOWING POINTS SHOULD BE OBSERVED
1. The difficulty in obtaining information from the Angolans because of the death threats by UNITA.
2. Many of the Angolans have valid registration and identity cards.
3. Swapo supporters are unable to differentiate an Angolan from a Namibian with precision.

4. The question of Angolans should have been sorted out during registration and not at the polling station, but it was impossible to sort this problem since apparently some identity and registration paper may have been smuggled across the border into Angola to enable Angolans to register in their own country.

**SO WE CONCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:**

1. That although many Angolans may have been registered by force not all of them turned up for voting.

2. While we cannot say with certainty but judging from what Rev. Sindano's estimates and our own observations at polling booths east of Rundu along the Kavango river, it is likely that not more than 10 per cent of the votes were from Angolans.

3. Based on the existing information it is impossible to identify the Angolan votes induced by fraud and duress unless fraud is discovered during the checking of the tendered ballots.

4. Swapo officials at the polling stations have generally informed us that there were no major problems in and around the polling booths. The complaints we received were minor and unlikely to influence the free and fairness of the elections. We were particularly impressed that during the election time no cases of intimidation were reported in and around the polling stations.

- Rundu. 9th November 1989.

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**VOTING IN WEST KAVANGO NOVIBER 7.**

1. At Maara: Because Untag had slept in the polling station this station did not open until 7.50 hours. Three party agents representing Swapo, DTA and NPF were present. There was heavy rain in the morning. Many people had party signs and T-shirts of different parties. A lorry with 4 whites brought 80 people, probably from Angola, to vote. It was claimed that they had come from Kanenge, but this was questionable because there was another polling station at Kanenge. These people hesitated to get on the line, and later they were transported to Siurungu where they voted. The group stuck together as a group, they appeared to be scared and were controlled. Everything went well, and the result was 630 votes were cast and there were 19 tendered votes.

2. At Siurun' the situation was different. No party colours were visible. The polling station opened at 7.00 hours and closed at 17.45. Some 600 votes were cast with 26 tendered votes.

3. At Kayengona: The polling station opened at 7.45 hrs. DTA supporters (in party colours) strolled along the queues checking voters IDs and registration cards. This interference was stopped by SWAPOL after the observers had intervened. NPF party workers resident in the area claimed there were some Angolans who had at first stayed at the Tribal Office and when they
were removed from there by election officials they went to stay at the DTA offices overnight.

4. Shiguru: Paulus Nkamba alleges that about 100 Angolans stayed Monday night at the DTA offices. It was reported that polls here opened at 8.00 hrs.

5. Shitemo: Swapo representative alleges that about 100 Angolans arrived Saturday and stayed Saturday axi Sunday nights at DTA office and at Tribal Office.

6. Nyondo: Swapo representative who is a local school principal said that 10 Angolans arrived at his homestead over the weekend and told him that they had been instructed by UNITA to came and vote in the elections. He also said that some of these Angolanss said they had been registered in Angola.

7. Kao: Swapo representative alleged that about 200 Angolans arrived over the weekend. Polling boots opened at 8.00 hrs.

8. Katere: Swapo supporters alleged that 180 Angolans came to vote.

9. Rundu Town (Administrative / Legislative Hall): Polling station opened at 0700 hrs and closed at 1900 hrs. Swapo DTA, UDF and NPF party agents were present. There were, also 12 people from A.G., 2 SWAPOL and 2 UN Civpol and 10 Untag.

Almost 300 people slept outside the office. They were DTA supporters fully dressed as DTA, but they were from Angola. They wanted to vote first but the administrative personnel first in line inside the fence Dirk Mudge, who led the Angolan group, protested. There were many DTA supporters just outside the fence about 20 metres away campaigning.

No other parties showed their colours. A South African Jeep with 2 whites in koevoet uniform drove up and down the lines in the morning, at 10.00 hours panic broke out as people pushed each other and hundreds fell down.

Other people walked or ran over the fallen. It looked like a soccer disaster. 6 people were taken to hospital for treatment. Organization outside the hall was bad. In the morning many of the DA-supporters had sjamboks and these were reported to Untag and later went away.

to him all these people and organisations were helping SWAPO to win the election and not the DTA. He spoke at length about how SWAPO was intimidating the DTA supporters, how the Zambians have been registered in order to vote for SWAPO, etc. He also spoke about UNTAG taking people to SWAPO rallies, UNTAG carrying SWAPO flags in their vehicles, UNTAG telling people that the UN will help SWAPO to win the elections and so on.

At the end he said that DTA will respect the results of the November elections - the DTA didn't prepare for any fighting, but SWAPO is bringing in arms into the Caprivi and hiding it somewhere. The local people told the DTA leaders about the arms. When he was asked how much per cent (%) the DTA would obtain in the elections, he said that they would get 80% of the votes in the Caprivi. He was very confident that DTA will win the election.
At 15h30 we went to meet SWAPO at their offices. Two SWAPO office bearers came to speak to the group. They were Mr. Kapelwa - the electorate leader in Caprivi and Mr. Miwazi - the branch organiser. Mr. Kapelwa was the main speaker and he informed us about the work and aims of SWAPOL. SWAPO members and supporters are being intimidated by the DTA and DTA is the only party responsible for violence in the Caprivi. SWAPO monitors are warned to be careful. South Africa and DTA want to manipulate the election, in order to keep SWAPO from obtaining 2/3 majority. DTA have arms, pistols, guns, etc.

But at the end he said that SWAPO will win the election with 70%, though there is a strong DTA base in the western part of the Caprivi region where Mr. Muyongo comes from. One could note here that the two political parties accuse each other in the same way.

everywhere. The political parties' representative was very disciplined. They called the UNTAG and Administrator General officials whenever they noticed any irregularities and they were always ready to help.

At Kasheshe polling station we experienced something very interesting. While the people were busy voting, two helicopters landed at the place, and they were South African Defence Force helicopters. One carried the Administrator General, his wife and their entourage. The other one carried Television people. We expected the people to be afraid and feeling intimidated, but to the contrary, they were happy and greeting the helicopters joyfully and continued to vote calmly.

At Mafuta polling station, I noticed something else. Many women were dressed in the Zambian "Chitenge", a long loose dress, covering from waist to feet. Some Chitenges even had the picture of President Kaunda. I thought that something was wrong, because these were Zambians to vote. When I asked our guide he said they were Caprivians and not Zambians.

In conclusion, I can say that the election went well on the first day, 7 November 1989 in the Caprivi, where we monitored. This was also the conclusion of the whole team.

On the evening of 7 November, our team returned to Rundu by our chartered plane. In Rundu we were briefed by our CIMS monitors about the Rundu election that day. We heard about intimidation by the DTA supporters - Koevoet brought ex-soldiers and Angolans to vote for DTA at gunpoint and with sjambok. There was even panic and some people were injured. Mr. Mudge was said to have had a meeting with Koevoet the previous evening, encouraging them. He vote at Rundu on the first election day. We were sorry to hear of these unfortunate happenings caused by the DTA people.

On Wednesday, 8 November 1989, the second polling day, Mr. Elmquist and myself visited the polling stations at Mashare, Ngone, Kayengona and Rundu central. There we
found the situation to be normal, relaxed, happy and enthusiastic. Almost the same as in the Caprivi. We were happy to see this. The polling was proceeding smoothly. I voted at the Rundu central station.

I went with Mr. Wakndume to visit the polling stations at Shaugemwa and Kaserte. The same situation prevailed calm, happy and people eager to vote. There was good co-operation between UNTAG and the Administrator General officials. People knew what to do. It seemed they were taught the right thing. But here I experienced something rather funny. I approached the UNTAG team leader at Shaugemwa, and asked him some questions. During my questions he became very uneasy and nervous. He was quite suspicious. But I tried to be friendly and appreciative of his wonderful work and that the voting is going smoothly, etc.

Later he became rather calm and was even laughing.

A SWAPO political party observer told me that he experienced some unhappy event with that UNTAG team leader. The SWAPO man noticed some irregularity done by the same man of UNTAG. The SWAPO man alleged that this UNTAG man was showing people to vote for DTA. The SWAPO man said he quarrelled with this UNTAG man, because of that incident. Later I went to that UNTAG man and greeted him and thanked him and then I left with a smile.

In conclusion, I can say that I am thankful that I was part of the monitoring team which went to Caprivi and Kavango. I was very much enriched by the experiences I encountered.

B. HAUSHIKU

OVAMBOLAND

Ovamboland is situated in the northern part of Namibia, close to the border with Angola. It covers a geographical area of some 56072 square kilometres and has an estimated population of half the total population of Namibia.

It was in Ovamboland that the bitterest war for the independence for Namibia was fought. The whole of Ovamboland was a bloody battle field. It was in Ovamboland that the notorious Koevoet were created and where its creator, Major Hans Dreyer had his headquarters at Oshakati. The first battle and the last battle -- the last on April 1, 1989 when the South African Defence forces massacred nearly three hundred Plan soldiers under circumstances which have still not been fully explained and perhaps never will.

Despite the fact that Ovamboland experienced more violence and bloodshed the election period here was peaceful, and this was quite remarkable -- so remarkable that one foreign observer cried: "This is indeed the birth of a nation", which was true in more than one sense, for the birth of a nation took place in Ovamboland hotly because the voting was most peaceful, but also because it was decided.
The peaceful nature of the transition process was spoilt soon after the elections when some members of the Koevoet, disappointed that DTA had lost and so their future was bleak, started intimidating Swapo members violently. The presence of this large number of Koevoets, many of whom are officially de-registered, continues to pose a security risk, and the fact that most of the Koevoets were and still are supporters of DTA meant that acts of intimidation carried out disgruntled Koevoets or ex-Koevoets were seen as acts of intimidation by DTA members against Swapo members.

The Editors

For the first time in the history of Northern Namibia since the advent of colonialism, jubilation could be detected on the faces of the people of the North who in the hey-days of Colonialism, especially South African colonialism, have seen Worse times. The start of the repatriation process which began on June 12 and the prospects of uniting with longgone family members, if not the prospects of independence was the cause for the celebrations that has since repatriation started, @hgUlfed the area. However, the ghost of fear that has been haunting the region continues unabated. According to CIMS co-worker, Dudley Viall, the
casspirs with the heavy machine guns in front of them still continues to roam the region. He says though the people are not seemingly intimidated by the casspirs they are nevertheless, to the people of the North a symbol of fear and their presence will continue to be seen as such.

That freedom of movement in the North is still a far cry, Mr. Atiall found out when he visited the International Guest House in Oshakati. He was physically confronted by two white men in the bar, the two who did not seem to like his presence not only in the bar but in the whole North, wanted to know who he was and what he was doing in the North.

With some diplomacy Mr. Viall convinced the two men that he was just an innocent tourist, avoiding in the process some grievous bodily harm to himself. The two men and their friends ge-ttln9 intoxicated confided to him that they were Koevoet members. (That is the counter insurgency police unit that has been alleged to be responsible for many killings, tortures and destructions in the North and which apparently has been disbanded). Mr. Viall learned however, through the unconscious confessions of the Koevoet members that they are far from having been disbanded. In fact they have since March been on standby for retraining for a Special assignment on the Northern Border.

The one member of Koevoet also "confided" to Mr. Viall that on his first day on the border he killed three SWAPO guerrillas and complained of having been sold out by Botha. He also complained that Koevoet was no longer doing its job of dealing properly with SWAPO communists as they did in the past since UNTAG is now monitoring everything the police unit does.

Asked by Mr. Viall if Battallion 101 was still in existence, the battallion's member who thought that his friend was confused, answered in the affirmative that they were still on duty and that they were on a "temporary leave". The Battallion 101 member said that they were on standby, that they were armed and that they were waiting for further instructions.

According to Mr. Viall, the omnipresence of Koevoet and Battallion 101 and the intimidatory methods they continue to employ is not only prejudicial to free and fair elections but a threat to the very security of the returnees. CIMS co-worker, Mr. Willfan Mb-anulae, says South African security agents are daily seen roaming around the returnees. He reports also that prominent "Ex-Koevoet officers" who are still very much in circulation, were noticed moving among the returnees. They are reported to have been closely watching the returnees in a manner that will arouse suspicion. Dressed in civilian clothes, these "Ex-Koevoets" have also been noticed at various entry points. Mr. Viall reports that about 19 pick-ups believed to be that of South African security agents a term which in present day 'Namibia encompasses a conglomerate of ex-Koevoets, Battallion 101, SWAPO as well as plain clothes policemen, have been very much in circulation in Northern Namibia as of late. The occupants of the said vehicles pose as either UNTAG members, CCN staff members or as journalists and bid the returnees help in their relocation to villages where they come from.
The hidden agenda most observers of the Namibian security situation believe, is to find out where the returnees will go to after leaving the security of the reception centres whereupon the security forces will hope to get them. These omnipresence of the security forces and their suspicious movements has made the returnees to feel insecure should they leave the reception centres for their remote villages. This in turn has led to the reception centres being filled beyond capacity due to returnees who do not want to leave the centres fearing for their security.

Brother Mbangula further reports mysterious bids to transport returnees to their home villages in sham taxis that are suspected of belonging to the South African Defence Force (SADF).

The unstable security situation in the North which is far from being conducive to free and fair elections has also been underlined by the UN Special Representative to Namibia, Mr. Marti Ahtisaari. Mr. Ahtisaari reiterated at a media briefing in Windhoek on June 22, his deepening concern over intimidation in the North of Namibia. He also expressed his concern over assaults against people that have often been made on political grounds. He said his office had received reports of unprofessional conduct by members of the South West Africa Police (SWAPOL). He said about 200 complaints were received from the UNTAG office in Oshakati and that quite a number of those complaints were against SWAPOL. The head of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Windhoek, Mr. Nicolas Bwakira, confirmed the gravity of the security situation in the North which has not improved. Speaking at a media briefing in Windhoek on June 23, he said due to the unstable security situation in the North, returnees in the reception centres at Okahandja and D6bra in the vicinity of Windhoek, are reluctant to be relocated to the reception centres and sub centres in the North. Mr. Bwakira said after an initial 50% of the returnees in the South (D6bra and Okahandja) had left the two reception centres, the rate of those leaving for the North was decreasing. The unstable security situation in the North and the understandable reluctance of the returnees to leave the reception centres was leading to a situation were the centres are filled beyond capacity as the rate of arrivals has even increased.

The number of returnees had by Monday June 26, reached the 10 000 mark with total arrivals in Windhoek of 4 481, 4 056 in Ondangwa and 1 737 in Rootfontein giving a total of 10 274. Only the Okahandja reception centre with a total capacity of 960 was filled beyond capacity with a total number of returnees slightly over a thousand. The number of the returnees at the Engela reception centre which has a capacity of about 2000 stood on Monday at 921 and at Ongwediwa which has the same capacity at 1 258. The Debra reception centre was also near capacity with 1 819 returnees out of a total of 2040 which the Centre is supposed to take. By Wednesday June 28, there were only 348 returnees at the Maria Bronn reception centre which has a capacity of 1 200. Besides for the arrivals which has been erratic at his centre it can nevertheless be seen that departures from this centre had been fast. The 348 are even waiting to be transferred to sub centres in Katima Mulilo and Rundu.
Nevertheless the security situation in Namibia especially in the North will continue to be of concern as the US-based Commission on Independence for Namibia rightly stated. The commission which was on a study tour in Namibia concluded at the end of its visit on June 23, that the UN “supervision and control” of South Africa’s role in the transition period has hitherto failed to produce the conditions which are the prerequisites to the free and fair elections called for in reso-

VISIT TO THE NORTH 13 - 16 JULY 1989
They visited Ongwediva, Oniipa, Oshakati and Engela.

ISSUES
(i) Refugee repatriation
Rev Amaambo showed them around the Ongwediva Reception Centre and they later briefly visited the Engela Reception Centre. Two problems were brought to their attention:
(a) Rev Amaambo reported receiving arrivals from Dobra and Mariabronn Reception Centres without advance warning. Many people were reported to have arrived on Wednesday from the south.
(b) There was a shortage of transport to convey these people from Ongwediva to their homes.

(ii) Registration
The UNTAG official they met at the regional headquarters in Oshakati, Miss Frances Waskes-Fischer, reported there were 41 registration teams in Owamboland of which 2 were on permanent sites. There had been up to one week delay in teams starting work in certain areas due to the fact that mine protected vehicles were required. The schedule has as a result been disrupted.
John Shitundeni, the local CIMS observer, reported long queues outside registration points and they observed this, for themselves. He further reported to UNTAG, when they visited, instances of registration points opening late and closing early and people had had to stay overnight. This had happened at Omuthaya.

Also reported was the lack of involvement and seriousness of UNTAG monitors at registration points. They witnessed the problem at the permanent centre next to the UNTAG headquarters which they visited on 14 July. They wanted to see the completed registration card and John Shitundeni stopped the first person, a woman, coming out of the registration centre. Her card contained two thumb prints and a signature although she claimed not to have signed.
They understood that only a signature or a thumb print was required. They went back to the registration centre and spoke to the UN Monitor. She confirmed that a signature was not required in addition to a thumb print. However apparent absence of an interpreter meant that they had to call in John Shitundeni to translate for the woman. An official later came forward and explained that the "signature" was in fact Afrikaans to explain that the first thumb print was not clear. They were satisfied with this explanation but the incident illustrated to them the problems which arise from the absence of interpreters in such situations. They had earlier been assured by the UNTAG official that interpreters were on hand at every registration point.

(iii) Security
They heard reports of continued intimidation on the part of Koevoet. The representative of the Justice and Peace Commission in Oshakati, Mr. Engelbert Ashipala, reported a case of intimidation against a returnee. This had been reported to UNTAG but no action could be taken because the only witnesses were other members of SWAPOL. John Shitundeni reported that on Friday 7 July casspirs had surrounded a secondary centre at Eenana in the evening just before sunset saying they were looking for PLAN fighters. The incident had been reported to UNTAG.

They observed two convoys of casspirs - the first of at least 15 vehicles, and the second of 5 - travelling north on the road from Ondangwa to Oshikango at 11h15 on 15 July. UNTAG was supposed to monitor the movements of the casspirs and its drivers. They noted UNTAG vehicles were on the road at the same time. They could not be sure that they were accompanying the convoys. However, SWAPOL presence at the SWAPO rally which took place at Oluno on 15 July, were in 3 "bakkies" and kept a respectful distance from the rally. They saw no members of UNTAG near the scene of the rally. UNTAG was supposed to monitor rallies of the political parties.

Concluding remarks
Although the campaigning during the weekend they were in the area appeared to go on without incident. They were very concerned to learn of a DTA rally held within 3 - 400 metres of the Ongwediva reception centre on an earlier occasion which UNTAG had been powerless to prevent taking place on that site. Thus the inhabitants of the enclosed reception centre became their captive audience. A female returnee was stabbed with what is suspected to be a knife on Saturday, 29 July 1989, by a DTA supporter. Speaking from her clinic bed yesterday morning, the woman, Mrs. Dortea Shinana (29) said the stabbing took place...
during a conflict between the DTA and the SWAPO supporters the previous Saturday near the Ongwediva reception centre.

Mrs. Shinana added that she and a friend left the centre in order to visit other friends outside the tents. She said that on their way back they saw many people grouping together and they too went closer to see what was happening.

They heard insulting words and people were being chased to all directions by the DTA supporters, including herself and her friend. She only realised that she had been stabbed when she saw a lot of blood coming from the back of her skirt.

Other sources said that the trouble started when a small boy selling apples under a tree near the Ongwediva reception centre, allegedly threw a stone at a DTA bus passing by. The bus apparently got off the road deliberately to catch the child and it got stuck in the sand close to the centre. The result was stone-throwing and several people were hit, including the Cims regional officer when he was trying to take pictures of what was happening. The DTA chief, Mr. Dirk Mudge, was also present at the scene, but it was hard to hear what exactly was being said in what appeared to be arguments between himself, UNTAG and SWAPOL members.

Since the opening of the DTA offices in the Oshakati "black" township the previous week, the residents of Oshakati have been complaining of what they called a disturbing habit of the DTA members who used to move around Oshakati armed with pangas, assegai, bow and arrows, knobkerries, knives, etc.

OUT OF JAIL:

Eight SWAPO men who were arrested on 20 July 1989 east of Kongo, were finally released on 31 July 1989. Confirming their release that morning, one of the men, Mr. Johannes Katanga said that they have been held at the Oshakati prison and were released the previous day on bail of one thousand rand each (R1 000). He added that they would appear in court again on 21 August 1989.

Investigation of presence of SADF Military Bases in Northern Namibia.

27th July 1989

On Sunday, 23rd July 1989, we were instructed by the CCN to travel to the North to investigate the arrest of nine persons in connection with the possession of firearms and ammunition. (See copies of newspaper reports marked "A' and "B"). More particularly my mandate was to enquire as to the outcome of the mission on which certain of the suspects had been sent, concerning the presence of SADF military-bases in Northern Namibia, and if they confirmed their presence, to contact UNTAG with the request that they accompany us to the said bases. I was advised that Mr Kamanya of the Legal Aid Unit would accompany me.

Sunday, 23rd July 1989

On the 23rd I left with Mr Kamanya for the North. We arrived at Ondangwa at approximately 1Oh00 and proceeded to the police station to establish where the suspects were being held. We were advised that the suspects were not at Ondangwa, but at the Oshakati police station. On arriving at the Oshakati police station we were told that they were being held at Sector 10, I pointed out that
Sector 10 was formerly a military installation, and was then informed that the police now had use of certain of its facilities. We then travelled to Sector 10, and were taken to the cells (presumably what was always referred to as Oniimwandi - the word *Oshiri stands above the entrance). We consulted with Paulus Katanga and Thomas Nghitukwa who confirmed, under difficult circumstances (we were not sure whether the room, which was clearly an old interrogation room, was bugged), that they had seen Bushmen in uniform and also certain, bases. For what it is worth, the room contained a table, two chairs, and a large map on one of the walls. The bottom 1/4 was of Northern Namibia and the top 3/4 of Angola.

Monday, 24th July 1989

We knew that the suspects would appear in Court and accordingly proceeded to the Ondangwa Magistrate's Court. Before the suspects arrived I spoke to the Investigating officer, one J.C. Van Zyl. He advised that any bail application would be opposed as he wanted to make certain further Investigations concerning the correctness of the statements given by the suspects. In this regard all of the suspects made statements to the police concerning the events leading to their arrest, and UNTAG police monitors were present. (We are arranging for copies of the statements to be forwarded to our offices). Inasmuch as our priority was to investigate the existence of bases, and because a bail application would have taken the whole day, we decided not to bring a bail application on that day. When the suspects arrived, we advised them of the State's attitude towards bail, and of our priority. They accepted the position. Inspector van Zyl also advised that he was sure that they would be out by Thursday, as he said he had no problem with bail once the investigation had been completed.

We then consulted with the suspects, in particular Paulus Katanga, Simon Thomas Ngituka, Otnil Bahamba and Philemon Sebulon. Using our topographical map (copy of map attached, marked "C"), we were able to mark off the areas that they had previously travelled to, and also the places at which they had observed and/or heard of military personnel and/or installations. They told us that at Otyolo they had seen an old military base, which was now being occupied by Bushmen, who also wore military uniforms. At Omauni they found the same set-up, but at Olukula, where they were arrested, they found a temporary camp deep in the forest. Although they were not at Ongalulu, they told us that they had heard from locals that a certain man (Kamanya knows the name) had a house at which he stored military equipment. They also advised that the main headquarters for this military operations were at Ombongolo which is on the border of Angola. We also questioned them as to the ownership of the pistols confiscated. They told us that they were their own, and that they had not been planted on themselves by the police. This however, needs clarifying.

After having consulted fairly fully, and also having observed Philemon's swollen eye and Otniel Bahamba's rib, which injuries were sustained during the time of the arrest, we called the two UNTAG police monitors (who are from the Dutch contingent), to inform them of this information. They had already previously indicated to me that they were aware of the allegations of military bases and also
that the police were aware of this. We are not sure how they obtained this information or the extent thereof. Furthermore they indicated that they intended travelling at 12h00 to the area with the investigating officer to investigate the matter further. During the consultations we pointed out that it would be pointless to travel with the police, as historically the police had always worked together with the army and that they would never perceive it to be in their interest to expose the existence of military bases. We were of the firm opinion that the police would in fact rather try to conceal the matter. The UNTAG’s said that all they could do from their side was to inform the military component, who would in all probability then ask SWAPOL to investigate the matter. We then said that if that was so, we would like to be present when they had informed Colonel Faroek, the head of the military component in the North.

The suspects were then taken into Court and after the matter had been postponed to 21st August 1989, we followed the UNTAG police monitors to the regional headquarters in Oshakati.

There we met Captain Wara, the district commissioner, who hails from Fiji. He was very helpful and got things going. We then had a meeting with the said captain, the two police monitors from Netherlands, Colonel Faroek and a Malaysian captain from Malbat (the Malaysian Battalion). Colonel Faroek was very direct in his questioning but eventually authorised a trip to investigate the allegations of bases, and also granted authority for myself and Mr Kamanya to travel in the helicopter, which was to be requisitioned for that purpose. We spent nearly four hour waiting while UNTAG arranged a helicopter.

At approximately 15h45 we left by helicopter accompanied by the two UNTAG police monitors, a captain from Malbat and a military observer (a major from Malbat). Fortunately Oswald Shivute was also allowed to come with. We flew to Olukula and landed at the egumbo of Matheus Nepa. It was pure coincidence that Mr Nepanda was an old friend of Kamanya and he greeted him warmly on our arrival. This helped us greatly as we did not have any problems building up trust and confidence and also did not have to worry that he was in fact an informer. He briefed us fully concerning the presence of the "base" and the movements of the Bushmen. He said that the base had been there since 1985, and that although the Bushmen had left for a short period, they had returned on 12th July 1989. He also said that they had been seen walking in patrols, carrying G3 rifles and that they also wore military-type clothing. He pointed to a child wearing cut-off military browns as being the type of clothing worn. He also told us that after the arrest of the suspects a message had been given to one Gabriel by the Bushmen to tell all the people of the area that if there were any more civilian cars seen in the area, they would be shot. (We believe this to be a response to the two Toyota 4 x 4 bakkies in which the suspects had travelled). He also indicated that the camp laid to the north-east of his egumbo, approximately 3km away. As we were pushed for time (the helicopter's pilot
having set us a time limit), we were not able to consult as fully as we would have liked and were forced to leave. We then flew over the area (which is a heavily wooded area), and observed the camp in the one circuit flight the pilot made. We thereafter returned to Oshakati and immediately proceeded to visit the suspects who were now being held at the police station.

We then requested access to the suspects, and to facilitate the same, the station commander came through to the police station. We were allowed to consult in his office. Issues concerning the conditions of their imprisonment were raised, in particular the fact that they had not received food that day and that they had not received sufficient blankets. I ensured that blankets were provided and as it was clear that the police had at this stage no facilities for providing food, we undertook to provide food for the night. This we later did. At the request of Simon we passed by the offices of Swapo headquarters at the Continental Hotel and informed Doctor Nantinda of our movements. We thereafter travelled to John Shitendeni and advised him of what was happening.

Tuesday, 25th July 1989

It had been agreed that we would meet UNTAG at 08h00 at the Oshakati regional office. On arriving we were told that we would be leaving at 09h00 from Ondangwa and that we should immediately proceed there. At Ondangwa we were told that the flight would only be taking off at 09h00. At 10h00 we heard that the pilot was still proceeding on his normal patrol as he had not received clarification that he was to go on a special mission. It took us until 11h45 to get clearance for the flight and we eventually took off at 12h15. Mr Shivute was refused access although there was a spare seat. At one point they tried to refuse my accompanying them. Initially because they alleged that there were not enough places and later because I was not an UNTAG member. I pointed out that Colonel Faroek had authorized my presence and that in any event, I had travelled with an UNTAG helicopter the previous day. Permission was then granted and we left once again for the Olukula area.

On arriving at the egumbo of Matheus Nepanda we observed a large truck parked approximately 200m away. There was a Bushman lying on the back and when we entered the egumbo, we observed a white man together with two large Ovambo speaking males. The one Ovambo male had a pistol which he packed prominently on his hip and the other carried a radio. The UNTAG police monitors immediately started questioning the white man who advised that they were from the Ombili Foundation, that they were busy giving medical assistance to the people and referred to a small army carton which contained odd medical equipment and pills. He advised that the two Ovambo males were "stampolise" and that the aim of the Ombili Foundation was to rebuild the infrastructure that Swapo had destroyed. He repeated this on a couple of occasions. Having gleaned as much information as we believed we could from him, we proceeded to speak to Nepanda who advised that? he had only recently heard that the Ombili Foundation was now operating from the army base, but who also said that the white man had addressed the people at his egumbo and told them that UNTAG had never asked that the
terrorists be removed from the area although they had requested that the police be removed; furthermore that they had heard there were 1,200 terrorists in the area and that the Ombili Foundation through the Bushmen and the two Ovambo leaders who were now staying there, would protect them. He denied that they were an army organisation. I wish to point out that I carried my dictaphone with me, hoping to be able to record certain of the conversations. The police monitors indicated that I would not be allowed to use it when they were holding discussions or interviewing the people.

The police monitors requested the white man to take us to the base so that we could see for ourselves what was happening there, and he agreed thereto. As I and Kamanya were walking towards his truck the police monitors told us that we would not be allowed to accompany them. We enquired why not and he said because they were conducting the investigation. We argued about this as we walked towards the truck and in spite of his instructions, we climbed on the truck and travelled to the base.

The base is as indicated earlier, situated about 3km away from the egumbo of Matheus Nepanda. It is in a heavily wooded area, the trees reaching great heights and could essentially be described as concealed. It consisted of a shed, a tele-radio receptor and a group of opondokkies in which the Bushmen lived. On arriving there two Bushmen were sitting winding the battery for the radio. Their faces were emotionless and they appeared to be doing so on instruction. We observed a military water trailer although it had no registration plate on. We also observed many military sleeping bags and also a G3 assault rifle. In the shed there were military-kind containers although the contents were not necessarily of a military nature. The military collapsable spade was also present in the shed. The radio, we were advised by the white man, was loaned by a man to the SADF for their use. I believe that was a slip and unfortunately the UNTAG monitors never asked him to clarify it. I was refused permission to take any photographs of the base. What was noticeably was that there were very few men around and most of the people present were women and children.

While we were there three Toyota 4 x 4 bakkies and one 4 x 4 UNTAG Land Cruiser arrived. In one of the Toyota bakkies travelled Inspector van Zyl and the prosecutor (one Muller) from Ondangwa. Inspector van Zyl immediately confronted the UNTAG monitors as to why they had come investigating the presence of military bases without notifying the police, whereas they were never allowed to continue with investigations without UNTAG presence. The UNTAG police officers felt very compromised and in fact the one nearly fainted. Matheus Nepanda who had accompanied us was clearly compromised by this development and when we left indicated that he would rather remain. We have reason to believe that his safety is in danger.

We then returned to the egumbo of Nepanda and thereafter flew to Omauni. We landed at the helicopter pad alongside the military base which had clearly been evacuated by the military although it is now inhabited by Bushmen who sat on the mud walls, some of whom were also in military dress. The explanation we
received for the military clothing was that the Bushmen had no other clothes. We were then taken to the front of the military base and there saw a board describing the base as belonging to the Ombili Foundation. It was clear that the board had recently been erected and on enquiry were advised that it has in fact been erected that very day. As Inspector van Zyl said he had just come from Omauni we must presume that it was he who erected the board. Two Ovambo men who stood at the entrance of the camp refused us access although they allowed the military observer from Malaysia access. We noted that there was a radio receiver mounted on a tower and that there was someone standing in the tower. We thereafter returned to Ondangwa and from there travelled back to Windhoek.

COMMENTS

The above constitutes a descriptive account of the events as they occurred in chronological order. I now wish to make certain Comments concerning the trip.

1. THE PLACE OF DETENTION AND NATURE OF THE ALLEGED CRIME

It was peculiar that the suspects were held in the cells which the military had formerly used and which would have always been used for political prisoners. In fact, during a conversation with the station commander, he said that it was a criminal charge inasmuch as they were being held for a criminal offence. I agreed with him although it was clear that he was fishing for information and perhaps an admission from my part that the charges were rather political. I am of the opinion that had these persons been caught before the repeal of the discriminatory legislation, they would have been held under AG9 and thereafter probably the Terrorism Act. I believe that this matter should be taken up with the police as to why they used these particular facilities to hold these persons as they have facilities at the police station.

2. UNTAG

As far as UNTAG is concerned it must be apparent from what I have said before that although they were of great assistance (the area to which we had to fly was very remote and without the helicopter we would have struggled to have got there in the short time that we had) they did not want us to get involved in the investigation and in fact tried to prevent us from being actively involved. I believe this needs to be clarified.

Furthermore their right to refuse us the right of taking photos and/or tape recording evidence also needs the clarification. A further point of clarification concerning UNTAG is the practise to which they and Inspector van Zyl referred, namely "sharing information*. What do they mean by this and what implications does it have for the suspects? We would be interested to know whether it was not they who conveyed to the police the fact that the mission was not so much for grazing as for hidden military bases. Furthermore, M. Simon indicated that the UNTAG officer Maartens who arrived at the scene of the arrest very shortly after it happened, was confused as to whether he was in fact an UNTAG officer or not, because he spoke Afrikaans. At a later stage when we were at the base near
Olukula, the said Maartens again spoke Afrikaans although his military counterpart could not understand. Afrikaans. The Malaysian observer tried to observe factually what was going on and, he did not get emotional and did not try to take sides. The police observers on the other hand seemed very emotional and were concerned with their working relationship with SWAPOL. They clearly felt compromised when confronted by Inspector van Zyl and Inspector Maartens reached out his hand and shook the white man from the so-called Ombili Foundation, and assured him that he would write the report. The only inference one could make is that he was going to make a positive report for the Ombili Foundation. Furthermore on arriving at the base the other Dutch police monitor almost immediately said: 'This is clearly not a base'. We believe this was an inappropriate statement.

3. THE ASSAULTS
We noted with concern the seriousness of the assault on Philemon Sebulon and also Otnidl Bahamba. When we questioned UNTAG as to why there were no policemen being held in custody in connection with the assault, they replied that Philemon had not made mention of it in his statement. We pointed out that for historical reasons people were very suspicious of the police and had no trust in them. The simple point being is that UNTAG expected them to lay charges with the, very people who had assaulted them. This clearly indicates a lack of understanding for the difficulties the local people have faced in the protected bushwar.

4. THE BUSHMEN
As regards the Bushmen, it would appear that they are innocent prostitutes not really knowing what they are doing. I believe the use of the Bushmen must be seen in the context of how they had always been used by the military, namely as trackers (spoorsnyers). In this regard we refer you to the following quotations taken from the July 1985 *Paratus*.

The quotations are taken from Commandant Jankie Jankowitz, former commander of 203 Batallion.

"Maar hulle is goeie soldate met In groot spwo lyvennoi en met hul vegverm6e skort daar nik, - Hullk gtvegsdiisline is uitsonderlik hoog ... en hulle is baie pligsgetrou.
"Daar word bale gedoen om die BoDnma bp te Voed".
Die Boesmans mag jag * net nttt pyl en boog - want hulle bedreig nie wildsewe nie*

In the article (a copy whereof Is annexed hereto, marked "D) mention is also made of the fact that many of the Sushfhen still like to live in their traditional huts. Clearly then, the base and its modus operandi does not differ greatly with that of the former 203 Batallion.

5. OMBILI FOUNDATION
As indicated in the chronological report above we were advised that the Bushmen presence was not for any military reasons but because they were part of the Ombili Foundation, Seen in the context of the role that the Bushmen had played
in the Defence Force, we are of the opinion that the foundation is in fact a smoke screen. Questions which must be asked are: Why is there a need for a shortwave radio receiver? Why was there so much military equipment including G3’s? Why is it then so that the Malaysian army have reported seeing Bushmen in uniform and armed? and why did the white man from the Ombili Foundation address the people at Nepanda’s egumbo and informed them that UNTAG have always called for withdrawal of the police but not the terrorists in the area and that over 1,200 terrorists arrived recently in the area and that the Ombili Foundation would provide protection for the local people.

We went to the Registrar of Companies in Windhoek since we were advised by the white man that the Ombili Foundation was registered in Tsumeb (!) as a company. We established that all that has happened is that the Ombili Foundation has registered its name as a defensive name and that it is not registered as a company. A copy of the application form for registration of a defensive name together with the annexure "A" being the main purpose of the foundation, is annexed hereto, marked "E". It would appear then that the Ombili Foundation represents only a change in name for the military have been present in the area and established at that particular base since 1985.

6. THE STATWS REPONSE

Another area that needs comment is the fact that the chief inspector and the public prosecutor travelled into the area that we were in. The question which must be asked is why they saw the need for this. It is not normal for the public prosecutor to accompany the investigating officer to investigate a charge of illegal possession of fire-arms. Furthermore what was curious was the fact that the Ombili Foundation placed a board outside the camp on the same day that we were in the area and as indicated above it is possible that it was placed there by the police.

7. THg "STAMPQLISIE"

According to Nepanda the Bushmen fall under the control of two Ovambo men. We also saw two Ovambo men (one with the firearm and one with the radio) but were told they were "stampolisie" for Chief G. Stephanus. What were they then doing over 100km away from where the chief resides? Do the "stampolisie" fall within the provisions of the AG’s undertaking? (copy annexed, marked "F", and relevant section highlighted).

8. THEFIRE-ARMS

The fact that fire-arms, of Russian origin, were found in the possession of a CCN mission makes the issue extremely sensitive, and clearly requires a response, Inasmuch as groups hostile to the CCN will argue that this is confirmation of the fears that led to the application by the chiefs. As indicated, the question of ownership needs clarification as does whether all members of the party knew about the fire-arms.
Police intercept two light trucks and arrest three for weapons

Police Headquarters in Windhoek reported the arrest of 11 men suspected to be Swapo members near Omahenc in the north. Police reacted to information received and followed two 4 X4 Toyota bakkies. The vehicles, which together contained 12 men, were stopped and searched.

One of the men escaped and police are currently searching for him.

A .38 heavy calibre hunting rifle, a Makarov pistol and three Tokarev pistols were found in the possession of the men who have been subsequently charged with the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition. Spokesman for Swapo headquarters, Chief Inspector Kerie du Rand, said the pistols confiscated where similar to those issued to Swapo detachment commanders, police commissars, saboteurs and those on special assignments. He added that the same type of weapons were used in the assassination of Flerero Chief Clemens Kapuuo and Senior Ovaimbo ilcadn-in, Captain Elifas in the 1970's. In another incident, police were informed of a 'suspicious place', which was presumed to be an arms cache. Explosives experts were sent out to investigate the site.

After uncovering a 1/2 metre deep grave, two bodies clad in FAPLA uniforms were discovered. The two men were apparently shot on April 16 by 101 Battalion. After autopsies were conducted, the bodies were reburied on the same day.

Sistolet Makarova, used by the majority of Fast bloc countries. The firearm in the picture is of the exact type used in the slaying of the radio announcer, and thereafter in the double killing of the two nurses. It fires a low powered round which permits utilisation of blow-back action. Basically it is a copy of the German Waither PP.

REGISTRATION/ISSUING OF FALSE IDENTITY PAPERS

3 August 1989

A Lutheran church worker Amalia Shilongo (40) told CIMS officials at her Parish office on 3 August 1989 that she appeared in the Ondangwa Magistrate court on 25 July 1989 and that she was released on bail of two hundred rand (R200.00). She added that she was also instructed in court to appear again on 30 August 1989. She pointed out that up till 3 August 1989 she did not approach any lawyer for legal advice. She also said that she was not told under what law she was arrested.
She can however still explain that she was arrested and jailed on 13 July 1989 in the Oshakati prison because she allegedly issued a school boy Nikanor Ndululilwa with a paper that had a wrong date of birth of the boy. She further explained that according to the paper in question, Nikanor was born on 1 April 1971, while the Parish office records book indicates that the boy was born on 11 November 1971. She said that the date, 1 April 1971, was initiated by the boy and confirmed by the boy's guardian and at the same time they requested the paper from the Parish office for registration purposes. However, the registration officials apparently suspected that the boy looked too short and too young to be eighteen (18). As a result, they came and cross-checked the Parish office books and found that the dates were different. Mrs. Shilongo however expressed her uncertainty about the exact date when Nikanor was born, adding that even the date 11 November 1971 did not seem realistic to her because she said it did not appear to be the original one. According to Mrs. Shilongo, Nikanor was also jailed on 14 July 1989 and released on bail of two hundred rand (R200.00) on 25 July 1989.

Application for re-registration at Oshiuambo J.P. School

Dear sir

It is only to reiterate that a total number of 350 people were left unregistered at Oshigambo registration point. The numbers of There are more total of 350. out of the total unregistered people are increasing every day. unregistered numbers which are excluded from the The returnees that newly returned are also left of 350. Kindly re-arrange a returning team for the re-registration of these people. If the request is to be accepted, please inform us before hand, in order to arrange these unregistered people accordingly. Hoping this request will receive your favourable and friendly consideration.

Sincerely yours

D.K. AMUANYENA
PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOL (as a registration point)

NOTE: School leaders second register principals, headmen, political parties, church and other local leaders could apply for a first or registration team in their village/region to illegible voters. 
As we were to'd most of the local people had been registered already. Therefore the days for registration at the registration-point in OSHIFO were reduced to only Friday and Saturday.

Security situation
At RUACAA the UNAG-police officer Mr Simon told us about the tense situation in this border area. The SWAPOL-camp Is located next to the UN-camp but there are no good contacts. It is estimated that more than 50 per cent of SWAPOL consist of former Koevoet. There are only 30 UNpolice monitors at Ruacana, while there should be 45 of them. A lack of equipment and not much action on their request for supply is frustrating them.

SWAPOL drives around in many caspirs or in wolfs. UN-police has only two caspirs and for several reasons they cannot follow the SWAPOL vehicles. Simon: "SWAPOL is monitoring us."

Intimation
Te uN-interpreter JS Shipanga took us to the local pastor Rev Filemon Alugongo who gave a good picture of the situation in the village OSHIFO: a) The tragedy of the 2nd April 1989 when SA aeroplanes arrived while most of the local people attended the service in church. The soldiers were shooting around frightening and injuring several villagers. Then they moved back to their base. After that it seemed fairly quiet but now similar problems are coming. b) On 7th August 1989 a DTA bus drove into the village and dropped 51 young men (with DTA-shirts) with arrows and knives. They are staying around the DTA-office, using three different new bakkies to intimidate the whole area. These DTA supporters are strolling throughout the location in the evenings and even nights. They go into houses searching for "terrorists" beating up and chasing the villagers around. One woman was injured in her face (Linda Katale, 29) and one man was injured by an arrow. Several others were beaten up. Local young boys and girls are forced by these DTApeople not to go to school any more but to join them strolling around. If the local people go to the police to report they are sent off. If they go to the UNTAG office they are followed and questioned by the DTA supporters.

Rev. F Alugongo: "These are all former Battallion 101 people, the situation is critical and is getting worse."

Returnees
About 50 returnees came back home: The pastor took us to the SWAPO office where we met Peter Kandjumbwa and his friends. This is in a well fenced wholesale area. The owner ("he is SWAPO") has gone to the returnees in order to protect them. Quite a number of them are staying there during night because they cannot sleep at home being afraid of Koevoet or 101 elements. About 20 returnees left the home village during the last two weeks staying with friends further away. Even in ONESI, the neighbouring village, they are not safe.

****members asked us urgently to come again to talk to the comrade in charge because they want to make the whole situation known. Most of the OSHIFO people are SWAPO. Only about 25 supported DTA but now the situation changed with the terror through Koevoet.
REPORT ON A VISIT TO RUACANA: AUGUST 16, 1989

After having seen some UNTAG policemen in R1MorV we met Joseph F. Shipanga an interpreter who was very helpful and led us to Mr. Levon Debelian, the Director of the District (UNTAG). He underlined that the people were very friendly, that one was welcome, but that there was chronically a tension, primarily by Comot. TjR "jfori'ten* in SWRPOL wis flirE.4i WM Wl.e. ?he local pastors were the main vehicles of contact with the population and so were the school principals (and recently some political parties). UNTAG intentionally opened an office in the township (Oshifo). This helps to get down tensions.

A Swedish polite officer Mr. Thomas, explained to us that he had no problems with the local police, but JTNA wJu bf to wnitor Koeymt. Koeyvoet is net, to a certain extent by the military. The police itself has not enough material. The work situation is however changing and improving. The number of complaints about incidents with koeyvoet are limited. According to Mr. Thomas there are still a lot of plastic mines in Kakao which cannot be found. There are also many old grenades. The security branch is helping to do away with these.

In O*Jf Ia:we had a long talk with Linda, who ? a cuca shop. She told us that on the ninth of August two OTA 1 came to her shop and insulted her. She did not reply. They came again on the tenth and saw her selling a photo of Sam Nujoma. The woman was beaten up. There was a discussion with some returnees. After the beating, they went with 7 witnesses to the police. A certain Mr. Eric, who led the DTA guys, went together with a white man inside the police office for about one hour. Only then the returnee witness was called in and the woman could tell her story. She was threatened to be taken in for three days. Later on Eric (himself a koeyvoet member) after having drunk, explained that he had come down with instructions to harass SWAPO people in every possible way. In the end there was no police report on the matter. On the 11th and 12th Linda went to the police so as to get a form for a doctor. On the 11th, she was asked to which party she belonged and on the 12th she was told to be cautious as they were seeking her already for 4 days. The policeman did not want to give his name. Now she stays at home as the cuca shop is too dangerous a place for her and she intends to leave soon for Swakopmund.

By the end of the day we went to the VTVeffIz lv,1 re at least some twenty people were around. We wanted to have discussions with them, but they were enraged, allegedly because one of us took a photograph of the two others, standing between DTA supporters. It was not possible to have a real discussion. They became also angry when they heard that we were working with CCN. OP our question what were the aims and the programme of DTA, they answered that we knew that quite well and that their aim was to win the elections. Their anger and their hate of being photographed might confirm that in fact many of these supporters are (ex) Koeyvoet, or (ex) 101 batallion members.
REPORT ON REGISTRATION OF VOTERS AT ONGWELIE ETC
ON 16.8.89.

After calling on Untag offices at Oshakati we left for Ongwelume at 14.00 hrs. Near Endola we met the Principal of Shituwa S.P. School who offered to lead us to Omungwelume. On the way he told us about the fighting on April 2nd and showed us the grave in which 21 Swapo fighters were buried at Ondeshifilwa.

It was reported at Ongwelume that the registration team there was turning people away who had no documents which in the eyes of the team were valid. This team did not consider school documents or church documents as valid, and had to send people with such documents to the magistrate.

Pistol-Carrying DTAs

 Teachers in the area expressed concern about a group of 50-60 DTA people who were brought to Ongwelume on Friday, 11.8.89 carrying pistols, who have over the weekend been walking around the village asking for returnees. These people are driving around in 4 Nissan bakkies. On 15.8.89 a returnee whom these people had been looking for was beaten up. These DTA men are believed to be former members of Battalion 101, some are personally known by name, and they are: Jbsiah Kandume, Salomo Shidute, Gideon Makunye and Martin Hamalwa. The teachers said they had nothing against these people being there, but they should not go about beating up people.

Mr. Joshuah Shilongo and Mr. Mabili Makale, Swapo officials in Ongwelume, told us that still many people have not registered yet, especially the lame, the sick and the aged. On 16th August about 100 people were registered and 3 were rejected. Those who were rejected were told that they will be told by radio announcement when they will have to come to court for their appeal.

Oshikuyo.

On 15.8.89 around 16.30 a group of about 25 DTA supporters approached Mr. Lazarus Kapiya's cuca shop at Oshikuyo and started to insult people, demanding to know how much were they paid to wear Swapo T-shirts. They dropped DTA leaflets and tried to strangle Kapiya's throat and that of a returnee named Nghinakongo. The DTA men were recognised as former 101 Battalion members and their names are Martin Hamalwa, Peter Wapota and PetruE Shilungama.

From Okuyo we returned back to Oshakati at 17.50.

= 89 =

REPORT FOR CIMS ON VISIT TO OVAMBO UP TO 22 AUGUST

On 19th August we had a meeting with Bishop Dumeni of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia and with a group of German members of Parliament. Bishop Dumeni stressed that Namibians were full of joy that Resolution 435 was being implemented, but that Untag was not strong yet. He emphasized the problem of Koevoets, and said that to use Koevoets as policemen would be like using pastors as medical doctors. "They were not
trained for this job," he said. He also expressed concern that former members of SWAT were being converted and "baptized" to be faithful DTA's. These people still carry the same work as before -- that is, intimidating and harassing people, only that now they are doing it on behalf of DTA. Many of the returnees were even afraid to go home because their lives would be in danger.

Registration

With regard to registration the Bishop was concerned that baptism certificates were not recognized as proof. Since there has not been an authority issuing birth certificates to refuse to recognize baptism certificates as proof is to prevent people in the north from registering and consequently from voting.

Election Law

On draft election law the Bishop said the law should be simple and clear. He wondered why all the votes should be taken to Windhoek for counting. He felt it would be safer to have the votes counted at polling stations so that "ballot boxes do not get lost in transit to Windhoek."

After the Elections

The Bishop expressed concern on what Koevoet are likely to do after the elections, and said contingent plans should be made to be alert of possibilities of further violence and intimidation.

On Intimidation

(a) On 16.8.89 DTA members jumped over the fence of Engela reception centre and beat up a number of people.

(b) On Monday, 21.8.89 a number of children were marching and singing Swapo songs when suddenly a 10-year-old boy was shot at by an arrow thrown by a DTA supporter.4t Oshakati. The seriously-wounded boy had to undergo operation.

(c) On Tuesday, 22.8.89 Jim Nelson and Walter McGill from USA reported that while travelling from Oshikango they had seen DTA members at Odibo beating up people.

The two Americans alerted Untag Police monitors who later went to the scene.

(d) At 18.00 the same day the two Americans observed about 20 koevoets with sidearms about 3 kilometres away from their base at Ongha. As they filmed them with a video camera the koevoets threatened to shoot them, but they succeeded to get the film.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. UNTAG should be urged to speedily employ more Police monitors in Ovambo. As we were told by one Untag Police Monitor there are plans to reduce Untag Police force to 500 after elections, which should not be decided now but only after the situation has improved. In the light of hidden bases and secret arms transport in the Eastern region of Ovamboland, police monitors are of considerable importance especially since Untag Military component does not have the mandate to monitor Swapol.

2. South African election officers should be screened by political parties and churches before they are employed because, some of these officers are of fanatic political views and are engaged in canvassing for particular political parties. Untag should be asked and supported to reject some of these officials.
3. Some South African officials are said to be reluctant to work with black Untag officers. Such South African officials should be dismissed with immediate effect.
4. Monitors during the actual election period should be sent to the area a few days before the elections start so that they will get to know the officials involved and the Untag persons in charge.

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CHURCHES INFORMATION AND MONITORING SERVICE
P.O. BOX 60196
HANS UIRAB STR.
KATUTURA/NAMIBIA

23 August 1989
PRESS RELEASE
Brigadier ATC Nel of the Security Branch In Windhoek confirmed to the Churches Information and Monitoring Service (CIMS) that a case of the abduction of a returnee, Mr Tangeni Shikomba, had been registered with and was being investigated by the Ohangwena Police.
The incident apparently occurred last Wednesday afternoon at the Omafo Cuca Shop about two kilometres from Engela when a group of DTA supporters allegedly armed with pistols, bangas and knives ordered about 16 SWAPO supporters not to give any power salute and to stop singang. The SWAPO supporters ignored the order whereupon they were assaulted. Three of the victims were admitted to the Oshakati Hospital with leg and neck injuries and swollen eyes and a woman was admitted for a swollen breast.
CIMS Ongwediva Office reports that the attack took place in front of Malaysian Police Monitors at the Engela centre.
When approached for comment, UNTAG Coordinator of Police in the Northern Region, Mr Patrick Agboba said that UNTAG monitors were not empowered to make arrests but to monitor SWAPO actions. Mr Agboba told the Churches Information and Monitoring Service (CIMS) reporter in Windhoek that he took note of the incident and that an investigation would be contacted to establish if the "UNTAG Monitors acted within the powers vested in them".

ISSUED BY:
MR VEYAKANDETU
CINS DIRECTOR
COUNCIL OF CHURCHES IN NAMIBIA

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Registration
16 August 1989
The mobile registration team went to Epembe for the second time. The UNTAG team leader was a young French lady, an UNTAG Police monitor, a South African team leader - Mr. R Killian, a SWA police officer or
officer of SWAPOL - Mr Hassy. Outside the school building a Buffel (D 9120 G) (an anti-mine tank) was situated. This team was at the ONANDJOKWE Hospital two days ago where they did good work. When the CIMS reporters arrived at the spot, a big discussion was going on whether to visit and register sick people in their homes or not. The French lady was very much in favour of doing so, but not the South African administrator in charge. The reporters were standing, listening to the discussion until they decided to fetch the local pastor, Rev N Shuukwanyama. After 1 pm, eventually everything was ready. The team split and three of them went with the pastor in order to register sick people in their homes. In the next classroom door one teacher (SWAPO) checked all the register cards, and no fault could be found.

Returnees
There are about 150 returnees spread over the whole parish Epembe. They are staying with their families or with friends getting their monthly rations through the local congregation.

In ONANJENA is a secondary centre on the church grounds. People there leave very quickly. The local pastor Amokugo told us that SWAPOL is always hanging around and there are DTA supporters, mainly former Koevoet in the bush, "this is a proper underground snake".

17 August 1989
At least sixteen (16) people, including three (3) returnees were assaulted on 16 August 1989 by armed DTA members. According to eye-witnesses, the incident initially took place at Omafo Cuca shop, 2 km from Engela and proceeded as far as Engela returnees Reception Centre, where some people were attacked and assaulted in front of Malasian UNTAG men. The sources further said that the DTA members arrived and ordered people not to give any power salute. A SWAPO supporters’ crowd however continued singing and the order. As a result the DTA supporters, allegedly using physical violence and bad language, at 6 pm singing ignored started. The sources ordered to provocations.

In the Shikomba Engela, further said that the SWAPO singing group was disperse, but they did not respond to the of the DTA members. meantime a car full of people, driven by Mr Tangeni left the scene and stopped near the reception centre at This car, according to eye-witnesses, was followed by At least three supporters were at the centre. for information, cars full of DTA supporters and some SWAPO assaulted right in front of UN Malasian guards When the UNTAG men at the Centre were approached they refused to give any information.

31 August 1989
More people at Omungwelume were beaten up and some were wounded by DTA supporters, despite a joint call by political parties issued 30 August 1989 to instruct their followers to reframe from all acts of provocation and harassment of members of other political parties.

According to Omungwelume residents who came to report the assaults to the Oshakati UNTAG police, Mr. Levi Mhinge was wounded on his shoulders with what appeared to be a bullet by DTA supporters and Mr. Erastus Amaambo was missing after he was beaten up and then allegedly thrown in a DTA van. It happened that morning. No explanation was given for such action and the residents said they saw the DTA moving around holding pistols. This they said, was creating an atmosphere of panic.

The source trouble at people were at Omungwelume added that there was also other Omungwelume the previous day in which the following assaulted:

- Mr. Lukas Mbwangela - his nose was badly damaged with what appeared to be an iron bar.
- Mr. Willem Mwoongo (returnee) - he was beaten up and wounded in the head and also stabbed in a buttock.
- Ndeuhala Hango and Naemo Neimi Haushona were also reported assaulted.

The agreement reached by the political parties the previous day was attended by the following parties: SWAPO (D), NPF and UNPP. The meeting was both chaired and irradiated by UNTAG regional director's office at Oshakati.

29 August 1989

A member of UNTAG police monitors at Onyaanya confirmed that afternoon that a girl from Onankali was missing since the previous Sunday afternoon as a result of a conflict between the DTA supporters and local residents at Onankali. He added that his colleagues and the SWAPOL were still investigating, but he said they did not as yet establish where the girl was.

Inhabitants at Onankali said that afternoon that they had a strange experience the previous Sunday when a DTA bus stopped near the Cuca shops at Onankali and the OCCUpants came out and started chasing children around. He gave a power salute in response to the DTA two finger sign. The DTA’ then allegedly started beating up the children and the onlookers came as a result when the fight started. Many people, including the Elcin Evangelist, Mr. Abisai Iihuhwa were seriously injured. According to the Onankali residents, the trouble started at about 4 pm and ended at about 6 pm, when UNTAG police arrived at the scene. During the conflict the eye-witnesses said that a girl, Selma Shikongo was pushed into the DTA bus and was not
seen up to 29 August 1989.
It was also reported from Onankali that a returnee, Mr. Shikongo Mbango broke his finger during a fight with allegedly armed SWAPOL members during the conflict. So far nobody was reported to have been admitted to the hospital.
Weapons used during the conflict were said to be stones, sticks, fists, etc.
1 October 1989
On 1 October, at 13h15, Walter McGill, an U.S. citizen visiting Namibia, received a report that the DTA was beating up people in Oshakati. He drove straight to Oshakati, arriving half an hour later. He observed at least 200 DTA members, carrying traditional weapons, namely pangas, knobkerries, machetes, bows and arrows, etc. The crowd was apparently receiving instructions from a black SWAPOL member who was accompanied by four whites and another four blacks, who were most likely also SWAPOL. The DTA crowd was working their way through a crowd of

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REPORT ON OSHIO AND RUACANA, 15THIAUGUST 1989
Registration
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Security situation
At RU ANA the UIAG-officer Mr Simon told us about the tense situation in this border area. The SWAPOL-camp is located next to the UN-camp but there are no good contacts. It is estimated that more than 50 per cent of SWAPOL consist of former Koevoet. There are only 30 UNpolice monitors at Ruacana, while there should be 45 of them. A lack of equipment and not much action on their request for supply is frustrating them.
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boys and girls are forced by these DTA people not to go to school any more but to
join them strolling around. If the local people go to the police to report they are
sent off. If they go to the UNTAG office they are followed and questioned by the
DTA supporters.
Rev. F Alugongo: "These are all former Battallion 101 people, the situation is
critical and is getting worse."
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About 50 returnees came back home: The pastor took us to the SWAPO office
where we met Peter Kandjumbwa and his friends. This is in a well fenced
wholesale area. The owner ("he is SWAPO") has gone to the returnees in order to
protect them. Quite a number of them are staying there during night because they
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left the home village during the last two weeks staying with friends further away.
Even in ONESI, the neighbouring village, they are not safe.
Local parties
The SAPO-members asked us urgently to come again to talk to the comrade in
charge because they want to make the whole situation known. Most of the
OSHIFO people are SWAPO. Only about 25 supported DTA but now the
situation changed with the terror through Koevoet.

MORE INTIMIDATION REPORTS FROM OVAMBO
According to the information that they got at
the Oshakati hospital, 15 people were treated on Saturday after a grenade
explosion (or grenade explosions) at a
school in Ondangwa, 12 of whom had to be admitted. One of them had to be
operated, some had fractures of arms. The victims were all in the age between 18
and 22, students of
the high school.
Another 17 people have been injured and brought to
hospital after several incidents. All of them were SWAPO supporters injured by
DTA supporters, except one DTA member who was assaulted by a hand
grenade thrown by another DTA supporter after a fight over a woman. (One
other DTA member, a security policeman died in the incident). 5 People were injured on Sunday by a phosphor bomb thrown at a
senior secondary school; 12 people were
injured and treated at Oshakati hospital, according to
Dr. N. Shivute, medical Supervisor, after a grenade explosion on a spot
between Ondangwa and Oshakati.
According to Dr. A Shejavali, general secretary of CCN,
who visited the area that weekend and investigated some cases (his report). In
this incident 15 people were
injured and two women died (Victoria Simon and Nangula Adolf) after a hand
grenade was thrown to a crowd of people singing SWAPO songs in
Omunganda near Eheke on
Sunday at about 08h30. On Saturday night a motor explosion in Oshakati west, in which one person died, was reported, but could not yet be confirmed. Other incidents like attacks on houses or cars, even attacks against UNTAG cars, have been reported or observed.

SWAPO supporters at the market and towards the road to Okatana. Walter drove past the group in order to get ahead of them. Fifteen minutes later SWAPOL left. Walter and his party feared to go back past the crowd, fearing that the vehicle would be stoned, because someone had reported that they were taking pictures. They therefore decided on an alternative route. When they could not find one they turned back hoping that the crowd would disperse. Instead a white mini bus of the DTA drove in their direction. It carried 8 DTA supporters, identifiable by their clothing.

Just as they passed, a blue Nissan pick-up with DTA supporters came in their direction at high speed. First the vehicle turned around and headed in the opposite direction. Walter turned his vehicle around towards Okatana, only to find the white minibus had blocked the road ahead.

There then began a high speed car chase. The chase lasted 30 minutes. Finally Walter made it back to the tar road and decided to go to UNTAG. Arriving there he went into the police monitors' office. The people chasing him followed. They pushed around three police monitors, slapping two and punching one. One man attacked Walter and pushed him to the floor. There was a scuffle. Two other men came in. Walter became worried about the woman in his party who was surrounded. Others were reaching for his camera and he decided to let go of the camera in order to relieve pressure on the woman. The group then went out and assaulted another member of the group, breaking his glasses. Some of the men said in front of Walter; "Let's beat her", referring to the woman. The DTA men said they would go to SWAPOL and asked why Walters' party was filming, as if it is wrong and against the law.

UNTAG contacted SWAPOL and SWAPOL arrested two of the men who would appear on the following Tuesday. Walter would have to identify them. The camera has been damaged, but it was being held by the police for the time being.

REPORT O QYAMBO FROM 6-12 SEPTMBER

1. Registrations
The registration period is now over and on 11.9.89 239,141 voters registered in Ovamboland. Special sweep teams of Untag visited villages and remote areas from 14th to the end of August.

Faulty Cards
The number of registration cards with errors which have been sent back to Windhoek for correction is estimated by Untag to be between 800 and 1,500 by 12th September. According to Mr.Kelly who is in
charge of registration in Ovambo 50% of the faulty cards sent to Windhoek have already been corrected. There is a great concern about people with incorrect cards which have not been corrected. Will they be allowed to vote? There is also the fear that some mistakes may be found on cards which up to now are believed to be correct. What will happen then? It is this fear that has prompted large number of people wanting their cards to be checked for any possible mistakes.

Names Gazetted
A lot of people who had their names registered have not seen their names in the Gazette, and wonder whether they have been excluded and hence lost their right to vote. Another problem was mentioned by Pastor Mufeti of Ohaingu, who wondered how people in the remote areas will ever find out whether their names are gazetted or not.

Insecurity at the Border
Four people are said to have been injured by Unita soldiers near the border. On Sunday, September 10th a man reported to Untag that he had taken three people to Oshakati Hospital for admission who had been attacked by soldiers at Enghoshi, a small village near the border. Untag sent three care with Police monitors and a further two with irZ.'Y=ff=Y-a to φAe area. <!Yms mmritarw, ere ZEaivevd to travel to the area with Untag monitors.

Eye-witnesses said on September 9 at about 16.00 they heard shootings and explosions of 'bombs' and they started running away. They saw about 8 Unita soldiers identified by the appearance of their uniforms. People were injured in the shooting and the explosion, and three of the injured were admitted to hospital at Oshakati. Names of the injured who were taken to hospital are: Gabriel Kapuka (gunshot wound in the leg), Shiyalekeni Ndishishi (gunshot wound on the shoulder) and Onangalo Okalundu (bomb-blast injury).

According to Untag the number of intimidations is decreasing, but some people in the area told CIMS monitors that the number of intimidations was increasing and that it was just Untag policy to say things were improving.

The following are some of the examples of cases of intimidation in Ovambo:

Ohaingu
Last week August 28-September 3 cattle had been take away from an Ohaingu resident by people believed to be Unita soldiers, according to Rev.Fr.Mufeti. Mahenge (Near Oshanga).

At6.30pm on September 5 three bakkies with Swapo entered '0malambo' cucashop and started searching Mr.Ongula Netanga. There was a struggle and the policemen pointed their guns at Mr.Netanga and threatened to shoot him. Mr.Netanga identified one of the policemen (the white one) as the one who had been seen earlier with the registration team.( Registration numbers of bakkies involved were Pol.3374, Pol.3375 and Pol 3361 Olumo.

Three DTA-supporting students of Oluno Secondary
School laid a charge against 9 other students known to be Swapo supporters. The charge was intimidation. When SWAPOL arrived at the secondary school on September 7th a big crowd of students gathered and tried to prevent the police to arrest the 9 students. Untag advised the SWAPOL to come the next day. The next day the 9 students were take to police for questioning but were later released.

Ongangwena
On 12 September a car without a number-plate arrived at Ongangwena. The occupants of the car pretended to be Swapo officials and asked for a returnee. The men then asked to 'correct' the registration cards, and made marks on the mx cards given to them. Those cards are now invalid.

Free and Fair Elections?
Untag officials have repeatedly said here that their main task is to ensure that the elections are free and fair. One wonders how they are going to ensure that the elections are free and fair if the process towards that election is not fair, and people are not free at this late hour with so much intimidation in the area. Instead of being concerned with the people who have good reasons to be scared Untag monitors are like religious fanatics preaching the dogma they blindly believe in - that of free and fair elections.
They should open up their eyes and realise that monitoring means keeping one's eyes open, and not closing them and hoping for the best.

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REPORT OF THE LAST DAY OF REGISTRATION IN OVAM3)
15th September was the day which was supposed to be the last day for registrations. On this day we found long queues outside the registration offices at Oshakati (Traffic Office ) and at Ondangwa (Tribal Office). In the Tribal Office at Oshakati only a few people were registered on this day but people have never gone there in large numbers because of the remoteness of the place. According to Untag the number of people coming to be registered had doubled in the last week% The following are the daily totals for Ovamboland:

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<th>Date</th>
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<td>1,355</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In addition many corrections were made in the offices, and the number of corrected registration cards varied from 11 to 247 a day. There were various reasons why people came to register late. Some people could not take time off, especially those in Ruacana, others did not give any reason. They had just put it off until it was the last day.
Half of the Untag officials and the administrators
were of the opinion that the registration period should be extended because of the increased figures in the last week. Others would be disappointed to have to work for another week on this hard work.

Untag regional director Sohn Rwambuya gave us a fax which explained the consequences of having one or more mistakes on one registration card if the person cannot be traced by Untag or the administration. The Untag director

John Rwambuya told us that he had asked for two weeks extension but got one week. Not many people showed up during the first two days of the extension but numbers increased as word went round. The final figures for the extended week were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16.9.89.</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.9.89.</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.9.89.</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.9.89.</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.9.89.</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.9.89.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pattern of how people registered starting in small numbers and increasing dramatically at the end, and the same pattern repeating during the extension period should alert us what to expect during the election. Some people might delay expecting the period to be extended and during the voters’ education they should be told clearly that there will be only five days to vote and that there will be no extension.

Political campaigns and intimidations

After signing the code of conduct the number of cases of intimidation seemed to have decreased, but just for a short period. The last week or so there have been some serious incidents according to Untag and the newspapers, but Swapo and DTA still maintains that cases of physical intimidations are decreasing.

Multi-Party Meetings

The multi-party meetings are not making much progress. Four such meetings have been held so far. The implementation of the code of conduct seems to be the problem. DTA are complaining that these meetings are not constructive. Nico Smith, MA executive secretary for Ovamboland, is considering not attending these meetings any longer because, he says, parties are there to accuse each other instead of solving problems.

Cases of Intimidation

Although intimidation cases are decreasing there is still a considerable number of cases. The number of cases of intimidation against DTA is reported to UNTAG is twice as many cases reported against SWAPO. The figures are:

- DTA complaints against Swapo: 30 cases
- Swapo complaints against DTA: 69 cases
- Swapo complaints against MPA: 1 case
Swapo complaints against NPI  
Total number of cases: 102

Onayena
We checked the case reported by DTA about intimidation and found that the facts of the case differed from the report given by the police. According to Nico Smith of DTA's report to Untag DTA wanted to hold a meeting at Onayena but Swapo organised schoolchildren to throw stones at DTA members. Two DTA members were seriously injured. DTA had to stop the meeting.

But according to Police monitor Cees Vermuelen only one person was injured and not seriously. What happened was that DTA held a meeting with loudspeakers too close to the school to disturb the lessons. This provoked the students and what happened thereafter is still being investigated, but it does not appear to be a case of Swapo-organized intimidation.

Okanjota
People of this little village were scared to talk to us at first. But one brave young man came forward and said. "Well, I will speak. If God wants me to be killed then I will die." He then went on to say that the people of the village did not trust strangers because many DTA men came from outside and beat up people. While we were still talking to the young man a casspir passed through the village.  

Osifo (Ruaca Area)
We spoke to Peter Randjumbwa and Henri, both Swapo supporters. Swapo cannot hold meetings in public in Osifo because of DTA people who come and disturb meetings, beating up people. Beaten up people have reported to Untag. SWAFOL last week prohibited SWAPO to transport people to registration centres. They blocked the way with three casspirs. The case was reported to Untag but according to Swapo men Untag said there was nothing they could do about it. DTA refused to attend a multi-party meeting organised by Untag, but the latter is still trying to get DTA around the table.

Okatope
The executive secretary of DTA invited us to attend a DTA meeting at Okatope. When we got there at one o’clock -- the time the miw rally was to have been held, we found three DTA cars with DTA staff and officials in them, and a couple of men and a few kids gathered on the other side of the road. The DTA officials told us that they had put their meeting one hour ahead of time and it was now over because there was another 3WAPO meeting at four o’clock in the other part of the same village. We went back to Okatope at 4 pm but there was no meeting. We were told later that the SWAPO meeting had taken place at 2 o’clock, and as a result everyone went to the Swapo meeting, leaving the couple of men and a few kids we had seen as the only people to attend the DTA rally.

It is a pity that DTA tells lies when they have failed to attract the attention of the local people. The worst of these lies is that they often accuse of Swapo intimidating people and stopping them to attend their meetings.
Intimidations at Engoshi
Reports in SWABC that Plan fighters were responsible for seriously wounding three people with gunshots and

104
and handgrenades at Engoshi is seriously-doubted. The same doubts are expressed by Untag regarding the incident at Oshali, where a couple had been kidnapped and murdered. According to the daughter of the murdered couple the murderers said they were PLAN and PAPLA fighters, which casts more doubt on the identity of these culprits. (If they were really PLAN and PAPLA they would not have been at pain to advertise themselves as such. Untag is investigating these cases. The culprits are more likely to be Unita rebels since Papla and Plan fighters would have no reason to kidnap and murder people at this time.

Lack of Election Information
According to Brian Kelly, the official in charge of registration in Ovamboland, there is lack of educational material which shows people how they are going to vote. All such material seem to end up within the South. We recommend that some of these materials should be sent to the North. Mr. Kelly also said that there was nobody in Ovamboland who was in charge of distributing these materials.

Concluding Summary
In conclusion let us emphasize the following points:
(1) After a difficult start the registration process went on fairly well, and the extension period satisfied the political parties as a positive action.
(2) There is an urgent need for mental health care to treat cases of victims of the war, such as koevoets, plan fighters, those victimised and raped by koevoets and SWATF etc.
(3) Untag should be pressed to distribute their election information material in the North.
(4) People in Ruacana are terrified of DTA and koevoet. The latter are supposed to have been demobilised or at least confined to base, but they are very much in sight and active.

OVAmo: OCTOBER 7-10 = Week-end Riots. = 1 @f On that weekend there were two events which detezlrunA the schedule: the SWAPO rally with SWAPO president, Sam Nujoma on Saturday and the funeral of DTA jubilLu Lukas Pedro on Sunday (for further information about this case see our last report). Riots took place during the whole weekend, especially in the afternoon, evening and night. Many gunshots, machinegun fire, explosione ant people shouting were heard, flare rockets were often seen. In all the cases which they were able to shot and seriously injured at Missisipi house, Oshakatl. Still groups of young male DTA supporters (caps, T-shirts) were seen walking around, some of them with
sticks vor knives. Such groups were also sometimes passing the UNTAG office very slowly and watching the people there, one of these groups had been seen by CIMS observers on Monday morning, giving the impression of intimidating UNTAG with their presence.

Levi Kaitondkua was beaten up by DTA supporters in Oshakati west on Saturday, 7 October at 17h00.

While CIMS observers were patrolling in Oshakati location, Markus Hildebrandt saw one man chasing another man at the main road in Oshakati west, over the end of the tar road. A third man was lying on the ground. The chasing man was seen to run to the man who was lying on the ground, while the chased man escaped. He kicked the man against the body and hit him about four times on his head. The man on the ground didn't move. The man who kicked him had no political party's colours on, but he went back to a group of about 20 people with DTA caps and T-shirts. This group was then seen to throw spears against a van with more that 100 SWAPO supporters coming from the rally, but it seems that nobody was hit.

No one of the SWAPO supporters attacked one of the DTA supporters although they were in the majority. The CIMS observers went to the assaulted boy, Levi Kaitondkua, a 20 year old returnee, while still being observed by the group of DTA supporters from a distance. The left side of his head was bleeding and he was dazed and had to be carried into the car of CIMS observers, who brought him to the Oshakati hospital. According to an eye-witness, Avelimus Cipwaketa, who accompanied the victim to the hospital, the victim was hit by stones and sticks by 4 DTA supporters before the CIMS observers arrived. The victim was wearing SWAPO colours and he was attacked without any provocation from his side.

The doctor in charge did not want to listen to the story of the eye-witness. He kept on asking the victim with what he had been kicked, and didn't want to hear about "any politics". When the victim didn't answer he commented that the man must probably be drunk. When the CIMS observer asked what kind of injuries the man had, the doctor answered that his main problem was that he was drunk. The injured man further suffered from a cerebral confusion, he did not notice a fracture, but he promised to check the man a second time to be sure.

After taking the man to the hospital, a CIMS observer informed UNTAG and asked them to send police monitors to the area of the riots, which they did. The CIMS observer went back to the place, accompanied by a West German television team (ARD) whidch he met on the way.

At 13h30 CIMS observers were in the hospital to check the progress of case 1 victim. The following transpired while the observers were there:
A motor vehicle with the registration number SS 2965 brought two victims of the riots. According to the driver of the vehicle, stones and other unidentified objects were thrown to the moving car by DTA supporters. The car belonged to a SWAPO person and the victims were also SWAPO supporters, who apparently were returning from the rally when they met their attackers. The victims were:

(i) Isaac Ipumbu, adult male - age unknown, from Okatana who had his left side of the face slashed. He was bleeding profusely.

(ii) Tobias Shihongo, adult male - age unknown, from Oshakati. He suffered injuries on the right eye although as compared to (i), the latter injuries were more severe.

Andrea Johannes was beaten up by people with DTA T-shirts, when he was on his way back from the SWAPO rally at Okatana. His head was injured but not too seriously. After treatment in the Oshakati hospital he was able to return home.

During this particular weekend UNTAG has also been a victim of attack. Two cases came to their notice:

(i) Criminal assault of UNTAG personnel and vehicle, 7 October 1989.

(ii) After the funeral of Lukas Pedro in Ongwediva; on the way back to the main road, the CIMS observers saw DTA supporters chasing an UNTAG vehicle. The vehicle went to an open field to escape the assault launched on it - it was attacked with a smoke grenade - the vehicle was damaged, but nobody was injured. The UNTAG car escaped. CIMS could not pursue the matter because their car got stuck in the sand. One of the CIMS observers saw people throwing stones after an UNTAG car, shouting "UNTAG, UNTAG". After this incident all the UNTAG vehicles sought protection from SWAPOL who was also present.

Case 6

According to Simon Nalyoondje (victim) the following happened:
On 9 October at 19h00 the victim was drinking a beer at the "Kamuja house" at Oshakati, where two members of DTA were also having beer at the same time. The two DTA supporters beat Simon up and stabbed him several times with a knife. When asked to produce a reason for this he said that they knew that he was a SWAPO member. He did
recognise his attackers although he does not know their names. The victim has
not yet reported the case to UNTAG, but intends in doing so later. He is still
in the
Oshakati hospital.
Case 7
Two young men were injured by a hand grenade allegedly
thrown by DTA supporters; Leonard (17) and Tomas Ashinjanga (17).
Both were treated in the Oshakati hospital and discharged afterwards. Hence
CIMS could not
interview the victims.
According to Wilbard Helmut (21) still lying in the
Oshakati hospital, the following happened:
On 9 October at 21h00 a big crowd of people were singing

S APO songs in front of a cucashop near Ondangwa. Suddenly the people heard
a sound, it sounded like a bomb explosion, people ran away, some fell down.
Wilbard got a fragment of (probably) hand grenade in his left leg. In the same
incident Fillipus David was injured. The man is 17 years old. He got several
"foreign bodies" in both
legs. Both victims did not see anybody who threw the hand grenade, but both
stated that other people saw a DTA member around the cucashop.
On 9 October between 20h00 and 21h00, Hamakwaya Yahamukwaya was
shot in his left hip. When CIMS observers went to hospital to investigate the case,
the victim was asleep, so no statement could be taken.
According to Mwahafa Nghishekwa, around the stated time, a person was seen
prowling around their house - a house for SWAPO field workers in the area
known by many and named Missisipi house. The person who had seen the
prowler went into the house to inform
the other occupants, who all went outside
to investigate the matter. When they could not apprehend the prowler, the other
occupants went inside again. However, Mr. Yamamukwaya remained behind
and when he saw the prowler he asked: "Who are you looking for?" The prowler
then answered: "I don't speak to SWAPO
members", and thereafter shot Yamamukwaya with a pistol. Two shots
were fired, and the victim is still
in hospital. According to the nurse it would take about
two months for him to be discharged because he suffered a fracture as the bullet
went through his left thigh and got through the area of his genitals.

Comment:
The preparations for the SWAPO rally and the rally itself was very peaceful and
in spite of the incidents on the weekend before - the CIMS observers could not
find any aggression against DTA supporters. Small groups of DTA people or
single DTA cars were seen passing big crowds of SWAPO people without facing
any violent aggression. On Friday it was observed that a group of SWAPO
supporters, marching towards the DTA office on the main road of Oshakati
location, was diverted by SWAPO people in order not to pass the DTA office on the main road of the Oshakati location and cause any provocation. It seems that almost all incidents on Saturday, Sunday and Monday were caused and provoked by DTA supporters, many of whom were most likely former Koevoet members. Many people suppose that the riots of the weekend were not individual cases but organized. This shows the use of similar hand grenades at different places. The regional leadership of DTA does not feel responsible and they say that they are still trying to calm their people down. It seems convincing to the CIMS observers that it is not the political leadership of DTA who is interested in these riots, although they could do more to stop it.

The funeral of Lukas Pedro on Sunday was also very peaceful and no aggression was observed, for example against passing SWAPO cars. * Also no SWAPO supporters disturbed the service - the convoy of about 500 DTA people to Ongwediva or the funeral itself. But immediately after the official part was finished and the crowd dispersed, the first flare rocket was fired and the first aggression broke out, as if it was a kind of a signal.

A visit to the army hospital in Ondangwa confirmed that no victim of the riots were brought to other hospitals, than Oshakati (only one SWAPO woman had to be transferred to Windhoek)

Mr. Dirk Mudge, chairman of DTA, was present at the funeral.

- 29
28 October 1989
We attended the CDA rally in OMUmqWelume local organizers. We wished we were elsewhere. Mr Kalanqula was also unhappy with our presence and would not give us an interview, but he eventually thanked and spoke to us informally. The South African foreign affairs officer from Oshakati was also there and spoke highly of Peter Kalangula. Our guides we picked up in Okatana were very useful. We visited the newly arrived UNTAG group. Ghanaians and Nigerians were there for one day only, they were just getting organized. They are part of 3 new police posts to respond to local concern about unwelcome people around. The other two were Sandy and Ogandjeta.

29 October 1989
We arrived at 11h30 at the Okankoro Lutheran church to await a voter education session by UNTAG. Another team went further to Echolai. About 250 people were present, a half an hour lecture was given with almost no visual aids, but a lot of patience and the setting of the issue in the struggle for independence. (No voting location was given.) We visited the border at Malball, the commander showed us the petition, signed by he said 700 residents of the
villages, about 40km west of Oshikango. I have village names and instances. The petition asked for a permanent UNTAG presence to stop: (a) UNITA continually crossing the border; (b) the removal of UNITA bandits; (c) to stop DTA vehicles continuously crossing into Angola. Actually the border is quite open with Malball on one side and a platoon of FAPLA on the other and no SWAPOL. People come back and forth and we saw one truck entering Angola. The closest shop is in Oshikango, Namibia.

State hospital). In Oshakati we could not get any information about victims injured by SWAPO supporters. So it seems that at least in the most cases only SWAPO supporters have been injured by DTA people.

II. KOEVOET AND SWAPOL

SWAPOL was not seen to take any actions against the riots in order to maintain law and order. One reason might be that a big number of SWAPOL men are DTA supporters, and they don't want to intervene against other DTA supporters. The CIMS observers saw policemen going into or coming out of the SWAPOL office in Oshakati, where they changed clothes. On Saturday at least 5 policemen were seen giving DTA signs to the DTA convoy. A policeman and DTA leader were seen some days before taking petrol for his DTA car at the petrol station of SWAPOL in Oshakati. Most of the disbanded Koevoet members seem to be active as DTA supporters. Former Koevoet places are full of "red, white and blue". Many former Koevoet are seen drinking a lot of alcohol, especially during the weekend - some of them carrying sticks and knives openly. Many people suppose they are good equipped with all kinds of weapons. According to a SWAPO representative, they got the information from a drunken Koevoet member and got 8 hand grenades each when they were demobilised.

At least in one case a German television team (ARD) could deliberately been aimed at the vehicle and its occupants. Though considerably shaken by this unprovoked and unprecedented assault of UNTAG civilian personnel, I radioed UNTAG Civil police (Echo Alpha Base) while the incident was unfolding, asking for immediate assistance and giving our location. Echo Alpha Base responded by saying that they had been informed of trouble in the area and that they had already contacted SWAPOL. To avoid further encounters with the mob, I was forced to detour through some adjoining fields in order to regain the comparative safety of the main Ondangwa-Oshakati road. On our return to UNTAG regional headquarters, Oshakati, Mrs. Kelly and I informed UNTAG Civpol duty officer of what had occurred and, additionally, described the events to superintendent Fitzgerald, who
happened to be present in the office.
At their suggestion, we then reported the incident to the UNTAG Civpol liaison officer on duty at the SWAPOL offices on the Oshakati base. There we were advised by detective constable Jan Olivier and his SWAPOL colleagues that we had been the victims of intimidation and criminal assault, but that, due to our UNTAG status, the matter would have to be referred by us for instruction from higher authorities in Windhoek before SWAPOL could begin an investigation. Detective constable Olivier did, however, examine our vehicle, confirming the fact that we had indeed been hit by a flare rocket, and noted that, had it entered the vehicle, the consequences could have been lethal. It should be noted for the record that no official statements were requested from or made by the undersigned.

7 October 1989 - Mary Tierney Kelly and Nasser Moeini

find a proof that former Koevoet members received weapons. On Monday morning, 7 October, the team wanted to film the re-demobilisation of former Koevoets at the Oshakati base, when they saw that they were not very welcome to observe the process. One correspondent saw a Koevoet man in a DTA T-shirt, taking a pistol out of an open ammunition room without any problems and keeping it. When the team was seen trying to document the scene they were attacked by Koevoet people (some of them in DTA T-shirts), with sticks and were chased, but they escaped. The case was later reported to UNTAG.

During investigation on Koevoet while they were still confined to base during the day, the CIMS observers found out that some of the black Koevoets don't speak Oshivambo, but only Portuguese. So it seems likely that they are actually UNITA soldiers from Angola.

UNTAG, Peter Vertacnic, liaison officer: Total number of intimidation cases in September, including cases reported to SWAPOL:
67 cases against DTA (SWAPO victims) 30 cases against SWAPO (victims DTA supporters) In the first week of October the number of intimidation cases increased suddenly:

. October - 8 October: 41 cases against DTA supporters; 2 against SWAPO (this figure does not include the cases reported to SWAPOL).

4. Angula - Netango (new anglican church school)

4 UN civil police, plus 3 UN monitors camped out. Administrator General reduced them to 3, but they had not yet arrived. Also 4 SWAPOL expected. Poll in church and all seems kosher. No intimidation reported in SWAPO area.

Church and SWAPO advise all not to use mobile polls. They have to be avoided if possible, because they are not trusted.
5. Met SWAPO - Oshigambo
5 Static polling stations for 12,000 people are entirely inadequate. Most people are far from polls and have no transport. Further distance from polling stations estimated 20 - 25 km. SWAPO only has 7 vehicles available. Church leaders and teachers reported that they are ready to co-operate with transport.

6. Leaflet (attached)
Dropped by large aircraft over Oshakati at 17h30. Dirty tricks campaign well underway.

7. Moral of team high. This evening we are going to Odibo with Mr. Rambyan - UNTAG. Tomorrow Odibo and Engela areas to Oshikuku and Oyongo in evening. Return to Onipa to sleep.

- On Wednesday, 11 October 1989, CIMS observers got the information that again uniformed soldiers - UNITA(?) have crossed the border and robbed out villages. No killings have been reported yet. The CIMS observers will investigate during the hbt days.

- Rumours were heard in Ondangwa and Oshakati that DTA people are going around and telling people that "On the 15th something will happen". If it is only a rumour, what we hope, it is still bad, it could be self fulfilling prophecy!

CRIMINAL ASSAULT OF UNTAG PERSONNEL AND VEHICLE. UNTAG 6834
7 OCTOBER 1989.
From Nasser Moeini
At 18h10 this evening (Saturday, 7 October 1989), I was driving UNTAG vehicle 683 to my interpreter's house in Ongwediva which is in the vicinity of the Teacher Training College. I was accompanied by Mary Tierney Kelly, wife of UNTAG staff member, Brian Kelly. We encountered an unruly group of some 30 people who crowded the road in an effort to halt our progress. As I slowed down I observed that the group was armed with clubs and that some were wearing DTA hats and/or T-shirts. The mob was yelling and shouting and as I attempted to steer clear of them they began to pound the Land Cruiser with their cudgels and hurl stones and rocks at us. The missiles were coming from all directions, many aimed at the windows, which fortunately, were closed. As we broke free of their ranks and began to move out of range, there was a flash of light and a flare rocket ricocheted off the stanchion that separates the passenger side windows of the vehicle. It fell to the roadway, still ablaze, some three metres in front of our left headlight. Obviously, it had
REPORT FROM OVAIBO FROM NOVEMBER 6-11,1989

We started with an interview with Bishop Dumeni at Oniipa. He expressed his concern as follows:

1. Insufficient education on voting procedures
2. Insufficient number of polling stations
3. Lack of notice of polling station locations
4. Polling stations located too far from homes
5. Level of intimidation by DTA remains consistent up to last night
6. Non participation of black Namibians as part of election administration
7. All documents in English and Afrikaans only
8. Felt there would be a large number of tendered ballots, because South Africa's view of regions doesn't conform with local views
9. Engenga area on Angolan side of border large. UNITA base and DTA, headed by SWA police officers
10. SA arming white Namibians - why? - to kill whom? 11. Does anything need to be done about recent recruitment by the Administrator General of more Blue? When and where will they be deployed?

2. Met Mr. Van Rensburg, chief election officer, Ovambo. His counterpart (Mr. Jonker) is announced to have been fired last week on grounds of partiality (or lack thereof for SA). He will not be replaced. Very busy and nervous; polite, but brisk. Learned nothing.

3. Oshigambo church. Met Mr. Jacviluosma Vice Lin. Very confused because 11 election officers camped on the church premises without invitation and no UNTAG had yet arrived. Radio announces official polling station as Oshigambo Secondary School. No such thing! Only O.H.S. and 0. primary school. Registration took place at O.P.S. and local people believe they will vote there. Indeed that would make sense as 26 students are due to write exams tomorrow at 0..11.

8 November 1989

General situation
Not too bad. We want to complement UNTAG on the precise and effective control of the situation. We wish to complement the voters for their patience because of the long queues.

Problems:
- Lack of crowd control - hold SWAPOL responsible. One child died in the crowd in Oshikulu. We tried to speak to SWAPOL on a number of occasions, but they said twice: "We are here to monitor, it is our job". It sounded as if they had been instructed.
b. SWAPOL
within gates.
gates.
posters
was reluctant to act against DTA material, 500m from the voting station, on
fences and
Hundreds of DTA posters and flags hung on the UNTAG reported to SWAPOL,
but by 16h00 the were still hanging there.
c. The cross on
is necessary thin. People
ballot papers was visible when folded. It to fold it vertically first Paper was too
have not commented, but they observed it.
d. Observed the polling - again very passive.
e. Large number of tendered ballots which caused problems
in many Ovambo polling stations. The average for voter exits from the station was
between every 45 seconds to
8 minutes.
f. Tendered ballot boxes. Some UNTAG/Administrator
General people didn't know that they had to send
tendered ballot boxes to Windhoek every day.

119 =
- 27
The team was informed then.
g. In many polling stations there was a lack of personnel,
so they could not organise satisfactory. Bottle necks were lying in front and
inside the polling station.
Sometimes there were 10 to 15 in front of tendered
ballot table, while regular table staff were idle.
h. Lot of tendered ballots.
i) No electricity in many places, so it caused a problem
at night.
j) At 19h00 most people were told to come back the
following day. Only a few people were allowed in. It
was not necessary, because of night ??
k) Weather: Early morning and late afternoon cloudy, but
midday very hot. The problems occurred during the
midday.
Do people know where the polling stations are? I think so. Transport: DTA
buses and SWAPO minibuses. Most people travelled by foot. Earliest arrival
were at
midnight of 6/7 Nobember.
In gqneral everything was good. Old people. People felt it was their day to vote.

- 28
10 November 1989
Meeting of all observers at Oniipa last night. No ballot papers
6 polling stations for the whole day
1. Okalongo 2. Okapembe
3. Omtundungu
18h00 by previous? Run out of ballot papers
Bishop Dumeni talks to Rwambuya regional Director - UNTAG. Yesterday -
activated landmine - northeast of Ondangwa Only a few people Onandjokwe -
some people were injured.
8 - 11 November 1989
Owambo
10 Stations lacked ballots beginning Wednesday, but mostly Thursday. Made
representation to Rwambuya and through Lutheran office in New York.
Friday morning
planes/helicopters were standing by. Political parties did magnificent job in
trucking supporters to polling stations with ballot papers.
Voting very high on Friday and Saturday - 2 000 could be told. The final figure
was probably 98%.
Things were very calm. Ballots in Ongwedive Teachers
Training Centre. The people gathered there will be counted as well. A
landmine hit a SWAPO car, but no acts of intimidation was reported.

= 123
- 32
and that special messages on radio in the local
language should be broadcast by DTA (SWAPO said they
had already started).
3. That SWAPO and DTA supporters should avoid provoking
each other on the streets or in drinking places. (For example if a DTA supporter
meets a SWAPO supporter he
should not greet him with a DTA sign).
4. That SWAPO and DTA leaders should meet regularly to
review the situation and see what further steps should be taken, if necessary, to
improve the security
situation.
FROM: Owambo - Wednesday, 29 November 1989
This afternoon we visited Omumbu, 40km from Oshakati, where a village
headman, named Sem Tobias, was reported to have been killed when a hand
grenade was thrown into his house by SWAPO supporters. We interviewed
the dead man's daughter, Nahekelekwa, and her story is different.
According to Nahekelekwa, they had just finished supper and were relaxing in
the house. She noticed smoke coming from where her father was sitting and
before she could discover what was happening there was an explosion and her
father was blasted to pieces. She and five others, including her five-months old
baby were slightly injured. She had heard nothing falling in from outside.
This sounds like an accident probably caused by Sem Tobias experimenting with some dangerous explosives.

these included Koevoet members who supported DTA. He pointed out that these Koevoet men were desperate, because they did not know their future and it would help if SWAPO had assured them of their future, whether they were to be incorporated into a SWAPO Government police or army. Mr. Smith said since it was very difficult to control such people as Koevoet. He wished the Constituent Assembly speeded up the writing of a constitution and the date of independence for Namibia, because at the moment the situation if fragile with South African Defence force withdrawn and SWAPO's forces not yet in a position to fill the gap, the situation could deteriorate and give a "certain foreign power", an excuse to destabilise the peace in Namibia.

SWAPO delegates revealed that they had a meeting with Dreyer in Oshakati, the previous day (Tuesday, November 28), and raised the question of Dreyer's continued involvement in commanding Koevoet to commit violence. Dreyer is said to have responded by saying that he is only in charge of a "few men", as most of Koevoet went with the 101 Battalion or were demobilised. After further frank and friendly discussions the leaders of the two parties agreed on the following points:
1. That both DTA and SWAPO in Ovambo have a bigger responsibility to ensure that the security situation returns to normal, because it is in Ovamboland where the war was fought and it is here where most young men have not known peace in all their lives. Local leaders must teach them peaceful co-existence.
2. That SWAPO and DTA should make maximum use of the local Mass Media and tell their people to live in peace with each other, irrespective of the parties they support.

KAOKOLAND REGION INTRODUCTION
Kaokoland is located in the Northwestern corner of Namibia. Kunene river serves as border with Angola in the North, in the East is OWamboland, Damaraland is in the South and the Western border is defined by the sea. It is harsh land of rugged mountains, rock and vast shrubland. Although Kaoko is commonly referred to as the home for the Himba its actual population consists of 8 or 10 different ethnic groups. Most of them are Herero speaking and moved into the area in the last 400 years. In some parts up in the mountains stone age is only 20 years ago. Himba people are known for their proud conservative traditional way of life. Himba women still goaboibout almost nakea except for a pioe of skin, a spectacular objects for tourist photographs and television election documentaries. Most people in Kaoko live semi-nomadic. They herd cattle and goats which provide them a milk and meat, diet supplimented - at least in the old days- by hunting and gathering. When the army started handing out some 3000 rifles to the Himba to defend
themselves against Swapo, they created aumber of fat years. The Himba could spare their beloved cattle while eating meat hunted in much easier fashion than with spear, bow and arrow. When white hunting partie 4iped out Elephant, Rhino and Lion and the army started targe-t practisi-ung, from hel-i-copters at the vast herds of zebra soon "last paradise on Earth" was turned into the empty wilderness it is today. 

During the war the area was almost completely closed off except for army personnel.While election results show that the notorious counter insurgency unit Koevoet utterly failed to befriend the local population in Ovambo they certainly did better in Kaoko. The army maintained the vital boreholes and drilled new ones. Casspirs monitored most roads daily' and in exchange for an informative chat Himba were given free rides. Opuwo hospital complemented the First Aid of army doctors in the field and Mealiemealfood relief was given whenever drought required it. 

Planfighters crossing Kuneneriver to try their luck by coming into Namibia through 'the sparesly populated Kaokoveld were almost always given away by the locals and traced down by Himba trackers who match Bushmans expertise in sandy areas in their own territory: the hard rock of Kaoko. When they couldn't be found it was relatively easy to keep them away from the waterholes to die the cruel death of thirst. 

Very few swapo-supporters succeed in contacting and informing the local population. Infact the army had almost a monopoly on information, Newspapers are almost never available and certainly not outside Opuwo. Not that anybody would read them. Illiteracy among Himba is high and Koevoets prefer the stardotted magazines that provide always the same information in new images. Swapo supporters informed us that BM riptions to the Namibian simply wouldn't arrive by mail and that asking for explanation was asking for trouble. Apart from some local DTA propaganda before and during elections FM-frequencies stay silent in Kaoko. Even the National news cannot be recievied. Almost the only contact 

Oshakati, Wednesday. 29 November 1989

A joint meeting involving six SWAPO and six DTA local leaders in Ovambo was held in the DTA offices in Oshakati under the chairmanship of Dr. Denis M'Passou, who convened the meeting for the two parties to review the security situation in the area and find a solution.

As this was the first time that the two parties had come together, the agenda was open, with each side stating the situation as seen from its perspective. The two parties thanked Dr. M'Passou for bringing them together for the first time, something which would have been difficult. SWAPO delegates expressed great concern at the escalation of intimidation between SWAPO and DTA members. While they did not claim to be all saints and angels they nevertheless felt most of these cases of intimidation were started and carried out by DTA members. They also pointed out that
Koevoet, who are largely blamed for many of these violent incidents, are mostly members of DTA, and they also mentioned names of others, including Nico Smith (who was himself present at the meeting). SWAPO altogether said that in mentioning these men they were not accusing them but simply telling DTA that these are reports they have, and that if these reports are true they (DTA) should explain why, and see if these things can be stopped. SWAPO wants to say that within SWAPO itself there is no organised intimidation, and if any member of SWAPO is involved in any kind of intimidation he is severely disciplined, often even expelled from the party. Speaking as part of the DTA delegation, Mr. Nico Smith vehemently denied that any intimidation was centrally organised from DTA office and that no DTA leader knew about these incidents beforehand. But he admitted that many DTA supporters were involved in cases of intimidation, and

A FIERCE SMEAR CAMPAIGN WAS USED TO DOSCREDIT SWAPO LIKE THIS DOCUMENT WHICH WAS FOUND BY CIMS MONITORS IN OVAMBOLAND. IT WAS BEING DISTRIBUTED BY AN AIRCRAFT AND THOUSANDS OF COPIES WERE DROPPED FROM THE AIR

Confidential to
PLAN MEMBERS
FROM ONGANDJERA

I would like to make known to all the PLAN FIGHTERS from Ongandjera that due to the fact that Our Country's natural resources had been plundered by the Multinational Mining Companies in defiance with the UN Resolutions, SWAPO will not be able to compensate all of you as per promise. The only people who will get their full pay are you, my people from Organdjera. This is a top secret that you must keep to yourselves. Remember you're the eyes of the party. Charity begins at home. You're the people who had been taking good care of parents mothers and deserve this special attention therefore.

As per promise you'll each get your R6000.00 at a place that will be announced to you latter. I'll see to it that you're well provided for soon after the seizure of power by us. The security personel will be composed of you and you'll hold key positions in the rest of the government. Don't trust anyone even if it is your wife, if she is not from Ongandjera, she is just not ours. That is how our ranks were infiltrated by South African spies because we were not careful enough. Now is the right time for us to act correctly and responsibly. The war victims must only be kept on the line. Only after the election after they've voted for us can they be told to just be happy with the food all returnees are receiving from the RRR or CCN, in conjunction with the UNHCR.

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with the outside world was through the army. It was therefore easy to typecast Swapo as monsters more dangerous than Lions. A myth could easily be build on
an old fear: Oambo/Swapo was out to dominate the Himba and the army was there to protect them.

This introduction serves to explain that support for DTA was massive in kaokoland. From 13546 registered voters 10206 casted ordinary votes. 66 percent (6699) of these voted DTA, 22 percent (2152) voted for the Hereroparty NPF, and 10 percent (1025) for SWAPO. What went on before, during and after is a very exciting story. Some of it was monitored and can be read in the following pages.

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REPORT ON THE KAOKO TRIP

The Director of CdMS, Monitoring Co-ordinator and the Information Officer for the mid western region visited Ondokolo 19t August 1989.

1. Political Intimitation: In Kaoko the delegation spoke to a broad range of people about the situation there in regard to the UNSCR 435 process: political activities, voter registration, the security situation et al.

Mr John Mburura from the SWAPO regional office told us that intimidation in Kaoko was the order of the day. Some headmen were refusing SWAPO permission to open offices in their district and they were even booted out. Mr Rburura mentioned specific examples of Opuwo, where they were told by Chief Barminus Mumbuu that SWAPO was not allowed to open an office there. Also, Chief Kakuhire Ibaumba of the Orumana area told them that SWAPO could not open an office there and that they would not allow the movement political activities there. Chief Mbaumba also told them to remove a house which they have earmarked for a sub-office in Orumana.

Mr Iburura informed the CINS delegation that they had raised this issue with SWAPO and Warrant Officer Lambert has asserted that what the headmen maintained was not in conformity with the spirit of UISCI 435. Ir Lambert would follow-up with the headmen.

Mr Mburura also informed the CIIIS Delegation that they had experienced similar problems from headmen in the areas of Korosave, Otavi and Ongango, where the regional Commissioner had advised them (SWAPO) to go to the headmen for permission if they wanted to have political activities there. In these areas the headmen refused SWAPO activities. In the Otjondeka area headmen Joel Tjijahura and his councillors vehemently refused to allow SWAPO to have a sub-centre and ordered them out of the area. He would not negotiate anything with them and would be willing to discuss the matter with the Regional Commissioner.

2. WEAPONS

Mr Mburura informed the CIKS delegation that they were aware of people receiving pistols from the police in Opuwo. When they approached the police for clarification Warrant Officer (WO) Lambert told them that these were people who had applied for personal firearms and they were issued as they arrived. WO Lambert must have confirmed that since the beginning of UNSCR 435 the police had more pistols lying around. In fact they had transferred about 300 such pistols to Ovambo and still had 37 to give away, WO Lambert must have said.
However, the local population confirmed that people were still receiving firearms from the police, and that there were some fire arms that the army/police had given to some headmen that were not accounted for when it was time to collect them with the withdrawal of the army.

3. RAIKO HOVIRONGO SOUGHT BY POLICE
The CIMS delegation was informed that warrant was issued by the Opuwo police for the arrest of Mr Movirongo, held of the SWAPO Regional Centre in Kaoko. According to reports police were claiming that they were looking for him because he had stolen money before he left the country, and they wanted to investigate a charge against him. At the time Hr Hovirongo was believed to be in hiding. Apparently people were even sent by police to as far as Windhoek and Owambo region in search of Hr Movirongo.

4. ARKY/KOEVOET ACTIVITIES
The local population reported koevoet/army movement in north eastern Kaoko which many believed that UNTAG was not aware of specifically in the area of Okanquati. At Epupa about sit to Seven army/koevoet lorries were spotted moving around at broad day light without UNTAG escort.

5. WILILWASEI KAVESIOLE DEAINED
A returnee Mr W Kaveshihole was briefly detained by police at Opuwo on 7 August 1989. No charge was given. Hr Kavesbihole told the CIMS delegation that people had arrived at the ELCIN Pastory where he resided, on the night of 6 August 1989, and had gained entrance to his room. He was not home at the time and the residents of the house may have thought they were his friends.

The next morning at about 8 am Mr Kaveshihole was confronted by three SWAPOL members who he identified as Nukundakunda Ephraem, Shindata and Shaikirira. The three asked him where he had been when they looked for him the previous night. The three went on to ask him when he had arrived in Kaoko and why he had not reported to the police as he was expected to do. The three SWAPOL members wanted Hr Kaveshihole to come along to the police station upon which he refused.

At a later stage ten (10) SWAPOL Officers returned and forcefully took Mr Kaveshihole to the police station. There he was interrogated by a white police officer, who asked him which political party he supported, why he had not reported to the police station; why he had left the country.

The police officer must have proceeded to say that they (police) knew that he (Kaveshihole) had entered the country on the 1st April and that he had hidden weapons inside the country. They wanted him to tell them where he had hidden his weapons, failing which they would cut his throat. Mr Kaveshihole responded that he had only entered the country in June by air from Lubanqo to Ondangwa, not in April, and should they think this was
not what they wanted to hear then they could cut his throat. After extensive interrogation Mr Kaveshihole was released with a warning that he had to behave in Kaoko.

Kr Kaveshihole told the CIKS delegation that he did not intend to leave Kaoko because that was his home and nobody had the right to come there and tell him what to do. However, he did not rule out the possibility of being killed secretly from the hostile...be received, and continued to receive from the police. He felt that had the

= 131 =
police found him at a place where nobody was watching he could just as well have disappeared. But he had come home to stay and he would go to his home village of Ombazu to stay with parents.

6. WARRANT OFFICER T J LAMBERT

The CINS delegation had a meeting with Mr Lambert and discussions centred mostly around issues raised above:

Kr Lambert confirmed that Kr Kaveshibole was indeed brought to the police station "briefly" for questioning, because police needed some information from him, regarding the 1st April 1989. When the CItS group expressed surprise to the fact that UNTAG was not involved in this issue and some other matters regarding SWAPOL activities in Kaoko, Kr Lambert said that their problem was that UNTAG mostly tell SWAPOL that they did not have enough personel and could therefore not always monitor what they do.

- On the issue of Kr R Movirongo, Mr Lambert confirmed that he was aware that police was looking for Mr Movirongo. However, since he had not issued instructions to that effect and he was not even officially informed, he could not consent on it. He would refer the CIXS group to Lieutenant Peens whom he understood issued the arrest warrant. The CIXS group expressed surprise that Mr Lambert disclaimed first hand knowledge even though he was Warrant Officer. IKr Lambert responded that the matter of Xovirongo was being handled by Lieutenant Peens who was his superior, and as such was not under obligation to inform him on his activities.

Ir Lambert admitted that such an arrest warrant could have negative implications in view of the politics of the transitional period, yet he would not discuss the merits or demerits thereof, and referred CIKS to Lieutenant Peens - latter who was not in town at the time.

- On the issue of the fire arms, Mr Lambert confirmed that people were coming to the police station to claim their weapons which they had applied for. He denied pistols being transferred to Owambo or lying around. He only knew of 23 applicants some of whom have already claimed their fire arms. However, there were people who had fire arms from the army and
who had not returned these weapons, and the police was still searching for them, to retrieve these weapons, Mr Lambert said.

On the issue of political intimidation Mr Lambert admitted having received reports to that effect, especially regarding the attitude of the headmen. The problem Mr Lambert said, was the fact that while the political atmosphere is expected to be different, the headmen still retains the powers they had under the old political order. However, they have been explaining the new order to the headmen and although it is difficult some are forth-coming. Mr Lambert gave the example of Orumana and said that the issue have been resolved. According to Kr Lambert headman Mbaumba's problem is not that SWAPO should not come to Orumana, but that since there is a school there no political activities should be allowed and be felt that political meetings should be held at other places such as Otuvero.

7. UNTAG

The CIMS group attempted unsuccessfully to talk to UNTAG police monitors. Unfortunately both the station commander and his deputy were out of town and none of the remaining staff would talk.

- 133 -

OBSERVATIONS

From our discussions with various people in Kaoko two things were confirmed:

- that police/koevoet is still active and feared by the local population; that there is a concerted campaign to squeeze SWAPO out of the region. The police/koevoet element poses serious security problems. For instance if police can go to peoples houses under the cover of darkness and confront them and, even forcefully take them away for 'questioning' if police can hunt down people at will (such as is the case with Movirongo) at this time in -the UNSCR 435 implementation process, how much security can the residents enjoy?

In the final analysis, the role of UNTAG in the Kaoko region leaves much to be desired. Most of the residents we spoke to complained that they do not see UNTAG in action and that police move alone mostly. A resident related to us an incident where they went to UNTAG Offices at 3 am to report the presence of armed people deployed in the vicinity of their home. All UNTAG could do was to refer them to SWAPOL and when the residents said they were afraid they were told that they (SWAPOL) were the people who could help then and that there was little UNTAG could do.
Wednesday, 6.9. drgv t p u Pku a (deputy head of office)
UNTAG police, Mr. Persholt (station commander) Thursday, 7.9. Reformed
Church, Jason Ngambue (dominee) Josef lakordeo (pastor, Tel 19)
-Jacob Schoeman (pastor. Tel 19) Boas Nutambo (interpreter) Lutheran Church.
Onesmus Hiita (helper of the church)
NPF, OM Kapi (regional organiser Kaoko), Tel. 65 GersonmKapi (secretary)
Mike%:uhenge (district organiser) UNTAG civilian, Anastasie Julian (secretary)
UNTAG military, no name (commander of peace keeping force)
Catholic Church, Erna Hindjou (wife of church elder) John Shilula (church elder)
DTA, appointment for next-day
Friday, 8.9. SWAPO, John Mburura (campaign officer)
drove to Okangwati
UNTAG police. Mram (station commander)
Fritz ?? (deputy station commander) Pentecoastal Protestant Church, Manjosa
Tjindunda (pastor)
SWAPOL, policeman
SWAPO, office-worker
DTA, we were referred to Opuwo
drove to OUwo
DTA - had- et to Swakopmund rally
Saturday, 9.9. Catholic Church, Mr Hindjou (church elder)
NPF- rally
drove to Khorixas
Registration
On 6.9.89 12,884 voters had registered in Kaokoland. The estimated figure was
12,000. In the beginning there were information problems but now many people
seem to know how the registration und voting process goes. They had seven
mobile teams for a month and there is a permanent registration point in Opuwo. It
is difficult to trace the nomadic people in the villages and there might still be
some who have not registered. Now there is one mobile team which was in the
week 4.-8.9. going out with a helicopter, trying to find people withmistakes, in
the registration cards. They get 5 - 10 a day.
On Monday, 4.9., the political parties received from the administration a list of 80
names of people whose registration cards had to be corrected, with village and ID
number. NPF was worried whether they had to be traced until 15.9.89. UNTAG
was looking for the people, too, which NPF was not aware of. There was no
certainty in UNTAG Opuwo (as in Khorixas) if cards could be corrected after
15.9. They had not yet received instructions.

= 135 =
Kaoko, 6.-9.9.89, - 2 -
Intimidation
In Opuwo there is according to sources frnm SWAPO. NPF. FCN and church
aeoole. a limited amount of intimidation from DTA against SWAPO and NPF, but
from no other party. Unfortunately we had no chance of talkina to DTA. Whereas
SWAPO-supporters felt, seriously threatened, NPF apparently took it as an annoying feature of their campaigning.

Two cases of serious assault by DTA-supporters against SWAPO-supporters were reported to us by SWAPO. In one case, on 19.8., Koevoet-members allegedly hit an 11 year old girl with a stone after a group of girls had been singing SWAPO songs and not stopped after being told so by Koevoet.

Before that two men were beaten by DTA-supporters in a cuca-shop. We had not seen any of the three. Since then DTA-people only made remarks and threatened individuals

The main pattern of intimidation was another one. DTA-supporters, many of them exsoldiers, had harassed and disrupted a few NPF-and SWAPO rallies. NPF told us about their rally on June, 3 in Opuwo when DTA-supporters drove around the rally in DTA-cars, assembled as if they had their own rally and made noise with megaphones. At the same time they had a party, they drove around with loudspeakers, inviting people to eat and drink. The same day SWAPO had a rally, they did not disturb NPF. At another occasion NPF went to (black owned snlk scale) farms nearby. DTA came with ten cars with loudspeakers. They drove around the houses of NPF-supportors.

SWAPO officials, we were told, when going out to a village, were regularly followed by armed DTA-men in a bigger number than the SWAPO people. The examples we were given are: They had two meetings at Orumana, the first one with the chief and his headmen. DTA followed them in cars, allegedly to make sure that the chief would not allow SWAPO an office. The second one was a public meeting. SWAPO officials were again followed by DTA, and DTA tried to get people away from the SWAPO-meeting. At another place, Ekoto, SWAPO was again followed by DTA-supporters They did nothing at the meeting, but later asked residents what SWAPO had said.

On Saturday, 9.9., NPF held a rally in Opuwo. In the time up to that they drove through town with loudspeakers, announcing the rally. On Thursday when we were in their office mobilizers came back from such a trip and reported that they had been followed by DTA-people in DTA-cars and had been threatened by them. They imitated the DTA-people pressing them in the breasts with fingers in the DTA sign. We were told DTA had done the same in the run-up to the manifesto rally on 5.8. in Windhoek.

At the NPF rally on 9.9. itself there was no harassment, and neither was at the SWAPO rally in Orumane the same day. But then DTA had gone to their rally in Swakopmund.

We were were told by Ms Hindjou how she was intimidated by DTA workers. It was later in the day when Mr van der Merwe participated in harassing an NPF meeting in a village, as described above. They came to the house of Ms Hindjou, asked her when her husband had so many businesses, why she was SWAPO. They threatened they would think about her and come back. She reported that to the police and to UNTAG. Swapol said she should sleep and come back if DTA came back. She has never since heard of the police neither came DTA back. But she said especially many women were frightened and did not go to rallies of SWAPO.
In Okangwati the situation was very calm. The only incident everyone was talking about was a case when a DTA-supporter ripped a picture of Hermann off a wall. She was promised a replacement. After some time when she had not received it, she asked for it and then, on 6.9., the DTA-supporter hit her.

136

Kaoko, 6.-9.9.89 - 3

Police and soldiers

Both NPF and SWAPO said that ex-soldiers were among the harassing DTA-supporters. NPF and Catholic Church members claimed they were paid by DTA thus getting double money. With Koevoet NPF saw no problems: They were still active police and supported different parties, whereas SWAPO reported harassment from their side. Also Swapol-members were wearing DTA T-shirts and the patrolling of Koevoet at night was an intimidation in itself. But SWAPO and supporters said that intimidation through police had gone down since may while DTA intimidation increased. +)

Mr Persnolt, head of UNTAG police, told us that Koevoet was not confined to base in Kaoko, but as far as he knew they were in Ovamboland. Two days later we were informed that Koevoet would be confined to base in Kaoko and Kavango, too, after in the beginning police and local UNTAG had believed that the confinement was meant only for Ovamboland. Later the order came to do the same in these areas.

In Okangwati we investigated special police. They, according to the deputy head of UNTAG police (the information from the head was slightly different, but he seemed to be less informed and we had language problems), are former guards for headmen, who had been employed by Swapol. Some of them have automatic, G 3, rifles. When the war was over they were put on pension in February, but after the events in the beginning of April the headmen demanded and got them again. Now there are 60 special policemen, 30 of them in the base at Okangwati (the head of UNTAG police said there were only 13) and 30 lent to headmen. Last week they had been put into uniforms of normal police. A week before that police monitors had encountered a man in civilian clothes with an automatic rifle in a village. It was one of them.

UNTAG said they were causing no trouble. A SWAPO official said they were sometimes causing trouble when off duty and drunk, but that was not political.

1) UNTAG has no list of former Kowvoet members and cannot clearly identify single Koevoet members.

Bureaucratic Hinderances

SWAPO got difficulties from some headmen to operate of open offices in some areas. All information comes from John Mburura and Ken Muharukua. In Opuwo the headmen refused approval for opening the office. They went to the commissioner who told the headman that in terms of the implementation of 435 they were entitled to open an office. So they did open it. In Ogango, 60 km from Opuwo, they applied for an office in the beginning of August. The headman and his council refused. The commissioner supported SWAPO, but did not get hold of
the headman. Then went on holiday for seven weeks. In Kaoko-Otavi, 30 km from Opuwo, initially the same happened, also in the beginning of August. SWAPO cannot operate. The commissioner was on holiday and the acting commissioner refused to do anything. They had to wait for the commissioner to come back. In both cases the SWAPO election campaign is delayed for many weeks. In Ombombo, 60 km from Opuwo, initially the same happened. After a long talk the headman allowed them to operate there, but not to stay there and not to open an office.

In Orumana, 30 km from Opuwo, SWAPO opened an office in the centre. The headman then told them that he did not want to have it near the school and told them to move it to Otuvero, 7 km from the centre, where there are less people. SWAPO refused and the headman in a discussion on 9.9.89, to which he had invited SWAPO representatives from Opuwo, threatened to go to court in this case. He had already reported the case to the police. SWAPO decided to keep their office open.

Political Parties and Campaigning
Present in the area are DTA (apparently the strongest), NVF, SWAPO (relatively new), FCN and, without an office NNF.

We witnessed the first two hours of the NPF rally on 9.9. There was some excitement sloganeering and singing. The speeches concentrated not so much on the NPF policy but on the leader Moses Katjiongua. Mr Goagab of UDF, a headman from Sesfontein, used heavy language against DTA and SWAPO. He said followers of Garoeb should vote, for UDF, of Katjiongua for NPF, but not for DTA and people who go to SWAPO will die because SWAPO caused death in the Angolan detention camps, too. Two busses came, on from Windhoek, one from Omaruru.

Information/Media
There is no TV. SWABC radio broadcasts a few hours a day. People listen to Angolan radio, too. Only a few conservative newspapers, Republikein and Windhoek Advertiser, arrive manyu days later. No Namibian, no Times of Namibia, no Observer, as far as we could establish.

The Role of The Churches
Only the Reformed (3) and the Lutheran (1) of the mainline churches have ministers in Kaoko. The other churches send every few weeks or two months pastors to hold a service. They encounter problems from the administration. The Lutheran Church did not get permission to build a house for the pastor, the Catholic Church got no permission to build a church. They use a temporary open structure.

The Lutheran Church was apparently involved in opposition against the South African administration. The Reformed Church ministers regard themselves as non-political. We had a long talk with them about the relations between the Reformed Church and the CCN. They saw CCN as SWAPO-related, but were prepared to listen to other views and were interested in further talks in order to
come to understand each other better. They regretted that CCN representatives in
the past did not visit them.

UNTAG
The parties said they were satisfied with UNTAG. We had serious language
problems with an Indian police commander, some problems with the Malay
military commander and were not able to communicate with some of the Malay
soldiers, among them the one guarding the gate. This is bound to impede the
effectiveness of UNTAG. Also, the quality of the police monitors seemed to be
not with all up to standard.

Development Aid
The talk with the Reformed Church made us aware of a serious problem
Kaokoland will face when the ex-soldiers are no longer paid in November. They
are the amin money-earners in the area and there is no alternative employment.
This means that next year many families will no longer be able to send their
children to school. In many cases it might even be that people will not get enough
food, especially as they lost one third of their cattle in the drought of 1981/82. So
there will be need for food relief.
In the medium term a thorough research and well thought out planning is needed
on how to stabilise the economic situation of Kaoko through development. People
there have very little ideas on what they want after independence, except for food-
aid, boreholes and schools. But this will not defuse the potentially explosive
situation of wide-spread unemployment which people might associate with
independence or a SWAPO victory.
On first sight Kaoko seems to be an area very vulnerable to attempts of
destabilization. The presence of ex-soldiers, the behaviour of DTA, die samill
support for SWAPO, the poor infrastructure (which is indicated by the un-
estimate of the population, reflected in the registration of more than 100 per cent)
and the uncontrollable border could make it very difficult to control a rebel army.
Therefore it could be helpful to tackle the economic basis of rebellion in advance.
Tolu again who introduced us to Mr. Lukas Tjoola from RRR-committee. In the evening discussion with Nanso organisor David.

Friday 19 Oktober
Drove to Orumana and met with schoolprincipal

Registration
From the nature of the area it is obvious that no complete registry can be expected. The registration units made use of the experience of a certain Mr. S. Striebner. P.O.Box 481, Tel 2429, 9000 Okahandja. He stayed for 30 years in the area and produced a number of handdrawn maps. Unfortunately Mr. Striebner died recently of a heartattack. Geographically his maps are not accurate. But they do indicate close to 275 places were people live. The registration teams used these maps and the routes for the Mobile Polling Stations -aOt set out on Striebners maps as well. Comparison of these maps with the 1 : 500,000 Topografical sheets 1711 Opuwo and 1714 Ondangwa indicate some differences. Some areas were apparently not covered by the registrationteams. Over 100 sites that in the 1711 Opuwo map (1985) are indicated as places of habitation are outsised the routes of the mobile teams. The mobile polling sites again comprise of less than 45% of the places indicated on the Striebner maps.

Explanations for these apparent omissions could be the following. 1 It was an impossible task for the registrationteams to cover the whole area during the registration period.
2 Investments in terms of time, energy and other costs are high with a low yield of results. In some areas this is even more true than in others.
3 The Striebner maps use different names than the topografical sheets. Some portion of the places can have been covered after all.
4 The drawers of the Topografical sheet can have been inaccurate as well. Even if this is an official map. Same places on the sheet may not exist.
5 Ovahimba are semi-nomadic people, places of habitation will have changed to some extent since the production of the sheet in 1986 Some areas are unsafe (mines) registration teams had no casspir So presumably for safetyreasons they stayed out of areas such as along the Otjindjangi riverbed which was a route used by planighters.

= 139 =-
7 The border area along the Kunene river with small centres like Otjinhungwa and Otjimborombonga has not been covered by registrationteams and / or do not even appear on the set of Striebners maps that we obtained from Untag. Registration teams may have been forbidden to enter these areas for securityreason We feel that for the time being we have to approach these issues very carefully. Untll now we had fairly open contact with Untag. Mr. Hussain told us that Untag does not have lists of numbers of registered voters for the registration sites in
Opuwo. He acknowledged that he had been asked to produce such lists and that the data are supposed to be in the files. When we offered our help to produce the lists, he became very careful. Our not yet reaffirmed assumption is that such lists could show the flaws in the work. In this respect Mr. Hussein remarked "we don't want 435 to be endangered".

Security forces - police and former police and army
Koevoet are not confined to base in Kaokoland.
Untag police is still waiting for two long ordered Casspirs to monitor Swapol patrols. This information was reaffirmed by Untag district commander Johan Temmerman. The map comparison shows that former plan-routes and the border west of Orukaue have not been covered by registration teams. We suspect that the border is still "protected" as before and in fact SWATF/Ko'evoet still have basis there.

We feel that if this information is not "common knowledge", the suspicions have to be reaffirmed before anything is published. We request that until such time this is handled as confidential information. Untimely publication could make our work impossible and even be hazardous for us and our contacts.

Harassment and intimidation.
Apart from psychical intimidation as described in our recent Damaraland report there is physical intimidation as well. After the rally of last Saturday 14 October two police trucks were brought from Ovambo. One was registered as Pol 3337. They transported DTA-mih to intimidate Swapo supporters at their rally. Two Swapo members were beaten up with wips. One woman was hit by a thrown beerbottle in the dark and was still in hospital at the time of our visit. More details were in the newspapers already. As Swapo-spokesman Ken Muharukua put it: "we are now in the fase of beat Swapo as much as possible."

DTAmembers are issued wips to that effect. We had a chance to observe this when we stopped at a car with a puncture. Six DTA men, two of them still wearing their soldiers ID-tag, told us that they had come that night from Oshakati. A number of commercially made black plastic wips of about one meter length with red plastic handle and black string were laying in and round the car.

For reasons of time we have to postpone further reports until later.
25 October 1989

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REPORT ON KAOKOLAND 31 October - 4 November 1989 About this trip very little was reported. One observer didn't write the report that he promised, another just included a few remarks in his end report.

We heard that Mobile 9 (Kaoko Otavi Westward) had been cancelled. We were told that the political parties would inform the population about the cancellation. But SWAPO officers were not aware of that. People, if they want to vote will have much difficulty reaching a polling station. UNTAG said the reason for that cancellation is that the AG had not got enough teams.
As a matter of fact there are 17 mobile teams in Kaokoland district which means that parties should have many cars and other means to follow the elections. On the
1st November DTA hold a kind of procession in which more than 28 cars plus one helicopter flying very low was involved. It seems that very little voter education has been done in kaokoland. We met a NPF supporter about 50 kms from Opuwo on the way to Okongwali, who did not know on which day the polling team would come to his village. Furthermore in Otjoqdeka, a permanent polling station, a DTA supporter, probably koevoet (he had a revolver) told us that the polling day would be 7 days starting on Tuesday 7th until the next Tuesday. In opuwo we were also told by SWAPO head officer that about 25 young people had been expelled by their parents because they belonged to SWAPO. One of those, a high school student, came with us during two days as an interpreter. It seems here again that those parents have been put under pressure by DTA. CCN helps these young people. In the Opuwo area NPF seems to be quite strong although we met a teacher who did not know how to tell us the aims of her party!

ELECTION REPORT ON KAOKO, 6 till 11 November 1989

November 6 the eve of polling

We drove to Etanga a village approximately 100 kilometer to the west of Opuwo, where Mobile 6 would start polling in the next morning. On the road we noted 15 bags with flour unioaded in a riverbed, being guarded by DTA people and cattle being transported by bakkie. These were most probably ingredients for the "feasts" DTA was giving all over Kaokoland shortly before and during elections.

In Etanga we introduced ourselves to Untag and Ag officials and were invited to camp with them. In the evening NPF arrived to set up a temporary campaign centre (foo T-shirts, suncaps and voter education). They were ordered out of sight by AG and Untag. Untag was represented by Lennart Jemt, teamleader (Sweden), A.B. Ariffin Malbat (Malaysia), Andrea Angeli (Italy), Maulad Qammaruddin Mahessar (Pakistan) Omumatunda, interpreter. The Ag teamleader was an ecologist from Austria called Appolonia. Other names of AG-representatives we do not know. The white Swapol member Dupi Duplessis is described in "the nine days war" as a blunderin4 Koevoet.

In the night we heard DTA-bakkies passing the camp with women shouting and singing DTA, DTA, DTA.

7 November The first day of polling

Before daylight Himba men and woman gathered round some quickly lighted fires to warm themselves after the cold 6f the night. The polling station was set up in the shade of some trees. From Ag-side things were not provided well. The election officer had to organise things like tables himself. Some instructions had been given on the last moment, were not explained and sometimes unclear. This infuriated the AG-officer and made him quite nervous. His complains wouldn't be the last we heard about the district elections supervisor as will become clear in the coming pages. The cooperation between Untag and Ag was first tense, but when it was clear that they both tried to outdo each other in playing it to the letter and the spirit of the law soon a good working relation developed. There was some confusion wether affadivits (a form to be filled when a person could not show any
acceptable identification) should be treated as tendered votes or not. The election officer decided that they should be tendered which increased the work considerably. Moreover he was very strict. He didn't want the process to be speeded up by for instance allowing Untag officials to help making affidavits. I tried to talk to a DTA campaigner who was organising who-should-go-when, and was counting voters. My colleague had noticed that he was wearing a pistol under his shirt and had understood from the local that he was an (ex)Koevoet. Although we approached him friendly he was aggressive toward us in his speach and manner, especially when he understood that we were from CIMS/CCN. This attracted the attention of the Untag and AG-officials. When they understood what he was doing, they concluded that he had no right to campaign near the station and ordered him out of sight. In subsequent days we learned that all over kaokoland PTA had tried to follow this procedure of "guiding" their voters right up to the doorstep of the polling station. They were ordered out of sight by every Mobile team that we visited. But not at the permanent polling stations in Opuwo as will be described later.

DTA and NPF voted in different groups which at a certain moment created some tension because DTA had claimed first rights and time seemed to run short for NPF. This was solved when everybody had been assured that the Mobile unit would stay as long as voters would be waiting. Although the polling station had opened at 7.03 hrs. The procedure was slow because of the many affidavits. When we left at 10 O'clock 52 persons had voted and more that 50 were still waiting. We went to announce in the next village that they would be late. Back in Opuwo we were not allowed to enter the polling station because we didn't have the required AG-permission. Our ID-tags had not reached us in time. We gave it up until later and hurried of to Okaupawe (Mobile 3) were we started to make ourselves popular by distributing some cold beer to Untag and AG-officials and did repair on a mine protected vehicle that served to transport some of the AG personnel. These sly tactics were adopted because we were dependent on the goodwill of Untag and AG-officials, which had to grow out of social contact. Still most times we didn't get permission to enter the polling site, although we were allowed near and our questions would be answered if we waited patiently until there were no voters waiting. At Okaupawe we had to wait until 19.00 before we had a working contact. From what we observed and heard the voting had taken place according to every rule except that the morning voting had been very busy, therefore the afternoon voting started late. We provided transport because of a broken down vehicle for 4 persons including the black Swapol member. Since we as an ex-Koevoet was supposed to know the area we were in the lead. Not that it helped. The man couldn't find his way in the dark, spoke almost no Afrikaans and no English. At eleven we finally arrived at a place that he believed to be Okahouz".

8 November, the second day

The second day of polling started before sunrise. Curious eyes watched out of the dark how I emptied my sleeping bag of the sand a storm had blown into it during
the night. Yes, this must be one of the Okahozu's or alternatively the voters had found us. The election officials started to create a polling station swearing about ridiculous polling hours that were ordered from above without ever considering that there were MQbile Units and conditions in the field. The AG district supervisor Mr de Kok considered strict polling hours of the utmost importance but left most practical problems to be solved by the people in the field. The team reported the transport problems and also that they didn't have enough ballot papers left. We had been told that Okahozu was a Swapo place, therefore some trouble could be expected in this DTA-dominated area. But if there were more than five Swapo voters they must have dressed up in NPF or DTA-shirts, Party T-shirts, suncaps and party coloured cloth dominated the scene, a type of carnival dress for the conservative Himba. In Okahozu DTA and NPF supporters intermingled according to arrival. Some NPF men however tried to get in front claiming that men had first rights. The women protested against this which resulted in a somewhat chaotic situation. At our suggestion the women were treated free, fair and equal and the men had to go back to the end of the queue. As in Etanga, the DTA campaigner was ordered out of sight. Mobile 3 was headed from Untag side by Erickson Andersund (Sweden), other members were Ahmad fubakar, Malbat;Rao Michael, Civpol (India); Asmat Malik Muhammed (Pakistan); Muhekeni Martin, interpreter. The elections officers name was Gerald Brooker-Smith. One lady came with the registration card of somebody else, possibly an ill person. She was refused a second vote. Perhaps it is interesting to note that the UV-check was not tested on Himba people. Since they cover themselves with a mixture of redbrown ochre and butterfat the ultraviolet dye is less effective on their fingers. In addition to that the dye evaporated quickly in hot Koakoland.4(e noticed some teams running short of the liquid after the second day. More over

- 143 a

the proper boxes to check the hands were in short supply. They were often improvised with some carton, not the best of conditions for such a check. On the other hand we feel that very little if any misuse was made of this situation. We left at 10 o'clock and headed for Ohangongo at Kunene river. Where we arrived at 14.00 at the dot. This team, Mobile 5, had some problems from Untags side. The team had a car accident and four members were in Oshakati hospital but they were not badly hurt. The team was now headed by a Dutch Civpol who we only remember by his first name Michael. Untags team was reinforced by the deputy district head Mr. Hussain Fadlhi. He could tell us some nice stories from other places. Like the woman who had her own ideas of casting her vote in secret. When she put her hand in the box for the UV-check she made the party sign inside so that nobody would see. Another man was guided step by step through the procedure, still once at the polling boot he turned to the public and asked "now what?". The party agents were DTA Mr Mbuende, Swapo Mr Tjivikua, NPF Mr Tjindomba. The electoral officer was Mr. Steven de Wit. Mobile 5 had adjusted the rules to the circumstances, Very few voters showed up and they asked the party representatives to sign a paper W4t they agreed to close the polling station
early. The election officer - a biologist who knew the area - explained that the chance of being eaten by a crocodile was reduced 10 times if we went for a swim all at the same time. "Any crocodile will be content after the first catch", he explained. Still feeling the duty to make ourselves popular and having run out of cool beers, we risked our lives for CIMS sake and thoroughly enjoyed washing away the sweat and the dust from a night in a sandstorm in the rapids at Swartbooisdrift. Michael understood the need for cool beers. He had ordered the helicopter twice already, once for the accident and once for a child bitten by a spider or perhaps a scorpion in the face. Unfortunately his SOS for cool beers didn't get priority. In stead a friend from AG-side set of to Opuwo to full fill this need the next day.

9 November, the third day
We accompanied the team to Sodalite. Polling started after 8 o'clock but everybody got a chance to vote. The polling boot was facing us this time. Although there was no way to see where voters put their cross, we could observe better than elsewhere what went on. One touching scene we will not withhold from the reader. Two sons with Swapo badges carried their old mother and got priority in the queue. At the boot however only one was allowed to assist the mother in the voting. The other son turned his back to the boot still supporting his mother. It was clear that mother, choice disappointed her son, but it was equally clear that in this country it would be unthinkable not to respect her choice.

On the seventh Mobile 5 had 61 voters in total, 45 of them having no ID-cards, on the eight 34 people voted, 18 without ID. This team did not make affidavits into tendered votes which was as we understood from a copy with last minute Untag instructions according to the rules.

We stayed till 10.00 o'clock and moved on to Ehomba where Mobile 3 had again managed to start voting in time after a very late through the night. Ehomba is the village of Headman-Reiter van der Merwe, who is said to have a "private army" of special constables. Such armed forces are -by agreement - not monitored by Untag. Ehomba has furthermore a very well equipped Koevoet base as we could observe from the air a few days later.

UOI was now really down to the very last ballot papers, the Uft behind car was still not replaced or repaired and another car was mmrllttinttiong consuming r~diculous amounts of petrol, the leak being an hazard for the people it transported because rims hitting hard stones on the difficult roads could easily produces sparks. District officials De Koks cynical radio message was "Just to go ahead with the job". When the teamleader promised to try to do the impossible, De Kok replied dryly "that it was not impossible." After that some jokes were cracked about the correct spelling of the districts officials name. And when some somebody asked for a new head to cure his headache he was offered 0e Koks as soon as he would bother to drop by in his helicopter. It was agreed to be a tempting offer because "at least that one has never been used". If this report gives the reader the impression that jest was a major ingredient of elections in kaoko, than we think that impression is correct. Monitoring elections was in
comparrison with our other work often very boring, humour kept the thing going
while everybody tried to make the best of it in sometimes really difficult
circumstances. The problems of Mobile 3 became less acute because the next
village they were supposed to go to, Okatjite, was reported to have been deserted
on account of the drought. Mobile 3 told us that they dutifully would go there
even without ballot papers. We expect that luck was with them. On our route we
observed that Okatjite was indeed deserted an4, from our spoor reading, had been
deserted for several weeks. We went on to Mobile 4 were polling was supposed to
continue for a full day. Again our lack of proper AG-introduction cards caused
problems. The AG-official didn't like our 'informal' visit very much and told us
that we should stay out of the polling station even if there were no voters at that
time. The Untag teamleader Gerard Fichet (France) was not in a good mood
either. Frederick Blanck from Sweden was however open for a nice chat. He told
us about the training they had recieved in preparation for the job, and agreed with
our doubts about the fat on the Himba fingers. Mobile 4 had about 120 voters on
the first day, 70 on the second and 100 at the third. Only 3 ballot papers had been
spoiled. Back in Opuwo we visited the polling station in 'the workshop'. This time
we entered easily in the company of Untag District Head Igor Volkov and tried to
make a deal with election officer Mr. fisterhuizen about CIMS eminent observers
arriving the next day. He said we would need the permission of Mr. De Kok and
promised to discuss it with him. While we were waiting to speak with Mr.
Esterhuizen we witnessed local Swapo-leader Ken Maharukua complaining to the
Ag and Untag officials about DTA and NPF campaigning within the 500 meter
vicinity of the polling station. He was invited to put up his own campaign centre
right next to DTA and NPF and when Maharukua told him that "he wanted
laws to be kept instead of being invited
to break them", Esterhuizen advised him to put his complains in writing making
him understand at the same time that nothing would be done about it.
In the evening we started to find out more about the death of
the Swapo fieldworker. ( see file on the death of sakie
Omuthen).
10 November, the fourth day
Friday 10 four eminents arrived by plane. Two of them wrote the following
report.

On Friday the 10th of November four of the team
were sent by plane to Kaokolandt 4hd Oipwo, the main city of this northwest
area of Namibia. This area is the most primitive of Namibia, and in many ways
also the most colorful. It has been an area largely dependent upon the BbUth
African Defence Forces which have been heavily engaged in the struggle with the
liberation movement. Much of the livelihood of the people depended upon their
employment by these forces. Additionally, the area was a good hunting area some
yeart ggb but had been hunted out by the native Himba people ahd by the
intensive hunting by larger Safaris of white hunters from many parts of the world.
Insofar, it was apparent that this area Would vote heavily for the DT4, for they
believed that in the event of a JTA victory, they could continue to count on government support and employment.
When we arrived we were received by the permanent CIMS staff.
After an orientation session we went to the main polling place and for the first time in the whole trip through 8 different polling places we were refused entry by the SWAPOL police. We were informed that the AG district Voting Supervisor, Mr. de Kok had determined that no observers would be allowed entry. Apparently there had been an altercation with press observers the day before, and our similar ID card gave the impression that another press delegation had come. There had been no other international observers.
Mr. de Kok came to the gate and confirmed that entry was being refused, but after talking with him a few minutes agreed to meet with us at his home.
Coincidentally the SWAPO representative also was at the gate as we arrived so that the impression could be given that we had arrived with him and were supporting his complaint regarding the nearness of the DTA booths. We indicated that we had not explored that issue in detail but that we had the overall assignment to monitor a process which up to that point had been very impressive for us, and where we had been cordially received at every polling place thus far, and even our suggestions had been received with gratitude. We had to express our surprise at the hostility that was meeting us in this instance. Mr. de Kok slowly calmed down.
He indicated that he had determined that the DTA tables could remain outside the fences where they were. We indicated that we would observe and report that fact.
It was within his authority to determine such a thing, though in our view it was against the letter as well as the spirit of the law. He then agreed that we could see the polling places and indeed he personally accompanied us, allowing us to stay as long as we wanted, and taking us to the second place in the city.
Again, we found excellent teams at work, and good cooperation between the UNTAG team and the AG team. At the second polling place, another school nearer the top of the hill in Opuwo, there was little evidence of any political activities going on and a very competent team was at work. We spent about an hour and one half exchanging with all the members of the teams there.

We then drove to a village about 45 kms south of Opuwo where a mobile team was at work. The roads were rough, and the trip took time, but proved to be worthwhile. This team, as most mobile teams in Kaokoland was working under difficult circumstances. Food and water was hard to obtain in abundance, and they had to sleep on the floors of the schools where the polling was being done or in the bush under the trees where polling had been done in certain circumstances. Another good team was at work. People were voting. Especially impressive were the colorful Himba tribespeople who seemed to have a regal bearing as they listened to the instructions given them, and then quietly went to the booth to cast their vote. The Swiss team UNTAG team captain also spoke fluent Spanish and could converse with the member of our team from Chile whose language was Spanish.
Returning more to Opuwo we visited the UNTAG headquarters of the district and sought to see the Director, a Russian citizen, whom everyone praised for his effective work, but he was out in a helicopter visiting remote polling places. We had met him briefly in the morning and were impressed by his manner.

The afternoon concluded by our taking a flight to the north to determine whether there were clusters of people on the border who had not been registered or couldn't vote, as rumor would have it.

The pilot of our plane, undoubtedly checking with authorities after we had raised the possibility in the morning upon our arrival, agreed and we made the over one-hour flight through some spectacularly beautiful country, flying low, down the Kunene River along the Angolan border. We saw few huts, some probably abandoned, and very few people. Nor did we see any military installations which had also been rumored, on either side of the border. The trip was bumpy enough and we flew low enough to make some nervous. Our skillful pilot had enabled us to get a full view of the situation and we were grateful that we had made that trip.

We can report that our impression was that few if any had been eliminated from the voting, and indeed, since the whole area was rather pro government, it would hardly have been in their interest not to register any people of the area. At this point, we - the long term observers - draw a slightly different conclusion from the 'monitoring from the air' than the eminents. Untag and Mr. De Kok had assured us that in the areas we indicated absolutely nobody was living. More over they had gone out with the helicopter to make sure everybody was registered. But we did see huts and cattle and goats along Kunene river past Epupa falls and also in marienfluss Valley as we can prove with slides we took. The amount of habitation was less than expected, but than it must be remembered that you can not see everything from the air. In more densely populated areas we saw less than we expected as well. The trip made it however likely that the small centres that are indicated on the 1711 Opuwo sheet as Otjinhungwa and Otjimboromongaare-ndeed deserted or almost deserted. Moreover - and more important - we did not observe any army basis (apart from Eremiuma). Our conclusion is now that registration in Iaako was primarily done on a practical basis. Along the roads and not in the mountains, nor in far away areas as along the border in the difficult and perhaps mine infested areas past Epupa falls, and in marienfluss Valley.

In fact both Mr. De Kok and Igor Volkov stressed several times their pragmatic approach to matters. The real truth is almost trivial under the circumstances. Weather registration was done or not cannot be proved either way because nor Mr. de Koks office, nor Untag produced the required statistics about were how many people registered. Clear is however that even if these people were registered they never had a change to vote. It could be one of the reasons why Kaokoland had
one of the lowest percentages of registered voters who actually cast* their vote.

11 November, the last day
In the morning we continued the investigation of the death of Sakie Omuthenu. On our way to khorixas we visited the permanent pollings station in Otjondeka. Electoral officer Heiko Freyer was very friendly and cooperative. This last day they had had only eight voters. (446, 321, 84 and 15 ordinary votes, and 26, 58, 15, 3 tendered votes respectively on the previous days.) Madeleine Stroye-Wikens from Sweden was one of the only 2 female Untag teamleaders among the 20 in kaoko.

In Khorixas we were happily reunited with our colleagues who had been monitoring Damaraland and Outjoo

FILE ON THE DEATH OF
SAKIE OMUTHENU
OPUWO, 2 NOV '89

Contents:
1. Itinerary
2. Report by Fanuel Katshenye
3. The arrest of Roni Tjimbi (still under investigation)
4. Inquiry at the house
5. Map of the house and drawings of damages to the bed
6. Report to Untag-station Commander Johan Temmerman
7. Photographs (foto's from the body made by Katshenye are still missing
8. Conclusions

Abstract
Swapo fieldworker Sakie Omuthenu was killed by a fragmentation grenade in his house in Otuzimba, Opuwo at 22.50 on 2 Nov. '89. Swapol investigations and Untag monitoring show bad police work, if not deliberate disduise of evidence. Efforts by CIMS monitors to induce UNCivpol and through them Swapol to undo their mistakes have failed. Untag Civpol Comm. Colonel Roos reffered us to Mr.Ahtisaari. Therefore we ask Swapo to act on behalf of the victim and ask attention for the case at the-lexel of the special representative.

Opuwo-Windhoek
2 November 1989-7 Januari 1990

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ITINERARY
2 NOVEMBER 1989

In the night of 2nd November at 22H50, two (2) CIMS Observers in Opuwo heard an explosion. Only in the morning they found out about the handgren*e attack when they passed the SWAPO Office in Opuwo. This story is described in the report by journalist Fanuel Katshenye to the Namibian (See Chapter 2).
CIMS Observers discussed the case with UNTAG Station Commander Johan Temmerman and took a copy of Katshenye's report to Khorixas where the event was discussed with two colleagues.

4 NOVEMBER 1989
Mr Katshenye's report was faxed to CIMS, with a accompanying letter, and we phoned CIMS staff to collect it and take what step CIMS would consider wise.

5 NOVEMBER 1989
An Eminent Team came to Khorixas where the case was discussed again.

6 NOVEMBER 1989
Two Observers went to Kaokoland where they heard from UNTAG Civpol Mr Frakas, that SWAPOL and UNTAG did conclude that it was an accident. The deceased had played with the grenade, it had rolled under the bed and it had exploded, just when he wanted to grab it.

7 NOVEMBER 1989
Station Commander Mr Johan Temmerman confirmed the story of Frakas.

9 NOVEMBER 1989
CIMS Observers discussed the case with Mr Lucas Tjoola from RRR-Committee. He introduced us to a certain Mr Jesaja who told us about the arrest of Mr Roni Tjimbi on November 4th.

10 NOVEMBER 1989
One of the Eminents visiting Opuwo mentioned the case and the arrest of Mr Roni Tjimbi to UNTAG General Secretary Ms Anastasia Julian. Subsequently Johan Temmerman inquired at SWAPOL about an arrest in any connection with the hand grenade attack and got a negative reply. The same day local SWAPO leader Ken Maharukua inquired about the arrest of Roni Tjimi and was told that the man had been out on bail and had failed to report in time.

11 NOVEMBER 1989
The CIMS team decided to make their own investigation and interviewed Fanuel Katshenye, the journalist who made the report for the Namibian. Then the three of us went to the house to make our own inquiry at the spot as described in chapter 4. After that the CIMS team reported their findings to UNTAG station Commander Temmerman. See chapter 6.

12 NOVEMBER 1989
In Khorixas, the reunited team-decided that if CIMS was going to take up this case successfully there should be some power behind SWAPO-side, and there should be some power behind it.

13 NOVEMBER
Therefore, returning to Windhoek we discussed the case with the CIMS Director, who from then on tried to get hold of some SWAPO Officials which proved to be very difficult because it was an election week, no appointment materialised.
CIMS phoned Station Commander Temmerman in Opuwo who inquired again at SWAPOL and could confirm that Roni Tjimbi was held because he had threatened to kill somebody (a certain Paulus, the alleged killer of Tjimbi's friend Omuthenu). The Station Commander had gone to look for himself and had noticed the ventilation hole. He said he took a personal interest in the case now.

The conclusion that the explosion took place under the bed had also been based on the fact that the spoon of the grenade was found under the bed.

16 NOVEMBER

The legal aspects of the case were discussed with CIMS Legal Advisers who advised to inform the Head of the Legal Aid Unit of CCN. It was agreed that it was important to organise legal assistance for Roni Tjimbi.

17,20,21 NOVEMBER

Presented copy of file to Legal Unit of CCN and briefed Lieutenant Colonel Roos (UNTAG Civpol General Commander) in detail about our findings. He said that he was aware of the case but could not comment on it and that the only channel from UNTAG side was Mr Ahtisaari and/or Mr Eckhard.

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17 NOVEMBER

At 23H50 a hand grenade was thrown at a SWAPO house/Office in Otuzimba, but missed. Nobody injured (see report on Kaokoland 5-8 dec.)

18 NOVEMBER

Attack on Johannes Chanika and Gideon Mukunegle. Details in report on Kaokoland 5-8 dec.

6 DECEMBER

Discussed the death of Omuthenu with Deputy Commander Farkas and some of his colleagues who had not been informed about our findings.

7 DECEMBER

Roni Tjimbi was brought to court in Opuwo and released. The same day a man we do not know yet, was scheduled for trial because he mortally wounded Johannes Makumba with a knife (no further details known). 11-12 DECEMBER

Discussed on Department of Centre).

several occasions with Matthew Shinguanja (SWAPO Legal Affairs) and Mohammed Bahm (Legal Assistance

20 DECEMBER

Appointed lawyer Mohammed Bahm asked SWAPOL Opuwo by letter for information on the case.

26 DECEMBER Phoned Johan Temmerman who said that according to him the case was now closed. 28 DECEMBER

Interview with brough against December. he imprisonment.
Roni Tjimbi in Opuwo. Mr Tjimbi said no charges were him. he was brought to court for the first time on 7 was not allowed to have contact with anyone during his The police did not ask any statements from him. Further details not yet added to this report.

5 JANUARY 1990

The CIMS Director decided to inform President Nujoma and ask him to discuss the case with Mr Ahtisaari

CHAPTER 2

SWAPO FIELDWORKER DIES IN 4r.TAC

BY FANUEL KATSHENYE - TO THE NAMIBIAN

3 NOVEMBER 1989

A SWAPO elections campaign fieldworker in Opuwo was killed in a grenade attack on Thursday evening, the first such killing of a SWAPO fieldworker in Kaokoland and since the campaign began four monthp ago. The name of the victim was not revealed as his next kint were not informed.

The victim, a returnee, died instantly after a grenade, presumably thrown through a window like hole in his sleeping room in Otuuiia location, mutilated his left arm, right hand and the abdomen at' 22H50. An eye-witness, Mr Jonas Tobias, one of the three occupants who shared the three-room house with the victim, said he s4w a man hurrying from behind the victim's room to a nearby yard after the explosion. Outside the yard, the man met with a small gang Of persons with whom he giggled and whispered. A person among the gang was heard saying in Afrikaans "SWAPO IS DOOD". Mr Tobias said: "We were fast asleep. I did not hear the explosion until I was awoken by one of us who heard the explosion and the victim groaning for a couple of seconds". Otuzima, described by residents here as a den of frustrated demobilized koevoets, became a spot of political violence by koevoet and DTA elements against SWAPO supporters over the last two we@ks, In front of the same house on the evening of October 21, the victim was assaulted with sjamboks by two persons -wearing DTA T-shirtaand the SWAPO flag on the house was removed the following night.

The local police, SWAPOL, visited the scene of the explosion which was heard a hundred metres away. The police left the body locked into the house until they removed it in the presence of UN Civpol after nine o'clock on Friday. The Head of the police investigating the blast first refused to give permission to SWAPO Officials to take photos of the body while laying in bed, questioning what purposed the photos would serve and suggested instead that the body be photographed once in the mortuary. The Police officer later agreed to photographing following insistance by the SWAPO Officials. However, the SWAPO side had no access to the police investigating process.
The tense atmosphere developed in Opuwo since last Wednesday after DTA supporters in a motorcade of 28 vehicles marched on the only tarred road to Otuzimba, chanting anti-SWAPO slogans and abusive languages. The motorcade was under the protection of a brown helicopter with "vote DTA" stickers.

On their way back from Otuzimba, DTA marchers moved within paces of the SWAPO main office and shouted to those present, "we shall burn your office before November 6" and "we shall do you something these days" as they strewed DTA propaganda leaflets over the office premises. The additional slogans were the usual "down SWAPO" and "down Nujoma".

The SWAPO main office is just meters from the SWAPOL headquarters in Opuwo, even though the police made no attempt to disperse the DTA provocateurs. For several times SWAPO officials here had reported to both SWAPOL and UN Civpol cases of attacks against their fieldworkers by persons wearing DTA T-shirts or SWAPOL uniform to which no action was taken.

The general feeling here is that the latest killing could signal the beginning of a series of attacks on SWAPO targets in the region.

= 156 -

In Opuwo, the CIKS-team and journalist Fanuel Katshenye visited the house where Saki Omuthenu died at Nov. 2 at about 22.50 hr.
We find the door open. The inhabitants had left (fled) and we do not know their present address. The layout of the house is shown on the map that is part of this report. The house is made of sticks and mud with a sheet-iron roof. There is no windows in the house but there is an air-hole just opposite the west and also in the opposite wall to allow fresh air to blow through the house. See map. The hole in 21 cm wide and 17 cm high. It is lofted 173 cm above the ground measured from the outside and 168 cm measured from the inside. Inclosed photographs show the location of the hole. Looking through the hole the place where the body has been, is easy to see and the location of the bed can be known to any one whose eyes are at least 174 cm above the ground when on tiptoe. The hole allows for a well aimed throw as practised by us.

According to Mr. Katshenye who took photographs after the police investigation made on the morning of Nov. 3 the body was laying on his left side with most of the left arm and the right hand gone. The belly being seriously lacerated. We found small pieces of dried blood and tissue on the roof and the walls. Also small pieces of foamrubber presumably from the mattress were found all over the room. The bed was according to r. Katshenye's testimony located as indicated in the map. Although we found it upturned at the backwall of the room.

The bed had no damage on the paint on the underside of the frame. However there was a lot of impact coming from above, making small dents, cuts and other damage on the frame. As shown in the photographs. Most of the middle of the bedframe was gone. Small and damaged pieces of the chain-type webbing were found.
Under the bed there was only a shallow hole in the dirt floor located beneath the hole in the bedframe. The sand in, and around this hole was still wet because of some unidentified liquid. This could have been food or drinks stored under the bed. We found still one can of sardines, lacerated by shrapnel and pieces of beer bottles. Mr. Katsheny confirmed that food and drinks had been stored under the bed.

The foamrubber mattress was found in the outside yard. The upperside of it -the side with the blood stains on- showed spoor of shrapnel travelling from the centre of the explosion on the surface of the mattress. The hole in the mattress is of conical shape. (The circle of Impact on therrperside it smaller-than the circle of impact on thw underside.) This corresponds with the direction of travel of a l when a grenade explodes on top of the mattress. (A photograph of the mattress is part of this report.)

After the investigation on 11 nov. we arranged a meeting with Untag station commander Johan Temmerman. He reaffirmed as before but this time reading from the report that Swapol and Untag had come to the conclusion that the man had been playing with the handgrena. That it had slipped from his hands, rolled under the bed and when he tried to grap it, it had exploded under the bed. According to the report, The house had no windows so any possible assailant would have had to come through the door which had been locked. The report did not mention the ventilation hole.

Investigations had shown that the man had come from Angola, was out of work and had no enemies.

An explosion-expert had come from Oshakati. He had concluded that the explosion had taken place under the bed from the position of the body -and as
Temmerman said over the telephone on 13 nov. The spoon of the handgrenade was found under the bed. The fragmentation handgrenade was a South African PracM26 or HeM26 with a detonation delay of 4Y2 seconds. The pin of the grenade was not found, but the police report did not draw any conclusions from this fact. They decided that because the spoon was under the bed, the explosion must have taken place under the bed. Temmerman did not allow us to read the report or obtain a copy. The names of the responsible Swapol and Untag monitors were not revealed to us. Temmerman refused to come with us to do his own observations on the spot. It being his procedure to check with his officers first. On 13 nov. he told Henk van Apeldoorn by telephone that he had visited the house, had noticed the airhole and would take a personal interest in the case.

An autopsy was made by dr Foster and monitored by Untag. The right hand and most of the left arm has disintegrated and the stomach was lacerated. The victim must have died almost instantly. During his life the person had had a handicap at the right foot.

(1) According to Helmoed-Rdmer Heitman in his book: *Krijgstui~ van Suid-Afrika*. A M26 has a 160 gr. RDX/TNT filling. It spreads more than one thousand fragments and is deadly at five metres.

(2) Later we found out that the investigation was monitored by Untag comm. Marc Penn from New Zealand. He must still be in Namibia but we could not find him in Opuwo.

Chapter 7, photographs, are for reasons of reproduction not included in this issue of the CIMS field reports.

= 159 =

Chapter 7, photographs.

1. (the photographs 14e0 are for reasons of quality not reproduced in this report.)

The bed photographed in its position as during the explosion.

2. The ventilation hole through which the grenade was thrown. (The stick like objects seen through the hole are part of the house on the other side of the alley)

3. The ventilation hole in the opposite wall photographed through the ventilation hole in the outer wall.

4. Part of the bed frame photographed from the same position as 3. Note blue metal spot on the frame of the bed caused by a shell. Other bright spots in the photograph are sunlight coming through holes in the sheet iron roof. The holes were made by shrapnel.

5. No scratches are seen on the underside of the bed frame.

6. Dents and scratches showing impact coming side.
from above and from the
7.
The mattress in the outeryard. This side, the upperside shows bloodstains and
some s-rapnellspoor travelling almost horizontally on the surface of the mattress.
This can only be explained when the grenade exploded on top of the mattress.
Although it is difficult to see on the photographs the shrapnell has thorn a conical
hole in the mattress like this:
cross-cut of the mattress 7
Shrapnell travels in all directions straight from the centre of the blast.

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSIONS
Conclusions
1. The police-report is correct about the fact that the house doesn't have
windows. But the omission of the ventilation hole and its location
direct opposite the bed is in our opinion bad police work if
not deliberate disguise of evidence.
2. The authority of the explosion-expert is questionable. His conclusion
that the grenade exploded under the bed is denied by at least
three facts:
- No damage is shown on the underside of the bedframe. The brown/red
  paint is not even scratched.
- The frame however shows a lot of impact coming from above as
  shown by dents and deep damage in the steel of the frame.
- The mattress shows the direction of impact very clearly, the
  entrance on the upperside (the bloodstained side) is smaller
  than the exit-hole on the underside.
3. The police-report says that the deceased had no enemies.
The man had however been beaten up with sjamboks by 2 (ex)koevoetmen
wearing DTA T-shirts on the 20-th of October. Sakie Omuthenu then
beata his assailants up with his bare fists and the men fled.
The next night the Swapo flag was removed from the house.
Moreover in the general light of the DTA and (ex)koevoet intimidation
against Swapo in the last weeks, and Omuthenu being a Swapo
fieldworker living in a predominantly (ex)koevoet neighbourhood,
the police claim that 'the man had no enemies' only suggests
unforgivable ignorance from the side of Swapol and police monitors
about the situation in Opuwo. We do not believe that police and monitors are that
naive. Deliberate depolitisation of the case
is a more likely motive for these remarks in their reports.
4. The fourth important fact is that the pin was never found in the room of less
than 9m2. This is mentioned in the police report. No conclusion was however
drawn from this fact. If the pin had been
found inside, the assailant could have thrown it in, wanting
the murder look like an accident. But since it was not found this
fact should have raised some serious question marks according
to the assumed cause of death.

Report on Kaokoland 6,7, December 1989
Aim of the trip: follow up of earlier visits
itinerary:
Wednesday 6. Opuwo. Unfortunately several key-information were out of town (Pastor Tolu, st. comm. Temmerman, Swapo-leader keni Mahatukua, RRR-man Lucas Tjoolo and Untag head Igor Volkov). Instead we discussed with Swapo administrator George Kawena better known as Chiokef, Untag Deputy Mr. Hussain Fadhli, Untag Civpol comm. Farkas. Malbat was just restaffed therefore no useful information could be obtained from them. New Untag Civilian head of office will be Mr. Francis Okilofrom Uganda.
7 december Due to several punctures we did not succeed to investigate the former Koevoet base in Ehoomba. The base is said to be given to the NG-Church.
Opuwo
During earlier visits we noted that many people were openly carrying weapons in public. When we questioned Untag about this they said that weapons belonged to the tradition of the Himba and that they agreed that it should be allowed. During elections we observed that even some DTA-party representatives carried small firearms on their bodies. DTA leader Willem van de Merwe defended the arming of his DTA bodyguards with modern sjamboks on the basis of this "tradition"-agreement. The leniency of Untag in this matter allowed for much silent intimidation before and during elections. On several occasions people were beaten up with sjamboks.
On 18 november at 23.00 hrs a group of about 10 Koevoet members among whom the 7 men whose names are listed below found two Swapo members washing clothes in Otuzimba. A Himba man called Hika is said to be responsible for the cutting off of an arm near the elbow from Johannes Chanika. Gideon Mukungele was beaten with knobkerries and stones until he was believed dead. Leader of the DTA gang is Josie Willem. He is in command next to Willem van de Merwe. Other members are Kapwenya Fillemon, Nkama Amupopya, Fillipus Tjitoropa, Kwando Narsisa, Nguteka Tjikaka and the man whose first name is Hika. The same group was involved in a handgrenade attack on a Swapohouse in Otuzimba at 23.50 on 17 nov. Fortunately the grenade missed and exploded between two houses. members of this group were present in the murder of Sakie Dmuthenu on 2 nov.89 (see file on the death of Sakie Dmuthenu) Swapo is still trying to collect more proof of this. The person who has thrown the grenade is said to have fled to Ruacana the very night of 2/3 november, but has returned after it became clear that the police was not looking for him. His identity has not yet been established. But Swapo-Opuwo feels confident that they will find out. Chief source of trouble Willem van de Merwe, has not been seen in Opuwo since 18 november 1989.
In view of all this violence a remarkable agreement has been reached. The senior headmen in Kaokoland have prohibited the carrying of weapons in public. Swapo and NPF organised an emergency-meeting on Monday 27 november.
pangas, fire arms, asegaís, bows and arrows are according to them no longer allowed as being traditional weapons. Since Swapol and Untag have accepted these weapons until now, enforcement of the decision is not to be expected from Swapol. Therefore, trespassers will be judged in traditional courts by the headmen. These traditional courts are much feared because they are known to be very severe. (We heard of a recent traditional court case in Ruacana were a boy of 8 years old caught while stealing was tied up and beaten in such a way that he will probably lose both small fingers and possible the use of his left hand. The parents didn't dare to interfere and Untag's interference was by many people's sunneccesary and unwanted)

The names of the headman involved are: lefas Muzuma, Mbumbijazo Muharukua, Josepha Mbaumba, Muatjerei Muhenje, David Humu, Johannes Ruiter, Kleopas Tjiurea, Hivaraa Kujabera, Festus Ndjai and Victor Hartley. Interne of de/re-stabilination And reconciliation the agreement should be considered a xjor achievement. In a way these ten headmen show with their act their loydtky to the new gouvemment. Other headmen and many DTA-supporters are still shocked about the election results. It seem that they simply hadn't considered s Swapo victory possible. New they are afraid that Swapo will punish them for their behaviour ia-e pest. Many fear that they will be killed. Headmen fear that their position will be taken away from them. This image of Swapo has been created in the pro-election period. Untill now Swapo has in DTA worldview been a name for "utter evil". It will take time to brok don this Image and replace it by a more realistic view but given the uwreglistic component in the DTA created image Swapo must have a Sod ohms to prove themselves more trustwor thy. Some d% supporter$ are still sabotaging reconciliation efforts. As sham in the following example. The people who are dependent on the borehole in Okahozu ae in urgent need of a pump. Swapo is willing and able to supply one but mom koevoet have ffrbidden the people to drink "Swope water". They treated to kill whoever was going to install the pump and burn the machine. Reconciliation and aid.

Okahozu is only one of the wells I pumps are needed. Many of the p& that were supplied by OCK in the past have broken down- (CCN was forced out of the area during the war.) Swapo expressed the need for "new pumps from someboy with urgency because now that the rains are late people feel the need for water very much. Another problem is food. Supplies by DTA and NPF that have been distributed so abundently before elections have dried up. Swapo would need donor for new supplies. OCK is again one of the agencies that can be expected to be approached tz uad.

The medical situation is the thlr area outside help will be needed urgently. The whole of Kaokoland is down to one doctor in Opuwoi We had no opportunity to interview Dr. Vorster but this should be part of the program for a next visit.

It is not surprising that reconciliation tactics express themselves in KAkeIand in development needs. Due to the history of dependencyaid given by SADF and
DTA, Swapo as the "new ruler" is expected by the local population to come with help. It is logical that in discussions with the local population expectations are expressed that are similar to the type of aid that was given until now. It goes without saying that such aid is not necessarily in the best interest of the population in need - even if such needs are expressed on behalf of them.

Also: 'giving them what they ask for' is not necessarily the policy the new government or the donors that will have to provide the aid want to follow.

Conclusions:
- Kaokoland will continue to be an area under-Milongterm monitoring by Cims. Both in the light of political developments as also because it is a very sensitive area now that it is exposed again to many outside influences (among others tourism and mineral hunters).
- Coordination between CIMS and other CCA desks is indicated.
- A more comprehensive study on the area indicating target groups, outlining existing power structures and summarising development aims would be a helpful tool in development planning.

X-Mas report on Kaokoland
Aims of the trip:
- Monitor the expected-increased destabilisation in the Xee( Ow-su). Kaoko) with perhaps a peak in violence curing X-mas. Items;-- the power vacuum (Swapo disintegration);-- reshuffling of Untag; -- stop on payment of Koevoet; -- reduced restraint because of drinking during X-mas.
- Several intimidation incidents in Kaoko needed legal follow up, unfortunately the planning to make these inquests with Matthew Shinguadja (Swapo representative) and Mohammed Bahn (appointed lawyer) had to be postponed on the last moment until some time in January.
- It seemed worthwhile to supplement Dr. Karin Behls study of the healthcare situation in Owamboland with data from Kaokoland. Medical destabilisation in Kaoko being part of our program anyway.
Th 28. Drove to Opuwo, social worker Lukas Tjoolo, Untag civpol, Dr. Vbrster( Opuwo hospital), see report on Theatre.*Kaokoland December 1989. With the help of Swapo we further investigated the intimidation cases
Fr 29. Our search for an informant on water pumps and the nurse of the clinic in Orumana was not succesfull.
Kaokoland
A agreement reached between the headmen and the political parties described in our report 5-8 dec. still secures the peace in Kaokoland. Drunkeness during X-mas was prevented by the shopkeepers. All liquorstores where closed voluntarily from Friday 22 till Wednesday 27 dec.
DTA-supporters still are spreading the word that they will burn Swapo offices at X-mas, or 1 January or, 1 April. There is some fear that when Untag leaves some threats will be put in effect. But from the time 'chief source of trouble' Willem v.d. Merwe has left (18
nov.) and the peace agreement has been made no threats, were substantiated. On the 25th of dec. some shots were fired in Otuzemba; nobody was injured. Perhaps some ex-koevoets were celebrating by shooting in the air. Rony Tjimbi, illegally held by Swapo since 3 nov., was released on 7 dec. No charges were brought against him. During the planned 'vidit with Metthew Shinguadja (Swapo's legal office) and Mohammed Bahn (legal assistance centre) in January we will see what can be done on behalf of Mr. Tjimbi.

Swapo is disintegrating. The whole of Kaokoland is down to 9 policemen. Most of them are untrained ex-koevoets. The two most capable policemen have asked for and have been granted transfer to other areas. This means that very soon Kaokoland will be without a police force that can be expected to be able to maintain law and order. In fact there have been two incidents already when cars were stopped by armed men. The inhabitants were left unharmed after they had given their money to the robbers. When the cases were reported to Swapo, the police said they were unable to do anything about it. One of the reasons is that Swapo has hardly any cars left. Swapo nowadays rides with Untag in Untag-cars and Untag-casspirs to do at least some patrols.

= 164 =

BUSHMANLAND REGION

INTRODUCTION

The Bushman people moved into Namibia 2,000 years ago. Physically they are very different from their black-skinned neighbours who live in South Africa. For many years Bushman people have suffered from the persecution and abuse of both the black and white tribes and communities. Their relationship with blacks and whites alike has been one of servitude. Their old hunting and gathering land are called Nyae Nyae as shown on the accompanying map. Their "homeland, however, was, reduced to only 1/10 of 1Nyae Nyae, this is, present day Eastern Bushmanland According to, the 1981 census, a total of 29,441 Bushmen lived in the country as an additional 3,000 people had been dumped into the classification by 1986. Over 7000 Anolans were classified as Bushmen, Of these 1500 were professional soldiers and the other 5,500 were dependents. These Bushmen had joined the S.A. army and fought against Angolan government forces. For their own protection they migrated south to Namibia when the S.A. army withdrew from Angola. These ex-soldiers and dependents are presently in Kavno and Caprivi. There are also ex-sold-r Bushmen living in their village homes or camps in western Bushmanland. All of them receive between R600 and R1400/month, and will continue to do so until April, 1990, the expected time of independence for Namibia. The future of these people is uncertain at this point in time; South Africa has offered to settle them and their dependents in R.S.A. Representatives of the new Kamibian government-to-be have indicate their willingness to cooperate with the ex-soldiers and have expressed the hope that these people will remain in Namibia. Some of the, descendants of the hunter and gathering (H&G) Bushmen live in eastern Bushmanland. This area has sparse vegetation and appears rich in wildlife. In fact, one of the biggest threats to the H&G survival has
been the, plans to, turn the area into a Wildlife Park. Another threat comes from
the south, Hereros want to use the land for cattle grazing. While Nyrae, Nyae
could support 2,000 H&G-s in the 1950s, present day eastern Bushmanlan, can
only support an estimated 162. In recent years, strenuous efforts have been made
to encourage gardening and the rearing of cattle i order to ensure the survival

- 161
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- 167 =

REPORT ON A VISIT TO BUSHMANLAND

OCTOBER 16-20, 1989

This visit was undertaken as a followup of the visit to West Caprivi by Joof van Keulen and Faustinus Wakudumo, September 18-20, 1989. During that visit the observers discovered that an offer had been made by the South African government to move Bushmen who had served in Bushmen battalions of the SWATF to the northern Cape in order to resettle them there. Some of the bushmen in question are located in Bushmanland.

Description of Bushmanland

Bushmanland is a homeland without a homeland government. It runs east from the Grootfontein area in a rectangle that is roughly 100 km by 200 km and which is a small fragment of the ancient hunting grounds which the bushmen once roamed. No accurate census exists of the population but estimates range from 4,000 to 6,000. The number of voters registered is 2476, 137% of the expected number. The eastern half of the region is occupied by the Ju/wa people whose ancestors occupied the land from time immemorial. They are now trying to make a transition from the practice of hunting and gathering to some more modern form of life. The transition is difficult. Estimates of the Ju/was are that they number around 1,000. The 1nd in the east is panveld, which has many lakes or parts that form in the rainy season. The administrative capital and the only town of any size is Tshumkwe, where there are 140 people, of which 20 are whites involved in administering Bushmen's affairs, 15 are Kavangos or Damaras and the rest are bushmen. Tshumkwe is a government enclave and once contained as many as 900 bushmen in an area that could rustain only 25 as hunter/gatherers. Now through the efforts of the Ju/wa Bushmen Foundation and the formation of a farmers' cooperative, villages have sprung up in the rest of the eastern region. Fifteen belong to the cooperative and more are planned. Tsumkwe also has a boarding school with an enrollment that is presently 180 at opening of term (95 at present.
The western part of Bushmanland is very different. The land is covered with deep sand and water lies many hundreds of meters below the surface except in the west. For this reason most of the game is in the east. The area is covered with many fairly large trees unlike the east which is primarily savannah with grass and bushes and occasional baobab trees.

Since 1976-78 western Bushmanland has been the base for 203 Battalion of the SWATF, most of whom are Waskela people from Angola. They speak a different language from the Ju/wa and have had more contacts with whites. Their incorporation into the army was primarily to serve as trackers of PLAN fighters.

We were given the following figures by FINNBATT company 3 deputy commander Heinonen:

Omatako: 700 people, 1 school and 1 shop
Manghetti: 750 people, 3 shicps and 1 school
Lubehu: 750 people, 1 school and 1 shop
Nhamves: 400 people, 1 school and 1 shop
Nhoma: 150 people, 1 school

According to Commandant A. S. van Wyck, the former commander of 203 Battalion, a recent census showed that there were 350 ex-soldiers in the area and a total of 2,000 ex-soldiers and dependents.

The ex-soldier villages are monitored by platoons of Company 3 of FINBATT. There are 23 villages in Bushmanland as a whole, of which the biggest are Mangetti, Lubehir and Omatako.

The salaries of the soldiers are 700-800 rands a month. The last payday will be the end of November, with a possible extension until the end of March.

Before it was decommissioned, 203 Battalion had 32 officers and 100 NCOs, all of them South Africans. The Bushmen had 2 sergeants and a number of corporals.

In addition to FINNBATT Company 3, there are six military monitors whose job is to attend the SWATF pay parade, monitor the remaining South African Defense Force personnel, patrol roads and keep contact with "local chiefs." The military monitors told us that the NCOs "act like chiefs." Most of the DTA organizers are part of this military group.

Alcohol is a major problem. When pay day comes, the bushmen divide the pay with their wives. 60% goes for liquor and the rest is for the women to keep.

Liquor is sold by Kavango and Damara bootleggers who sell it from "bakkies" at exorbitant prices and on credit, charging as much as 200% on past due debts. In the more traditional areas of the Ju/wasi bootleggers are supplemented by home brew of sugar and yeast and water which is fermented in 24 hours.

Tuberculosis, hepatitis and malnutrition are common diseases.

The game in the area varies from season to season. There are presently about 200 elephants, mostly in the east. The bushmen may not hunt them although 400 were once counted. The lions are very numerous and a major scourge for those who keep cattle or other animals. There are some redbucks, buffalos. Gnus are quite scarce and roan antelope is endangered.

Dr. Megan Biesele of the Ju/wa Bushmen Foundation estimates that only 162 people can live by hunting and gathering alone in the area set aside for bushmen.
Bushman are not allowed to use guns; they may hunt only with their traditional weapons: bows and arrows.
For the last ten years, John Marshall, an American anthropologist and film-maker has been trying to help the bushmen find a way to make the transition to a different kind of life. He is the originator of the Ju/wa Bushmen Foundation, headquartered in /Aotcha. He was recently joined by Dr. Biesele,
an anthropologist from Rice University who has many years of experience working in similar ways in Botswana.
There are almost no jobs except in the army or the government.
Only 6% of the population is served by public education. 80% of school attenders leave school after two years. By Standard
7 97 % of bushmen children who entered school at Sub A have dropped. The curriculum is taught in Afrikaans, a language foreign to bushmen families. The history course consists of the history of South Africa. It is part of the Cape province curriculum taught. School costs 20 rands a year.
The churches have not been allowed into Bushmanland until recently because it was a military zone. Only an NGK chaplain provided services.
According to John Marshall, the American anthropologist and filmmaker, Nature Conservation exists to benefit white interests only. He called them "a land holding company". He feels that if "they had the balls" they would declare Bushmanland a game reserve. Dr. Biesele takes a more conciliatory view and believes that the foundation has to work with Nature Conservation more closely than in the past. However, that have been disputes over the use of boreholes and the proper approach to preservation of the game stock.
A trophy hunter by the name of Grauman has been granted a concesssio at Klein Dobe, where he maintains a camp. Rich Americans come to hunt a trophy such as an elephant or lion at a price of $6,000. The limit per year is 10 of each for Grauman.
A Swiss nurse, Sister Theresa, is in charge of a clinic at Tsumkwe run by the National Health service of South Africa. Every Tuesday the clinic goes into the bush for 3 hours. There is another clinic in the west. Two army doctors at Mangetti and seven army medics also serve the area. They will all be withdrawn when SADF leaves in a few months time. Every second week a doctor from Rundu or Gobabis visits for a few hours only.
Sister Theresa said that she had absolutely no injuries to treat from any form of political-violence, only family violence when a bushman gets drunk. She says that the army spoiled the bushman especially in Tsumkwe where a bottle store was allowd up until 2 or 3 years ago.
Sister Theresa is teaching women how to cook porridge. "They do it beautiful." she said. But they must do work for the food.
West of Tsumkwe is a farm run by the Department of Agriculture. Almost every one acknowledges that it has done very little to assist bushmen to learn agricultural methods or how to herd cattle. Only in the last month has an effort been made to show bushmen how to grow vegetables. Agricultural
demonstrations and videos have been displayed at Mangetti and at the Tsumkwe farm. Most observers felt this sudden display of fervor was inspired by the election.

Bushmen are quite aware that Herero cattle owners have catenious eyes on the eastern part of bushmanland because Hereroland is overgrazed. One DTA leader in Gobabis has been telling Hereros that if DTA came to power the Hereros would teach the Bushmen how to raise cattle. According to Mr. Stephanus van der Merwe of the Agriculture Department in Grootfontein area are also eager to develop western Bushmanland as a cattle area. He claimed that the sandy soil grows soft grass that is ideal and that the only problem is the water which is very deep. He said that the eastern part of Grootfontein is the best land for cattle and that western bushmanland is not different from it.

Under the new dispensation initiated in 1978, Bushmanland was not granted any form of second-tier self-government. Bushmen were deemed too primitive to have self-government even though their form of organization is probably the most democratic in the world. The original intention was to turn Bushmanland into a game park for tourists. At present Bushmanland is administered from Windhoek by civil servants under the AG: Mr. Swanapoel (a Dutch Reformed dominee) And h Mr. von Back. A man named Geelbooi Kashe, a bushman whom no one respects, was named a minister by DTA. "When he is not drunk, he is useless." we were told by many people. Kashe had a handler or manager who was also evident as a translator at the DTA rally in Lubehu, one Francois Stroh, a man who claimed to us that he was "brought up with these people".

Anumber of concerned persons urged us to press the churches and non-governmental agencies to commence immediate plans to assist the bushmen. The Ju/wa Bushman Foundation believes that any new government must help communities like the bushmen, who wish to preserve their ancestral lands, to find an appropriate legal landholding system that will enable to develop in a way which preserves the best of the old while adapting to the modern world.

John Marshall does not advocate a homeland system nor yet does he trust a free market system. What legal mechanisms have been found helpful in other communities to safeguard the rights of communities.

We were told by some that John Marshall is deluding himself that the scheme to get bushmen to herd cattle is a success. We were told by one source that bushmen tend to slaughter the cattle rather than tend them. Dr. Bieselee told us this might happen when there was not enough game or other protein but she felt that the cattle project was making a slow but steady growth. We were told that bushmen tended to be erratic in their herding because that was the pattern of life when hunting game: three days of hunting followed by three or four days of sitting. The foundation is examining other options but is not of one mind as to what might work: Game farming could be tried. Even tourism could be developed if it is
carefully controlled. Tourists ought to be charged a fee that would go back to the bushmen community.

Page 171.
Clearly, a different policy in respect to allowing bushmen to hunt lions and other predators with guns is called for if there is to be success in cattle herding. A different kind of cattle might be considered such as Afrikaner which may be more suited to local conditions.
We have heard different assessments of the western bushmanland as a farming area. No one recommended intensive agricultural development. But it seems possible that cattle raising might be possible especially in the western areas provided adequate water can be found without inordinate expense.
John Marshall believes that the solution lies in developing areas that are now set aside for game reserves such as Western Caprivi. These should be used as bushman areas for mixed hunting and herding as well as intensive vegetable growing. The latter possibility is suggested by the success of "Pinky" Coetzee, one of the founders of 203 battalion, in raising vegetables on a farm on the banks of the Kavango river in Caprivi using bushmen laborers. Mr. Coetzee told us that he had worked 7 Hectares at Bangani and had produced 6 tons of fresh vegetables every month throughout the year. He fed 220 pigs off the vegetables while he was the company commander at Omega base. He taught 40 bushmen how to garden, including planting and cultivation. On the other hand, he seemed skeptical that they could do vegetable projects on their own. "They don't like physical work." he told us.
Another possibility for the Wasekela is to return to Angola if peace comes to that country. In Angola they worked with Portuguese people and with blacks and the living is easier there because the soil and the water situation is better.
Intimidation.
There was a complaint from SWAPO to UNTAG that a South African medic and some teachers from South Africa had told the bushmen to throw the SWAPO campaigners out of OMATAKU. FINNBATT examined the case and concluded that the bushmen had done it on their own. Dr. Biesele told us that SWAPO had avoided western bushmanland rather than risk confrontations with ex-soldiers who might view SWAPO as still the enemy. They have apparently limited their campaigning to eastern bushmanland.
Dr. Biesele told us that 40 people in an eastern village near the Botswana border had abandoned a borehole which the Ju/wa foundation had dug because it was a "SWAPO borehole". This village has worked for 20 years as observers of the border for the local police. She believes that the source of the judgment against the borehole rests with a man named Kiewiet, who is an important leader who is the Ju/wa policeman at the border. The head of the Ju/wa farmers' coop, Mr. Tsamo Toma, has announced for SWAPO.
Education Reform.
The Ju/wa Bushman Foundation has proposed a bushman school. The concept for the school is based on the use of Ju/wasi for the lower Standard grades, including texts using Ju/wasi tradition. English would be taught for the Nigher standards.
Report on Bushmanland, 1, 2, 3, 4 December 1989
Aim: follow-up on earlier reports, see
- Report on Ombili-foundation (Tsumeb file) 7 - 10 Sept. 89.

Itinerary
Friday 1, 50 kilometers after the gate of Bushmanland is a riverbed. On the northside of the road a new forestry project is started. Alongside the path a lot of new building material is dropped. Labourers told us that this is owned by people of 'another project' they did not know any name, who worked on what apparently will be a new settlement. Saturday 2, drove to Tsumkwe and Aotcha. Discussed with Patrick Dickens (linguist and agricultural specialist) and Frikkie Farrell (maintenance and cattle) both employed by the Ju/wa-foundation. Dr. Meagan Bieseke, director, was in Kaokoland / Windhoek and John Marchall, anthropologist, had left 2 weeks ago to the USA.

At the petrolstation in Tsumkwe we witnessed a man from Grootfontein being stabbed by a drunk Bushman near the heart. When we brought him to the hospital sister Theresa (matron) didn't show much enthusiasm to treat him. "Now I'm really fed up with these Bushman" she said. Her reaction was better understood when we found out that she had one man dead and another dying from a poisoned arrow in the belly already. The reason was payday and the following drinkinkinoessions that tend to develop into violence. She asked us to make sure the police would come now because the aggressive parties were still around the hospital. When we came back with a young (police)man who promised to try to reach Mengettibase by radio, sister Theresa came out of the clinic with two poisoned arrows. A man had come in to finish one of the patients off and had also threatened her. We left a letter at the deserted Untag-office and she left with her pailf1*S J-Mengetti. We proceeded to Aotcha to talk with the chairman of the farmers union Mr. Tsamkao Qma. Mr. Tsamkao had been investigating unfair trade in the South. Bushman were giving there a cow (1000 - 1500 R) for a horse (300-500R) to their erero neighbours. When we asked him about the future of the community he expressed their needs in terms of Healthcare, schooling and a pastor. Our tale of the events in Tsumkwe created much unrest especially among the women, who were afraid that family might be involved. In the evening we were invited by Mr. Dickens and Mr and ms. Farrell to have dinner and discuss in their camp.

Sunday morning 3 we went to Tsumkwe to meet Mr. Claude Echard from Untag who was together with his staff in the process of leaving the country. It is still unclear whether a new Untag staff, including police-monitors will be appointed.

Monday 4 we met with sister Theresa and visited Mengettibase were we discussed with commander Heiuonen from Finbat.

The verability of Bushmanland
As noted in previous reports, traditional survival for the Bushmen (hunting and gathering) is over. Population estimates range from 4,000 to 6,000 while the area could only sustain an estimated 163 H&G's, Traition to other ways of survival is
difficult. Fundamental changes cannot be made in a few generations. Yet total breakdown of the last Bushman culture is due in a matter of years. Hence the consequences for the people involved can be expected to be disastrous. Disintegration on the cultural and therefore also on the personality level is indicative. Clear symptoms of this process are the alcohol problem in the area and numerous cases of suicide and murder and craziness.

For some part of the Bushman population the SA-armed forces presented a temporary solution instead of disintegration. Army, structure and army discipline provided a type of alternative. However this cure should be regarded as worse than the disease. If selfreliance is a basic value in bushman traditional lifestyle, the army provided only increased dependence. Now that the army is leaving survival chances are even worse. Soldiers and their families have become dependent on money, food aid, alcohol, medical services and the cultural structure of the army. SA-army commanders can easily claim to be as a father for the Bushman, because bushmansoldiers are made infan as dependent on them as young babies are on their parents. As noted in the Ombili-report RSA has offered transmigration to locations in the RSA near the Vamib an and Botswana border to the Bushmen of Omegas, and other ex-soldiers and their families; NeMwis that, presumably under UN-pressure RSA is now playing down on the offer, saying they aren't that sure about housing and 'obs. Many parties seem interested in creating other alternatives, however the only organisation that has done anything substantial until now is the Ju/wa foundation. TheWr limit their action radius however to the area around /Aotcha. Untag is currently in the process of listing all organisations who expressed concern for the Bushmen and making a list of spokesersons on behalf of the bushmen. We were told that we could contact Keith Beavon, Untag district comm. in Grootfontein about this after 15 December.

Conclusions
1 The situation of the Bushmen is in a critical phase. Therefore Cims and should continue to give attention to the issue.
2 Bushmenland and M inhabitants will be a complicated issue in New namibia. Keyinformants on Bushman politics could be Dr. Meagan Biesele from the Ju/wa foundation and Mr. Keith Beavon from Untag, who both can be contacted shortly after 15 Dec. 1989.
3 Cims/CCN follow-up reports should contain more information on different groups of Bushmen, their specific circumstances and if possible some overview of their specific needs. Efforts must be made to list spokespersons and organisations that show concern for the Bushmen case.
4 Various organisations among them CCN are expected to do "something". Therefore Cims should coordinate its investigations on this matter with the appropriate desks) at CCN.

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Part of report trip to Bushmanland and Hereroland, 14 - 21 January 1990,
On Friday 19 January a meeting took place at Mengettibase between representatives of the Bushman in Western Bushmanland, Swapo, represented by the deputy-minister of Defense, South Africa, among others represented by Major Van Wijk from Mengettibase and Untag. We were not allowed to attend the meeting but heard some information from major van Wijk who we interviewed the next day, and 2 pilots who were walking in and out of the meeting.

The Bushman expressed their fear of persecution by Swapo, fear that a similar process would take place as in Angola in the mid-seventies. They claim many bushman were killed. Note: We are not aware of historical evidence of large scale killings but than it must be remembered that Bushman live by oral tradition and that any killing gives great shock to the communities.

The Bushman were also aware that they had no leaders representing them. They felt their leaders were the SA-commanders but now that they would leave soon they felt their interest was no longer protected. They asked Swapo to have a representative in the Constitutional assembly "Even if he is stupid, he should at least be there to see what happens and tell us."

Note: This demand shows how little the people in Western Bushman land know (are told) about what is going on. Apparently they don't feel they are represented by the parties they voted for.

Swapo responded only at the end of the day. They explained that they would take their worries with them and that they would be discussed with Swapo leaders in Windhoek. They spoke reconciliatory words. But could at this stage not make any promises about government plans for the future. It must be remembered that only after independence a Swapo government can speak", they said. Other representatives would be back to follow up this meeting. No date was set. Note: Although these Swapo statements are logical and understandable they did not convince the Bushman. Words do not mean much to them. Bushman however appreciated meeting Swapo, who to the surprise of many presented themselves quite different than what they had expected from what they were told about Swapo in the previous years.

Untag acted more or less as a chairman during the meeting. But we have no information on what they said.

Representatives from South Africa didn't say much either. Urged by Untag Van Wijk tried to convince "his mQn" that i would be save to stay. If they wanted to move they should however make up their mind soon, because it would be much more difficult for the new government to allow them to move after independence.

Note: This puts the Bushman in a very difficult position. Swapo is telling them that they cannot make any promises before independence, while South Africa urges them to decide before.

The next day we understood from Major Van Wijk that he really understands now that it will be better for them to stay here. He said that he and his colleague Hartin~ from Omegetase, asked General Geldenhuis to agree to a plan were South Africa would contribute substantially to development plans for the Bushman in Western Bushmanland. It appara rs that even Pretoria is not unwilling to accept this plan. This could by simple aritmetic come to quite a large amount of money. At
present The army must be spending more than R 2 million per month at Omega and Mengetti. Such funds would probably be made available through UNDP.

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HEALTHCARE IN TRANSITION; BUSHMANLAND,
OMEGABASI(WESTON CAPRIVI)
BAGANINAS(EASTERN CAPRIVI)
Hanneke Verhoeven, Honk van Apeldoorn 28th January 1990

Itinerary
Thursday 18 Jan. we visited the clinic in Tsunfkwe and spoke to nurse Therese.
Friday 19 Jan. WO spoke to the assistant nurses Laurentia Narubet and Martha Awases and joined the bushclinic, visiting the villages M'kata, and Luhebu in Western Bushmanland.
We also spoke to one of the army doctors from the hospital at Mangeti base, Conrad Thompson.
Saturday 20 Jan. we talked to the commender of the SADF at Mangeti base, Major Van Wijk.
Aims of the trip:
-To get clear how the Health Care situation is among the Bushmen in Eastern Bushmanland, in Western Bushmanland, in Omega base(Western Caprivi) and in Bagani Base (Eastern Caprivi)
-What kind of problems do they face. We visited Eastern- and Western Bushmanland, we added information from the reports mentioned in 'so Urces'.
About Omega base and Bagani base the info is only from the report of the UN Inter-agency Mission.
-To check the expected problems relating to Health Care during the transition period - and after the departure of SADF personnel from the bases.
Sources:
-Informants mentioned in the itinerary.
-Progress report and newsletter submitted by Ju/Wa Bushman Development Foundation. Nov. '88-April '89.
-Statutes of the Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative (NNFC).
-The constitution and communal lands in Namibia, the Ju/Wa case, by John Marshall 1989.
Short look on history
About 11,000 years ago the Bushmen came to Namibia, the other people like Nama's, Herero's, Whites came only the last 400 years.
A 100 years ago Bushmen meant: people who made their living by hunting and gathering in the bush. Even 30 years ago the term could still apply to about 1200
Ju/Wa people who lived in the Nyae Nyae. Today the Ju/Wasi have to farm on their last remnant of communal land in order to survive. Ju/Wasi lost 90% of Nyae Nyae. The ro*ft 10% is what is now called Eastern Bushmanland. Since 1976-1978 Western Bushmanland has been the baso

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ter 203 Battilion of the SADF. About 50% of the Bushmansoldiers were in the army since that time. Reasons for joining the SADF were desintegration of their way of life, lack of ground to support themselves by hunting and gathering or farming. These people were easily manipulated, 95% of them is illiterate and they lived very isolated. One could say they were made an offer they could't afford to refuse: R600 monthly salary is an unbelievable fortune amid a population that on average is earning less than 60R per year. Some statistics (Ondersoek na die Boesmanbevolkingsgroep in SWA 1984)

- the total 'Bushman' population probably declined by 5% in the decade of the 1979's, in 1981 the CBR was 32.6 and the CDR was 33.7.
- about 50% of all Bushman children die before age 10.
- annual income per capita is R42 (except soldiers who earn between R600 and R1400 per month).
- 95% have never been to school.
- 89% of the people from 5-19 is not in school.

EASTERN BUSHMANLAND

Population composition in Eastern Bushmanland.
In Eastern Bushmanland (6000 km2) live about 2000 people. About 500 live in Tsumkwe, 900 on army bases and policeposts and 600 live permanently in 22 farming communities from d Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative. Bushmanland can give only about 160 people food by hunting and gathering. As a result of dispossession the Ju/Wasi have to farm on their last remnant of communal land in order to survive.

Source of income (statutes of the NNFC 1989)
husbandry and gardening 40%
hunting and gathering 30%
salaries of people employed 15%
(down markedly since demobilisation) sale of crafts 5%
pensions 7%
sale of beef to local purchasers 5%

Medical services in Eastern Bushmanland
We Interviewed sister Therese, she is a nurse from Switzerland and works in Africa since the early '80's. She works in Tsumkwe since april 1989. It is difficult to work there she says, she can't speak the language, there are almost no whites in the village and there is no entertainment. Maybe she stays for another year or she goes away before that time. Two assistant-nurses are at work, one since 4 months the other since one month. Probably they will leave at the end of Februari. They don't speak the Bushman language either. Few Bushmen speak Afrikaans or another language except their own language. So everytime they need a translator,
most of the time it is Willem, who is the driver of the ambulance/mobil clinic (Nissan 4+4). But he doesn't speak the language of the IKung Bushmen and Angolans at Maqeti base so whether there is someone available who can speak Afrikaans or their own language of the nurses (currently Damara).

We noticed at the 'bushclinic' (the mobil clinic, that the explanation or the translation of how to use the medicines for instance was hardly ever adequate. Therefore we doubt whether the people understand what they have to do. Intention is to visit each of the Nyse Nysae villages in E. Bushmanland once a month. But if ever this was practised it was a long time ago. Instead they go to Ws luahmahland to immunize the children there. It is not clear to us why they do this in W. Bushmanland and why the people of E. Bushmanland have to come to the clinic for that. When asked for the aim of the clinic Therese said: Primary Health Care. The practice of the clinic is nearer to first aid. People can only stay in the clinic while waiting for the doctor or in case of a difficult childbirth. Prevention as immunisation campaigns and education about health problems as hygiene and so on seems to be not included or not practised in E. Bushmanland. Most prevalent diseases are TB, malnutrition, alcohol abuse, respiratory infections, malaria, hepatitis and snakebites. Once a month the 'flying doctor' comes only for one hour. The Clinic has radio contact with the hospital in Grootfontein. However this radio often breaks down. If it is necessary that patients see a doctor she goes with them to Maqeti base, and if more care is needed to Grootfontein. (3 hours drive) There are enough medicines in the clinic (malaria treatment for years we were informed. Medicines are obtained from Grootfontein hospital. The patients have to pay R2. Often they have no money and we heard that sometimes they are not treated then. Traditional healing in Eastern Bushmanland western medical services are evaluated by the Bushman on a pragmatic basis. Western medicine is obviously very effective against diseases like TB, malaria, venereal diseases. But in many other cases Bushman prefer traditional healing. We heard from MoBiesele (director of the Ju/Wasi Development Foundation) that about half of the men and one third of the women still have and use healing techniques. One could sum up the observed problems in Health Care as follows:

- The Bushmen were used to hunt and gather in a large area, they moved from one place to the other, now they live in one place. Therefore they have to learn new and more hygienic techniques than were necessary in the past.
- Language problem
- Unemployment
- Disintegration of traditional survival techniques including philosophy of living, resulting in much alcohol abuse.
you have to go to the clinic, the clinic doesn't come to the villages.

= 178=

New HC plan(s)
The health status of the Ju/wasi has gone from excellent to precarious within a few decades. There are social, environmental and economic causes of this decline, and also there is a lack of nutritional awareness. Education in nutrition matters (about sugar, alcohol f.i.) and also about hygiene is important. The Nyae Nyae Farmers Co-operativ plans a health project. This project will be aimed at improving community understanding of health issues using PHC techniques. It will train health monitors for each community and work in liaison with the Tsumkwe clinic. This could be a good solution for the prevalent difficulties in the healthcare which exist now. PHC in the villages and more curative treatment in the clinic can improve their health situation. We think it is important not to put aside the traditional healing, just improve the Western Health Care where necessary.

WESTERN BUSHMANLAND
In Western Bushmanland (two-third of Bushmanland) live two thousand to four thousand people. It is not exact because many people travel from Angola and Omega Base to Western Bushmanland. There is a military base (Mangetti Base) surrounded by eight main villages. There are living 280 Vassekela ex-soldiers, about 1500 are 'kung professional soldiers and their families from Angola.

Source of income.
- 60 to 70 percent of income arrive from military salaries
- bush food and game are scarce or absent, Western Bushmanland is waterless

Medical services
At Mangetti Base there is a sickbay. Three South African army doctors are working there till the end of March. Then they will go back to South Africa. At the end of October, the SADF employed two doctors at Mangetti and four outposted 'medics', one each in Nohma, Aasvoilness, Luhebu and Omatakao. We don't know if the outposted 'medics' still are at work, they may have left or otherwise they will leave at the end of March. Aim of the sickbay is to give ex-soldiers and their families medical service. In the sickbay are three beds, but they aren't meant for staying when you are sick, then you have to go to the hospital in Grootfontein. There is emergency equipment and an ambulance and a mobile clinic. According to the Tsumkwe assistant nurses the clinic visits the villages near the base three times a week for cure. The mobile clinic from Tsumkwe clinic (Bushmanland East) however visits each village in Western Bushmanland one time in two month for immunisation of the children. They have enough drugs available also supply is less than the past. The army pays for the services. The sickbay only give cure not prevention. Problems against health in this area are alcohol, unemployment, people don't know about causes of some diseases (hygiene, immunisation) and of course the social disintegration of the Bushmen. Common diseases are TB, malnutrition, malaria, respiratory infections, hepatitis. After the end of March all SA personnel will return to South Afr
They will leave their medical equipment there, but what can be done without health care personnel. Doctor Conrad Thompson from the SADF says maybe the Lutheran World Federation or/and the new government can take over. Maybe South Africa provide some development aid, nothing is certain about that until now. The sickbav used to spend R 15,000 per month on medicines only. It is unlikely that Health Care will be sustained at this expensive level. In terms of personnel as well in medicines. More and carefully applied PHC will give better results. SADF Commander Van Wijk told us that according to Mangetti doctors the people in Eastern Bushmanland are much healthier than in Western Bushmanland, even if they have less health services. One of the reasons seems to be that the bushmen are much more independent and are less disintegrated than in Western Bushmanland.

OMEGA BASE (WESTERN CAPRIVI)
Omega Base has a population of 3254 people, mainly Vasekela Bushmen from Angola. There are three other small settlements with a total population of 661 people. Between 628-639 men i’re paid through SADF. Their salaries varies from R600 till RiiO a month (Data from October ’89, source UN Interagency mission.

Sources of income
- average income per head per month R137 (total R535000 spent by SADF on army salaries)
- military pensions (R73,000 a month spent by SADF)
- minimal farming and stock keeping (in outlying villages)
- some veldfoods

Medical services
Omega Base has one hospital, it is well equipped and supplied. They have four ambulances and they provide mobile health services in the East Caprivi region. The hospital admitted 70 people per month, attended to 1200 outpatients, and treated some 1050 people per month on mobile clinics. About six medical operations were performed per month. Routine vaccinations, ante-natal and wellbaby services were provided at the hospital, but these were not considered effective in a mobile programme. Finbatt estimated R80,000 was spent by the SADF on medicines and R10,000 on laboratory service a month.
The hospital employed three doctors (GP’s), 1 pharmacist, 1 dentist, 19 medical orderlies, two labaratory technicians and 6 Bushman helpers.
Main diseases are gastro-enteritis, resp iratory infections, malaria (about 55 cases a month), TB (11 new cases a month) and malnutrition State of shelter conditions are relatively poor. Water was trucked out to a number of settlements in Eastern Caprivi from the base as part of mobile health services. (This has been taken over by Finbatt). But what will happen after the first of April. SADF will leave Omega Base at the end of March. Great problems for the health of the Bushmen is to be expected when nobody takes over one way or the other. Health Care given by SADF was very expensive too expensive for the new government we presume. A combination of PHC and cure in the hospital, including education
to the communities and to educate health care workers in the village$ is suggested by several sources.

(Report of UN Inter-agency Mission, 30/31 October 1989)

BAGAN! BAS (EASTERN CAPRIVI)

Bgani Base has a population of about 2500 Bushmen, they came originally from Angola.

Source of income
- 3 to 4 hectare* of mainly millet per family unit
- fishing
- some degree of dependence on salaries 39 workers employed on the farm at the military base
- area is Z71asonable suitable for development of farming
- some veldfood

Medical Services
The military base has a sickbay. 1@0 to 150 patients a week visit the hospital. Hygiene is considered poor, but nutrition good. The sickbay has a mobile unit, served a small number of mobile stops, including the bordergate with Botswana. There was one doctor and two medical assistants. Further information not available,

REPORT ON DAMARALAND
5.,6., 9. and 10. September 1989

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Sunday, 10.9. did not get hold of pastors in Khorixas and Uis: They were out of town
drove to Okombahe, Lutheran Church, talked to church workers
drove to Omaruru (see report)

REGISTRATION
On 4.9.89 14.492 voters were registered. That was 91,94 per cent of the estimate of 15.900. Later in Omaruru we were told that many people, especially from near the Herero enclave in DAmaraland went there to register because they had easier access. That might explain why the figures in Khorixas are under national average.

In Uis the Lutheran pastor suspected that many people might not have registered, but then the mobile registration team went there on September, 6 and 7, they only
registered 24 persons although the team was extensively announced. They got only 60 per cent of the cards with mistakes corrected. With most registration cards that have to be redone now, after clerical mistakes in the beginning, the fingerprints are not accepted. This results from old people who after hard manual work through their whole life have hardly any lines on their fingers left.

People were well informed about registration, according to UNTAG. The main problem was transport for people living in the (small scale black owned) farms because of the long distances in scarcely populated Damaraland. Some parties drove only their own people to the registration points. In the beginning some people associated a registration point with a political party because a party with their T-shirt was the first present.

ELECTION
The great distances and lack of transport will cause problems in the area. Also, UNTAG feels that in the preliminary plans there is not made provision for enough polling stations and that they should be consulted in the planning of the polling stations. (See forthcoming special report.)

INTIMIDATION
There were no cases of intimidation reported at UNTAG. The area is relatively calm. The Lutheran pastor in Uis said that young people in school were intimidating each other and by UDF in Khorixas we were told that people shout at each other at rallies.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND CAMPAIGNING
The most important parties in the area are DTA (strongest), UDF and SWAPO. In Uis the pastor said that parties told their supporters on farms not to listen to other parties and so these parties had no chance to be listened to. DTA has more cars and easier access to farms.

will replace them is not yet known. The existing facilities, and medicines which are adequate for minor surgery will remain after April 1990. The shop established and stocked by South African authorities will be closed. Dr. Conrad Thompson gave an escorted tour of Xhe hospital, which provided a four-bed ward for Overnight cases, pelo st helicopter to Grootfontein. The base is headquarters for the Finnish battalion of UNTAG which will also be withdrawn at the latest in April. The withdrawal of these forces from the Base will have a considerable impact on the local Villages, especially if the new government plans minimal utilization of the base.

Dlxoko The second village in eastern Bushmanland visited had a special item of interest: a windmill provided the power to pump the water from a bore-hole into a large storage tank. The overflow from the tank ran into a trough, at which the village cattle could be watered. Furthermore, the overflow from the trough kept a natural depression in the ground full of water, thus providing a natural pond for wildlife.
The rains have come to the 'rea at last, thus allowing the bushes and flowers to burst, out in their full glory. As we arrived the people of this village were just herding their cattle into a kraal. By the time we had walked up the hill from the track, most of the Bushman people had gathered in the centre of nine huts. The young children did not appear to be too healthy; runny noses and bleary eyes also extended stomachs were seen; but the older children were energetically active and interested in us. One boy produced beads, bows and arrows but did not attempt to sell them. The headman was wizened and slow of mind. Communication was difficult since the only person who understood Afrikaans was too shy to speak with us. The entire group of 15 pempl accompanied us back to the truck. Several women smoked tabacco utilising shell-cases. They indicated they were hungry and appreciated the dried fruit which we handed out.

In Tsumkwe we picked up two young Bushmen who wanted to accompany us, they had been drinking but were not intoxicated. They did not appreciate the rough going over rutted tracks, the 25 km journey to this village took 45 minutes. Our main reason for the visit was to see the new manually operated water pump. It was manufactured by the Farmers Co-operative. The pump was of simple design and robust in construction, but it is not expected that the village will be able to maintain the pump independently of the co-op. The quality of the water appeared good, no discernable taste of elements. It was clean and cool. The pump was about 200 meters from the village.

One woman was washing cloths and herself in a wheelbarrow about 15 meters from the pump, while two old but active women collected water in a bottle which could have done with a cleaning. These women had been collecting green plants ‘r branches from a bush. Later on they stripped, the leaves off the stocks and prepared a soup.

In the centre of the village the young teenage children danced to taped Kavango Music, very typical behaviour of that age group in many parts of the world. The main young woman dancer had black and red spots painted on her face. Apparently she had been believed of her father and her dancing was part of the grieving process.

The head farmer or Grextman of the village took us on a tour of the gardens. The millet and corn were just starting to grow, Another section of the garden displayed a promising start to a good harvest of striped melons. The millet seeds were treated various supplied by Patrick Dickens of JU/WA Foundation. A supply of beads an6 bows and arrows was displayed. The bead$ were of various designs,
the bows and arrows assembly could be bought either in full size or in miniature. Interestingly the young grieving woman was given the proceeds from the bead sale, The young men who had accompanied us from Tsumkwe were very useful in translating from "click" to Africaans, although their superior, attitude towards some of the villagers was not appreciated.
Conclusions.
a) Progress was noted in at least three areas
1. Water supply
2. Horticulture
3. -CAAfor cattle
b) The important defence against predators was given attention. Fences against cattle in particular were adequate and most seemed newly constructed
c) It was too early in the rainy season to judge the success of the plantings. However the garden soil was well prepared and especially in the case of //xa/oba village. The gardeners were enthusiastic about the growth already obtained using the treated seeds.
* Afrikaans

INTRODUCTION
The Damara, also known as Damara or Bergdama have occupied Damaraland for at least 3000 years. They are a mysterious people whose origins and ethnic relationships are obscure. They have negroid features, but speak a Khoisan language. They are genetically isolated from their neighbours, the Nama to the South and the Herero and Ovambo to the north, showing that throughout their long history of contact with the Nama in particular they almost exclusively married other Damara's. years ago some Damara lived as hunters and gatherers; others were pastoralists and kept goats and cattle; others were traders acting as middlemen between the Herero and Ovambo to the North and the Nama in the south.
The Damara adapted to German rule and did not take part in the Herero and Nama uprisings at the beginning of the 20th century. Even so the German troops killed perhaps as much as 20 percent of the Damara population because they couldn't tell them apart from the Herero's and Nama's.
In 1962 the South African government introduced the homeland system. An administrative Centre was established: Khorixas. In Khorixas we find the headquarters of Damara administration, schools, a hospital, the police, shops, churches, bars and headquarters for political parties. Khorixas was the logical place for Untag to settle and the 'ruskamp', the only available accommodation, proved a good base for CIMS monitoring as well. Some smaller centres are Arandis (monitored from Swakopmund), Uis (mine, schools, church), Sesfontein (schools, Koevoet/Swapoli base, Untag Civpol), Okombhe (Lutheran High School, "come visit us, we are too much radical here"), Bergsig (school). The names of other places on the map remind us of the days of Afrikaner farmers. They were gradually bought out after 1962. Their farms are now inhabited by Damara families.
The home land system suited traditional structures well. Many Damara's, especially those from the older generation, show unconditional loyalty to their Chief Justus Garoib, who was the first on the list of UDF. When we asked people wearing UDF T-shirts why they voted UDF many answered: because I'm a Damara. One of the last days before elections we counted flags on houses in Khorixas. Here are the results: UDF 45, Swapo 15, DTA 2, no flag 43. Election results showed only a slightly different pattern. About 53 percent voted UDF, 26 percent Swapo and 16 percent DTA.

DAMARALAND

KAOKOLAND
LODEFITZ
BOTGWANA

= 186 =

REPORT ON DAMARALAND
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RETURNEES
In Uis there three returnees, among them one former detainee who left for Ketmannshoop. Returnees have difficulties because people do not talk to people who come from far away, even if they are members of the family. They are greeted but the re-integration into the community is difficult. There are still five people missing who went into exile. The question of SWAPO detainees created great mistrust against SWAPO.

UNTAG
UNTAG has 23 police monitors in Khorixas and Sesfontein. The police has approximately 40 men in uniform who have little to do and an unknown number of members in plain clothes. Police refused to tell UNTAG the exact number. Civilian UNTAG seems to be doing a good job, being better organised than the SWA administration.

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCHES
The Lutheran church is seen by some people as supporting SWAPO. It is boycotted to save ends; The Lutheran pastor in Uis told us that DTA members told their supporters not to go to church anymore. When he confronted one of them, a member of his congregation, that one did no longer come to church either. The Lutheran Pastor in Khorixas told us that: his church was boycotted by UDF and DTA on advice of the party leaders, although saying that people were not called by the leaders to do that. He suggested it's that the reason was the closeness between SWAPO and the Lutheran church,
About, ahe we were told that there had been a Lutheran pastor supporting DTA and the church had been boycotted by UDF. But now there is a female pastor and church workers told us that the problem does not exist anymore. The pastor, InUis said that the church should work for reconciliation and against Only Wrig along party lines. The church should encourage people to listen to all sides, They also introduced the 'returnees and the ex-SWAPO detainees in the church. The detainee did not want to speak, though.

15.9.89

Report on Damaraland 17 and 18 October 1989

Itineray 17, Drove to Uis met rey. Albert Nouseb of Lutheran Church tel (148) questions and explanation on voting procedures. In Khorixas we spoke to Ms Laurie Esposito (GS) of Untag (tel 0020-14,f, fax 0020-282) Noted down polling locations with the help OfFrans (interpreter) and obtained a list of registration Sites.city of registered people. Met with Father Lebbe, Lutheran Church and his college and "successor". Otto IGonteb, POBox 2005 tel 162, Khorixas 9000. p lbWensday 18 October. Returning to Untag we discussed with Mr. Anthony Lydon (district supervisor) and Ms. Freda Wapeny. At UDF offle we were recieved by Mr. Simson Tjongarero. Questions and explanation on voting procedures. Met with father Petrus of R.C. Church. Drove to Opuwo. Registration figures show that Damaraland comprises of 2.24% of all Namibian voters. (14565 out of 651.000). 2/3 of the voters registered in 3 major centres. Khorixas : 4.689 ; Arandis 2.941 Uis: 1.754. These three centres will have polling stations during the whole polling period. Five mobile units will cover the rural areas, mainly inhabited by farmworkers on white farms. (note: Damara smallfarmers are PA T*8F Omuuru polling district.) There will be less polling locations than registration locations. 1118 out of 5181 or 21.6% of the rural voters will have to travel longer distances to vote than they had to register. Security forces Some disbanded police and Army personnel have come from the North to settle in the area. They are the main backbone of DTA. Untill now no incidents of physical harassment and intimidation were reported to Untag, nor did the pastors note any activity of that kind. However when it comes to political parties and campaigning one could speak of traditional or structural intimidation of the people. Tr-dTedTdToTa TeEdr'hTp-is very strong Tn-tie area. Keyfigure is headman /district commissioner/ UDF-president Justus Garoeb. His former Damara Council is by most Damara's still seen as the body that will protect their Damara interest. It is seen as "natural" to vote for him. Social control comes near to intimidation when people are pressed to put flags on their houses to show loyalty to 'their' headman As father Petrus put it: "many people only can think in terms of Damara administration. They are tense and confused about what is going to happen after independence. They think in terms of do we still have our jobs?" Political parties are concieved of as rivals. They do not distinguis between
difference of opinion and physical rivals." From pastor Nouseb in Uis we heard that"people are (made) afraid that they will lose their pensions when Swapo comes to power." This frightening of people that they will lose the little security they have now if Swapo comes to power should be defined as at least psychological harassment and intimidation.

We did not gather information on the issue of returnees.

Information, media and voter education

We were told by Untag that radio is very effective in Damaraland. In their reconnaissance period they learned Kalxsaiy that people had radios and batteries and were listening. For the announcement of polling dates and sites radio will be effective if the announcements come in time and can spread by the other very effective medium: mouth to mouth information. Unfortunately this mouth to mouth information is also spreading the wild and frightening rumours. Such to the extend that people consider the idea "your vote is secret" ridiculous. Untag officer Freda Wapeny was laughed at when she put up posters with that message in Khorixas. Untag is blocked by the headman to give direct information to the people. They were told "You tell us and we will tell them." For this reason people are ill informed about polling procedures. They expect the polling to be like the headman elections. Then they had to put their vote in one of three different trays that were placed in a room in front of one presiding officer. From that tradition they just 'know' that their vote is not secret and Untag is telling lies'. (In the last headman elections Damara Council (UDF) got 85% of the votes).

UDF was the only political party that we visited. They don't do any voter education. Even their spokesman Mr. Simson Tjongerere was not informed (yet?) on voting procedures. He said: "we have no people who teach them how to vote."

Role of Untag

Untag has meetings with parties every two weeks, small incidents are discussed. Registration appears to have been efficient and fairly exhaustive. Although some farms seem to employ very few labourers who have a right to vote. Cooperation with us was "british" correct and fairly open. They are not happy with our analysis of "structural traditional intimidation. They accept the existing structure with flaws. Mr. Lydon said: "people seem to be happy with it".

Role of the churches

Both in Uis as in Khorixas pastors do the most important sort of voter education. They try to teach people about democracy, independence and their freedom of choice. They try to reassure them about their fears. Their message is however seen as "Swapo"

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MONITORING REPORTS.

Damaraland

On our way to North we stopped at Uis. We met Pastor A. Nouseb who reported that the community of this area have good reltionship and therefore there are no
incidents of intimidations. DTA discourages its supporters to attend church services because the church supports SWAPO. 
Voter education is progressing well. Students are helping to educate their illiterate parents.
We explain the voting procedure to him.
Only DTA has office, which is 46 meters from a Admin. offices which will be Static polling station. We reported this to UNTAG office, and we were told that the matter is under discussion.
Other parties also discourage their supporters to go to church as it supports SWAPO.
We were told by pastor Nousgeb that the Mine employees work for more than 20 hours a shift. They do not have Workers Union.

Khorixas 17/18/19
-Pastor O. Gongeb and Pastor Lebbe of E'LC.
-It is very quite here. People are concerned about their parties.
-Families do not communicate to one another due to party affiliation division.
-So far there were no incidents during the past rallies.
-UDF members were sent to WINDHOEK to go and claim that their children who were in exile have disappeared or have not returned.
-These people were not in exile nor their children were. They are not even members SWAPO.

Most people joined UDF through the influence and instruction of the local chief who is also the President and councillor of Damara local council.
-One Sunday morning Pastor Nousgeb found the flag of UDF placed on the Pulpit. He said he just look at it and did not ask his congregation. He knew the motive behind it. Intimidation.

UNTAG Office 18/10/89
Director Mr. Anthony Lydon.
-The area is relatively quite. We have parties' meetings once a week. Their problems are discussed and solved on the spot.
-Only one minor incident was when DTA supporters marched passed near SWAPO offices and shouted SWAPO supporters down and there was a brawl. The incident was reported to us and we called them together. DTA admitted, and apologised.

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= 191 =
REPORT ON VISIT TO DAMARALAND.
28, 29, 30 October, 5 November 1989
Saturday 28th October
Part of our team went ahead to Khorixas to be able to assess the atmosphere before the big SWAPO rally of Sunday 29th. We went into town on Saturday night but did not notice any kind of trouble. Only people going to dance and drink in fact many of them were drunk.
Sunday 29th October
We attended the morning service at the Lutheran Church. About 140 people were there. Father Lebbe gretted us and gave us the opportunity to say a few words to the congregation.
We went to the SWAPO rally in the afternoon. It seems that less than 3,000 people were there. The atmosphere was nice. The SWAPO people in charge of security were very cautious before letting anyone enter checking every part of the body, even in my hair!

Monday 30th October
We visited Father Lebbe, the pastor, in charge of the Lutheran congregation. He told us about a case being introduced into court by some-people who claim against Pastor Kameeta, complaining that their children had not come back home (they don't know where they are).
We also met Father Petrus from the Roman Catholic Church. He told us about many students (about 30) who had been expelled from school and a teacher also. Reasons for that were apparently political.

Sunday 5th November
We went to Fransfontein to attend a special Church femst about the history of. the Church here. About 200 people attended the service and there again I could say a few words to the congregation.
it must be said- that there is almost no kind of information
- no news papers - and in Kaokoland no FM radio station can be heard atr all.

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REPORT ON SESFONTEIN AND BERGSIG
1 NOVEMBER 1989
ITINERARY
We drove to Sesfontein stopping at Bergsig were we discussed with the Principal of the school, Mr Person. In Sesfontein we spoke with UNTAG Civpol Luitenant Lural Long.
VOTER EDUCATION
Only the most elementary voter education was done at Bergsig by the Principal. If more eleborate information would have been available before the pupils were sent home, the pupils could have been valuable source of information for the parents.
No voter education had been done in Sesfontein so far according to UNTAG Civpol.
Civpol is not able to monitor SWAPOL. Firstly because only the SWAPOL (koevoet) leader speaks English. Civpol has only one interpreter, a lady, who understands what SWAPOL personel is saying, but they do not understand or do not want to understand what she says. SWAPOL informs Civpol about patrols only in exceptional cases. In the last five weeks this happened two times. Civpol did not know how many SWAPOL personnel are at the base - most time 5 or sometimes 25.
SWAPOL has 2 big Bedford Trucks and one other vehicle that they could not describe, a light army vehicle. As far as they know (and that is not much as shown), no intimidation had taken place. Parties coexist in peace. They monitored an UDF and a DTA meeting, but the only word they understood was 'UNTAG'.

= 193 =

POLITICAL PARTIES AND CAMPAIGNING In Bergsig the familiar pattern was described once again: old people vote UDF, expecting protection from Chief Garoeb, young and intellectual vote SWAPO. DTA brings fodder and cooldrinks to the farmers and get their support. NO RETURNEES IN THE AREA. Most people near Bergsig are Riemvasmakers, a group deported from Cape Town in 1974 to "their homeland".

= 194 =

FRANSFONTEIN - 4 NOVEMBER 1989
SISTER SELINDA XOAGUS, SWAPO SON LOST.
Sister Selinda is a Church elder in Fransfontein. Her son left Namibia on 5 January 1980 to join SWAPO. He has last been seen in 1986 in "some African country" possibly in Zambia or Angola. Sister Selinda never received any letter from him. She is afraid he is dead.

DTA people pre"ed her to give evidence in court on 3 November in Windhoek against prominent SWAPO Officials including Rev H Witbooi and Dr Z Kameeta. According to Pastor Lebbe she was tricked into this and did not understand the consequences. Moreover there is some evidence that her son, Mr Arnold Kuri Marula Xoagub is not dead. This summer a letter was sent to her by Pastor Hermann Lubke (Germany) that he had obtained information from Pastor Siegfried Groth (who visited the refugee camps) that her son was alive and well, somewhere in Holland. She was very relieved when Henk offered to look for Arnold who is known as Marula in Holland if she could provide his address. Unfortunately, she did not have the address but would ask her sons in Windhoek to forward the address to the attention of Henk van Apeldoorn at CCN or CIMS. Until today 6 February 1990 I have not received the address. But of course I will forward all information to the Legal Advice group and Sister Selinda, if I can find out, whether Arnold Marula, born 28 October 1961 is still alive.
Sister Selinda Xoagus can be reached via Posbus 28, Khorixas, NAMIBIA, 9000.

195

DAMARALAND
7 - 11 NOVEMBER 1989
ELECTION REPORT
Our team KHIRIXAS, OMATJETE,
monitored and observed the following polling stations: OUTJO, FRANSFONTEIN, UIS, LEEUWRIVER, PALMBERG, PERSIANA, HOUMOED, OSONDATI.

OBSERVATIONS:
- In all of the above polling stations voting was carried out peacefully.
- Voters were calm and quiet.
- Voters were assisted by A.G Officials and UNTAG.
- There was co-operation between UNTAG and A.G Officials.
- Elderly, blind and crippled voters were assisted by relatives or party supporters/members.
- No voters were turned away or refused to vote.
- Party agents were present in all polling stations.
- Voters came by themselves, others were transported by their parties or by their employers from the farms.

REMARKS:
- SWAPOL were always carrying fire arms.
- UNTAG did not carry fire arms.
- In other polling stations only Afrikaans and used and no interpretation or translation to UNTAG.
- Some party agents were not sure of their role or they were afraid of boer agents.
- Local language were Officials! due to inexperience.
- DTA had white party agents who were busy writing or ticking names of voters in most of polling stations.

X-Map report on Damaraland

Aims of the trip:
- Monitor the expected increased destabilisation in the Nord (Owambo, Kaoko) with perhaps a peak in violence during X-mas. Items:- the. pewervaouujm( Swapol disintegration); - reshuffling of Untag ; - stop on payment of Koevoet ; - reduced restraint because 3f drinking d un- X-mas.
- Omuru and Damarald% have not been monitored after elections.
SV 24 dee,

ple00 along our route about developments in Damaraland after elections ( Qmatjette, Ozondati, Houmoed, Granietkop, Blaauwpoort). Meo 2 dee, X-mas (TwijfelfontfJn, versteende woud, Khorixas) TU 4. Writing letters in Khorixas. We 27, Drove to Bergsig, Sesfontijn discussed with Untag civpol, assistent superintendent Lambert Anonye from Nigeria.

Pamaralana

In Damaraland we had short conversations about election results with about 15 people in 10 different places. Every informant seemed really pleased with the results. Although some UDF-voters had expected more vote, they exp6%trust in the future and in the new government. Many people tried to get drunk during X-
mas, but perhaps because of lacking money not so many succeeded from what we observed. We noticed no violence at all and a happy mood in general.

In Khorixas we heard again from one informant dissatisfaction with Untag civpol. 'They are mainly after drinks and women' he said. From another source we heard that Swapol even once had come themselves to ask to be monitored, but civpol had not been interested 'So how many times you ask?' This informant wondered. At Khorixas Ruskamp we had noted before and now again that civpol was not really welcome On the premises because they mit(aved to often in the past. Bergsig and Sesfontein are even more quiet then before elections. Bergsig had at the third day of X-mas come to the point that we had to wake up people at one o'clock in the afternoon if we wanted some information.

When in Sesfontein I asked the Untag st.comm. whether he had really nothing of interest that I could report to my bos ; he answered: 'Wo, since the first day I came here I noticed that the day is longer than the night'. My question to CIMS is therefore, j. Is Bob kandetu aware of this?
2. If not, can it be assure that it will have priority in his attention?
3. What action should be taken?

Other observations we made in Sesfontein are: Reshuffling of civpol has not changed the general situation since our last report. Civpol still has only the one lady interpreter, who cannot' effectively communicate with Swapol. The Koevoet/Swapolbase is presently held by 9 people. Swapol patrols are not monitored. Untag trusts that the local population will bring incidents to their attention.

PIELD REPORTS FROM OUTM. OTIWARONGO AND OMAET

The region of Otjo, 0tiwarongo and Omartaru is a farming area bordered by Ovambo land in the North, raokolant on the North-West, Damaraland on the West, HlreToland on the East and Tsumeb and Grootfontein on the XbrthEast. (See, Map below.)

OUTJO) OTJTWARONGO AN-DAOURYREIDCTDBY
-DRCNE RA BLOW"----Is II 2V 2r'

BOTSWANA

- 198 =
PM ONY .. 5THA-10TH SEPTRMMU 198 9
REGISTRATION
On 4.9.89 14.492 voters were registered. That was 91,94 per cent of the estimate of 15,900. Later In Omaruru we were told that many people, especially from near the Herero enclave in DAmaraland went there to register because they had easier access.
That might explain why the figures in Khorixas are under national average.
In Uis the Lutheran pastor suspected that many people might not have registered, but then the mobile registration team went there on September, 6 and 7, they only
registered 24 persons although the team was extensively announced. They got only
60 per cent of the cards with mistakes corrected. With most registration cards that
have to be redone now, after clerical mistakes in the beginning, the fingerprints
are not accepted. This results from old people who after hard manual work
through
their whole life have hardly any lines on their fingers left.
People were well informed about registration, according to UNTAG. The main
problem
was transport for people living in the (small scale black owned) farms because of
the long distances in scarcely populated Damaraland. Some parties drove only
their
own people to the registration points. In the beginning some people associated a
registration point with a political party because a party with their T-shirt was the
first present.
ELECTION
The great distances and lack of transport will cause problems in the area. Also,
UNTAG feels that in the preliminary plans there is not made provision for enough
polling stations and that they should be consulted in the planning of the
polling stations. (See forthcoming special report.)
INTIMIDATION
There were no cases of intimidation reported at UNTAG. The area is relatively
calm.
The Lutheran pastor in Uis said that young people in school were intimidating
each
other and by UDF in Khorixas we were told that people shout at each other at
rallies.
POLITICAL PARTIES AND CAMPAIGNING
The most important parties in the area are DTA (strongest), UDF and SWAPO. In
Uis
the pastor said that parties told their supporters on farms not to listen to other
parties and so these parties had no chance to be listened to. DTA has more cars
and easier access to farms.
Political Parties and Campaigning
DTA, UDF, PCN, hTPF and AN have offices in Omruru. Also active is SWAPO.
NNP will soon send an organiser. DTA seems to be the strongest party. Their
representative unfortunately did not want to talk to us. He would first have to ask
his leaders and asked us to come back the next day. But by then we had left
Omaruru.
Parties had difficulties to get access to farm-workers because they had to go
through farmers. UNTAG had invited all parties for a discussion on 12.9.89. This
would be one topic on the agenda. Others lacked transport and therefore could
not get to the farms.
Returnees
According to UNTAG there are less than 20 returnees i” O’i rn. The lutheran
pastor is responsible for the RRR programme. He was
The head of the UNTAG office, Mr. Ismat Steiner, reported that there was a 97% registration count in Hereroland. The registration exercise was carried out with the use of eleven mobile teams. The problem encountered was that of bad roads which made travelling to remote areas extremely difficult. Registration for the Otjiwarongo-Omaruru area was 103%.

On the extension of registration week a total of 42 were registered in Hereroland, 70 in Otjiwarongo, and 20 in Omaruru.

The UNTAG spokesman reported that after registration UNTAG personnel went out to cross check for people who may have been left out; only a few such cases were discovered. He emphasized that UNTAG was very careful when registering people. He reported six people turned down, stating, however that such people could contest UNTAG's decision in court if they felt they had been treated unfairly. One such case is still pending.

In the case of non-Namibians registering, Mr. Steiner reiterated that UNTAG went all out to prevent this by insisting that they had the necessary documents or could be vouched for by those by whom they were known.

Cases of intimidation have not been of a serious nature in Otjiwarongo. Two cases in Okarara had been reported. The first incident was when the head of Swapo was shot at outside a social club by two white men. The second was when Swapo workers were putting up posters near the residence of someone who did not like the idea and took shots at them, but missed. Okarara Swapo deputy Gerson Tjihenuna gave the names of the Swapo workers: Okamatapati, Selubolon Shiworlo, Sakarias Shilongo and Kaleb Kazombi. The person who shot at them was reported to be a DTA supporter. The matter is said to have been reported to the police and they are still investigating.

Mr. Steiner outlined that UNTAG was awaiting publication of the voting Proclamation, after which they will contact the leaders of the different political parties with a view to sharing ideas on how they could go about educating the people on the voting procedure. He emphasized this can only be carried out effectively, if the different political parties are involved so that everyone could be satisfied as to the fairness of the elections. UNTAG's preparations for voting are already under way and a survey has been taken to determine what voting day may be like; this is done with a view to minimizing problems.

The UNTAG official reported that farmers in Otjiwarongo were very cooperative in that they provided transport for their workers to registration stations.

Commenting on the Code of Conduct recently signed by all parties, Mr. Steiner said this code was accepted by all parties and they were guided by it in
conducting their affairs. UNTAG calls meetings between themselves and the different political parties where they sit down and discuss their problems and work out strategies. Leaders of the parties are now trying to meet in the absence of UNTAG.

SWAPO

Interview with Mr. Mose P. Tjitendero.

Mr. Tjitendero put the registration figure at 98%. Mr. Tjitendero complained that SWAPO was not given access to all the farms while all the other parties were allowed access. Mr. Tjitendero drew the attention of the CIMS team to the predicament of people who are threatened with eviction from their houses in the Otjiwarongo single quarters (at Orwetoveni). In fact the residents have been served with a notice reading: Notice is hereby given that after a decision by the City Council that the rooms you are occupying are no longer available for occupation. You should vacate them on or before 31st October 1989. Signed by J.M.L. Tredoux, City Clerk.

Mr. Tjitendero reported that SWAPO was looking into this matter with a view to taking it up with relevant authorities. He believed alternai-housing should be provided before evictions.

Mr. Tjitendero expressed much concern over the election process. He thought that mere than 70% of the Namibian population can neither read nor write, so wonder how they are expected to recognize the voting symbols and to make the necessary mark. On September 26th, SWAPO sent a letter to the Police Commissioner requesting the opportunity to launch a voter education program on the farms and kepes to receive approval and cooperation. SWAPO has as of 20th September started sending out teams to conduct voter education programs in the regions. The teams come from SWAPO headoffice.

Mr. Tjitendero disclosed that SWAPO had prepared a memorandum directed to the Farmers' Union trying to arrange for an all party meeting in an attempt to get the farmers to cooperate with the different political parties. When questioned regarding intimidation, Mr. Tjitendero said that on the day when Otjiwarongo DTA Offices were opened, DTA supporters pulled down SWAPO flags and replaced them with DTA flags; even an UNTAG flag was pulled down on this occasion.

!TA

Interview with Mrs. Maritz, one of three senior personnel of DTA Office in Otjiwarongo.

Mrs. Maritz said registration went very smoothly and every person was registered. She reported that all the farmers allowed all the political parties to talk to the employees on the farms.

Mrs. Maritz thought UNTAG was very partial in that on the occasion of Sunday, 24th September (SWAPO rally in Windhoek) a number of UNTAG vehicles were seen [ ferrying SWAPO supporters to Windhoek. She said she noticed it because the people on the UNTAG vehicles gave the SWAPO salute. Mrs. Maritz found the SWAPO clenched fist salute intimidating and unfriendly as opposed to the 3TA's friendly two-fingered salute with a smile to crown it. She said that one
*can never see a SWAPO man smile.

(In an effort to verify this story the CIMS team spoke to Lt.Col Somogyi "of UNTAG who said the story was not true, that such actions were forbidden. "A stupid story!" he concluded.)

Mrs.Maritz made it clear that she does not like SWAPO because she cannot forget their past history which is a history of torture, murder and every evil one can think of. She said no one can ever trust SWAPO because they are Marxists, she even associated Archbishop Desmond Tutu with Communism because he was once pictured with a Soviet Union flag in the back ground. She blamed the death of Anton Lubowski on SWAPO and even accused SWAPO supporters of plotting to kill their president Sam Nujoma because they do not like his Marxist stand.

Mrs.Maritz presented a man (name given outfit withheld at his request) who claimed to have been in SWAPO prison cells where he was tortured for being suspected of spying. He told the CIMS team his story of imprisonment, torture and beating and claimed he had to sign a false statement agreeing that he was a spy, before he could be freed. Refusal, he said, could have meant death. On December 10th '1988 SWAPO guards announced that the prisoners were to be freed. On April 9th 1989 the prisoners were released and taken to SWAPO camps (The CIMS team had no opportunity to talk to the ex-detainee alone or to verify his story).

Mrs.Maritz, although very confident, that SWAPO will not win the election, felt ITA would be agreeable to sharing power with SWAPO in governemnt.

INTERVIEWED REPORT NO. 6 - MONITORING IN SWAKOPMND AREA
EXTRACTS FROM DIARY
26.08.89, Saturday:

Registration- Office Swakopmund: An initial crowd could be handled without problems. As of abt. 1e.30 hours there is no more line of waiting applicants. Double registration: An applicant is reprimanded after evidence is suspected to be found that he may have sought double registration. A subsequent inquiry by Sinram does not reveal reason or background. The person concerned, an elderly man, does not make the impression of being able to commit a calculated offence. No additional details of the earlier case of double registration - reported under date of 24th August - are available. The Supervisor, Dr. Cloete, advises officers to mark temporary ID-cards n case of r :C zaton. Aopark-ntly, suc": ID-anr ±c:c certain detailL v hch may provoke an error on the side of a registration-officer. Cases: There are several cases of (also "white") persons being sent away in order to provide full birth-certificates (persons born in Walvis Bay and carrying only South African passports), or evidence of having lived in Namibia for at least four years (e.g. bank-statements). In two cases "white" persons lost patience immediately and walked out. Comment by an officer: "Two votes lost against SWAPO."
General: The atmosphere is terse. Two registration-officers of Geman background make loud comments. This is obviously caused by a number of special cases holding up the registration-work (and possibly endangering closing-hour, it being accepted rule that the office remain open upon demand). At 12.50 hours no more applicants arrive. During the opening hours there have been as many as 4 observers plus one UNTAG police-officer inside the registration-office. The registration-team consisted of five officers plus the Supervisor. There were two interpreters from UNTAG, one of whom, David, greets Bob. "Namibia-Day": During the first part of the day no political activity in town was noticeable except that more people than usual wore SWAO-colours. The DTA-office was closed, no DTA-supporters were visible; apparently all of them were ferried to the rally at KatUtula.

Interview of a close source to the municipality by Lr In,echt ilone: It was revealed that municipal workers are living in a neglected and unhealthy area (blikkies dorp) in comparison with the hospital and that 'health hazard' cannot be given as reason for the eviction. The police were also said to have caused health problems because they were driving at high speed in the area where the hostel people were cooking in the open air. Following these unruly steps from the police the people under supervision of the Namibian police conducted an 'Let us keep hostel clean' campaign. The Orwetoveni hostel was since then said to be the cleanest hostel and the people were disciplined.

The decision of evicting workers was taken at a ceremony where serving municipal workers received medals. The Orwetoveni Council are dominated by DTA supporters. The workers attending the ceremony were commanded to remove the SWAPO flags from the hostel and other Orwetoveni houses. They were also informed that the hostel be closed following the 'brutal' murder of Mr. Nel. Interview of a well respected municipal worker(by Engelbrecht) who preferred to be anonymous, reporting on the Nel murder. He was not present, but talked to witnesses.

The workers saw Mr. Nel and black policemen-patrolling the location, blikkies dorp (shanty town) on the morning of 10/9/89. He suspected them of being under the influence of liquor. They drove the van at high speed until sunset. Between 7:30 and 8:00 p.m. they approached the hostel and claimed to be looking for someone who had escaped police custody and who had run into the hostel. Mr. Nel started shooting at doors of the rooms. A bullet hit a woman. Nel left the scene and returned after a while and started shooting at the people at close range. By this time he had already shot Mr. Moses Shefelini on the palm of his hand. Mr. Nestor tried to prevent Mr. Nel from further shooting and was also hit and later died in the hospital. The crowd out of revenge then turned on Mr. Nel. Heavily armed police were called but 'luckily' accompanied by UNTAG. My (Engelbrecht) attempt to interview a witness failed because people are scared to tell the story because police are said to be arresting witnesses. It was also reported that more arrests have been made on Tuesday, 26/9, (Nghilifavali Shipepo). It is said they are being tortured by means of electric shocks in order to make them tell who was responsible for Mr. Nel's murder.
Registration and polling facilities.
Registration figures show that Outjo comprises of 1.3% of all Namibian voters. (7222 out of 698.953) The total number of people registered on farms is 1835. (A bit less than 1/4). 331 people registered at Otjikondo (small centre); 1144 at Kamanjab postoffice; 1329 at Etoshapoor P.S. Ugab (= township next to Outjo). The rest must have registered at the magistrates office in Outjo.

Untag claims fairly exhaustive registration, and they did register on 62 places. We learned however just by chance about 3 people * (farmworkers) who had not heard about registration or any polling proc( At five farms visited by WntagX a registrationteam nobody was register( Either because of earlier registration or because registration units had no recl access. The number of pollingplaces will only be 13. More than 15% of the farmworkers will have to travel considerably further to vote than they had to travel for registration.

Security forces
As exemplified by Annex 2 security is firmly in the hands of the white community. SWAPOL sees its duty as protecting the interest of the white populated as is also shown in Annex one. Annex two is a translation of aNetter in Afrikaans distributed by SWAPOL to Exclusively the white inhabitants of Outjo. It seems that station Commander Marais is preparing the "Burgerwag" or Commando's for a state of emergency. In fact we got from several sources the information that people are afraid that SWAPO will take up arms if they do not win the elections. Also White people made it clear to us that they would not accept any Socialist rule by SWAPO. We questioned SWAPOL about the existance of any such letter issued by commander Marais. But officer on duty Pyrit (?) denied all knowledge and referred us to Segeant Mostert, Warrant officer Marais or Warrant officer Lambert. All of the foresaid were not on duty during our visit. The letter may seem ridiculous, but we are convinfed that many members of the White community take this preparation for a state of emergency most serious. One must remember that this is the area of the "white wolves" "harassment and intimidation"

Harassment from the side of SWAPOL has deterriated after UNTAG Director Ebrima Jcbarteh came in. When before schoolpupils were art arrested and taken for questioning every week this practice has now not occurred for several months. Intimidation from the side of the Boers is common practice. Aside from Political parties and campaigning
Parties seem to have peacefull coexistance compared with other areas. Biggest are UDF, DTA and Swapo. Among the Whites ACN is powerfull. NPF told us that they had no trouble entering farms, but that could be true for only those farms were they have support from the owner. Swapo has more difficulties. Swapo campaigners have been warned not to enter on farms or even 'never to show their
face again' or they ould be shot at with ut warning. Even by telefone Swapo does not get through to farmers. "Tuhe switchboard connects them with Swakopmund or another far-off race. The Swapo-campaigners concerned have subsequently moved to Otiowarongo- Therefore no details could be obtained.

We left Sunday 5th for Korixhas. We met the long term observers Amos Nguaiko, Namibia, Henk van Apeldoorn, the Netherlands, akall Khitsane, Lesotho and Christian Delord France.

We got the background on the area, heard about the alarming incidents that have been reported in special order. We discussed the situation, how to work and made our preparations. We split in two groups from the election day.

Monday 6th we visited the UNTAG office, the priest of the Catholic Church and the pastor of the Luteran Church. We visited two party offices, that of SWAPO and that of DTA. They were very friendly and did not seem to worry about the election. We got the feeling that the two parties were prepared to do their best to avoid incidents. They were very anxious to tell "the world" that we had a respOnSibility to support Namibia also after the election.

There was a little dark tension this last evening before the big day. The light expired, some visitors came who we didn't know so it was good with father Pau prayer before we went to bed.

Father Paul, Clement Janda and Christian Delord went to Uis and a mobile team nearby early in the morning. We others were in Khorixas (special report). In the evening we discussed and shared our experiences. (The three of us had planned a visit to a mobile team. Sorry to say, they closed in the afternoon so we stayed in the polling station in Khorixas).

Wednesday morning the 8th , we went to Outjo. We visited two polling stations there, one in the township , one in the central town.

In the first place there was 11 in the staff. 6 party representatives were present. The station was small but it was quite in order and everything was calm and friendly. There was also a queue standing in the sun. I talked to a Swedish UNTAG man and asked him about taking the queue into the shade. He said he had tried - in vain, but now we tried again. The UNTAG officer in charge said it was a good idea and arranged it at once. When we left she thanked us for the "idea".

IN the polling station in centre of Outjo there were 13 staff and 5 party representatives present. 4 armed SWAPOL men and I unarmed UNT-AG. The officer in charge was sealing of the the boxes with the help of a SWAPOL man and a white man who was notin numbers. I asked the officer why she did not ask the other representatives of parties. She said they were not interested'. I asked them and they admitted that.

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A LETTER CIRCULATED BY D.MARAI, POLICE STATION COMMANDER OF OUTJO WAS INTERCEPTED BY CIMS MONITORS AND APPEARS BELOW IN ITS ORIGINAL AFRIKAANS. AN ENGLISP
e LETTER WAS DATED 26 OCTOBER.
AMLE IW:ONERS : OUTJO PARAATHEID : UIGLYNE
Dit is van kardinale belang dat elke inwoner in Outjo ondervermelde riglyne
MOET bestudeer en nakon: Dit geld vir elke dag, hetsy voor of na di everkiesint:
Die hele doro is in blokke opgedeel tiet oans en reserViste wat as "Buurtwagte"
sal optree.
RIGLYj
1. Sorg dáat u wapens in u huis skoon, ge-olie en gereed is.
2 aylla vrouens sover noontlik MOET elke wapen kan hanteer en die werking
daarvan -ken.
3. Bevelvoerders - Bepaal hoeveelheid sans, Vrouens, kinders en ou mense in u
buurt.
4. &lnRenoodsitsuasie kom die volgende na: (Sodra S.W.A.POL. ze sirene
(Alarm) afgaan)
8al In die nag, alle binnelite af en buiteligte aan.
.b Alle, deuro na buite gesluit.
pleem obsersiestelling in huis in.
d Makel onmiddelllk S.W.A.POL. indien verdagte sitsusasie
ontstaan.
(c) Moenie vreemde wense in u werf toelaat nie.
f) Let op na vreerdelinge en drentelaars in u straat.
R ppor-eer dt onmiddellik.
() iog 'a hoeveelheid lewensmiddele ekstra aan.
h)Yvalmoerders - Identifieer hoeveelheid persone in u
buurt.X iatkan nooddhulp toepas.
>3éCIvoerders -.In(dien sitsusasie dit vereis, moet
~ é 1gesstel word.
(ii) eU v uens Cnt alleen by die huise is en veral bedags
Niu Oure. toe en gesluit - Moenie vir enige persoon
~lét ý oo0taak as u nie weet wie dit is nie.
(kj Werkloses moet weggewys word indien nie nodig. Alle werkers
Se bes:ederhede moet u. in u besit h# bv. Volle name en van ID, ZOnaer ,
woonadres en indien beskikbaar hul ouers se name
en adres.
(1) Tydbsn 'n sitsusasie uoet alle gordyne voor vensters toetrek
word en woeno deur die gordyne loerni.
<3) Tydens enige voorval, bly by u huis en moenie na 'n toneel ry of-stap nie.
(n) evoerders - Stelvas watter vrouens se mans onttrek word
en ndllen hulle nie kans sien om alleen te bly nie, hulle
u w$h (buurt) te akkonodeer.
(o) VerkiesIngtydper:- Probeer se min as uoontlik rond te beweeg.
Koop voor-die tyd benodighede.
(p) Elke Bevelvoerder kan verder sy eie diskressie gebruik wat tot
voordeel van sy buurt kan strek.
.01343 A/Off.
STASDEYI:LOEHDM : OUTJO (D. AI)
Confidential. This letter is a translation of an original in Afrikaar! In our view (Amos, Henk) not (yet) to be dispatched to the press.

All inhabitants; Outjo; preparedness, guidelines.

It is of cardinal importance for all inhabitants of Outjo to study and obey the undermentioned guidelines. These apply for all times, before as well as after elections. The whole town is divided between groups of men and reservists who serve as town guards.

Guidelines

1. See to it that your weapons in your house are clean, oiled and ready.
2. All women should, as far as possible be able to handle all kinds of weapons, and must know how to operate them.
3. Commanders - State how many men, women and children you have in your area.
4. In case of emergency - act as follows (as soon as the SWAPOL alarm turns off):
   a/ At night - Switch off all internal and external lights, b/ close and lock all exterior doors. c/ Take an observation position in your house, d/ immediately phone SWAPOL in case you see anything suspect. e/ Do not allow strangers to enter your yard. f/ check for strangers in the street. g/ keep extra food at home
   h/ Commanders - identify the people in your area who can give first aid
   i/ Commanders - if a situation will arise - cancel Watch patrols
   j/ All women who are alone in their homes, particularly during daytime - keep external doors locked. Do not open for strangers. k/ You will have to ask unemployed people to leave. Keep full names and addresses of your employees - of their parents as well if possible. And also ID numbers.
   l/ During an alarming situation - keep curtains closed and do not look out through the curtains.
   m/ During an attack - do not go to the scene, stay at home. n/ Commanders - find out which women are alone - if they can not stay alone, accommodate them.
   o/ Election period: Try to move as little as possible. Guy rations for that period.
   p/ Every Commander can at his discretion decide what is best for his area.

STATION COMMANDER: OUTJO 01343 A / Off. (D. MARAIS)

Annex I

Mr. Festus Muzongo was employed by Mr. Boshoff, owner of Leopold farm in Outjo district. During 9 years of employment Mr. Festus never had leave. His salary is 30 Rand per month. On Mr. Festus' request for leave his employer told him to go forever. Moreover all his property was taken by his employer, including radio and his registration card. He was also told not to put his feet on the farm.
again or he would be shot to death. Mr. F. Muzongo went to SWAPOL to report the matter SWAPOL however refused to take it up. We learned about his story when he came to the Untag office. Untag civpol heard the man after some pressure of Untag civilian.

S2o9 =
Elec"IONS: VOTING REPORTS'
(No report available for November 7th for Otjiwarono)
8.11.89; Name of Electoral Officer: AS; Mr. Btes, UNTAG: Mr. Stillhoff,
Party Agents: We did not see any party agents but we were informed by Untag that all parties are represented. Number of Swapol: 1. Number of Untag: 3 Untag officials

and one Untag police. Swapol were armed with pistols. Number of voters for the day: 281 (from 7h00-15h00) Tendered votes 196. Disabled persons voting 4. Number of refused votes: None. Those requiring assistance: 1 one. Remarks: At the time of our arrival only officials could be seen. They were waiting patiently for voters. Voters were transported from Okahandja, Marientel, Windhoek and the neighbouring farms. The polling stations could easily be seen from the road.

At alkfield Mobile polling station visited this place and voting took place in Magistrate's Office. The mobile station arrived at 14h5 and departed an hour later. 6 party agents were present. There were three Swapol and 1 Untag. Swapol were armed with pistols. 376 voted, one blind lady was helped to vote. Nobody was refused to vote. About ten voters required assistance. Orwetoveni Township There was a fixed polling station here and there were 3 Swapol armed with pistols and 6 Untag. Number of voters were: On 7.11.89 = 1240.

On 8.11.89 = 1140.

People were well received here and everything was explained.

R5OK -ME 'O!IJ1WAR0NGO 7TH,1UTH NDMMIEI9R 1989 Otjiwarongo
The polling station was a big one with very good order. 8 parties were represented - staff 14. Yesterday Tuesday 7th there were 1214 voters and today up until 1 there were over 600.
The general atmosphere around and in the station was good. The electoral official was very friendly and brough chairs for us.
But the first thing we saw when entering the station was a machine gun belonging to one of the SWAPOL men.
We are all in the group very pleased with what we have seen. We find that all people involved have been cooperating. Only small things here and there have been irritating. For example a SWAPOL man's way of treating black people entering the station as if they were cattle. That's a question of attitude. It has been peaceful and the voters have had much patience in the long queues. We find it quite clear that people are very happy to put their votes at last. We have discussed the main question: have people been free to choose for themselves? Or have they been told how to vote? Is there structural intimidation? Is there a pressure on workers, on old people how to vote? There is a lack of information. Many people cannot read and there are no newspapers, nor radio anywhere. Obviously people are told not to listen to all parties. Workers depending on those farmers - do they have their freedom? Formally they have all their freedom to choose - but we don't believe that they in practice have the freedom to choose. There is a big need for education and information. We all agreed that this is a main task for the future. We believe that the new independence, the new freedom for the Namibian people will strengthen them to go on learning how to form a real democracy where all people have the same and equal value. The beginning is made.

- AND AFTER ELECTION RESULTS

in Omaruru the white population was very distressed for a few weeks after the election results became-known. About ten Afrikaans-speaking families have left for South Africa, but some informants say they are expected back in about 5 years. Three or four Afrikaans-speaking female teachers have quitted their job immediately when the election results were announced. The white population is understandably dissatisfied with the results of the 'coup' for special schools. Still it appears that some trust in the new government is growing. Possibly this can be explained because the expectations about what Swapo would do when they would come to power were unrealistically bad. As noticed during earlier visits the 'burgerwag' had been activated before and during elections. Armed citizens made patrols at night in the white areas. In Omaruru these patrols were monitored by Untag. It seems nothing noteworthy has happened.

M 210 =

VOTING REPORTS (CONTinued from previous page)
Locations Paresis Hall, Otjiwarongo. Name of electoral officer: Theron. There were 10 party agents, 5 Swapol armed with pistols and 5 Untag. They refused to give us the number of the people who voted here. The officers were very unfriendly to voters, and not keen to have observers. The Untag officer had to explain to the electoral officer how foreign observers should be handled and showed him a document referring to this, thereafter things changed a bit. Another thing we observed as strange was that an Untag officer collected all the votes, and the voters did not wait to see whether the ballot papers were put in the box, even those who wanted to wait and see were told to go. Apart from this wrong procedure we did not see any observable mismanagement. We reported
this to Natalia Prado, Deputy Regional Director of Untag and District Supervisor, and his response was that the Untag officer did this to help the voters otherwise the queue would be too long if voters had to do this themselves.

The Gobabis area east of Windhoek (in terms of C i.S-moitoinip) mainly consists of "white" farms of large acreage, apart from small towns, locations, or settlements. Voters are the finners who, as a rule, bring their farm-workers to the fixed or mobile Dolling- stati ons.

Life on the farm e'oears to follow very old patterns of complete deidency of long-established worker-families on their common "baas". In the "435" situation it has thus been observed that workers in the polling-stations were doing wh-’t theyr h,-d been told to do, rather than cheerfully making their own, historic, secret decision (as observed in all urban centres). Lack of iPform tion in gene I (little schooling, if any, no newsn.nners) as -ell as of knowleoge of parties in narticilair (selective obstruction of can'ainging-activities by fermers) ha.d .n aggraveting effect.

The town of Gobabis ie’ tho largest town in the east of the counter .nd hn, s a -noulption of about 6,500 "of all rnces". But see th-" following extra-cts from monitor-renorts!

Khoor,
- Otiwarongo "".Okaka, DAMARALAND

OTJIWARONGO

0 ... " ......... 5

16

SOMARURUq OKAHANDJA

O,"" -" Okahandja FaU.akos O l 0 d

KARIIB WINDHOEK

14’,. [1]19

WINOHOE. 

FUCA)

-- -18 ' - - h\o t.,

NAMIB- 20

NAUKLUFT, - 'REHOBOTH ',

22

Maltahdhe ,-

----- . MALTAH6HE Gibe°

, --- NAMA

T T..

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LUDERITZ Bhainio

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T - BOTSWANA
Our arrangements to visit farms in the Gobabis area were mainly done by Father Pellitzer, R.C.School and farm Gunichas, except farm Sandkraal which was arranged by Dr. Mbuende from the SWAPO office. After two days of stay the news was spread over the area that there are some people from CON and the trade union who want to see farmers and farm workers. It led e.g. to discussions in the hotel bar later than 11 p.m. in the night.

One farmer with whom we had made an appointment for Wednesday refused later "ek het nie tyd nie".

We were aware that we could only meet the more open minded farmers, others refused right from the first phone call to meet us. As we were always accompanied by Mr. Gabriel Ithete (NUNW) and by Mr. MKada ya Mhanda (SWAPO office Gobabis) or by Mr. Reuben Hamutengela (SWAPO office Dordabis) the situation was sometimes tense, but later on friendly and helpful to all. Only one farmer was a little bit pro SWAPO, all others feared that SWAPO would come to power: "they are going to take away our farms".

4. Situation of farmworkers in the Gobabis area

The whole situation reminded us of the colonial time of slavery. Many people are held against their will on farms. They sometimes work from 4 a.m. up to 9 p.m. with a break at noon time. On some farms workers are beaten regularly; there is a "balance sheet" : if they make any mistakes or break anything, at the end of the week the "siambo" comes out. In one case the farmer refused to pay because the worker was a SWAPO member.

Quite a number of workers came from the north (Owambo land) on contract. They were offered 250.- R., but later they got only 100.- R. without food per month; the difference shuld be paid at the end of their contract, but those workers doubt whether they will ever get it because others had asked for; n vain. One of these people ran away but his ID card was kept by the farmer. Now he wanted to register and told the whole story to UNTAG; but they couldn't help and told him to go back and to ask for his ID. Hoewer he was too afraid to see his former "baas".
The situation of farmworkers at farm Gemsbokfontein was described by Mrs. Honsbein: "32 workers, 6 different ethnic groups; they work from 6.30 am to 1 pm and from 2.30-6.15 pm., women start at 8 am. Each family has got a free house; the wage is 50- R cash per month, food for 85.- R per week; clothing per year: 5 overalls, 5 set underwear, 10 pairs of socks, 3 set of shirts and shorts, 1 jersey, 1 coat, 1 blanket, 1 cushion." On the farm was an ACN rally; "3/4 of the workers are in favour of ACN (as Mrs. Honsbein herself), few for DTAI. The workers told to their "Nistress": "please don't bring SWAPO", but "they are free to vote what they want". Mrs. Honsbein added that her husband is called by the farmworkers ions pall.

On the farm Spatzenfeld we were told that every third month a mobile health station is coming from Gobabis. All surrounding farmers send their sick laborers; the children get vaccinations and the women "their three month injections". The latter information was passed on to Mrs. B. riega (UNTAG) and to Dr. Mbuende (SWAPO) for further investigations.

Some farmers in Gobabis area are working with prisoners as cheap labour. Another example of cheap labour was explained by Mr. Maritz: "at the beginning of the month the farmer drives around and asks an unemployed man standing on the road whether he wants work. When he agrees, he gets work and everything is okay. Round about the 20th of the month the farmer starts criticizing and the trouble starts. On the 26th or 27th the man is dismissed and chased away -- without pay."

This story about some of his neighbour-boers was told by Mr. Maritz also to let us know how good he is: "I am doing everything for my people. I give them food, housing and water, take them to hospital when they are sick, buy their clothing and even give them Rand 25.- a week. They are like children. I have to care for everything."

(3) Registration

Up to 2nd September 18,090 people in the Gobabis region had registered. Estimation: 17,449 people.

There is a permanent Registration point in Gobabis, 1 temporary station was in Epako, the black township, and 6 mobile teams went on 20-22nd July to several farms. 2 mobile teams went out again to the farms from 14th to 26th August to register 197 people because more than 200 cards came back from Windhoek with errors by fingerprints. From 1/9 to 15/9

DTA mobilized the farmworkers to register, but at the same time DTA made a membership campaign and herded the people to a table near the registration point where they got DTA membership cards. As soon as the farmworkers a-e registered the registration cards were generally taken by the farmers. It is quite common here "for safekeeping" as they say. Mr. Krjtz told us that after registration
some people came to his farm asking workers to see their registration cards wanting to change thedfor membership cards. Therefore he took the cards, made copies, locked all cards in his safe nd gave the copies(specially marked) to the workers.

(4) 1 n t l m i d a t i o
The school system here was always run on an ethnic basis. This should have disappeared from the 1st of April, 1989, but it didn't. Since this time several teachers were dismissed (on AG Nr.2, 1980) because they engaged in politics. But only those who were SWAPO were dismissed and had trouble because many parents are pro DTA. A principal, Mr. Taylor (SWAPO) was time and again controlled by phone through the administration whether he was at work. DTA organized some busloads of parents to demonstrate against the principal. But until now there was nothing they could do about him. It is stated very openly by farmers that they want their workers not to vote for SWAPO because "If SWAPO comes to power within one year loo ooo people will be killed by SWAPO" as one farmer (J. Meinert) said.

= 215
Extracts from Resort or. Gobabis 21.10.89/ol-o4
2.2. Secrecy of vote _a)disbelief
We were disappointed and shocked by the low level of information about the voting procedure even amongst some intellecua!%
we met. Especially in one meeting with primary/secondary schooll teachers (at Epukiro R.C.Mission) we found out that none of them really believed the ballot would be seoret. Even aft having been explained the whole voting procedure in detail, (the checking of the registration card against the official list, the built-in checks by the presence of voting agent, UNTAG and other observers; the separate voting compartment, the obligation i to fold the voting p.-per inward; the pollingbox in which voting papers cannot be distinguished from each other any more, etc.), they remainca sceptical and continued to believe that their votes might be controlled anyhow.
b) Su aestion used as intimindation.
:ie were informed fro. several sources that ,,n O oj:t:l narrtes as well as white farmers were using thb ; allowing suggestive trick: they require registration ntu! ;,fron th r members resp. their workers, suggesting, by doing so, that kaiss provides them with a me.s to establish the way these peopl vote on voting day, just using the uncertainty about voting secrecy. In several cases we could establish thbU individua. s really felt intimidated and took it for granted that their voting behaviour could be controlled that way.
As we feel it, no other solution exists to undo the ffcot of this kind of intimidation but the spreading of knowledge on secrecy.
- harassment and intimidation
- We did not hear about major incidents. Everyone agreed the region was quiet and violent incidents scarce. However, several people told us they felt intimidated, especially SWAPO supporters. They told us e.g. about oral intimidation, as being threatened not to speak on behalf of SWAPO if they did not want to be killed, and as e.g. pastor Gabriel told us he felt that certain individuals were sent to the religious meetings he adressed to control him in this respect.

- 216=
(21.10.89/*uo aW
As for campalgning a major problem had been acces to farms. As a result of the initiative of UNTAG, who invited all parties to a regular meeting at the UNTAG office, UNTAG decided to intervene at this matter by contacting most of the farmers unions. As we were told all farmer unions (but one?) accepted general acces on certain conditions.
The effective result was estimated differently. Some parties, especially SWAPO, but also NPF, complained that most farmers now shifted from non-cooperation to obstruction: permission but on delay, postponement, proposing impracticable days and hours, etc. Others however felt the UNTAG intervention had been of great help.
- UNTAG
--e UNTAG headquarters was very open and cooperative to our mission. They gave us all the information we wanted, and we were said to be welcome to further cooperation.
As far as we can see the UNTAG mission in this region is respected and generally trusted, especially by the black, and irrespective of their political adherance.
White farmers however, and DTA, ACN, etc. are of a different opinion. Several times UNTAG was depicted to us as being biassed Pnd supporters of SWAPO only.

= 217
Extr-acts from Report on Gobabis o2.11.89/ol-o4
a. Di scrimination (apartheid). In this region apartheid Is still mucl alive and very visible. Most white people hardly accept a team like ours, consisting of one white and one black person. In the bars which are apparently for whites, we are stared at in a rather hostile manner. This has also to do with the fact that they know our mission and apparently feel threatened by it. Some said it openly; you have nothing to do here. We don't need you. We can manage our own affairs. DTA, as we are told, pays only short visits to workers, locations, etc., distributes T-shirts, food and othe"r gifts, says DTA is goodi for people, and that is it. We have the impression that DTA relies. heavily on the. fact that most employers (farmers etc. ) have their workers-to such an extend that they dare not. to consider to vre for another party.
SWAPO on the cont-arvy seems to try to convince people by argument. They tell us that sometimes even farmers are convinced to accept SWAPO on their farmers after some discussion, lids way of campaigning of course is more time consuming.

During a visit to the local DTA office in leunardville we observed, while waiting for the white, English speaking, member of the office, a video, which was shown to the local population (especially a lot of chi Leder'n!), on the torture in SWAPO camps, which was very biased. From the reactions we concluded that this was not the first time this video was shown. The film is a very cleverly made piece of discrediting propaganda.

Just at the moment that we arrived there, it seemed that a case of intimidation had occurred. Until now no further information is at our disposal. We, however, are investigating the case further.

What, at least, is clear from this case is that the local holder of the SWAPO office, who is a teacher, and who was a speaker at a meeting of his party a few weeks before, was suspended by the school board for that reason.

Notes on election-rejprt forms:

4,7.11.89/o3 (3chou-rondePG, liii
"The atmosphere was quiet and relaxed both in the queue and inside the station. Electoral officers and UNTAG personnel were very helpful and clearly explaining procedures to the voters. Secrecy was correctly protected."

q7.11.89/4 (onako, Gobabis Location, Community al I
"Atmosphere relaxed. The voting-process was slower then in Gobabis (2 to 3 minutes for each voter; some needed much more time). More voters needed help. Polling-officer was helpful and patient."

P7,1189/o5 (Buitenes. Gobabis)
"Polling-officers were helpful and Datient. Also cases of voters who were very scared or disoriented were handled in a calm and factual way. - t i-ny vote-s looked rather impressed, nervous or even scared. But there was no intimidation inside or outside. Secrecy was cautiously u ."

o8.11.89/o2 (E-oikiro 2.C.,ression, mobile station)
"Voters were helped ,nd treated very courteously and carefully. The atmosphere was relaxed. The residing officer was receiving us well, -nd was very communicative. We were able to speak to severa:l -persons ;nd to follow the rocess thoroughly."

(Eoako, Gobabis Location, Community Hall)
"It came to our knowledge during the day that one party (DTA) spread sheets of paper that instructed voters how to vote for DTA. These pieces of paper were also brought into the pollingstation. Although the head of UNTAG -rotested at the party office, they (DTA) said that nothing could be done about individual voters bringing those sheets in; moreover it was doubted whether the law was forbidding this practice."
REPORT ON TRIP TO GOBABIS - 10TH NOVEMBER 1989

The team consisted of Parliamentarians. Unfortunately the team did not know the arrangements for accommodation and only net with the others by accident the next day while monitoring! Real concern about the relationship between the AG official and the UNTAG person. Teas feel the UNTAG official (a Jamaican woman) is seriously at fault in a very strained atmosphere. Should possibly be replaced urgently.

Places visited:
1. Agricultural Show Hall in Cobabis itself
   From 08.35 - 09.45.
   The votes case were as follows:
   7th November 913 of which 52 tendered ballots
   8th November 973 of which 85 tendered ballots
   9th November 619 of which 75 tendered ballots
   At the time of our visit there were no queues. We got the impression of a very well functioning team. Two SWAPOL officers both carrying pistols and one UNTAG monitoring police were present outside the polling station. Eight out of ten political parties had polling agents present (only CDA and SWAPO D missing). The role of these polling officials did not seem very important. Most voters had been coming by car, many of them being black farm workers brought to the polling stations by their employer. The polling team was very much aware of the risk that white farmers could try to influence their workers decision on how to vote. Normally the farmer would enter the polling station with all his black workers following him in a line and then vote first. The AG team leader had therefore instructed the officials that the voters must leave the room immediately after having cast their vote. They also had to get right away from the doorway leading out of the polling station.

2. Epako Community Hall in Gobabis
   Time 10.05 - 10.30
   The votes case were as follows:
   7th November 629 of which 73 tendered ballots
   8th November 785 of which 102 tendered ballots
   9th November 417 of which 71 tendered ballots
   At the time of our visit there was no queuing. We got a clear impression that there were a lot of problems between the polling officials. In our opinion this was due to the UNTAG team leader - a woman from Jamaica. She had tried to prevent a person from assisting a voter who needing assistance had brought a person with her. The UNTAG team members found it difficult to cope with their leader who from the very start of our conversation insisted that we as foreign observers could stay in the polling station for a maximum of 10 minutes (following her instruction, that were too secret for us to see). We could, however, then come back after half an hour to stay...
for another 10 minutes and leave for half an hour and come back et, she told us.

We think that UNTAG should consider changing, replacing the team leader to prevent this polling station from going to pieces in the last day of the election.

Notes on election-report forms:

11.11.89/01 (mobile Dollin-stations Leardville, Stenhausen) The atmosphere at Steynhausen polling-station was good. The predominantly "white" team was cheerful, kind, and patient. However, the general picture of the whole region was clearly visible at this place: A single white farmer arrived with his workers, sometimes giving them a last instruction outside the building (no party was explicitly mentioned, but all signs indicated that that had already been done earlier). The workers looked rather obedient/subdued, but in fact no real (visible) intimidation was exerted within the polling-station. Thus, officially speaking, voting was secret, free, and fair.

Dismissals On Thursday 6 workers from a farm were dismissed allegedly because of showing Swapo-support (badges, colours). The workers themselves went to the Police and made a complaint. After that they went to the Swaptoparty-office and were referred to the Legal Assistance Centre (LAO) in Windhoek. We have the names of the persons and of the farmer, plus telephone-number.

Some general remarks by the monitors (Bram van der Lek, a Dutch parliamentarian, and Churchill Gape, General Secretary, Botswana Christian Council): "The task of monitoring the elections is over, and it is proper that we reflect back on our work. We were assigned the province of Gobabis which comprises mainly farms. We will be failing in our duty if we do not say that most political parties did not have access to the farm-workers. When the green light was given to parties to campaign in farms, the time was rather tight. Parties had already drawn up other schedules to hold political meetings at other places, personnel was not just sitting in offices, waiting for the powers that be to say aye. Some farms were also declared private property when some of the parties tried to appeal to the authorities. So, in brief, the campaigning in our region had been lopsided.

As we observed voting at a number of polling-stations - nine, to be exact - one missed in the faces of voters that cheerfulness which depicts that people are participating in an exercise long awaited. In fact, one saw grief and sorrow etched on faces of men and women who one could say were carrying out a task not well understood but just accomplishing "his master's voice". - Our fears have further been confirmed when we heard of people who lost their jobs either because they had been seen or word had reached their masters that they had attended Swapo-rallies or they had been seen to be oro-Swapo. They had been given marching orders with a phrase like: "May be Swapo will employ you." We should not conclude without saying that apartheid in its naked form could still be seen in public places. We were a team of a Dutchman and an African. When we went into any of the bars in Gobabis heads would turn and we would be stared at as if we were something the cat had dragged in. And that to an extent that we decided not to go those two bars any more."
CIMS-Monitors observed the election-process at a number of fixed and mobile polling-stations in Rehoboth, Ettriental, Nkma and Okahand.a) in the central part of Namibia, dominated by farms, i.e. where most voters are farmworkers who are in many respects dependent on their employers- and exposed to their influence.

Extracts from their notess

Generally, the election-process was reported as having been quiet, orderly, and efficient. Voters were brought by their employers or by party-vehicles. The atmosphere was relaxed.

For reasons not found out two queues formed at one station in Rehoboth, one "coloured" and one "black". No incidents were noted except the unexplained encounter with a certain electoral officer: "While observing we saw an electoral officer whom we Materon encountered in the DTA office in town. After leaving the DTA office we went to Nau--a-ib where we met him again. He introduced himself to us, but he was aggressive and denied that we had previously seen him in the City Hall. He denied having been there at all. - He complained in an aggressive manner that we had asked the UNTAG Police for permission, not him. Lateron he directed us to sit separately from party-observers after we had started to talk to a DTA-agent."
REPORT ON VISIT TO MARIENTAL, GIBEON AND REHOBOTH BY CARL HELLBRÜG AND DORIS PESCHKE, 28.-30.08.1989

At Mariental we had meetings with Mr. Mikael Magnusson, Deputy Regional Director of UNTAG, Mr. Topnaar dealing with returnees in absentia of Ms. Patronella Cotzee, Sister Lintrudis and Sister Klard Of the W6thah Catholic Mission Secondary Centre Mariental on Monday, 22.08.1989; on Tuesday 29.08.89 we met Mr. Gert J. Kooper, Regional Head of SWAPO, Mr. Samuel Mungunda, Deputy Head and Mr. Siegfried Guibeb, Head of SWAPO Mariental; at Gibeon Rev. Hendrik Witbooi, Vice-President of SWAPO, Johannes Issaks, Headmaster of AMEC Private School and member of the Committee Gibeon, at the SWAPO office we met Ms. Lucia BassOn, Mr. Ronny Deupen, Ms. Annette Jacobs, Mr. Willem Biwa, Mr Salomon J. Witbooi; Ms. Noriah Koshen, Deputy Head of UNTAG Gibeon. On Wednesday 30.08.89 we met with UNTAG Police Monitors at Mariental, Mr. Lennart Petterson and Mr. Albe Jönsen and at Rehoboth, Mr. Kjell Brandin and Mats Kohltn from Sweden as well as one from Netherlands.

REGISTRATION

Mikael Magnusson informed us on registration in Mariental District. The District of Mariental has approximately 31,000 inhabitants. The estimate of eligible voters was 14,212 of which 94.57 % were registered by 26.08.89. Mariental itself is inhabited by 5,300 people, 1,500 have registered until 26.08.89. In the district there was one permanent registration point at the post office in Mariental, a temporary registration point in the township and at Aranos the temporary registration point is to be reopened from 11.-15.09.89. Registration generally is said to be good the three mobile registration teams had registered 50 % of the estimated eligible voters within 3 weeks. The farmers were said to be cooperative with some exceptions. While there has been one farmer at Farm Gras who prepared a special event for other farmers in order to encourage them to come with their workers to the registration on his farm, at Farm Eden the farmer was reported to have said that "no bloody UNTAG" would enter his farm. However, problems were sorted out in good cooperation and consultation with the South African counterparts in charge of registration. Initial problems with the South African officers have been...
settled and by now, they consult UNTAG on all controversial issues before taking decisions.

Errors on registration cards were told by UNTAG as well as SWAPO had been quite many, SWAPO in Gibeon (which is a different district with regard to registration) estimated there were about 10% of registration cards with mistakes. However, UNTAG in Mariental said there had been two registration officers who did not work well, but mistakes had been throughout all ethnic groups, so they do not think it to be deliberate mistakes. Most registration cards returned from Windhoek were because of incorrect thumb prints.

UNTAG in Mariental had prepared information sheets in English, Afrikaans and Nama before registration started and held information meetings in different areas even using videos. Thisseems to be an extraordinary effort which they also want to undertake for the elections.

At the permanent registration point in Mariental which we visited on Wednesday, 30.08.89 in the morning, we met Mrs. Zena Zelleke, the UNTAG team leader. The South African team leader is at the same time head of the Post Office and was not present at the registration desk, however she was reachable when needed, we were told. There was one registration officer, 1 UNTAG Police Monitor, 1 UNTAG interpreter and 1 SWAPOL officer carrying a pistol was sitting at the desk. He was taking most of the thumb prints, referred to by all as the expert on thumb prints. The UNTAG team leader told us that at the moment the average for registration was between 20-40 per day, but she expects an increase in the two last weeks of registration. She believes a large number of farmers come with their farmworkers to town.

At Gibeon, we were told by SWAPO that they were concerned about mistakes, especially cases where the ID particulars do not correspond with the particulars on the registration card. Concern was expressed also on the role of the voters' list published in the Gazette, as not all names of registered persons appear so far. We were shown a registration card in which inside the field for signature/thumbprint additional to the thumbprint the letters "LDA" for left thumb print are indicated.

We were told that this was done on many registration cards, therefore it may not be a problem for registration. Generally SightUroe and thumbprints were taken. SWAPO was now conducting house to house Viit§ to check the registration cards using forms where names and particulars like the registration card no. and date and place of issue are filled in. We were told by SWAPO in Gibeon that people were -li the beginning of registration rather hesitant viewing the registration as a "South African thing". However, after churches and parties, particularly SWAPO had informed people on the importance of registration, they started to register. Concern was expressed on the farming areas, where SWAPO does not have access. As an explicit problem they mentioned that the police had been going around informing people on the registration process, thus the people did not trust the registration process, Rev. H. Witbooi pointed out that he could not see how
elections should be free and fair if UNTAG remains only a monitor. UfTAG should be supervising and controlling, thus doing more than at the time of registration. He also said that they did not understand why there has not been a permanent but only a temporary registration point at Gibeon. This point was also stressed by the SWAPO staff at Gibeon.

Ms. Nooriya Koshen, Deputy Head of UNTAG Gibeon said that people generally had been very keen to register and 90% of estimated eligible voters had registered in the region. In Gibeon region there had been 2 mobile teams, one covering the Eastern region up to Tses, the other covering Gibeon and surroundings 30 km South and 50 km North. There are 7,000 inhabitants, of which 2,000 were registered in Gibeon, 500 in the surroundings and 2,000 by the other registration team. Although UNTAG believed they had covered almost all, there are still people found who have not registered yet. Therefore the mobile teams will go again next week to Tses (probably Wednesday, 06.09.89) and to Gibeon (probably Tuesday, 05.09.89). The registration team had gone to Gibeon already an other time after the temporary registration point had closed and to their sunrise, 82 people registered that day. She stressed the good cooperation with the South African counterparts.

.../4

= 226 =

POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

Gibeop is piorally regarded as a SWAPO stronghold. However, Rev. Witbooi indicated that there have been some problems due to the return of former SWAPO detainees. He said he was very happy about Ben Bois' decision to return to SWAPO and he hopes others will do the same. At the SWAPO office in Gibeon, we were told that the main problem was the forms, how to get access. Fear is involved, too, since most farmers are armed. In Mariental, we were also told by SWAPO that it was difficult to make contact with the farmers. While there have been meetings with local business persons, no such meeting took place with farmers in the region. On some farms, they said only DTA is allowed. At Flkenhorst, we were told by SWAPO in Mariental, DTA told people that DTA had to keep their registration cards and they would tear them up, if they were going to vote for SWAPO. One notable exception with regard to farms is Farm Gras, who where SWAPO was allowed to come.

At Mariental, UNTAG informed us that there are the two major parties, and they were trying to arrange a meeting with them including the smaller parties, UDF, ACN and NPF. There is also "Aktie kontra 435". At a DTA rally about a month ago, UNTAG was criticised strongly and called to act on the detainees issue. The tension is not very high. Mr. Magnusson told us that the SWAPO rallies on the past weekend on the occasion of Namibia Day held at Maltahohe and Nampaseb were fairly small compared to some rallies in July, he privately said he believes that the issue of ex-detainees does play a role here. He indicated that smaller parties would probably gain support through this, rather than DTA.

The only problems they had with regard to the political campaign was the question of posters near registration points. At Goachas, posters of DTA were
close to the registration point, within the range of 500 m. He asked them to take them down and in the afternoon, Mr. Magnusson took them down himself. A week later a similar incident happened and as
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he had been told to request others rather than acting himself, he called on DTA and the police. When nothing happened they decided to move the registration point out of town. On Wednesday, 30.08.89 we met him at the permanent registration point and he informed us that again there were posters to close to the registration point, again of DTA. At Rehoboth, the UNTAG Police Monitors told us that SWAPO was there, but not as strong as in other places, DTA was fairly small, the main party there was FCN of Kaptein Diergaardt. Sometimes flags or posters of other parties are removed, otherwise they did not see much tension.

RETURNES AND EX-DETAINEES

a) Returnees

In the area of Mariental there are four secondary centres for returnees. Two in Mariental are run by the Roman Catholic Church, one being in the hospital and one in the township. 60 people are in the hospital and 35 in the township - in both instances approximate figures. The other two centres are empty, namely the one run by the AMEC and one run by the ELC in Khorixas, approximately 5 km away from Mariental. There is also a secondary centre in Gibeon in the compound of the Roman Catholic Church.

We observed certain problems with regard to the Roman Catholic centres in the hospital in Mariental and in the church compound in Gibeon.

1. The centre in the hospital in Mariental

Those in the centre are from Ovamboland and have been in Mariental since the end of June. According to Mr. Topnaar of the SWAPO regional office, who later together with us, what was also for him the first visit to the centre, these returnees had given some of the following reasons why they did not want to return to Ovamboland: a) we are back in Namibia and it is our intention to stay on here until after the election. b) Is there something wrong with us, as you want us to leave and go back to Ovamboland?

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= 228 =

Ar. Topnaar anawered

According to Mr. Topnaar some of the returnees show a deep mistrust to anyone trying to reason with them. He stated that it might be advisable to ask some prominent people of SWAPO to come and see them. On the question about other possible reasons, why they insist on ataying, that they might be told by someone in SWAPO to stay on until after the elections. They do not, however, participate actively in the election campaign. They have no problems with the local population, but appear rather to be fully accepted.
On our visit to the centre together with Mr. Topnaar, we had a talk with the two sisters responsible for the returnees. When the returnees arrived, some of the 28 children had got medical treatment for malaria and tb and one had been sent to Windhoek for specialist's medical care (kidney problems due to malaria). Most of the grown up returnees were single mothers without husbands. They had stated that they had no families. In the centre there are 3 men only, 16 women and the rest are children. The sisters stated that there had been some disciplinary problems, but later corrected this to be just a question of certain disturbing noises in the evenings and the nights and some lack of tidiness. The sisters were anxious to get the returnees to leave by the middle of October at the latest as the premises were needed for other purposes in November.

The sisters had talked to the returnees asking them either to go to Ovamboland or to accept a transfer to the empty Lutheran centre in Khorixas., located on a farm, where they could get something to do. The sisters felt that it must be unhealthy for a group of young people to stay in a camp without any regular work. Some had left after this talk with the sisters, but most of them insisted on staying on. Some had asked for transport to go for a visit to Ovamboland in order to see their relatives and to find out about the situation there.

The RRR have however no funds for such visits. Father Jansen, whom we unfortunately did not see, had arranged privately to take some of them on a visit to Ovamboland on a trip he made up there.

Mr. Magnusson of UNTAG also referred to the Ovambo returnees in Mariental and their refusal to go back home. He was anxious to see them relocated to some other camp. In order to assist them in finding jobs, he had asked for a list of trained people among them. Some had refused to give such information, others had listed their training and others had asked for training opportunities - with approximately one third in each group. This inquiry had been done recently and Mr. Magnusson intended to compile the answers and send them to the RRR.

2. The centre in the Roman Catholic Church compound in Gibeon
Also these returnees are from Ovamboland. We got the information from Mr. Magnusson in Mariental - later corrected by Rev. Witbooi in Gibeon, the correction then also confirmed by Mr. Magnusson when we saw him the next time - that the church council of the AMEC had on 16.08.89 in a cable to the RRR in Windhoek requested that all the returnees leave the secondary camp in Gibeon before August 20th. The version regarding this incident that Rev. Witbooi gave and which later was confirmed by Mr. Magnusson shows that the following has actually happened: On August 16th, a cable had been sent by the local RRR of the Roman Catholic Church to the RRR in Windhoek, requesting in the name of the community in Gibeon that the returnees leave by August 20th. Rev. Witbooi had a copy of the cable and read it to us; the cable stated in general
terms that there was a general dissatisfaction in the community with the returnees, that their continued presence represented a threat to the entire community etc. Rev. Witbooi was deeply disturbed that the local RRR of the Roman Catholic Church had sent this cable in the name of the community of which he was the leader and particularly that this had been done without prior consultations with and agreement of the AMEC and the Lutheran local branches of the RRR. On his request a meeting was called for the day after our visit with the church council of the Roman Catholic; the meeting would be attended also by representatives of the RRR in Windhoek and by himself as the leader of the AME and by the Lutheran branch of the RRR in Gibeon. Rev. Witooi said that in his opinion this matter had to be cleared up immediately; he saw the cable as an expression of racism or tribalism that must not be tolerated in the new Namibia. The issue in the cable was used by the DTA propaganda against both SWAPO and the CCN run returnee centres.

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Altogether there are approximately 30-40 returnees in this secondary centre in Gibeon. All of the returnees belong to SWAPO. Rev. Witbooi stated that as some members of the Roman Catholic Church Council were not SWAPO members they might see the returnees as enemies. This might be then an explanation why this matter had at all been taken up by the Roman Catholic Church council. After the conversation with Rev. Witbooi we tried in vain to talk to Father Swartbooi at the Roman Catholic Centre. He was busy repairing his car and had no time to see us. We got the impression that he did not want to talk to us.

b) Ex-Detainees
We had some talk with Rev. Witbooi in Gibeon on this issue. There are approximately 20 ex-detainees in Gibeon. Rev. Witbooi stated the need for reconciliation. Those of the ex-detainees who were innocent must now prove their wish for reconciliation by being faithful members of SWAPO. In instances where innocent people have been detained, this had to be seen in the light of the war situation. Now things have changed and everything must be done to prevent that this matter be used by the DTA propaganda.

UNTAG POLICE MONITORS
We visited the UNTAG Police stations in Mariental and Rehoboth. The Swedish UNTAG Police Monitors we saw in Mariental said that they had good cooperation with their counterparts, the area was however too large for the 28 UNTAG police monitors to monitor in an effective way. The officers in Mariental came from Netherlands, Austria, Indonesia, Tunisia and Sweden. They had no specific incidents to report.

= 231 =
The UNTAG Police Monitors in Rehoboth to whom we spoke (two from Sweden and one from the Netherlands) could report on one incident only with reference to the registration of voters and the election campaign, namely that on one occasion
a flag of a political party had been arold. Otherwise also they could report on
good relations with their counterparts, They were amazed however by the
immense alcoholic problem in Rehoboth with quite a numbe? of people slain
every weekend in wild drinking parties.
RECOMMENDATIONS
1. CCN/CIMS should approach the UNTAG in establishing a unified policy
regarding its duties and activities in the various regions.
2. We recommend that clarifications is sought from RRR regarding the original
intention with secondary centres that the returnees can stay there for up to one
year.
3. That the CCN request that the UNTAG and South African Registration
Officials clarify on all levels how the registration cards are filled in and what will
invalidate them, as answers vary in the regions. Clarification should be sought on
the question of the role of the voters' list as published in the Gazette and when a
complete list will be available and how to go about those not listed.
03.09.89dp/ch
Attached: UNTAG Information sheets on registration, Mariental

MONITORING IN SWAKOPMUNDMUND AREA - INTRODUCTION
In response to the British occupation of the Walvis Bay Enclave the German
colonial government attempted and failed to construct a harbour with military base
just 30 km north of Walvis Bay, at the mouth of River Swakop, Swakopmund.
The river is dry except in a few cases per generation when people stand on the
bridge observing the brown waters reaching the cold and clear Atlantic Ocean.
Today Swakopmund is a holiday-resort housing up to 30,000 guests per season
seeking refreshment through the chilly climate - when the interior of Namibia is
like the inside of an oven. The impressive surf, though, is rarely attractive to
bathers because of its temperature which is said to vary between 10 and 15
degrees Centigrade.

Another economic factor providing growth for the tiny desert-town (estimated lo,
ooo "blacks", 6,000 "coloureds", 2,000 "whites") is the open-pit uranium-mine 70
km east of it: "White" staff resides at Vineta, the sea-view "white" township.
("Black" staff is housed at Arandis, the special township in the desert .)
There is a striking element of German nostalgia in Swakopmund, from facades to
food, which is considered as an asset of the tourist industry.
In contrast Walvis Bay is a military-base-style industrial town of little attraction.
Life under South African rule and emergency-regulation is amply described in the
material collected by CIMS.
On 14th November, 1989, after announcement of the election-results Namibians
danced on the streets of Swakopmund - and coughed under the impact of teargas-
grenades in Walvis Bay.

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Walvis Bay

During the talks in 1977 South Africa contended that Walvis Bay "is not a part of Scutn West Africa having been annexed by the British in 1878". South Africa contends that it was incorporated into the territory of the cape colony in 1884 (acknowledged in an international agreement between Britain and the German colonial government). South Africa argues Walvis Bay became part of South Africa in 1910 when the constitution of the union of South Africa was drawn up and approved by the British government.

Its refusal to allow Walvis Bay to be raised as part of a settlement proposal led to Res 432 which though calling on the reintegration of Walvis Bay into Namibia leaves the issued open to future "discussion between the South African government and the elected government of Namibia (5/PV 2082).11

Walvis Bay though has been administered as part of a Namibia since the league of Nations mandate and the UN rejected South Africa's claims to the territory.

Richard Moorsom has argued that South Africa's claim is held by various legal experts to be invalid on several grounds, which include the violation of basic obligations towards non-self governing territories.

The most fundamental argument against the South Africa claim is in the historic declaration on the granting of indecendence to colonial countries and people's adopted by the UN in 1960. Under the criteria of the declaration Walvis Bay can be defined as a "non-self governing territory". (See Richard Mcorsom article).

As the administrator of a non self governing territory, South Africa was bound to observe as a "sacred trust" the obligations imposed by Article 73 of the UN charter. These obligations include self-determination for the indigenous pueblo. As South Africa has violated its 'trust' and 'responsibilities' the enclave of Walvis Bay can be removed from the administering authority of South Africa under UN law.

Additionally it can be argued under UN policies that as Walvis Bay was inhabited before colonialism by indigenous tribes which were integrated across Namibia, it is therefore an integral part of Namibia.

Lastly the principle of 'estoppel' which arises where a party fails to assert a right of which it is aware and where the party knows this failure may be interpreted as an abandonment of the right, is applicable.

In the case of Walvis Bay it can easily be shown that it was Windhoek not Cape Town which determined policy for the enclave. Therefore the Cape authorities failed to assert their authority and abandoned Walvis Bay to Windhoek's authority.

Resolution 432
Security Council Resolution 432, which was unanimously adopted, dealt with the position of Walvis Bay. It reads as follows:

The Security Council
Recalling its Resolutions 385 (1976) and 431 (1978). Reaffirming in particular the provisions of Security Council Resolution 385 (1976) relating to the Territorial integrity and unity of Namibia. Taking note of paragraph 7 of General Assembly Resolution 32/90 which declared that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia.

1. Declares that the Territorial integrity and unity of Namibia must be assured through the reintegration of Walvis Bay within its territory.
2. Decides to lend its full support to the initiation of steps necessary to ensure early reintegration of Walvis Bay into Namibia.
3. Declares that, pending the attainment of this objective, South Africa must not use Walvis Bay in any manner prejudicial to the independence of Namibia or the viability of its economy.
4. Decides to remain seized of the matter until Walvis Bay is fully integrated into Namibia.

The implications of South African control of Walvis Bay for an Independent Namibia

Walvis Bay is Namibia's only deep water port. 99% of Namibian trade either goes through the port or South Africa. The port handles 970% of the sea trade and about 40% of all Namibian foreign trade.

Regaining control will be a vital aspect of Namibian development.” The prospect of developing an alternative port or channelling trade through Angola would be expensive.

South Africa uses Walvis Bay as a trade outlet and a military and naval base. It could effectively economically strangle an independent Namibia by cutting off its trade with the world, and use it as a launch pad for military destabilisation. 432 specifically calls for the reintegration of Walvis into Namibia and pending this achievement states that South African control of Walvis Bay must not be used in any prejudicial manner against an independent Namibia. The British though have been silent on Walvis Bay since 1978.

Britain with its historical ties to Namibia and particularly its involvement in the annexation of Walvis Bay has a responsibility to support the reintegration of Walvis Bay, into Namibia. Britain should use its relationship with South Africa to insist that this happens immediately on independence.

Additionally the people of Walvis Bay should be allowed to vote and register in the November elections for independence.

The UN should ensure the full implementation of 432.

Justin Forsyth
7.7.89.
that a free and fair election takes place in Namibia in November.

The South African government illegally and unilaterally severed Walvis Bay from Namibia in 1977, incorporating it into South Africa. Although Resolution 435 required the reintegration of Walvis Bay into Namibia, this was not included in resolution 435 and the area is still under South African jurisdiction.

This constitutes certain problems for those individuals residing in Walvis Bay who do not accent South African citizenship and consider themselves Namibian. While many of these people are entitled to register and vote, certain limitations exist, potentially obstructing the process.

The UN itself is in a contradictory position vis-a-vis its role in Namibia and especially in the circumstances of Walvis Bay.

On the one hand the purpose of the UNTAG presence is to ensure that free and fair elections occur in Namibia, excluding Walvis Bay; thus UNTAG carries out police monitoring and registration monitoring. On the other hand, in Walvis Bay, they cannot carry on any of these activities. No one from the UN contingent has entered the Walvis Bay area in any official capacity; some officials - including, the Swakopmund Regional Director - do not have visas to enter the Bay.

UNTAG, therefore, cannot monitor police activities, their can not counteract, prevent or observe intimidation. Nor can they reach those who cannot reach registration points outside the area. They cannot ensure impartiality in the media, nor can their work to ensure fairness in the campaigning activities of the various political parties.

Despite these limitations, however, Mrs. Yolanda Auger, Swakopmund Regional Director, claims that registration of those people from Walvis Bay is going relatively smoothly. Thus far, an average of close to 500 people have registered daily, 80%: are estimated to be from Walvis Bay.

The total of Walvis Bay registrants given by Dr. Cloete, the South African official in charge of registration, as of 13 July, 1989, was approximately 2,500 people, of an estimated 9,000 possible voters.

Rev. Michael Yates, representing the RRR Committee of the Walvis Bay area conducted a survey to determine the number of people in the district who were both eligible and likely to vote. In the township of Kuisebmond alone, they estimated a total of 10,709. Approximately 5,000 from Narraville were likely to register, a few hundred from Walvis Bay, and several hundred of the Tonnaar. The total comes to over 16,000 - almost double that of the UNTAG estimate.

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The disparity between statements of UN officials, among others in Swakopmund, versus the claims of church clergy and student groups in Walvis Bay is wide.

While the UN implies that the process is running smoothly, many residents in Walvis Bay feel they are facing an uphill battle.

II. Transportation

Transportation is a primary and obvious concern. While most Namibians are able to register in their own town, the people living/working in Walvis Bay are forced
to travel outside of the region. Swakopmund, the closest registration point, is over 30 km away. The cheapest means of transportation other than hitchhiking is the bus which runs daily, costing R5 per roundtrip per person. (Bus service by private arrangement.) Furthermore, the time factor must also be considered. 'A'aiting for the bus, driving to and from Swakopmund and waiting in the registration line for up to three and half hours is a burden that many cannot afford to assume. Employers of fisheries, sall and metal box operations have provided, in some cases, transoortation for their employees. (This information was provided by UNTAG, and at the Swakopmund registration point there were trucks and buses full of people that seemed to be groups of workers.) We were not, however, able to confirm this. None of the businesses we were able to contact provides this service. Furthermore, none of the people in Walvis had heard of this. This arrangement has the potential to alleviate the problem of transportation for some. Women and neople working in small businesses, however, must struggle to find their own means of transportation. For many transportation is the main difficulty; for some, like the elderly who are unable to leave their homes, the sick, and persons unable to fill out forms, the trip to Swakopmund is not possible; and that means automatic exclusion from the registration process. These neole must be considered, for many are eligible and desire to register and vote, yet are prevented from doing so.

II. Information
Access to information is a concern expressed by many. Some, especially on the outskirts of town are unaware of the registration/voting process according to Mr. Wilfried Emvula who works with the Catholic church. It is a new process for most. The UN is not in the area to inform the public, so they have to rely on the local South African newspapers one of which denied, e.g., that a state of emergency was applied in Walvis Bay on Thursday, July 6th. According to the "Namibian", Friday the 7th of July, a gathering of over 500 people emerged to welcome home Ben Amathila who had been in exile for 24 years. 35 minutes or so afterwards a "Casspir" arrived led by a police force with teargas grenades, demanding that the people disperse within 5 minutes. Mr. Emvula and a few students later confirmed this report. A source at "Namib Times" commented: "No, that never happened. Or, if it did, it must not have been that important." When pressed further, they said, "Well, the Police would not have told us about that." A paper which is so blatantly controlled by South Africa, and biased in its reporting, is unacceptable. Yet it serves for many as their only source of inf ormati on.

Since the registration oriod began the'Nhmb Times" h, :s only nrinted two articles on how one must re:-ister.
a' oreover, oolitical camp- -igning is banned from the urea, further limitin.g7" access to information reg:ding the different nolitie:71 p.;ties. "r. Pienae, r ... categorically st': ted th' t no nolit- o 2 rallies vould be allowed in the disruted Port of W: Y lvi bl in. the coming election campaign". ("Namibic-n' Thursday July 6). When nuestioned about the opening of+ a DT.k office in the are:, MVar. Lieneat stated th.ft he would "look into it". ("Nhmbin" Thursday July 6). When ,e
asked s. member of the DT."

The lack of information regarding independence and the process of registration is felt rapidly. Esther Hermann Kleinhit-nss commented that "too many people are voting on somnrs end colours r-ather than politics a:l history. The- need to know the facts." Because UNTAG cannot monitor the process; political camaigns n: is banned; TV, the press, F2nd radio are the only sources of information; the facts are often not available. IK ,nv will vote in ignorance if they are able to at all. I!Ir. Emvul reported an example of how this imposed ignorance may not even one from registering completely: An employee of the South African Railways asked his employer if he could go to Swakopmund to register. The employer told him t'-at everything had been taken care of and he had sent in the registration cards and he was not to worry. The emloyee then questioned him about all the neople he ha d seen going to Swakoomund to reg ister. The emloyer reiterated his original claim th :t he had taken care of everything. This is a case of blatant manipulation by the employer. Luckily, the emloyee did not give up and contacted !ir. mvula of CCN who is currently investigating the incident.

III. Intimidation

That there is intimidation both in WindhoeI: nd V,'alvis Bay -nd at the border check-points is undisruted. There are numerous accounts of neople being detained for extended m iods of time at the check-point. Lost of these detentions involve individ . als wearing Swapo, KANSO, or union t--shirts, or carrying publications from these organisatiors. For example, on 1st Diay a group of -neople were leaving Vtialvis Bay to attend a Diay Day workers rally. They were wearing r Swaoo and union t-shirts and were detained for an hour. One of the grouo, a 15 years ol(! girl, Justine Shikombwela, was allegedly ohysically assaulted. hot all incidents of detention or intimidation involve those displaying Swano or union sunnort. A NANSO leader, J. Challenger haoembe, told of his elderly aunt v7ho h'd been detained for over three hours in the middle of the right at the check-point for reasons that were not exolained to her. Another NANSO member explained that he and .. friend hrvd been detained for over two hours. While these border-crossings may not have been for the sinale nurnose of registering, this kind of intimidation is indicative of th renression of --tolitical activity even outside the Walvis area. Furtheiiore, the threat of detention an: of verbal and ohysical abuse may gi.courage some rponle from crossina the border to register. UNTAG has no offici,] role in monitoring the police activities of the South Africn

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Defence Force or the South African Police. It seems, however, that this type of monitoring is essential to engnre that a free and fair election takes Place in so far as Namibin residents of Walvis Bay are concerned.

IV. Registration

T-e fourth major Problem area concerns registration itself. It seems th- t the registration-personnel themselves have a good deal of leeway and can determine a person's eligibility in ways that are arbitrary and unfair. One man said that he went to register at the registration office in Swakonmund but was told his
documentation (a temporary i.d.-card) was insufficient. He went to another registration-point and was registered without question.

There have also been serious mistakes made by the registration-officers that could potentially disqualify the registrant. Some of the forms are un stamped and others are filled out with incorrect information. This has been brought to the attention of UNTAG and it appears that these problems will be addressed.

An UNTAG team will go through each of the registration-cards to find errors; the people whose cards are found to contain errors will be notified and allowed to re-register. ("Namibian Times" Monday, 17th July).

Another problem explained to us by Mr. Emvula and confirmed by several neonle at the July 15 Walvis Bay NANSO meeting was one of blatant discrimination. According to regulations the registrants, at the time of registration, are to be given the option of signing their registration-cards with a name, or, if they are unable to do this, they are to be given the option to imprint their thumb. Often, however, it seems that blacks are not given the option to sign their names while whites are automatically provided with names. One 19 year old man, Mr. Goagoseb, has been unable to register. Both his parents are now dead, but were born in the North. His sister was born in Namibia outside of Walvis Bay. Goagoseb himself was born in Walvis Bay, hrs a Namibian i.d.-card but has been told twice that he is ineligible. Dr. Cloete, the official in charge of registration, has told Goagoseb that his sister cannot identify him even if she is registered. Another man has a temporary i.d.-card and has been told that he cannot register with it. It will take over three months for him to receive his newly minted card but by then the registration period will be over.

Furthermore, in determining eligibility, the fact that Namibia was separated from the rest of Namibia and made an "integral" part of South Africa in 1979 is not considered. John Trun of the ITTAG Dector I Office said, "No distinction is made between those born in Walvis before it became South Africa and those born thereafter."

CIMS 15.07.89

In the Swakopmund registration-bureau itself there are four people processing registration-cards. There is also an UNTAG monitor who does not speak Afrikaans, the language in which most of the business is conducted. There is as well one official interpreter. Several people with whom I spoke, consider his to be insufficient monitoring. Considerable dialogue takes place amongst the registration-officers, an9 between the officers and the person registering. This ought to be monitored carefully by an Afrikaans-speaking UNTAG monitor. The potential for abuses without an Afrikaans-speaking monitor exists and should be considered.

Conclusions

The registration of Namibians in Walvis Bay is fraught with problems. Many of these problems were fae see able and in fact were brought to the attention of Mr. Ahtisaari on two separate occasions by Rev. Yates, the Walvis Bay representative of the RRR Committee. Rev. Yates received no reply to his letters of 7th April.
and 22nd May. It is our recommendation that official transport out of Walvis Bay for those wishing to register should be provided. Whilst this kind of transport has not been arranged in other situations, we consider Walvis Bay residents are in a unique position. Mobile units are provided for hard-to-reach areas, and while this is impossible for Walvis Bay, an alternative should be considered. Further, provisions should be made to register those unable to leave Walvis Bay due to illness, old age, or imprisonment. More information regarding registration, perhaps specifically geared to Namibians living in Walvis Bay, should be easily available. Namibians should have equal access to information regarding all political parties.

REPORT
to CCN/CIMS on my fact finding mission to Walvisbay and Swakopmund from 2/8/89 to 10/8/89 together with Mr. writto by
b) Registration Office
The atmosphere in the registration office was between tense and aggressive. The all-white registration team and the SWA-Supervisor (Dr. 6. Cloete) were all the time grumbling and raising issues with the UNTAG representatives. They insisted that persons born in WB should produce an "Extended Birth Certificate". A German speaking registration officer, however, did not want to apply the same rule to a white woman who had only a SA Passport. When UNTAG insisted, he gave in and demanded an Ext. Birth Certif. also from her. Another case also happened at SKM: a SWAPO activist, Mr. Libolius Haufiku, who is a returnee with an UN-passport, was registered in Windhoek on 20.7.89, where his mother who was born in Namibia, was allowed to give an affidavit testifying that her son was born at WB as her child. In the case von Julia Maxuilili, daughter of Swapo Act. President Nathanael Maxuilili, who was born in WB, she was asked at SKM to bring an Ext. Birth Certificate, even though her parents were present with her in the registration office.

We were shocked to learn about the case of Mrs. Theopolona Nambili from Mondesa near SKM who was issued a registration card by Mr. Swartbool at SKM on 14.7.89 without copying the birth date and the UNHCR Repatriation form Serial Number on the registration card. Instead he wrote in Afrikaans "GEEN" in the space provided for the ID-No. In proceeding like that the registration card was- it seems - intentionally been made invalid. The suggestion of two US members of the "Project Vote" to involve the Christian congregations in screening the registration lists did not meet with the enthusiasm on the part of the pastors of SKM. They rather felt it as the duty of the political parties to check, whether all people who have already registered, also appear on the computerized voters' lists (When asked by the parish priest, 90% of the Anglican church goers in Mondesa indicated that they had already registered). The SWAPO-branch in Mondesa has already started to do the screening among their activists and supporters- house to house visits are planned for the future weeks.
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Walvis Bay is under errerger.cy rgtos eseae that
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senre, nio monitoring. People mmust -c, to S ,ak op fc.- rgrivtration. Marny are
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No reply. Álso Y-rs. kugér, Regiona!. Directvor of LINTAG a-t Swakop has
notv rverlief. We are just left on ourar Dwn." The refusal o-f entry -cg Jr. Ben ýj-
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first incider.t cof the kind. Geirngob had no prctlers:E. -Transo:ort to Swvakop:
Peo-ple have to use private minibu.es, and boruder-posts have, for the first ti:ce,
demanded presentation of public transport .kc'enss. Owners wvere fined 5o t11o
i$o Rand, people had to v>a,a,k.,, to stay at 1Mondesa o-ver nht-to face the
consequences. There is no catering Cor the old, handicapped, anâ for those
awaiting trial. - Rooibar*c: The nobile registration-un.t went only upto Goabeb
which is 52 km from Rooibank. This was too far. 1It, is equelly dfiutto travel, all
the way to Swakop. G'hildren borr in Walvis Bay: They need proof' that at least
one parent was born in Namibia, by presentation of the extended

identical registration refused as the abridged bi1-th-certificate does not mention
the parents. An affidavit was not accepted. Case: Gerald Gaogoseb, 19, parents
died. Identification by sister (registered) was refused. He asked Manpower !Office
Windhoek
for death-certificate. No response. Home Affairs Office at Walvis was asked for
details of father. No response yet from Pretoria. Employers: Here and there
employers are not yet cooerative to let workers off. Some fish-factories say that
the fishing-season will be over at the end of August, and that workers will then
have time. May be thousands will rush for registration between then and 15th
September. - Suggestion: Mr. Niirambo, Swakor, has two big buses but he 1leeds
certainty that enough people turn up, or a guarantee for empty seats. Can someone give that guarantee? CCN? - C-eneral: Here and there things are cooking. A group of trained security-guards of SAP has arrived. Some have been identified at ex-Koevoet members. They are to prevent "illegal gatherings" have torn off SWAPO-posters from doors. They are "advising people of their die." which in itself is experienced as a form of intimidation.

Rev. Ernest Gamx-umnub, ELC: Pastors and church-woxliers have formed an ecumenical group. He confirms Emvuia's story. People are hindered also psychologically, e.g. by putting up bureaucratic obstacles, obvious because of inconsistency in handling identical cases. One comes to the conclusion that officials have been trained to hinder the process on purpose. UNTAG has no power to really intervene but SR and Regional Director have power of complaint with the AG or with the supervisor of the registration office. UNTAG-people do not understand Afrikaans, that is a great disadvantage. But people have shown that the obstacles do not make them lose interest. They have shown determination. DTA offers help and transport on condition that a membership-card is signed. Gamxu.ub believes that this is no problem: People know that this means no obligation. (UDF contacts Damara spokesmen.) Cases of open violation of rules have been observed. - At Kuisebmond: There is presence of SWAPO (strong), UDF, DTA. The latter two are openly denouncing SWAPO, e.g. by accusing it of "caribalism". The question of the ex-detainees is very much utilized and expanded. "We are waiting for the full answer from the Red Cross, from the &R, from the Churches, from SWAPO, to discuss it with our people. They have been shocked and take it very strongly." "They" want to prevent SWAPO from winning and use this matter for that purpose. Churches are accused of having joined in from the beginning. The situation is aggravated by the effects of consistent, long-term disinformation, e.g. through tribal radio. Damara people tend to believe what the ex-detainees tell them. People have not been taught to reason for themselves; they tend to believe stories when they are impressively presented. "They are carried away by every wind, no matter where it blows."

"A CCN statement with details will be a strong wind." - Returnees: At Kuisebmond there are returnees (all Oambo) and ex-detainees. Some are former ELC members. Evangelists are trying to reach them. Ex-detainees say they want a coalition SWAPO/DTA. If SWAPO wins, they will flee. But now they form an own party; where does the money come from?

o4.o8.89, F1riday
Jack Manali. -ANSO: ... Group-relations at Kuisebmond have improved but there is still intimidation. In the question of ex-detainees one tries to remain calm, awaiting official details. - There are many problems regarding the registration at Swakop. DTA and NPF are still going around, suggesting to sign questionnaires which they claim are applications for registration, but in fact they are applications for membership. NANSO tries to explain this to people.

- Trouble is caused by "mistakes" being made at the Registration Office in Swakop, in filling in the registration-cards. People report that the communication
in the office is not good. - There are about 10 returnees at Kuisebmond, and about 3 ex-detainees. Former Koevoet-members have been seen. They appear to have been trained for 2 months to work at Walvis, but they are no official SAP-agents.

Mr. Alcock, DTA Office: At time of visit the office is being dismantled "upon orders from Freteria", because SWAPO has claimed the right to open an office as well. Mr. Alcock says, the same thing has happened to the NPF office. - Yes, DTA offers transport to Swakopmund for registration but for members only. DTA can provide a Commissioner of Oath, for affidavits. He is the Chief of the Topraar (Buurbt.nk). - Work at the Swakop office is inconsistent and contradictory. "UNTAG is the problem, not the language question."

Father Herrmann Klein-Hitpas, O.M.I., Catholic Church: By and by returnees come to Walvis, also ex-detainees with their stories. Sees danger that internal SWAPO-leaders will be pushed against the wall by external leaders. - There were many reasons for the schoolboycott, including solidarity with the strikers in Ovamboland, but there are indications that the strike at Walvis was ordered from above, i.e. not a local NANSO-decision. The connection to SWAPO is too close, same as with the trade-unions. - Ex-detainees: The matter is a fact and can no longer be denied. The Parents Committee has spread "stories" about what the ex-detainees report, must be taken seriously. He does not believe that the SWAPO-leaders were unaware of what was going on, neither that a few local persons are alone responsible. There are the facts, e.g. about "eleven prisons" with "100 to 200" detainees each? Sinram reports on CCN plans in this respect and on the past story of Nyango having been a "concentration camp" which a German delegation to the spot found to be false.

- Registration; Father Klein-Hitpas has, in one case, given an affidavit which a's rejected for doubtful reasons. People who are known to be SWAPO-supporters are harassed. - Mr. Kooitjie, Chief of the Tpnaars, has explained to Mr. Bouman (or Baumann) of the Catholic parish-council at Narraville how one can get an SWA identity-card at the DTA Office in Walvis Bay: By an affidavit sworn in front of Kooitjie. In case this matter is revealed, it is the victim who faces the consequences. - The numerous obstacles to the registration, deliberate refusals by the Swakop office, point to an effort to tire people out.

Natanael Maxhuilili, Acting President- SWAPO: Alaxhuilili begins by showing a video on the problem of 1st April. In the first part one sees the parade of PlanX on occasion of Nujoma's announcement of the cease-fire. The official statement by the SWAPO President is shown in full length. It is quite clear. The second part shows bodies of PLAN fighters killed at close range when they had assembled on the Namibian side, to report to UTAG posts. The claim is clearly that of a deliberate, planned massacre. - Registration:

bo 1 0i, S , -U-"o c" +e - 'e, "re a . Cc ur c... oh:ci' ' the tr-ck with the transport]zcerze o buses. Some mistake.i in registratiim-cards must have been made deli ib-erly, like ruting in 1 92, as the year of birth UNTA' cannot co.e with this situation. - DTA members have no prob. lens. DTA T-shirts have not been rejected. SWAPO-T-shirts must sometimes be taken off. The repeated risits to Swakop mean for some people
trouble with employers. For them, also the repeated exoendituare is a prob-em. -
In Walvis Bay no rallies have taken olace since 78. "They hide behind the
Emergency Regulations." The DTA office is closed because Maxhuilili applied for
a permit to onEn an office. - Ex-detainees: "Now they demand an inspection of
prisons in Angola. How about an inspection of jails here in Waivis Bay or in
Namibia? in other wars spies have been shot; but we did not kill them." There are
6 or lo ex-detainees at Kuisebmond. SWAPO tries to talk to them, to get them
back into the community. "We hope they'll come back and tell the truth."
Alaxhuilili claims that the raid on Kassin4"a had not been possible without prior
espionage. - Parents Committee: "Did they ask South Africa why their kids had
been made to spy? The PC openly lied once, claiming that Nujoma hit a woman at
Strasbourg. Will they not lie again?" - Stories about PLAN preparing to infiltrate
into the North: "A Koevoet-member has talked to mo. Many Koevoetmembers
give themselves up. They reveal: The old trick of Koevoet movi n around in
SWAPO unifors has failed."
05.08.89, Saturday
SWAPO-Rally on Tamariskia Sports-Grouni: Carefu! security-check at any
entrance. Gpenir.E prayer by Erastus Haikali ("Katalala"), the former 3e."or
Chaplain of Namibians' Social and Chaplaincy ervice, Lusaka. Speakers Dr. Ben
"aadhila, Hage Geingob. Present also: Lucowski, Ru*mpf, Maxhuilili and other
prominent rersons. Count at entrance arrives st 14,746. stops when people start
leaving as new pecole still arrive. - Ben Artadhila brings message from NuJoma
and Geingob stresses policy of r-econciliation. "Re-onciliation is the only way but
it is not a ons-way road. Where are cur white brothers and sisters? Just Anton
Lubcwski? Where are the ites of Swakopmund? It is not good -o ,ait and see.
what SWAPO will do for you. Reconciliation car,loz be of that kind which exists
between the rider and the one who is ridden. I hove seen the stratification of this
beautiful town accordi to racial lines, luxury and eualor. There cannot be
reconciliation if it does not take place also on the economic level. Let us talk, let
us express each other's needs so that there can be true reconciliation."
07.08.89, Monday
Registration Office, Supervisirn Officer D. Gerd Cloete:
UNTAG-monitors Mr. Iskandar Hasteger (?), Is Rosemary Noonp. Cloete
explains the response to documentary difficulties, stresses need for extended
birth-certificate if ap-licant born in Walvis Bay and parents claimed to be
Naiibian-born. He claims good cooperation with factories in Walvis Bay with
whom he arranges that workers come in groups, not in large numbers at once.
Monitoring: Atmosphere is tense which partly due to workload and endless
repetition of identical problems. But the all-white team of registration-officors
appears to be in no good mood. Observation by Rasteger and Noona is close. The
presence of observers appears
to have a cooling-down effect. There is an ongoing dispute about closing time on
Saturdays - when more people come than on other working days, mostly from
Walvis Bay, on Saturday last 245 out of 292. A German-speaking registration-
officer is prevented from granting registration to a white lady without demanding her birth certificate, i.e. from granting a favour refused to blacks. He makes loud comments, works at high speed.

Mrs. Yolanda Auger UNTAG Regional Director and her Deputy, Mr. Hassum 0eesal Gueneral confirmation of problems which already observed. Stress that two facts must be proven through documentation: 1) that the applicant is the don/daughter of so and so, 2) that at least one parent is a born Namibian. Since 25th July the bureaucratic treatment of buses at the border has been stopped.

Rooibank: Ceesay proves from files that the mobile unit to Topnaar area went on 20th truly all the way to Ururas, close to the border. It stopped also at Utuseb, at the Topnaar School. (The trip had been prepared after inspection on 29th June.) If the communication gap has resulted in a large number of people missing registration, another trip may be considered. Sirram promises investigation through the Legal Assistance Office at Kuisebmond. - Extended birth certificates are obtained through the Home Affairs Office at Walvis. The official is cooperative, UNTAG says, and a telefax reply from Pretoria takes 2 to 3 days. - Registration at Swakop by Saturday, 5th August: 10,712 Swakopmund, 6,860 Walvis Bay, 17,572 total.

08.08.89, Thursday
Wilfried Em.la, Legal Assistance Office, Walvis Bay: share the results of first days in Swakopmund.

Rooibank. Sinza, reports on the talk with UNTAG, i.e. the obvious misinformation anl the cffer to arrange for a second trip, provided there is a demand that justifies it. Emvula plans to make investigations on Saturday, 12th. will come back beginning of following week. - The bureaucratic treatment of buses at the border-post has indeed stopped, but on 5th August only. The problem of the cost (R5 is a lot of money for unemployed people) remains for those o have to make the trip more than once. Emvula denies that the factoris are cooperating as claimed by the Registration Office Supervisor. That is true for only one out of 7 or 8 fish factories. They make it difficult for workers to get time off prior to the end of the fishing season. Many will then prefer to go home to the North, but there they will depend on mobile registration-units. - Case: Andrew Nilo nga (direct conversation) was registration at Swakop refUed and told to get an extended birth-certificate. He registered at Ondangwa on 4th August, simply explaining that the Anglican priest is his father. As the priest was known, even the white supervisor agreed without hesitation. The father was not present.

08.08Q89, Saturday
Staying in Registration Office for longer period. The team is slower. Aga-in a dispute arises over the closing (official closing time is 1 r.m.). There is a long line outside as late as 12.30. Ceesav a ts overtime. Registration officers object. Sinram leaves when he sees that UNTAG people may draw him into the conflict.
ATTENDS RALLY IN ADTHALLE* Tamaris-kia: About 500 visitors. Figure confirmed by UNTAG Police. Peaceful but noisy. Strong denouncement of SWAPO in slogans and first speech (name L nd -- weno' u-derstood, not mentioned on coster). Second speech by Y -- A. Frank is more sophisticated and warns against hostility. Speeches are in Afrikaans and are translated into two African languages. English is not used. Strong presence of coloured people. Some whites, including Germanspeaking Namitians Mr. Alcock from Walvis Bay says a leading part with opening prayer and in leading the shouting of slogans like "Viva DMA, down with SWAPO!"

13.08.89, Sunday
Attending Sunday service in the Genian lutheran Church (Pastor Kirschnereit). It is amazing that nothing, not even intercession, shows any reference to the worldly reality outside the church.

* The congregation, about 50, is mostly elderly and all-white.

16.08.9, Wednesday
Mrs. Auger, UNTAG: Visits 3R-Office. She has no decision yet regarding Saturdays. It is realized, however, that capacity and opening-hours must follow the demand. - Sinran informs that CIMS will decide on his further assignment soon which will determine whether he will be able to continue, e.g. in operating contacts at Walvis Bay. Mrs Auger is concerned about a possible final rush from Walvis Bay after the fish-factories close the season. She confirms that it will be better for the workers to register at Swakopmund if they depend, in the North, on mobile units.

Mrs Auger foresees a great problem for the days of election when all Walvis Bay voters must reach the polls at Swakob within five days: How can this be handled in terms of transport? Can financial) assistance be obtained to get private bus-companies interested? Can there be extra trains? In any case negotiations with the South African authorities would be involved, and that is a matter for Mr. Ahtisaari.

Mrs Auger expresses appreciation for the work done by the Legal Assistance Group - and by its office in Walvis Bay. She will pay closer attention to it. Of course, contact must be by telephone.

INTEI WEDIATE REPORT NO. 2 - MONITORING IN SWAKOPMUND AREA

17. 08.89. Thursday
Legal Advice Office, 'lfried Emvula: 0.6th, to get Emvula has been at the Home Affairs office on procedure - as presently applied - exparne in detail: Home Affairs Office demands abridged birth-certificate plus bautism certificate. Within 4 to 5 days the full birth-certificate comes from Pretoria.

Case: Emvula shows a full birth-certificate supplied according the described trocedu--re. "o ates and numbers for the parents
are entered which IeaS that just the details shown on abridged birth-certificate nd baptism-certificate have been coied, resp. combined on one paper. Tihere is no imprcvement of information over the joint presentation of abridged birth-certificate U ffi* ce not satisand baptism-certificate. yY is a reg-sttricno--oi t n fied with that? case: Application for full birth-certificate shows names of parents, both are deceased. Full birth-certificate from Pretoria just contains the remark "deceased" in both cases, without mentioning the names of the parents. It is useless. (photocopies supporting both cases are included.)

Rooibank: Emvula has made investigations. Result is that the Topnaars have been registered at Swakopmund with the help of DTA, and under control of the Chief, Kooitjie. It appears that the Chief "acts like a king", keeping his group (2oo? 4oo people?) in utter dependency. He retained at least some of the registrationcgrds. - The suspicion is confirmed that one may - on the basis

iINTERMEDIATE REPORT FO. 3 - MONITORING IN SWAKOPN.UNr AREA 'iRACTS FROM DIARY
18.08.89, Friday (continued)
M-rs. Auger, UNTAG Reg. Dir.: Late in the afternoon Mrs. Auger comes to the 3R-Office to explain a new provisional re lation for Saturdays just decided by v.'r.. Visser's office in Windhoek:
The Swakopmund office must remain open after 1.00 hours if there is demand. Tomorrow will be a test case (remembering that on Saturday last about 80 people were left outside in spite of some overtime). If there continues to be demand after 13.00 hours on Saturdays, the official closing-time may be fixed at 17.00 hours again. She asks to inform his contacts in Walvis Bay though it is rather late. This is done immediately.
19.08.89, Saturday
yoriing at Registration-Office: In the morning there are quite a number of people, but the team is very fast. Towards noon people do not have to wit any longer. Close to 13.00 hours the officers are without work - and rejoice.
Case: A white person with South African Passport is sent back to get - birth-certificate.
Case: A white oerson has to get files from home with benk-statements etc. to prove that they have lived here for the last four years. The officer carefully leaves through the files (there are three observers), cdn is satisfied (the observers, too).
Case: A white person gets a written rejection in order to make an aolication to the Court (sitting every fortnight), as regulations dr. not provide the answer to his probLem: He has been out of Namibia for medical treatment for several years and is still on sick-pension. The WFa.-istrate will have to decide whether or not he is qualified for registration, his health-aobilement said to be the deterr, ining factor for n prolonged absence.
General: Work is intensive but the atmosphere is more relaxed which may be due to reduced work-pressure. Observation by UNTAG remains sharp; when the officer-in-charge of the Registration Office is absent (for short periods; the Supervisor Dr. Cloete is not in today), registration-officers go straight to Mr. Rastegar of UNTAG for advice.

20.08.89, Sunday

Bord r-Post: At the border-post becomes witness to the beginning of a scene which reminds him of repeatedly expressed hopes that the UNTG-post be placed immediately next to the tent of the SAP to have an eye on proceedings - e.g. on the treatment of two black travellers with a documentary problem - when one of them is wearing SWAPO-colours. Would it be thinkable?

ZDIATZ REPORT NO. 4 - MONITORING IN SWAKUNDE AREA 81-CTS PR014 1IAR?

2 Under AG 23 a SWAPO-rally had to be cancelled on Sunday at Arandis in such a way that 2 to 3,00 people were sent home before the rally could begin. Speakers were to be Dr. Beni Amadhila and Alpheus Naruseb. Reason: Failure to notify the Police 3 days in a vain, Though Arandis is in another UNTAG-reigion the UNTAG-Police from Iwâ-kuipmund was observing the event and reported that the dispersing of the gathering took place in an orderly fashion. Mg Mler says trat Dr. A-madhila expressly thanked both UNTAG innd SWAPO' for the calm handling of the ratter.

4WAPO-Office, Yr. Alpheus Naruseb and Mr. Libolly Haufiku: Naruseb gives a self-critical report about the event at Arandis. Notification of the rally had been given to the Magistrate of Swakopmund on Tuesday last (information confirmed). "The Magistrate is, of course, not obliged to teach us about the contents of AG23." In other words, SWAPO Swakopmund did not realize that under AG23 the notification should have been given not to the - Magistrate but to the Police across the street...

).s. Penny Mochino, 3R-Committee/CCN School Programme /SWAPO: Vis4tt to the 3R-Office together with Mr. David Nghiwirepo and Mr. Goodson Lotto of SWAPO. Ms. Mochino retorts that she delivered the notification of the Arandis rally to the Magistrate in person and that there was no mention of the Magistrate being the wrong address or of the fact that under AG23 rather the Police should be notified. Obviously the Magistrate did neither pass the notification on to the Police. But the Police was present at Arandis...

24.08.89, Thursday

Se A person from Walvis Bay has presented himself to the registration-Office with two registration-cards, i.e. bP. hd registered twice, following the advice of an unnamed person. He had then found out that he was talked into committing a serious offence. As he presented himself in good faith, the Supervisor 6ecided - in the presence of U."TAG observers plus Regional Director - to just cancel one of the cards, not taking any further action.
INTERMEDIATE REPORT NO. 6 - MONITORING IN SWAKOPMUND
AREA EXTRACTS FROM DIARY
26.08.80, Saturday:
-2
Registration-Office Swakopmund: An initial crowd could be handled without problems. As of abt. 1.30 hours there is no more line of waiting applicants.
Double registration: An applicant is reprimanded after evidence is suspected to be found that he may have sought double registration. A subsequent inquiry by Sinram does not reveal reason or background. The person concerned, an elderly man, does not make the impression of being able to commit a calculated offence. No additional details of the earlier case of double registration - reported under date of 24th August - are available. The Supervisor, Dr. Cloete, advises officers to mark temporary ID-cards in case of rai... Apparently, such an ID-card lacks certain details which may provoke an error on the side of a registration-officer.
Cases: There are several cases of (also "white") persons being sent away in order to provide full birth-certificates (persons born in Walvis Bay and carrying only South African passports), or evidence of having lived in Namibia for at least four years (e.g. bank-statements). In two cases "white" persons lost patience immediately and walked out. Comment by an officer: "Two votes lost against SWAPO."
General: The atmosphere is tense. Two registration-officers of German background make loud comments. This is obviously caused by a number of special cases holding up the registration-work (and possibly endangering closing-hour, it being accepted rule that the office remain open upon demand). At 12.50 hours no more applicants arrive. - During the opening hours there have been as many as 4 observers plus one UNTAG police-officer inside the registration-office. The registration-team consisted of five officers plus the Supervisor. There were two interpreters from UNTAG, one of whom, David, greets Bob.
"Namibia-Day": During the first part of the day no political activity in town was noticeable except that more people than usual wore SWAPO-colours. The DTA-office was closed, no DTA-supporters were visible; apparently all of them were ferried to the rally at Katutura.

NAMIBIANS MUST STAND TOGETHER FOR WALVIS BAY
The need to enable Kaxibians, who live in Walvis Bay to participate in the decolonisation process of their motherland cannot be overstressed.
Reports regarding South Africa's handling of the Walvis Bay situation continue to be disturbing and in fact, they confirm that the situation is moving from bad to worse. During the Namibian independence negotiations South Africa had insisted on ownership of Namibia's only deep-sea harbour of Walvis Bay, quoting some colonial treaties. In the end the UN Security Council resolution 435 compromise provided for Walvis Bay to be left aside for the elected Namibian government to pursue with the South African government. The international
community was persuaded to accept that position "in the interest of progress'. Little did the nations of the world know what would be the long term implications of that agreement.

On the other hand the Namibian people had refused to accept that position and it is save to say that of all political parties preparing to participate in the elections none had ever accepted South Africa's claim on Walvis Bay. Still little did the Namibian people realise that such a claim would drive a wedge between Walvis Bay residents and the rest of Namibians.

When national political mobilisation took shape the people of Walvis Bay were among the frontliners. As it is the reality in Namibia, political mobilisation would start in urban areas where people could somehow interact across ethnic lines (against the wishes of the apartheid dogma). Today we know tales of people going from Walvis Bay on bicycles to mobilise fellow Namibians to join the struggle for justice, we also know that historically the strongest labour movement in Namibia emerged from the docks and shopfloors of our nation's big cities, central of which were Walvis Bay, Tsumeb and Windhoek. All along the people of Walvis Bay helped to spearhead the struggle for Namibia, not in sympathy with the Namibian people, but, because as Namibians they knew that it was their struggle and therefore they needed to carry it to all corners of their atherland, so that apartheid can be served a death blow once and for all, so that justice would prevail. It is that long and painful struggle in which our sisters and brothers in Walvis Bay have been involved and have led, which we are concluding with the implementation of UN Security Council resolution 435 today. But now the Namibian people are told by the government of South Africa that our people in Walvis Bay cannot participate in the decolonisation process, unless they do

it on South Africa's terms. To add insult to injury the South African government have started a subtle campaign to systematically uproot Namibians from Walvis Bay in order to isolate them from their sisters and brothers in Walvis Bay, lest they become a threat to the designs of the Pretoria regime. The first victim of latter strategy is Kr. Ben Amadhila, SWAPO's Economic Secretary, who is reported to have been served with a banning order in terms of the Admission of Persons to South Africa Regulation Act 59 of 1972. This evidently implies that Walvis Bay is part of South Africa and Mr. Amadhila has been declared persona non grata in South Africa. This means that he cannot enter Walvis Bay even though he was born and bred there. Even though he spent his adult life fighting for Namibia's freedom including Walvis Bay. How many more Namibians are going to be victimised this way by South Africa?
While it is not surprising for South Africa to ban people from their homes, South Africa must not be allowed to get away with the business of snatching away a part of our country and worst of all, of dividing and isolating our people. The extent to which the South African government is going in trying to isorate Namibians in Walvis Bay is reprehensible.

Thousands of Namibians live in Walvis Bay, Thif people vant to remain Namibians. Like all Namibians they want to participate in the elections for Uaiba's insd6pesdeni as they have unconditionally participated 11 the ittiqli for Naibia for generations. It Is th4s ineumtbea tpon the lamibian people to organse a dampligl for the unconditional restoration of VIIais bay to ValibLa. This is a campaign in which Namibians cannot affort oDsciencious objectors. Let Nauibians unite around this inane, Let 4s demand the unconditional participation of ot people in 11#i1 SAy in the UN Security Council resolution 435 ispleseentetion like all other lamibians. Likewise ve must oppose mass patticipation of South African citizens in the election process of our land. Kany such South Africans have never been interested in the freedom of our nation. Nov that there is a chance to influence the rightful choices of Namibians they stream in hukdreds to our borders to register and vote, even though some of tha have never lived in Nazibia and have thus no interest In this country. . . /5

Nov rightful Kanibians have to watch white South Africans on television voting in the South African whites only elections in September and then watch the sane people on television voting in the Namibian national election in November. This is an insult of the highest order on the Namibian people, it is thus a responsibility of every lamibian to demand unconditional participation of the people of Walvis Bay in our national election in November.

Ir Vezer Kandetu
Director of CIKS

ITEJUIEDIATE h iORi. NO. 7 - !ONITORING IN SWAKOPKUND AREA
b) Registration (extracts from diary)
There are several reports that registration of appcants _li-ing in Arandis has been concluded already some time- Restrtrion per Saturday, o9.o9.: 13,326 Swakopmund, 9P529 Walvis Bay, total 22,855. - At Walvis Bay it is estimated that still a larger number of persors want tc register but have a problem with the cost of transpox-t. The Legal Advice Office has so far tried in vain to get financial assistance for financing bus-rides which cost R 270.-each. A trip will be arranged for Wednesday, 13th September. Large numbers of people come to have their registration-cards checked, and compared with the voters' list, at the Legal Advice Office in Walvis Bay. Nany
cards are incomplete or incorrect, count for Swakopmund or far 208 Walvis-Bay
cards. - The rush for registration after the end of the fish-factory-season did not
occur as potential voters had to travel home immediately thereafter. It is illegal to
stay in the compound after the end of the season. They will, therefore, look for
registration-points in the North. The atmosphere in the Swakopmund Registr- tion-
Office is somewhat relaxed but close observation continues. The docuLmen- tary
problems with regard to applicants from Walvis Bay have conti nued.

c) Intimidation/Instigation (extracts from diary)
No disturbances were noted with regard to the SWAPO-rallies at Arandis (02.09.)
and Hentiesbaai (03.09.), and nothing has been reported. SWAPO-speakers put
a strong emphasis on a conciliatory attitude before and after election. Slogans do
not, curiLhiri eny instigation against other narties. The DTA is mentioned in one
critical remark by the Acting President of SWAPO, with explanation,
- Under the chairrianship of Mrs. Auger, UNTAG Regional Director, a multi-
party meeting has be'en held at Swakopmund on 31st August. There was
agreement that each party would urge its followers and supporters to refrain from
acts of vandalism, intimidation, and provocation. There is readiness to agree on
respective guidelines.
- Some tension at Hentiesbaai is being investigated but respective reports have
been late. - In the light of agreements/neigotiations regarding a code of conduct it
has been astonishing to note open, intensive, and repeated instigation against
SWAPO at the DTA-rally in Swakopmund on 9th September, mostly led by a
person named Sinram as being the DTA Chief Organizer for the West Coast
Regionc, Mr. Albert Tsub (?). Quotations: "Viva DTA, viva DTA, viva DTA,
down SWAPO:"
Speaker: "Viva DTA, viva DTA, viva DTA, SWAPO..." Crowd:
"... down!" Speaker: "SWAPO..." Crowd: "... down!" Speaker and crowd: "SV,
APO down, down, down!" This culminated in: "De DTA is van God. SWAPO is
van de..." Crowd: "... Duivel!" The crowd, largely brought to Swakopmund in ten
big and a number of small busses and pickups, responded intensely. When not, the
excitement was brought about by frequent repetition of slogans favouring DTA
ard deno:incing SWAPO. The second speaker, a headman from Ovambo,
delivered a mpeech which consisted of unbelievable assurances (that he
represented the-majority of the Ovambo, that the Ovambo were fin behind DTA,
that they would vote for DTA -s they did no,; -nt a coQmmunist government, that
the3 "re not frai of the ways of h Jaka2l used by S'4APO, that SWAPO had:
started intimidation but that the wolf had no teeth any more, that DTA would thus
win). ..ach sentence was emphasized by the inter-recter 'ro also stimulated the
crowd to roaring applause. The DTA Chairr.an, Mr. Dirk Ikudge, was present but
6id not interfe. At this roint Sinram left the rally. It ia reported the.t there has, in
the evening, been some fighting in .ondesa, No S'AP0-observers were observed
near the rally which took place about 500 yards from the first houses of Iondesa,
on an open space. The rally was monitored by UNTAG and SV, APOL.
d) Political Parties and Campaigning (extracts from diary)
On 2nd and 3rd September two SWAPO-rallies were monitored, at Arandis and
Hentiesbaai. From conversatiors - and from the number of flags on house-tops -
Arandis is a strong-hold of S-APO. Both rallies made the impression of a serious ceremony followed by speeches with a strongly educational emphasis. The need to translate into several languages (from English) made the events some that tiresome but the crowds (2,000 to 2,500 at Arandis, a few hundred at Hentiesbaai) held out except that strong, cold winds made some people withdraw at Hentiesbaai, before the meeting was officially closed. Main speakers were Alpheus Naruseb and Dr. Ben Amadhila. The emphasis was on the demand for reconciliation, resp. a conciliatory attitude before and after elections. A strong warning was given to those seeking revenge or immediate material benefits after a SWAPO victory.

On 9th September observed part of a DTA-rally at Swakopmund (from 2.15 to 4.45 p.m.). The large tent in DTA-colours was actually placed about 500 yards outside Mon-esa on an open space, not far from Tamariskia. The tent was open on all sides. Quotation from diary:

"witnesses the arrival of a convoy bringing supporters, almost all 'black' (Thilst in the tent there is a large percentage of 'coloured' people, apparently from Tamariskia). 'Whites' are very few. Ten big buses counted, some with South African number-plates. Estimate of attendance at 4.30 p.m. 1,500 to 2,000. The DTA-Chairman is present. There is presence of SWAPOL and UNTAG-Police. Until 4.45 no incident noted. English is not used at DTA-rallies. Speeches are in Afrikaans, translated into Herero and Nama/Damara, apparently. Presentation and programme make the impression of being under highly professional control. This is also true for the interpreters who ap-pear to be skilled orators themselves. From 2 p.m. till about 3.15 the pro-ramme is dominated by a professional band obviously playing well-known tunes in excellent quality. The loudspeakersystem is (in contrast to SWAPO-rallies) of high standard including a control-desk operated by a 'white' person. There is a sort of disco-atmosphere; many people are dancing. Quite a number appear to be under the influence of alcohol. The music is interrupted by an experienced announcer who is also leading the repeated shouting of slogans (see details under "c"). The first speaker, Mr. Andrew Majila, starts with a positivistic picture of the past ten years: 'DTA has used the path of negotiation. DTA is the party of peace.

Thousands of Naribians live in Walvis Bay. These people want to remain Namibians. Like all Namibians they want to participate in the elections for Namibia's independence as they have unconditionally participated in the struggle for Namibia for generations. It is thus incumbent upon the Naaiibian people to organise a campaign for the unconditional restoration of Walvis Bay to Namibia. This is a campaign in which Namibians cannot afford conscientious objectors.

Let Namibians unite around this issue. Let us demand the unconditional participation of our people in Walvis Bay in the UK Security Council resolution 435 implementation like all other Namibians. Likewise we must oppose mass participation of South African citizens in the election process of our land. Wany such South Africans have never been
interested in the freedom of our nation. Now that there is a chance to
influence the rightful choices of Namibians they stream in hundreds to our
borders to register and vote, even though some of them have never lived in
Namibia and have thus no interest in this country.

1u4Tt.4.EDITATE REPORT NO. lo - MONITORING IN 3WAKOP, UND AREA
14.10.82, Saturday
m-kee excerpts fro-t RWCG-info :or GCICS. Short visit by
Churchill Gape, a monitor from Botswana. - SWsAPO star-reilly in
cold, Vindy weather. Loudspeaker-aplifiers partly out of order.
Lesc poople than in August. No dinturbanoes observed; CIMS monitors
stay in s arroundines of rally, including neighbouring streets of
Taariskia. Tour through koniesa does not show any sign of tension
or d15tiir*,nr,P. - Yeonmr :gn with Wilfried Brock a teacher at
the UN Institute ior Namibia, Lusaka (ht iz nVej,.ilblti md j i tŚ WADO
member, born in Swakopmud) "-i.9
father is a -rominent citizen, Vrtner of Woernann, Brock & Co.,
the Swa*-opmand trading company managed by YrHenrichsen, -he Mayor.
Brock reports that he is here on re.Tlar vacation, and that normal
classes at the institute (abt. 5oo students) will 1e resumed accordin to the regular
schedule. Students must be enabled to finish their education: 3tudents plus staff
and families f.n1, a sizeable
group within the "39.ooo refugees missing" (as alleged in the right-wing press).
Considerir this and other progralmes resp.
structures of SWAPOP outside Naribia arrives at a figure of abt
37.ooo persons still living in exile: Head Office in Luanda, Central
Administration in Lusaka, Nyango lealth and Education Centre, 19
large settlements in Cuanza Sul Province, Angola, PLAN combat-troops plus
logistics, administration etc., S14APO offices in many co.*ntries
up to the embassy in New Delhi. The estimate is rough, may easily
reach 39.ooo.
16.10.89 londay
Dav-long seminarr at 8wakopmund, held by Hisham Omayad, Director
of xlec.-oral Division, UNTAG windhoek. Introductory speech by Mr.
'ienrichsen, Xayor of Swakop. - Seminar, first of its kind,
is attended by about 8o rersons, including all CI-contacts in Swakop and ',Valvis,
except Father Winterstein (on vacation) and the German pastor (does not speak
English). CIVS-staff: Aros .nako, Raka-i hitsan, Henk van Apeldoorn, Hermann
Sinam. On occasion of seniar has a short conversation with the
avor of Swakopmund. It is agreed that an opportunity for further talk will be
sought in due course. Nr. Henricheen stresses that he is "non-partis-arl, non-
denominatiOnalI". He regrets the fact that There are as mary as 26 Christian and
non-Christian faith-groups in little Swakopmun. - Lunch )v.th Father I{ichael
Yates cf Waivis.
Now rightful Fauibians have to watch white South Africans on television voting in the South African whites only elections in September and then watch the same people on television voting in the Namibian national election in November. This is an insult of the highest order on the Namibian people. It is thus a responsibility of every Namibian to demand unconditional participation of the people of Walvis Bay in our national election in November.

Ir Vextra Kandetu
Director of CIXS

UL4TAG Seminar on Voter-Education, Swakopmund, 16.10.89

Iairn points of introduction by Mr. Hisham Omayad (of Ghana), Director of Electoral Division, UNTAG:
- Proclamation came out on Friday, 13th October. All contents to the draft have been taken into account.
- Proclamation is supplemented by the exchange of letters between G and SR.
- All ten parties are entitled to oneolini agent each at every station. Each party can name a maximum of four agents and one election agent per district.
- Too special UN supervisors will control elections, besides ordinary UNTAG staff.
- Public information is needed, in particular for illiterates.
- If in district of registration, registration card and recognized identification document with photograph will permit an ordinary ballot.
- If in another district, without proper identification document (e.g. a ticket, only), if complaints have been recorded or registration has been challenged, voter casts a tendered ballot to be verified in Windhoek.
- Proclamation describes procedure in a polling-station in detail, also the two kinds of ballots.
- There will be a random verification of selected polling-stations during the first days in order to make sure that there will be no unusual pattern in the input of documents indicating possible fraud. In case of need the AG will order a complete verification.
- There will be an exact audit of ballot papers the counterfoils which bear registration numbers. The ballot papers are printed in Bailard on special security paper which is similar to that used for bank notes. 3 ballot papers and ballot boxes will be under 24 hours supervision.
- 1,300 UNTAG police will be deployed at the polling stations.
- Polling agents may not wear anything on them which identifies a political party. The 7 are not allowed to interfere in the voting. They may not act as rescuers of confidence (for blind or disabled voters).
- Contrary to the wording in the Proclamation 'any mark is accented .s indication of vote, not only the cross. Ink pads for finger prints will be in the ballot booths for people who have
difficulties in using a -en.
- There will be 37: nolinge-stations of which 226 will be static,
- About 500 organisations are going to send monitors for the election. koni.ors are allowed into the 50cm-circle up to the entrance doors or up to the line marking the interio r circle of a mobile-unit.
- Anybody losing his registration-card between 16th October and 7th November may still vote by tendered ballot.
- The election will be from 7th to 10th November, o7.00 to ln.00 hours. Commnrency-re.-ulications e.g. for situation at c`oirtme) are being prepared but will not be announced,
- Till 24th October the Parties will have to rrovide a list of minimum 24 candidates for the Constituent Assembly, in priority order.

06.11.89
REPORT TO CIMS FROY CHURCHES' EMINENT PERSONS OBSERVK' GROUP SWAKOPMUND
1. Contacts
SWAPO Election Directorate Swakopmund, Mr. Ben Amathila, Director; Mr. Libolly Haufiku
DTA Swakopmund Office, Mr. Jan Botha, Mr. Schneider, The Rev. J.D.Strydom (ELCSWA)
UNTAG Regional Directorate Swakopmund, VMrs. Yolanda Auger, Regional Dire ct or
Walvis Bay, Father Philip Muench; Pastor Immanuel Hamunyelahl
Father Hermann Klein-Hitpas; Mr. Wilfried Emvula (LAO Legal Advice Office)
The Mayor of Swakopmund, Mr. Joerg Henrichsen
2. Issues
In the course of our discussions with the above contacts the following issues were raised:
2.1 Polling-Stations
The number and placing of polling-stations is inadequate for the number of registered voters in the area. It is estimated that of the 25,000 voters registered some 20 to 21,000 will be voting at the three stations oprovided. (The rest of the voters will either use mobile stations or, as in the case of seasonal workers in the fish-industry (3 to 4,000?) vote in their home districts.) To process some 21,000 voters in 5 days in three polling-stations will require that each voter is processed in 30 seconds which appears to be unlikely. Problems are foreseen as a result of this inadequacy. Furthermore no polling-station has been provided for Mondesa, the "black" townshipwhich has the highest concentration of voters. The request for more polling-stations was refused.
2.2
Apparent Breach of AG 49
We discovered that one of the colling-stations is the Magistrate court which also houses the office of the District Commissioner of SWAPOL, and which has the sign of SWAPOL displayed at the entrance to the building. This is in contravention of Clause 12(2)a of AG49 and we brought this to the attention of the UNTAG Regional Directorate in Swakopmund. The Director told us that she had already raised the matter with the Electoral Officer but that nothing had as yet been done. We requested that she insist on the matter being put right. The sign has now been covered.

11ITSI&DIAT REPORT NO. 12: MONITORING IN WAKOPh.UND AREA
Supplement to Intermediate Report no. 11, covering pre-election weeks.
Following sections include aeroplane comments.
Walvis Bay in the week before the elections
About 11,000 voters were registered at Swakopmund for the election. This is a remarkable number, taking into account the variety of obstacles which voters had to overcome. Some obstacles turned out to be artificial; and one has to conclude that Namibians in Walvis Bay have been victims of more or less open discrimination. It appears, however, that such discrimination has caused determination rather than discouragement.

Two political parties, NTA and NPF, have been openly favoured by South African authorities inasmuch as they were permitted to have offices in Walvis Bay. A demand by the Acting President of SWAPO, a resident of Walvis Bay, for equal treatment of all parties was answered with an instruction from Pretoria that the DPA and the NIF close their offices. Soon, however, they resumed their activities - in mock defiance - and showed. their flags, billboards, posters etc. Protests by UNTAG appear to have been in vain. It can be excluded that authorities in Walvis Bay overlooked the matter: Walvis Bay is under emergency-regulations like the other parts of the Republic of South Africa, and special security-forces patrol the townships.

A part of the voters will have gone home into Namibia after the end of the fishing-season, and will vote there. But enough have remained and must go to Swakopmund to cast their votes. In the absence of public transport between Walvis Bay and Swakopmund worth mentioning, private transport-arrangements have been made by the political parties. SWAPO has, besides bringing in its own buses, hired trains to go back and forth twice a day. CINS has been begged by people in Walvis Bay to make sure that border-post and railway-station are continuously monitored.

Meanwhile, churches in Walvis Bay (besides parties) have offered a substantial amount of voter-education. Interest is reported to have been keen.

Polling-Stations in Swakopmund
In spite of criticism and counter-roposal the original plan has been carried out Swakopmund will have one polling-station in the Magistrate Building, a second one in a sports-hall near the border, and a third one in the Town Hall of Tamariskia, the "coloured" township. This means that there is no polling-station
in the "black" location /,ondesa from where most of the voters will come. Public instigation must have affected the atmosphere in

relations between "coloureds" and "blacks"; “-fd it is feared that "blacks" will tend to avoid TamarisKia ,r., to go to the aistrate Building instead, which has also been the reration-office. This may also be done by voters from Walvis T;ay who have, in the opinion of church and party people, emotional problems with regard to the "white" sports-hall near the bridge wh-ich is also in sight of the South African border-post, a military tent "fortified" with sandbags. Furthermore, peonle arriving at Swakopmund by train will also tend to use the station in the Yagistrate Building which is very close to the rail-station. This creates the anticipation of endless lines of waiting voters outside the Magistrate. Another problem lies in the fact th-t all but two .,try-offices at Swakopmund are located within the 500m circle around the .agistrate Building in which no party-activities are included. That parties have been allowed to carry on their offices is, in turn, interpreted by some as the general licence -to present themselves visibly even right in front of the polling-station,..

M0edia and Propaigan"<a
As if they are short of arguments "conservative" parties nd media sympathizing with them have not ceased to coentrate on direct and indi'ect denouncement of one single party, the "3WAPO. It has been feared and predicted that the ,?ituation would lead to an outright intervention by international nropaganda-instruments, utilizing real or axificial weaknesses in the Image of the national movement. The deglorification-campaign a, ainst real or suspected socio-economic models which iny produce "dangerous" alternatives to conservative Western stuctures has included SWAPO (and ANC) against its targets since 1985 at the latest. Welleknown in its "contra-connection" regarding Nicaragua, one of the notorious propag, nda-machines, the so-called International Society for Human Rights, has shown massive activity during the election-can,paign, directly as well as through its associates, notably the Christians for Partnershi Associatim, a right-wing church-group working under the umbrella of United Christian Action (UCA), Pretoria. It is sad to note that innocent oersons
and groups inside Namibia or related to it have allowed themselves to 'ie instrAmentalized in a professorl smear-campaign of such proportions that factual investigation of the "grains of truth" is made imnossible. The experts of the irop ganda-,machine have been blowing up Zuch grains by adding heculeal allegations as well as flat lies, and by drawing far-raaching conclusions from that satanic mixture. This technique has been employed since the days of the cold war. Germans will remember, for example, the joint blunder of the International Society for Hutumjn Rights and the Reagan-Administration in suggesting that orisoners would "starve and die" for the pipeline from Siberia to West Germany (Bishop Tartier adds: "... and France."), an enormous transacction which was not to the liking of some Western business interests. The propaganda-machine has boon exposed long ago. There is scientific literature about it. And yet it continues with little disturbance. Its activities in the destabilization of Southern Africa suggest that it will not stop after the elections.
As a policy of reconciliation will have to be based on the confession of facts, e.g. on the exact presentation of atrocities committed by security-forces of the South African Administration to well as by security-forces of the national movement, the disqualification of the "reports" produced by the Yropagan!tmahine (of course, against VWAPO only) is a necessity. It can be achieved by showing that the "reports" have been poisoned at source, by describing and thus exposing the instrumen and lbruotures behind them.

Intimidation and Assault

Intimidation and assault understood as "intimidation", viz open threat, prevail against VWAPO only) has been rare in the Swakopmund area. There have so far been only isolated cases showing no underlyim system. Intimidation can, however, also be seen in more refined methods, e.g. of influencing the election-campaign by the way polling-stations are being placed, by a certain interpretation of AG 49, by suggesting to candidates that their trofeissional career may be endangered because of their candidacy. All these things happen in Swakopmund. For the time being discretion protects dates and names. A case of open assault by shooting into the tyre of a vehicle, causing it to turn over, leaving several persons injured, is suspected to have happened on 3rd November. The details are under investigation.

06.11.89
REPORT TO CIMS FROM CHURCHES' EMINENT PERSONS OBSERVEJ.
GROUP SWAKOPMUND
1. Contacts
SWAPO Election Directorate Swakopmund, Mr. Ben Amathila, Director; Mr. Libolly Haufiku
DTA Swakopmund Office, Mr. Jan Botha, Mr. Schneider, The Rev. J.D.Strydom (ELCSWA)
UNTAG Regional Directorate Swakopmund, l-rs. Yolanda Auger, Regional Director
Walvis Bay, Father Philip Muench; Pastor Immanuel Hamunyelah; Father Hermann Klein-Hitpas; Mr. Wilfried Emvula (LAC Legal Advice Office)
The Mayor of Swakopmund, Mr. Joerg Henrichsen
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In course of our discussions with the above contacts the following issues were raised:

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To process some 21,000 voters in 5 days in three polling-stations will require that each voter is processed in 30 seconds which appears to be unlikely. Problems are foreseen as a result of this inadequacy. Furthermore no polling-station has been provided for Mondesa, the "black" township, which has the highest concentration of voters. The request for more polling-stations was refused.

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Apparent Breach of AG 49
We discovered that one of the polling-stations is the Magistrate court which also houses the office of the District Commissioner of SWAPOL, and which has the sign of SWAPOL displayed at the entrance to the building. This is in contravention of Clause 12(2)a of AG 49 and we brought this to the attention of the UNTAG Regional Directorate in Swakopmund. The Director told us that she had already raised the matter with the Electoral Officer but that nothing had as yet been done. We requested that she resist on the matter being put right. The sign has now been covered.

Another problem is that all except two of the political parties have their offices within the 500m radius of the Magistrate Ooart. It was agreed that as these were already established offices they could continue to exist provided they removed flags etc. This has been done, but it gives the two parties who are outside the Soon boundary an unfair advantage.

2.3
Ido . oha. of Tr'ains
P6 ififi artieshave organized buses and trains for their supporters residing in Walvis Bay to come to vote in Swakoomund. As returnees and Namibian residents in WB hLd difficulties crossing the border during the registration-period, many returnees have come to live temporarily in Swakopmund for the duration of the election; but it is feared that the people who will travel from WB may as in the past be harassed by bureaucratic means. It is felt that in addition to party-officials some international observers ought to monitor the trains, and possibly the buses.

2.5
Police-Raid Rumour
There is a rumour going around that the police are going to carry out a raid in the hostel-c otpound in WB. This could result in the dwellersi ID-documents and Voter-Registration Cards being taken or "lost" which would prevent them from crossing the border, and from voting. It was felt that the press should be alerted to ascertain whether the is any foundation in this rumour.

Bishop J. Brenninkmeijer
Rey. Dr. J-F Bill
J.. Korusihe
H. Sinram

SWAKOJU"UND
phone/fax (0641) 4915
08 .11.89
0.1.V.S.* OB RVJ-i Th AliWAOPkUND
RLPORT -ON 0 777-1.79

Names of observers:
Bishop Jan Brenninkmeijer, Kroonstad, RSA Rev. Dr. Frangois Bil), SACC,
Johannesburg, RSA Advocate Fonnie Karvaihe, Legal Observer Group,
Windhoek, NKniibia Hermann Sinrtm, Evangelical Church in Berlin (Berlin Vest)
Swak oprun
PollinL-Stations (fixed or mobile) :
agis'istrate Court Sports Blall
Tamariskia Town Hall 13entie sbaai
+ Arandis
Time:
7 -.a .89

Name of AG Blection-Sucrvisor: SwakoTmund own: Dr. Gerd. Cloete
Name of UNTAG Region-al Director: Irs. Yolanda Auger (Chile) Deputy: Mr.
Hassum Ceesay (Gambia.)
Number of UITAG Officers: P-oice: 1 -3 per station Civil: 7 - 8 rcr station
Number of SWAPO Officers: 2-to 5 per station, armed with pistols. There were
two inFtances of SWAPO-Officers showing automatic assault-rifles. The
monitors complained immediately and also reported the matter to the UINTAG
Regional Director. In one of the two cascs it could be observed that the respective
officer Yvas writhdra.-n.

Nutmber of votes at 17.3o hours, Magistrate Court 1,300
Tamariskia Town Hall 8oo
Sports Hall i,00o
Arandis i,oo0
Hentiesbaai 3, 000

At 22.45 hours, repeatt 27.45 hours voting was still going on. There have been
disabled persons but they have not been counted. Voters refused NJot to the
knowledge of the unaersigned. Persons requiring assistance; Plenty. Average
turnout: A person a minute, too slow.
Lode of Transport:
Vote-Troin Walvis Bay come by one prirv* tely 1 ired train &aily leaving VP at 07.30, je;cVir19 N, akop at 19.oo - as well as by private buses. (Transport-arrangements by political parties.) No exceptional border-crossing problems have been reported. The South African border-post has been monitored by CI],S-observere as well as by LAC/NADEL lawyers.

General Observations:
At” o6.4-5 -on7th November the three fixed poaling-stations at Swakop were confronted with between two and three thousand voters each, iv. disciplined lines. Two stations opened with an hour of delay. At 19.oo hours (planned closing-time) 500 persons each waited at the three stations which had meanwhile promised to accorntodate everyone. ( onitors may have contributed to this decision.) (Remember: Mondesa, the "black" township of Swakopmuy!6 housing most of the voters, did not get a polling-station, and there has, of course, not been any voting, in Walvis Bay, though NPF and DTA offices were pDryaitted to operate in the enclave which is under RSA emergency-regulations.) - Before that announcement serious tension developed in the afternoon, especially at the entrance to the Magistrate Court where crowds threatened to get out of control. Reason: Workers from Walvis who stayed away from work - or who got just one day off by their employers - got scared. - A COIVS Moni.tor (Sinram) was stationed at the hotspot for about three hours. His observation in closest experience: The Police must be recommended for the way the matter was handled. The Election-Director of SWAP0, approached by Sinram, declared himself ready to talk to "his eoplel" but this would according to a telephone-conversation between the AG ElectionSupervisor and the UETAG-Renerel Director - have reouired a call to representatives of all parties to make a statement in front of the crowd. 2t was thus left to the Police to solve the very immediate an6 very rhyhsical problem. One UYMAG-Police monitor was starding by at all times. For a while the scene was observed by the liayor of Swakopmund who had t}hoWni ecuat aprc;ition for the presence of forei gn observers. C1MIS-observers were joinsd by two lawyers from IACA4ADEL who also monitored the South African border-post: helet kerkling and Raj Daya, both ISA. Wishful interpretation of AG49 and related decisions led some parties into staging conspicuous self-presentation by canteens, info-stands, billboards, posters, flags, etc. right by - or near the polling-stations. CIS-observers protested - and were tempted to themselves remove a particularly provocative poster from a palm-tree in front of the Sports-Hall, in response to protests against it from the crowd. In inter-party agreement led by UPTAG these signs of misinterpretation and respective res-onse were removed.
A nasty incident: Voters in front of the Tamariskia Town Hall were intimidated by a low-flying helicopter bearing ACN and FCN posters. A complaint was filed by CINS-monitors with the UKTAG Regional1 Director. This incident must have been very counteriproductive to its initiators.

c for CIMS
c/o. box 3
3s AKQPFTJND
phone/fax (0641) 4915
09.11.89
CFl/S/ZLAo OBSERVER2i TEAMi SWAXOP1UND Report B7, II.-Names of
observerst
Ra~I~S (Y*RA(LNADEL Raj Day&t RSA'(LON~
Hermann Sinram, West Berlin (CIRS/Berlin Churah)
.5a- on/ own:
SW omu3' ... 
P lling-StatiOno observed on o8.1T.89
Magistrate Court _2L .
Sports Hall
Tamariskia Town Ha) 1
Name of glection-S.uptervisor (AG): Dr. Gerd 'ClOete-. ..
Name of UNTAG Regional Director YriS7Yo-lanMa Auer (Ch3Le) Deputy
Director: Mr. Hassum Ceesay (rambip)
Number of UNTAG Officers: Police. 1- 3 per stati Civil: 7 - 8 per station
SWAPOL-Officers (Col )Ironkh+ors Pei e tlaxed. Unarmed in the
morning., armed with
bistols in the afternoon. The short-lived demonstrtrition of rifleg on 07.11.89 was,
according to SWAPO., the- result of an order riven by the
At .000 hours abt. 2,000 each at all three polling-stations. Count in Magistrate
Court 3,2 persons rer minute. Short queues at all stations (Count: Magistrate
Court 15o, Shorts Hall loo, Tamariskia Town Hall 5o), filling up at about the
same speed as the voting proceeded.. Numerous persons aoepting directions
before they rooeed to the Dolling-booth but few needed actual explanation$. 
Id-ode of Trans ort: An fii f oPossible difficulties on the train from WalviA
Bay
on 09.11.89 has led to the decision to place an LAC/IMS monitor on the train.
ori-nObservers:
ori e AG efrE-- -et pervisor was overneard by a foreign observer in his
announcement to staff (in Afrikaans) that officers in the polLing-stations must,
according to an in~truction from Windhoek, refrain from talking, to foreign
observers. - Monitors

haocd no difficili;ties. Whcn asked for infoxmation, officertA responCed readily.
At times the number of foreign observers and journalists appeared to be slightly
disturbir at entrances or im.ide.,
General. Observations.,
Unve rsatj.'---a-$he voting-prooess with the ' Mayor, with SWAPOL., UNTAG
e., as well as with different party-representatives showed that there is relief and
relaxation, - "Free and Fair!” was the exclame.tiou of a pollinC:-agent known to
come from DTA,
lyle rkling/Daya/Sinram
f or CI ,is
CIRJIS/AQ OBSERVER~R H~AI.; S\AKOPINJ) fleport on 09,11.

Names of observers:

fle-ri-i IT9V (LAC/11ADEL) Raj Dayt, RSA (LAC/NADEL)
Hermann Sinram West Berlin (OGi.S/Berlin Church)

Region:
w.kopmund-an a visit to Hentiesbaai,

Pollin1r-tatiorLs observed on 09.11,89:

Sports Hall
Tamariskia Town Hall
_me of Election-SupervisorAG.

Name of UNTAG Regional Director: ,r'. Tolanda Auger[ il[ .. Deputy Director:
Y:r. Hassum Ceesay (Gambia)

Number of pNTAG Officers :
Civil: 7 - S per station

SWAPOL:
Fewofficers seen; relaxed. (Note : In yesterday's naragraph about SWAPOL please replace “Security Branch” by "Station Command". This was an error in translating abbreviations.)

Votinf- Process;

Queues viben very short, though there wis good voting activity. For the first time nollinr-stations have been seen without a single voter, for short periods. Peaceful. atmosphere, except that a helicopter was flown over the stations in an act of confusionism which some persons may have experienced as intimidation.

Helicopter Incident A blze and white helicopter was seen again over Swakopmund, carrying ACN and FON posters &:nd throwing out leaflets denouncing DTA and commending UDF. The leaflets carried name and address of the author. CIYS lodged an official complaint with UVTAG and talked to UDF and DTA. UDF knew nothing about it until the UNTAG Regional Director rant them up. They have informed Windhoek and assured CIMS that the matter would be stopped immediately.

Otherwise no incidents were reported or observed.

Hentiesbaai

Vo-i-- Tuesday and V'ednesday) was finished without problems. The aemi-automs6tio rifle was shown by the Police on botb days.

Walvis By

O7~kt[ b-- rvers were at Walvis Bay Railway-Station for the o7,3o hours train, not knowiring that it would leave much later. There was no person around. SWAPO indicated lateron that there h4d been no problem, but there would be no more trains as supporter- appear to prefer buses. Indeed, several big buses carrying $WAP0-posters were seen on the road. There Was no congestion at the border-post. CIMS staff thus assumed that the train had been cancelled already for today.
Two Walvis Bay employers, Barlow Rand - Eetalbox and Kohler, have refused their workers time off for voting. Negotiations have failed. Workers will come on their own accord (in shifts). Observation will continue in cooperation with the LAC Legal Advise Office in Walvis Bay. Prisoners from Walvis Bay will, under a special arrangement, be brought to the Sports Hall in Swakopmund on Yriday.

Right J W- huroh Groas

The Anioai church draws attention to a seminar on right wing church groups (see reports on propaganda) to be held by Christian Aid in the UK. Anobservation has shown a quiet and peaceful atmosphere except that the Lutheran pastor complained about the helicopter-incident.

lo.1- .89

TEL E F AX- FI E S SAGE to C.WIS. indhoek re: Helioopter-Infidents over Polling-Stations

- SWABO News, o,11.89, 08.oo hours, ECclsh Service

Referring to a number of incidents where helicopters flew over polling-stations in Namibia, casting down leaflets, the AG's Speaker is quoted as having said that "such incidents do not necessarily constitute violations of the Proclamation". After people have been intimidated, even terrified at Swakopmund on Tuesday as well as on Thursday by such low-flying helicopter and disturb6, even confused by its anti-DTA/pro-UDF leaf etS or by its ACV as well as FCN posters, such a statement can neither be understood, nor accepted. We suggest that O.I.S. conta;ct respec'ive authorities in -rotest.

Henrr, nn Sinrar,: for OIJCS c/o box 3

SWAKOPIKAUND
phone/fax (o641) 4915

13.1i 39


In the morning the UNTAG Regional Director irfonnieC th1e um-nersigned that enough UNTAG-personnel woujdl be available for the counting, to match AG- personnel on the basis of l:l. GerierEly, and right through the day, the atmosphere was relaxed, friendly. It was different on the other side of the bstrrier, on the observers' benches. Silence Trevailed, except for internm. oonversatios of the groups. SWAPO has been the only party to senl ballot-boxes after counting. Before noon a DTA activist stated an expectation for his party of 50,. DTA activists across the street from the Catholic Guesthouse appear to have celebrated the results of ).et-,thd.rien,

Oountjne finished at 18.25 hours,. At 18,4o a box h'd to be re-opened for t re-

count. Apart from OlKS and the Canadian Observer Itission no rietr<1 agency appears to have been represented.

Announcement abt. 21.00 hours:

Excluding 4,399 tendered ballots and 117 snoiled ballots (whereof 111 unmarked and 6 marked more than once, each one shown to the observer-bench) the result:
flemwann 'rur c/o 1)Qox
Viit! IA ir~o e.nd SX1APO. They as well as the Lutheran p?.stor' met in town b.elieve th<-t Small gatherings and tile march by the Tamariskia group are spontaneous expressions of joy. 14o aegrossiveness is beirie noted which fall~s in line With own iproion, 3 4AFO is dispersing another gathering in front of it-e Of:% Co. "t(est we have AcG23 in wind., one of the remHf.-nts of’ the Qo]lonrir Empire." Laughter. The crowd quickly follows the i.le'4uoitioniq. A SWiAPO official, Alpheus Naruseb, negotiates w.-ith the Policoe Qomw ,nder.

On 1PAcor-W/til-holm-Streeet three roliccm ,-n re seen, arted With pi-tQls but chmitting with v. youn,: lady. Sinlgle chi-16en oy younsters carry SAP-’ .stethourhi town. husiness and work appear to tro on as usual. One shop has closed, but pOinters cortJ nue to 'Paint the curb yellow, white, and bl>Fck. The Water inz front of the ?Vlagitrite Court Jves not come f-romr water-cannon but fropi the gardeners Who continue to vwa:ter the flower-beds when the mnarching group from barni arrives, The group reach,s the 1Bastern part of KdeWiebrStae but turns left and disappetrs Y-lthout mvch disturb~.nce to traffic. Touri.-ts take pictures. UNTAG Police is. nonitoin,.. any happy faces, an old ran has tears in his eyes. A pastor and the OY.$ monitor embrace, a young man in’ DTA shirt gives the blacll power oalute, OthiL-rwise no DTJA sigri: ar visible, not eveno~ he goupstaningin front of’ he jTA.-office as usual.

konitorin,., continues.
- ~ T ORT No. 16- -1.hj--Uh s wAKcQpi IiND AR ;A )-A,1,8 - 4-. 5 hours
Sicei the- first anno-l1uncerment of’ Ovambo-resul-ts streets in Sw..akop/ 1l oflesat.ewrariskia have bee;n monitored. in IYondesa people express their ha pines,, on the streets in a very oalmi way. A rm-roh of’ about 100 to 200 recPle through amari skip, apoearp to be very Peatceful. The Lu.theran~ pastors expect no trouble. A small crowd asem~bled in front of’ the SWAPO Ofiebut has meanwhile di-sP-ppeared; it Was probabol oy ;. group Pvkaitl ng the end of’ the lunchbreak, l.oniatorint, vil) continue.
14.11.89 17.00 hours

n- Sv.ko-mmun-7 no mOx"e gatherings,,' s re vicib. Ie. The itu-.ation in l',ondcsa
has riot chayn. ed, reoole are joyfuly gatherix.r, on the streets in svujl groups.
There run,s y be another i m-arch. - The one shop which cose6 down for a while has
opened again.

From Walvi.!, Bay Pastor Hau:-Unyelah reportp tha.t the situation h:s been
sirmifi :r in Duisebrond except that SAP and Security Police have dispersed
gatheriCs, prtlly by force, Some rubberbi"lets have been used, some people have
been injured. The Eitu.ti on hks "flor ljzed" but is Clorc,y watchc..1-14y the
police.
-ore detailp will be colected as soon .s no--wible, /
Tears at Wal s Bay

Vaisis Bay observers interviewed on Tuesday .n3 Wednesday (their
rLTtres are v,itheld for security-reasons) make clear that the tears wept in
Kuisebrwond, the "black" ghetto, were not only caused by the announcerent of
Victory but also by immedeate
shots of teargas.

When people left their homes to greet each other in jubilation, a when s or of
the Joyf U.L,ly gathered near a shopping-ares
where sm-all groups are a reLi2.Ar sight - the South African Police came
ruE:hing in with a "...pi r", that dreadful aimio' red vebioe
used b, the sx-ry in the war ainzt S,1,AP0, and immed itely ordered
the people to dis-.perse. A representative of" the Legal Assistance Centre,
Win6hoek, Fdvised the people to follow the order, Before tha t could bo done,
however, teargas-gren-aes were already shot from the "Casspir". A young man
LnrOi a lady were hit by grenades
and injured. The man was ,s- tak<en to hospital.
The South African Police continued to drive around in the "black"
ghetto until, IF ter in the evening, brandishin guns.
Toct threatening are two facts stressed by observers also on
earlier occasions, viz., that the South African Police does not wait to observe
whether the people are follovming the orders or not, and that the South African
Police does not at all try to
communioate with persom nearby, This indicates that the attack was to be E. de
iberate and brutal show of power with the aim to demonstrate the claim.;hich is
also shown by the large new billhoards ,alopn the road from Swakopmund, viz,
that Walvis flay is to be part of Cape Province, RSA, and ro.led by en:ergency-
law.
The bi-billboa rds also call for g:ood neighbourliness, but yesterday afternoon
Swakop and Walvis were certainly s, e.worlds apart.

for C.L].(.S.
box 60196
Wdindh oek-Katutura
FINAL REPORT - MONITORING '435' IN SWAKOPMUND AREA 2nd August to 19th November, 1989
(With reference to intermediate reports No. 1 to No. 19, telefaxed to Windhoek between 16th August and 15th November, 1989.)

1. Introduction

2. Issues Monitored
2.1 Walvis Bay
2.2 Registration
2.3 Campaigning and Voter-Education
2.4 Media and Propaganda
2.5 Intimidation and Instigation
2.6 Violence
2.7 "White" Minority
2.8 "Coloured" Minority
2.9 "Black" Majority
2.10 Election Preparation
2.11 Election Process
2.12 Results and Reactions

1. Introduction

Having arrived in Namibia on 30th July the undersigned (seconded by the Evangelical Church in Berlin-Brandenburg (Berlin West)) was sent to Walvis Bay and Swakopmund on 2nd August, together with a visiting monitor. Task: To monitor the '435'-process. Following initial hesitation it was lateron decided that he remain stationed at Swakopmund until after the elections, the permanent CIKS-observer being on leave rest. engaged in other important tasks. Apart from attending briefing-conferences at Windhoek the undersigned, therefore, stayed at Swakopmund, with accommodation in the Catholic Guesthouse, until 19th November when he returned to Windhoek to be given another assignment. The permanent observer, Amos Nguaiko, as well as a visiting monitor took over monitoring tasks in the Swakopmund area immediately.

2.1 Walvis Bay

That makes the Swakopmund area a hotspot is, of course, the disputed territory of Walvis Bay: The two sister-towns are 3okr, respectively "worlds" apart, under prevailing circumstances. Between August and November it was observed that South African authorities in Walvis Bay - with regard to some aspects there is evidence of specific instruction from Pretoria - do everything to emphasize the claim that the territory is part of Cape Province, RSA, and under strictly applied emergency-regulations. Then the South African Professor, lawyer, and author-in-exile David Soggot suggests in his revealing book about Namibia that Swakopmund is "more German than Germany", one is tempted to apply that joking analysis to the disputed territory: Walvis Bay is more South African than South Africa. Apartheid is an institution governing all aspects of life. Life is framed by the
direct and indirect influence of security-forces which seem to be able to escape

civil control. Walvis Bay is an army- and navy-base, a fist right in front of Namibia's stomach. It is Namibia's only deep-sea harbour (900 ships, 740000 tons of cargo per year, fully equipped to handle container-traffic and repairs) and the centre of international fishery-mining activities, i.e. the deliberate destruction of Namibia's fishing grounds by "free-market" over-fishing (in which Eastern Block fishing-fleets are strongly involved). Walvis Bay is thus requiring a strong labour-force, mainly obtained through Namibian contract-labour from about half the population: 11,000 Namibian voters residing at Walvis Bay registered at Swakopmund for '435' elections.

2.2 Registration

'435' required the registration of voters. Under UNTAG supervision a number of registration-points in the Swakopmund area, mobile and static, were offered in the initial period. Then only one registration-office remained, in the Swakopmund Magistrate Court (Neues Amtsgericht). There was, of course, no registration-office in Walvis Bay which is also outside the UNTAG operational area. This did not exclude, however, that South African authorities permitted the operation of two Namibian party-offices in Vialvis Bay: DTA and NIPF (see 2.3).

No serious problems were observed/ reported with regard to voters residing in Swakopmund, its townships Tpurariskia ("coloured"), Fondaes ("black"), or in Hentiesbaai (a tiny holiday-resort on the coast), Arandis (the "black" township of the Roessing Uranium Ydne), Usakos and Karibib (on the main-road to Windhoek, behind the desert). Exception: It turned out to be necessary to continuously monitor not only procedures at the Swakopmund registration-office (UNTAG's task) but also the behaviour of the South African officials: One of the main functions of a monitor is his mere presence. - Big problems arose, however, for the Namibian voter residing in Walvis Bay: He had to get a day off from his South African em' loyer, unless he wanted to risk the long queue in front of the Swakopmund Magistrate Court on Saturdays (closure-time 1 p.m.). He had to find - and pay for - private transport to Swakopmund and back, in the virtual absence of public transport facilities. - Additional obstacles were deliberately created by South African authorities: Private mini-buses were suddenly required to produce public transport licences, j-ere turned back, fined, the passengers having to walk, spend a night in Swakopmund, suffer the reaction of their Walvis Bay employers only some of whom turned out to be cooperative. (This act of bureaucratic harassment was stopped after intervention by the various monitoring systems.) Namibian returnees from exile, equipped only with repatriation-forms (proper identification-cards not being issued in Namibia during the election-period) were refused re-entry into the-ir home-town Walvis Bay after having left it just for registration at Swakopmund. (They refused to accept South African identification-cards. Also this artificial obstacle could be overcome in last-minute efforts by monitoring-services.) Persons born in Walvis Bay had, for exam-ole, to prove that their parents were Namibians. Such differentiation had, in the past, not existed, Walvis Bay having been administered
from Windhoek and not showing any visible border. Common ("abridged") birthcertificates did not mention the parents. Baptism certificates were not accepted as evidence. Voters were sent back to Walvis Bay, to apply for a full ("extended") birth-certificate from Pretoria. This required an application to the Home Affairs Office which telefaxed application as well as the contents of the "abridged" birth-certificate and the baptism-certificate to Pretoria. There - and this revealed the true nature of the exercise - the details provided by Walvis Bay were simply copied on a form called "Pull Birth Certificate" and telefaxed back to Walvis Bay: No additional information was included by Pretoria. Now the voter could make another trip to Swakcomund to get registered. - If the aim of such bureaucratic harassment by South African authorities was to cause discouragement of voters, it was counterproductive. It caused determination: The exercise almost became a sport, with joyful satisfaction at the end, holding the precious registration-card high into the air, on the steps of the Swakopmund Magistrate Court.

2.3 Campaigning and Voter-Education What struck the -eye very soon was the flood of posters of the different parties, except SWAPO: SVWAPO-posters used to be removed overnight, by "unknowm elements". Young men caught in the act pleaded for mercy, as this activity was their only source of income... - What struck the eye next was the fact that "fully decorated" DTA and NP? offices were in operation at Walvis Bay. During a first visit -o the Walvis Bay DTA office the monitors were informed that Pretoria had ordered them to close down (in fact, that procedure was in visible process). Lateron "decorations" re-appeared, however, in what turned out to be mock defiance of South African authorities who did not interfere. SWAPO could not open office-operations in Wglvis Bay, after outright rejection of the application. SWAPO was visible in the 'black" township, however, through SWAPO flags on countless rooftops: With regard to that phenomenon authorities gave up. - There were no rallies at Walvis Bay, of course.* The only gatherings allowed are those of church congregations which explains the massive attendance at Sunday services. The last SWAPO rally, said the Acting President of SWAPO, a resident of Walvis Bay, took place in 1978. - On the "Namibian side" several rallies were monitored at Swakopmund, Arandis, Hentiesbaai. The main rallies at Swakormund: SWAPO I and II between lo,000 and 20000 attendants; DTA I ane II between 800 and 1,500 attendants, mostly brought in by buses; and NPF-rally, about 80 attendants. No real trouble arose; but see 2.5. Monitors noted two important aspects of the election-mriod: The SWAPO Election Office at Swakopmund was ceremoniously opened at Moltke-Strasse, right inside the "white" business-centre. And: The business-commnmity of Swaikotmund staged talks with the SWAPO Election Director, Ben Amathila (a returnee after 24 years of exile, prevented from entering his home-town, Walvis Bay) which have reportedly been "great": Amathila is SWAPO's Secretary for Economics. - Days after the grossly delayed AG 49, the Administrator
General's Election-Law, was published, the first "natio!1" UNTAG seminar on voter-education was held in Swakopmund, led by 1.,r. Hisham Omayad (of Ghana), the UNTAG Election Director. The seminar was opened by the Mayor of Swakopmund whose speech became quite popular. About 80 narty-officials and monitors attended, including the church-leaders of Walvis Bay. Only three weeks remained for voter-education which was staged by UNTAG and the churches in various, well-attended (packed churches) exercises, besides the parties had, of course, their own information-routines. SWAPO branches were obliged to go from house to house to explain the true procedures as spelled out in the law. Asked what would happen if they entered the house of a DTA-supporter, the answer was: "We offer them the true AG49 information." "Will they listen to you?" "That will depend on our own approach."

2.4 Media and Propaganda
No general media pre published in the area except "Namil Times", the official daily of Walvis Bay voicing South African government opinion (Walvis Bay is under emergency-regulations). Indhoek papers are available, however, and the undersigned observed some reactions: While there is a minority of "Southwesterners" restricting themselves - besides to TV/radio which are the voices of the Administrator General - to "their" paper, e.g. "Allgemeine Zeitung", and are, thus, rather uninformed, even disinformned, a portion of the "white" population appears to be eager to attain a wider scope of information, even a higher degree of awareness. As a monitor the undersigned had to be careful not to respond to such reactions too openly. Under the influence of his background information the undersigned did, however, respond to the utilization of the media by a foreign anti-S,APO propaganda-network led by the "International Society for Human Rights (IGF11)", Frankfurt, respectively by its invisible masters: Alleged warcrimes in only one of the parties involved in the 23 7,ear of war, SWAPO, i.e. deliberately ignoring the war-crimes committed by other parties in the war, were, with the help of professional propaganda-technique, blown up into a main issue of the election campaign. Other structures besides IGF11 were instrumentalized or acted in open collaboration, like the "Christians for Partnership Association", an arm of rightist "United Christian Action (UCA)", Pretoria. The undersigned obtained res-ective information material from West Germany and from South Africa and issued an alarm to CIM'S.

2.5 Intimidation and Instigation
Political parties signed a code of conduct for the '435' election campaign. There have been different degrees of disregard in Namibia but the Swakopmund area has been relatively calm. Except, of course, that the obstructive attitude of Walvis Bay employers (with some exceptions) and authorities has amounted to outright intimidation, not to speak about the attitude of regular and special security-forces in that territory, right up to the borderpost where a clear distinction was always made between different shades of skin, an, sometimes between different kinds of t-shirts. There has, of course, also been the more sophisticated tw.e of intimidation, e.g. by school authorities indicating that a certain school-principal would have the choice between his job and his
candidacy for SVYAPO. Such cases appear to have been rare, though. A severe case of intimidation by an alleged SVAPO-supporter against a business-owner in Swakopmund may have been the act of an agent provocateur. The restaurant-owner did neither inform the press (where it would have made headlines) nor the Police. Instead, the matter was, through a monitor, negotiated with the SWAPO Election Office with the aim to confront the young man with an invitation by the victim to a drink and a discussion with SWAPO officials. The man was not seen again. - While there was comparatively little intimidation at Swakop, that cannot be said with regard to instigation. Open, public instigation took place only on three occasions but it was so massive that the aim must be taken as having been to create a lasting effect on a large number of people. Those three occasions were rallies of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), and the instigation was directed against SWAPO. In fact, the speeches consisted mainly of oon denouncements of SWAPO, and they contained few arguments in favour of DTA. The technique of making the crowd shout denouncing slogans was oorression. According to one slogan "one knows" that the DTA is "from God" and that SWAPO is from the..., screaming crowd: "Devil!". Party leaders, even the Chairman, observed the scene and did not interfere. A DTA official approached afterwards had no comment. - In contrast to a birthday-party atmosphere at DTA rallies the large SWAPO-meetings appeared to be a mixture of serious celebration and educational exercise with rejection of any kind of misconduct prior to and after the elections. There were strong, among others against unrealistic expectations in case of a victory. - A last effort to intimidate voters were flights of a helicopter over the waiting queues in front of polling-stations, throwing down anti-SWAPO and other leaflets, in obvious and gross violation of AG49 which prohibited political activities within a circle of 500 metres. Official complaints were filed, a.o. by the undersigned, but the AG's office stated that "it remained to be seen whether or not such flights were illegal...".

2.6 Violence

Apart from skirmishes after a DTA-rally in the immediate neighbourhood of Jondes, the "black" toCVN shin of Swakonomund, no proven acts of violence were observed or reported on the "Namibian side". In contrast, the South African Police attacked a small spontaneous gathering of jubilating people shortly after election results were announced on 14th November: A "Cassoir" armoured vehicle rushed to the scene. People were ordered to disperse but no time was granted to them for carrying out the order. Instead, teargas was shot immediately, grenades hitting and injuring two persons. The "Cassoir" then continued to drive through the "black" town during the afternoon and evening. The policemen, brandishing guns, refused to communicate. They remained inside, resolutely on top of their armoured vehicle. One comment from a "black" observer: "They are so scared that they do not even dare to come down and talk." - Information has been received that the attack was carried out as determined in a specific order from Pretoria.

2.7 "White" minority
For obvious reasons no direct contact could be taken with a representative number of "whites" in Walvis Bay, in terms of monitoring, as the undersigned and others travelled to Walvis Bay strictly as tourists visiting friends, and thus refrained from any activity beyond that. At Swakopmund the undersigned officially contacted members of the German-speaking community through different "doors", and it turned out that he had been the victim of shameful prejudice, created by the "stories" told in Germany. In other words, contacts brought a number of happy surprises. Conversations showed that whilst there was indeed a minority closing their eyes to developments and living in the past - a substantial group was following events very closely and realistically though apparently putting their hopes on NCDP and/or ACN, with subsequent disappointment, even feelings of insecurity, after results became known. It was said about oldfashioned nazis at Swakopmund but that phenomenon does not appear to be worth any serious attention.

2.8 "Coloured" Minority
There are strong "coloured" minorities in Swakop and Walvis. In monitoring activities little information was obtained except that "ordinary" visitors of DTA rallies (thus not members of the crowd of activists ferried from rally to rally by buses) appeared to be largely from Tamariskia, the "coloured" township of Swakommund. A number of conversations created the impression that an old problem created by the apartheid situation, viz. that of lacking social and cultural identity, appears to be very present. In "social classification" the still prevailing apartheid-hierarchy in both cities of course places "coloured" between "whites" and "blacks": in a supermarket the manager is 'White' the cashiers are "coloured", the packers are "black".

2.9 "Black" Majority
Swakopmund houses about 2,000 "whites", 6,000 "coloureds", 10000 "blacks" in well-separated townships. The 25,000 inhabitants of Walvis Bay are divided along similar lines, with stricter observation of written and unwritten apartheid-laws. The 10,000 "blacks" of Swakopmund (including contract-workers) live in overcrowded Mondesa. Rent for the little standard-houses owned by the Municipality, is between R60 and R80 per month. Unskilled workers earn about R200 to R300, skilled workers, e.g. in government service, R800 to R1000. They can afford a house for a family, others, in particular the 40% unemployed of Mondesa, have to share everything. Such sharing is, however, a traditional principle readily followed. Lost or all inhabitants of Mondesa belong to the one or other church-denomination. Churches are overcrowded; on 15th October a second, large Lutheran church was dedicated. SWAPO-flags are seen on most rooftops. A remnant of the war: Part of a primary-school was burned down and has not yet been rebuilt. The story was that it was an act of "the Ovabos", meaning SWAPO. According to a pastor there is enough evidence that the fire was set by agents of the colonial government, with the aim to blame the national movement.

in short: The Police must be commended in the way the situation was controlled by about six officers using only their bare hands and the weight of their bodies.
The Colonel stopped abusive lanEguwe of his men immediately, and he saw to it that san atmosphere of jrood humour was maintained. The door was watched by the UNTAG Police officer who admitted 5 or 1o voters at a time.

'then the Election-Supervisor finally announced that the station would remain open until the last voter had cast his ballot th:t night, the tension immediately disapp-eared and oueues came to order. Stations closed as late as I p.m.; AG and UNTAG officials must be commended for their patience and endurance, working from o6.3o a.m. to I I n.m. without a real break. A few voters missed the SWAPO-train to Wialvis and had to be brought home by other transrort. - Lateron it was found out that the announcement by the Election Supervisor came only after he had been strongly advised by the UNTAG Regional Director to make it.

At that moment the instruction to keep stations ooen, issued by Windhoek, had been known for some time already. This leads to the suspicion that the threatening collapse of the voting-process coincided with South African interests. - On the second day the scene changed completely: Short queues formed in front of the rollingstations, voting went on fast, the number of voters arriving more or less corresnonded to the number of voters leaving. The number of votes cast on this day was higher than on the previous one. During the remaining three election-days stations calmed down even more, the number of voters decreased, and on Saturday the stations waited for voters and complained about boredom.

2.12 Results and Reaction

At 7 p.m. sharp on Saturday, 11th November, the polling-station -t Tairariskia closed to the words from the Presiding Officer: "It's finished!" anC the monitors as well as the nolling-agents of the politica! rarties initiated cordial a-lause. This hairened, of course, also at the other rolling-stations. Swakonmund seemed to celebrate this moment with a few drops of actual rain (it is ra.ning ever:yr seven or ten years) and a glorious sun-set vhich is also very rare. - On Fonday the counting took place in the c'a-istrate Court, close!, observed by monitors-fro different countries, as well as by nolling-agents of rolitical rarties. Ballot-boxes, carrying many seals, had been closely watched vrithout intarruption. There was enough personnel to attach one UNTAG official to each AG official. SWAPO was the only political Yrty to out its ovn seal on the ballot-boxes after counting (the ballot-papers were replaced in the boxes for transport to Windhoek). No figures were announced in the orocess but when standing on the bench ne could look into the counting-boxes bearing the names of the parties - and see what was apparently going to haopen. - At about 9 p.m. the results (ordinary ballots) for Swakopmund/valvis BayA entsiesbaai/Arandis/zaribib/sskos/ F obile Units (remote areas, hosoiitals, jails etc.) were announced to the rpublic: SWAPO 11,479; DTA 4,998; UDF 1,400; ACN 1,020; FCN 318; NEF 207; NPF 119;

2.10 Election-Preparations

(For voter-education see 2.3.) - At an early stage the question of -olling-stations at Swakopmund caught the attention of all observers, most of all that of the UNTAG Regional Directors with v,'orn the undersigned had contact almost daily. The draft -rovided for three polling-stationt one at the Swakoo-
Bridge (border) for voters from Walvis Bay, one in the Magistrate Court, one in the Tamariskia Community Hall. This meant that no polling-station was to be opened in the township housing more than half the population of Swakopmund, Mondesa. Complaints were filed, excuses considered and dismissed, negotiations continued, all in vain. It turned out that voters readily adjusted to that situation. This was not anticipated, and it may have been due to intensive voter-education. - As late as 13th October the Election-Law (Proclamation AG49 of the South African Administrator General) was published and was thus available for election-preparation. This left three weeks: On 16th October the UNTAG Election Director held a seminar in Swakopmund (see 2.3). - Also the question of transport-facilities for voters from Walvis Bay received early attention. Dreams of neutral assistance from the churches or related agencies had to be quickly dismissed. No help was to be expected from the Administration at Windhoek, let alone Walvis Bay. So it was left to the political parties to make own arrangements for their supporters, at great expense, no serious difficulties occurred. SAPO hired a train which was to depart from Walvis Bay daily, but it turned out that voters preferred to use buses. Some employers of Walvis Bay showed cooperation, too. - Preparations included mobile units and smaller polling-stations in the area, without major problems.

2.11 Election-Process

At 06.45 a.m. on "ID-Day", 7th November, about 3,000 voters were queuing in front of the three polling-stations at Swakopmund in fog and cold wind. Two of them opened with an hour's delay. In the beginning, voting was slow though no irregularities or problems inside the stations were observed. There were four CIL-monitors during those days, who divided the ground and ensured an all-day observation. The ground included Bishop Jan Brenninkmeijer of Kroonstad, RSA; Rev. Dr. Francois Pillay, SACC Administrative Secretary General, Johannesburg, RSA; Advocate Fonnie Karuaihe, Windhoek, and the undersigned. Lateron the ground was joined by two Attorneys from South Africa, Helet Lierkling and Raj Daya, Johannesburg and Cane Town. - Voters appeared to be well disciplined and in a festive mood, almost celebrating the act. The undersigned will not forget scenes like that of an elderly man stopping in front of the ballot-box, reaching out to cast his vote, withdrawing his hand, however, taking his hat off and holding it against his chest, then reaching out to put his ballot-paper in the box. - This chanted in the afternoon when lines in front of the Magistrate Court threatened to get out of control: 'Workers from Walvis Bay were getting scared. They might not get a chance to vote until closing-time, 7 p.m., and that after having stayed away from work or obtained that precious day off by their South African employer. As pressure increased at the entrance and queues got out of order, the Police had to intervene physically, and the undersigned was stationed right at the entrance for severe hours. Result of his observation

SWAPO-D 49; CDA 24; NNDP A; total 19,618. (To this 4,309 tendered ballots must be added. In addition to that a substantial number of contract-workers from
the fish-industry at Walvis Bay will have voted to move in Namibia because the fishing-season ended after registration but prior to election.) On Tuesday, 14th November, the final results for the whole of the country were announced. SWAPO had won 41 out of 72 seats in the Constituent Assembly. For the reaction at Walvis Bay the reader must be referred to chapter 2.6, the chapter on violence.

What happened in Swakopmund is reported here by quoting the respective telefax report to Windhoek, of 14th November, 3.30 p.m.:

"Visited UNTAG Directors and SWAPO. They as well as the Lutheran pastor met in town believe that the small gatherings and the dancing march by the Tamariskia group are spontaneous expressions of joy. No aggressiveness is being noted which falls in line with own impression. (According to law, AG23, gatherings and marches must be made known to the Police three days beforehand.) SWAPO is dispersing another gathering in front of its office, of people expressing congratulations. "Yes, we have AG23 in mind, one of the remnants of the Colonial Empire." Laughter. The crowd quickly follows the instructions. A SWAPO official leaves to negotiate with the Police Commander. On Kaiser-Wilhelm-Strasse three policemen are seen, armed with pistols but chatting with a young lady. Single children or youngsters carry SWAPO-flags through town with very serious faces. Business and work proceeded as usual. One shop has closed, but painters continue to paint the curb yellow, white, and black. The water in front of the Magistrate Court does not come from a water-cannon but from the gardeners who continue to water the flower-beds when the dancing-march from Tamariskia arrives and passes between the Police Station and the Court. About 100 or 200 persons, jubilating, carry a banner and flags. They are accompanied by a few honking cars. The march reaches the Eastern part of Kaiser-Wilhelm-Strasse but turns left and disappears without much disturbance to traffic. The shop opens again. 'Whites' do not flee but take pictures. A "white" shop-owner has permitted his Assistant to leave in order to join the march. UKTAG Police is monitoring. Many happy faces; an old man has tears in his eyes. A young man in DTA-shirt gives the black-ower salute. Aioni tonin continues."

INTERIM REPORT
Since arriving in the area CIMS contacts have reported that the atmosphere for the most part has been calm. The situation in Swakopmund is quiet and the threatening phone calls and defacing of the SWAPO office have not been repeated. Last Thursday, 23rd November, 'NANSO held a march in the centre of Swakopmund. The demonstration was disappointing the return of Walvis Bay and the freeing of the recently sentenced NANSO activists. The demonstration passed off peacefully but not without incident. Despite the discipline of the marchers in not obstructing the traffic flow, a number of white drivers drove dangerously fast and near to the marchers. My colleague, Amos Nguako, was almost run over by the UTA cotiparently in a deliberate manner. One unmarked SWAPO vehicle with uniformed officers inside followed the march throughout with a UNTAG vehicle in attendance. In addition plain clothes officers driving an unmarked car (registration 5S 1471) observed the march making written notes throughout. The
only moment of confrontation came right at the end of the march when the
students gathered on part of the front court of a BP garage whilst waiting for
transport to take them home. Suddenly a different SWAPOL car arrived, driving
aggressively into the midst of the students. Everybody surrounded the vehicle
with their placards. The police remonstrated, the march leaders complied with the
police requests to move away from the garage and across the road. The tension
diffuses.
The march took place between 1pm and 2.30pm. and involved between 200 - 300
people. The police were obviously annoyed as well, but were restricted by the
now ftuntient fram InLwrvening. hr. wac tho first protoest map~oh ii Lhe
ceinLe uf Swakopmund which was not broken up violently. The white
community shied away from the march. I was the only white associated with the
march and for my pains was told in harsh German - " Aren't you ashamed of
yourself".
There have been no such demonstrations in Walvis Bay itself where the situation
remains quiet because of repression.

0. 12.89
FURTHER TO REPORT ON VILITARY A!,..D SECUR. TY' SITUATION
IN IJALVIS BAY (1.12.89)
Since the report of 1.12.89 the following has been reported to CIMS.
Activit'es of South African Police . The number of cases of police aui-t-ainst
ECliVt- sis rising. One case occurred on Sunday 3rd. December and followed a
typical pattern. A man was picked up by the ooliceand takenl to the HQ where he
was beaten. He was then charged with assaulting a police officer. As a result of
the charge he may now lose his job with his employer. There are a number of civil
cases against the police for assault either pending or presently in litigation.
A number of cases seem to arise from attacks on people wearing SWAPO t-shirts,
badges etc. As well as incidents in the town it seems that SAP officers at the
border posts are harassing SWAPO supporters entering and leaving the enclave.
One such incident took place on the evening of Sunday 3rd. December when
MANIV organiser, Ernst :,l. itestrass, and a group of colleagues were stopped at
the border post and told t,. remove NUNW ano SWAPO T-shirts, stickers, and
badges. rihen the group objected they were threatened with a fierce police dog.
Eventually the group were allowed to pass through after agreeing to Take off'their
badges. This incident is part of a developing trend which started during the
election campaign when groups of Namibians seeking to register and vote were
harassed and delayed at the border post. The feeling in the community is that the
increased police repression is part of a strategy to stymie support for SWAPO and
the reintegration 3f Walvis Bay into Namibia.
separate development is the introduction of 1800 'Catz Police' since April this
year. This is a unit specialising in riot control and is expected to be used in,
violently breaking up any political protest.
Although there are no reports of an influx of former Koevoet men into the enclave
since he election, there were reports that 80-100 were in the port during May and
June and about 20 in September. These were black ex-Koevoet identified by former residents of the north.

South Africanis-tion - During 1988 there was a drive to get people to tie ot i 3ut-A-Tean identity cards. These are exchanged for SWA identity cards. Since 1988 police are constantly stopping and checking identity cards. Valvis Bay residents normally have to produce RSA identity documents to start bank accounts, arrange loans, claim pensions, and gain employment. There is therefore a high incentive to drop SWA identity and take up RSA identity. Employees have v. IIL. been asKed to hand in copies of their identity documents; apparen.tly,f p' on the instruction of the SADF. The reaso,n forthis is not clear, but it is yet another means of checking up on residents.

TSUVIEB
Tsumeb is an important mining town, and the surrounding area has white farms.(See map below).

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No.- Jkm
Approximate saie. 14 300 00
BOTSWANA

A. Aleqgations of dishonesty
1. Because the numbers on registration cards do not correspond to the ID cards, voters can be deprived of their voting rights when election starts.
   (a) CIMS - INVESTIGATION
   CIMS investigation indicated no evidence. We spoke to Mr. J. Letten, a Ghanaian police monitor at the MUN registration point on 13 July 1989. He did not see any truth in these rumours because the people registering were alerted that they should make sure that no information differs from the two cards at the time of registration.
   (b) Mr. Gapat - Fiji police monitor
   He was aware of registration cards which differed from ID documents but claimed that this kind of mistakes can be corrected if the voter (owner of card) takes note of mistakes and brings the card to the registration office. He also said that the Namibian population should establish confidence in the SWA police since they are the people who will be responsible for maintaining law and order after Namibian independence.
   (c) Mr. Ben Kheimseb - Registration officer
   He saw registration cards which were incorrectly
released. He further said that it is because of the

big numbers of people that have to be registered everyday, as well as the many forms they have to complete before releasing the registration cards, that sometimes causes them in making these simple mistakes. These faults, he said, are of human error. Mr. Kheimseb suggested that the people should immediately take back such cards for correction.

2. The official time for registration is shortened, which results in only few voters being registered per day.

CIMS - INVESTIGATION
Municipal worker, a certain Mr. Dollo, indicated that the office usually closed at 16h00 or sometimes 16h15. Monitoring closing hours:
13 July - 16h22
17 July - opened 08h11 and closed 16h03 18 July - closed 16h30
3. Unauthorised persons appointed as registration officers.
CIMS - INVESTIGATION
The official Gazette on the Proclamation of registration states that only reliable civil servants should be appointed as registration officers.
CIMS Regional office in Tsumeb has verified that a certain Mrs. Mervis (previously employed by Foschini) is now appointed as registration officer at the Municipality registration office (Tsumeb).

CIMS senior information officer in Tsumeb also knows her personally. Mrs. Mervis is a DTA supporter and was never employed somewhere else since she left Foschini.

4. Residence permit rejected at registration office
CIMS - INVESTIGATION
Our senior information officer was approached by Mr. Joseph Adams and his wife, Mrs. Johanne Adams, claiming that their residence permit was declared unacceptable by the registration officers. They were fortunately in possession of TD documents and on that condition they were provided with the registration cards.

Mr. Adams's card was incorrectly released. It is also illegible. CIMS is in possession of a duplicate.

1. Registration
The Regional Director of UNTAG, Mr. Keith Beaben (Great Britain), his deputy, Mrs. Shirley Perry (Liberia), as well as the UNTAG team leader of the mobile team,
Mr. Alain Guillot-Pingue (Belgium) explained the situation in the Tsumeb district with regard to registration. There have been three registration teams/points: the permanent registration point, at the Magistrate's office in Tsumeb, which remains open until 15 September; the temporary registration
point at Nomtsoub, which was closed on Friday last week and the mobile registration team, which covered the workers' hostels on the mines and then circled around Tsumeb to cover the farms as well as the whole Etosha Pan. The originally planned three weeks were extended to one week, going again to mines, hospitals as well as the detention centre at the Tsintsabis Police station. The estimate of eligible voters was 16 000 for the district - around 11 000 registered up to now. There is at the moment a discrepancy of so far, less than 2 000 farm workers registered, while the estimate was at 4 500. While some are also registering at the permanent registration point, the figures are so far from the estimate, that UNTAG is surprised. The UNTAG people told us that they were informed by SWAPO on areas where no registration took place. They were surprised too, to have missed a hotel at the entrance to Etosha as well as a local firm with 400 workers, the latter was only reported to UNTAG from Tuesday, 2 August, on Thursday, 4 August they confirmed they would have to go there again with the mobile registration unit. On Friday, 4th, we spent three hours at the permanent registration point in Tsumeb. The UNTAG team leaders were Mrs. Maryel Jansen (France) and Mrs. Kim Kim-Lan (Singapore). The South African administrator in charge was Mrs. E. Barnard and two registrars, Mrs. Carol du Plessis and Mrs. Gisela Naobes. One SWAPOL officer and one UNTAG police monitor (Fiji) were present. An UN police car patrolled twice with two officers. When we arrived we found the SWAPOL officer inside at the desk with some persons that wanted to register.

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Asked about this, the UNTAG team leader explained that the SWAPOL officer had helped with translation, especially since the interpreter had to go for a funeral on that day. The SWAPOL officer did not stay inside all the time, but even stood at the door sometimes, asking people whether they had their documents. The persons wanting to register were generally asked for signature, only those not able to write were taken thumb prints from. Mrs. Du Plessis generally spoke in Afrikaans to the registering persons. The South African officer in charge, Mrs. Barnard, was hardly to be seen in the registration office, but rather stayed in the other offices behind. We were told that generally registration was done on the basis "benefit of doubt". Birth certificates alone were not regarded as sufficient, a person giving an affidavit was required. Only one refusal was registered at the permanent registration point, of a person of Angolan origin. The case was heard at the Magistrate where the employer certified that the person
was working at Tsumeb for several years.

2. Visit to farms

Thursday, 3 August, two of our group went with SWAPO fieldworkers to several farms to speak to farm owners in order to make appointments for SWAPO information meetings for the farm workers. On this trip we got the following information:

1. Farm Gaub, owner ELC, run by Mr. Hellwigh, about 20 workers, all registered, but the registration cards are kept by Mr. Hellwigh against the will of the people, as they told us, and although they keep their ID's themselves.

2. Farm Obantje, all workers registered, registration cards kept by the owner. The same with farm Dannevis, owned by Mr. Beukes.

3. Farm Nabis, owner P.J. Erasmus, all workers registered, registration cards kept by the owner.

4. Farm of Thomas Jooste, all workers registered and they keep the registration cards themselves. The possibility of information for the workers is given to the main parties.

5. Friday, 4th, while observing the permanent registration point in Tsumeb, we saw that the owner of farm Eldorado delivered the ID's to his workers just before registration.

3. Visit to Farm Guinas. (454). owner Mr. Erasmus Doris Peschke and Karl Schmidt together with Peter Shaanika, SWAPO mobilisation secretary and two SWAPO ladies tried to speak with Mr. Erasmus, because all his 70 - 80 farm workers were no longer on the farm.

Details:
(a) First we met only Mrs. Erasmus. She was greeted in Afrikaans by Karl, who introduced us as observers. She then talked to Mr. Shaanika who asked about the farm workers. When he mentioned he was a SWAPO member himself, she got angry and soon went off shouting. Then she ran to her

= 296 , =

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297

husband who was busy with the generator, in order to warn him.

(b) Nevertheless, we tried to meet the farmer himself who carried a pistol on his hip. Karl tried to meet him and stood for 10 minutes in the terrible noise, while the others waited outside. When he left towards his car he was again approached and entered into a discussion. At this point it became clear, that if blacks or SWAPO people came alone, there would not have been a discussion with the farmer.

(c) Matter of farm workers:
1. Farmer's view: 11 workers stayed for one week in Tsumeb - after that the trouble arose - "they instigated the others and went on strike, they asked for their money and all left, except the foreman".
2. Shaanika answered that there must be reasons.
3. At the end Mr. Erasmus accepted an offer by Mr. Shaanika to attend to this matter and to try to bring together the farm workers and the farmer for clarification. The farmer insisted that the instigators should be excluded. He gave five names of farm workers to Mr. Shaanika.

(d) Paying another visit to the neighbouring farm (no. 456), Mrs. Uitsland, an open-minded person, mentioned that Mr. and Mrs. Erasmus are difficult neighbours. She agreed that SWAPO could come to talk to the workers and took a SWAPO election manifesto for her information.

- 208 =
4. Rumours on "Bushmen Foundation"
We were told by UNTAG members of rumours that at Tsintsabis a new "Bushmen Foundation" is established like the one at Omega in western Caprivi, also West German involvement was mentioned. But no exact figures, names and data were available.

5. Case of intimidation
Friday, 4 August, at about 08h00, a young man, Veino Nakale, born in 1972, was walking on the street between Nomtsoub and Tsumeb. He was forced by one white and one black policeman (SWAPOL) to enter their police vehicle, No. CFR 29679, where five other men in civilian clothes were sitting. One by one, the five were dropped at several corners. After that a second boy, Popjenl Hamalwa, from Grootfontein, was forced into the car. Both were brought to the police station in Tsumeb, where they were asked for their names, ages and where they live. Being afraid, they did not answer quickly enough, therefore they were attacked and beaten up. After taking prints of each of their fingers and the whole hands, they were released. Veino Nakale reported the matter to the SWAPO office, where we met him and got his report translated by Peter Shaanika. UNTAG was also informed. On inquiring of the motives at the police station the following morning, 5 August, we got the unanimous reply by black and white policemen: "Black people aimlessly strolling in the streets are likely to be thieves and therefore we take advance finger and hand prints".

RECOMMENDATIONS:
1. Permanent or at least long-term observers, especially to join fieldworkers at the farms. The danger of not being neutral is obvious, but it seems to be of great help to be able to enter the farms;
2. Follow-up to the fact that many farmers keep registration cards of farm workers;
3. Follow-up to rumours concerning "Bushmen Foundation", newly created at Tsintsabis, as well as Omega (western Caprivi/Kavango 2 area).
18 August 1989
Minute on briefing
The meeting was welcomed by the regional director of UNTAG in Tsumeb, Mr. Keith Beaven. In his introductory expression of his view, he said that their office doesn't receive complaints of intimidation from the side of the returnees. Returnees in Tsumeb, according to him, are living in a constructive atmosphere far from intimidation and harassment by Koevoets or counter civilians. He, however, claimed that the unemployment rate for returnees are very high and it is a big problem which is causing frustration. Tsumeb corporation
Limited, when approached, offered to employ only skilled and semi-skilled returnees, he concluded.

Reverend Samuel Kaxuxuena said that more than 300 returnees are now in Tsumeb, but they went through verbal intimidation, especially at the hands of the registration

- 300 officers at the Nomtsoub registration office (Municipality). He admitted that besides the abovementioned, he was not aware of other cases of intimidation.

Mr. Beaven informed the meeting about the Koevoets in Tsumeb, following his complaints in The Namibian. (See The N-15 August 1989). He said that forty-five (45) Koevoets have been brought to Tsumeb. They are patrolling the township in large groups and this is causing/creating tension amongst the returnees and the locals, he proceeded. He also said, that his office received a letter, claiming that the locals are living under private pressure. Lieutenant Peter Wachai confirmed and said that he visited the Ecleben Hotel in Tsumeb at 19h30 and felt/noted the pressure in question. (Also at a farm outside Tsumeb called Prison farm).

Reverend Kaxuxuena added to that and informed the meeting that this "police farm" is about 6km outside Tsumeb (Tsintsabis road). He travelled there before April and talked to twenty war captives. Some were since released and others are voluntarily working at the farm. He was informed that war captives were being taken away at night and those remaining behind are being told that their friends were transferred to another farm. At Tsintsabis base, training programmes are being conducted. People are being taken to the shooting range and taught how to shoot. "Police" are also patrolling the area 50km away from their base/camp and claim to be looking out for game thieves, etc. Lieutenant Wachai said there should be a purpose for the trainings.

Also on table was information concerning a certain, Ombilli Foundation. Mr. Herman Ntchatcho (UNHCR) told that at Eenhana, between 70 - 80 bushmen are being trained by a certain Mr. Fransisco (former FNLA member). The foundation is equipped with traditional weapons - assegais, arrows, bows, etc. and modern weapons. Mr. Beaven added that the foundation has its head office in Tsumeb. It is being run by - respected persons, on names, Mr. Von Sittert and Mr. Pretorius (both directors). They appear to be connected to the DTA, he said. According to the directors their foundation was out to assist the bushmen who were released from the SADF and the Ovambos who suffered heavily during the cause of war. The managing director, Mr. Klaus J. Mais - Rische claimed that the Ombilli foundation was registered under law. (Tel. 0671 - 0678).

CIMS - INVESTIGATION
Attempts to enquire about the Ombilli foundation origins failed since I couldn't reach them at the before stated tel. no. The no. is being possessed by the Tsumeb central department. (It seems to be a false tel. no. given to UNTAG). Mrs. Shirley Perry, deputy to the regional director - UNTAG said that the registration was running very smoothly. 45 000 eligible voters are expected to be in the rural areas. 100 Whites are registering on a daily base. Asked about the now registering voters, she responded by saying that at least 12 500 people are registering in about 2 weeks.

21 August 1989

Two sources of information explained to me that more that 100 KOEVOETS are confined to the Tsintsabis base. Mr. Stefanus Abisai (farm worker) informed that Koevoets were brought to base a month ago and undergo military training (shooting). Police are also present there. Koevoets intimidation in this area has cooled down because they were not allowed to leave the camp. According to the informant, casspirs are not visible, but they sometimes transport food to the base.

Asked if he was aware of Koevoets incorporated in SWAPOL, Mr. Abisai responded negatively. Although his working place is 8km away from Tsintsabis, he visited the place on many occasions and found out for himself that Koevoets are being trained there. He wondered what the purpose of these trainings was.

Registration

The UNTAG mobile units visited the place/area and registered the eligible voters. On arrival at Tsintsabis I spoke to a black man who appeared to be a Koevoet through the window. A white man (30 metres away) noted my presence and rushed to where I was standing on his motorbike. He looked aggressive and I was obliged to lie to him claiming that I was lost and was looking for a farm in the Tsintsabis area.

Mr. David Hihembd (farm worker) confirmed the presence of Koevoets at Tsintsabis and Tsumeb. UNTAG also visited the area. All (most) people have been registered. Political parties (DTA & SWAPO) were also seen in the area. The allegation made by Reverend S. Kaxuxuena at a UNTAG briefing - that Koevoets are being trained at a certain "Police Farm", was confirmed. The farm owner is Japie Smith.

The security police (Veiligheidsmagte) is said to be accommodated at a certain Mr. Fowell's farm. Koevoet is not confined, they are allowed to go to Tsumeb - presence of casspirs is confirmed.

Report on Gaub - Mr Hellwigh
Complaints reached the CIMS office stating that registration cards of farm workers were taken by the farm owner. SWAPO field workers approached me with the information. We left for Gaub at around 14h00 but could not find the people (men) involved on arrival. They were said to be working in the field. At 18h00 we again went there and talked to a family whose cards have also been taken. Mrs. Maria informed that Mr. Hellwigh sent his farm workers to collect all the registration cards, telling that we want to store the cards at a safe place until the November election starts. Mrs. Maria Finabe also confirmed that many cards were taken away while she was in Tsumeb.

CIMS - INVESTIGATION

Mr. Hellwigh was out of town at the time of my visit to his place and thus couldn't be traced. The case I reported to UNTAG regional office in Tsumeb on Wednesday 23 August 1989. UNTAG promised to call back on Thursday 24 August 1989, but failed to do that.

I talked to Mrs. Shirley Perry, deputy to registration director on the next morning. She said that their head office in Windhoek informed that it is illegal to take someone's registration card if not voluntarily given. She furthered that an investigation team should be sent there. I again went there for enquiry on Friday 25 August 1989 but was referred to the UNTAG police station. Lieutenant Commander Nefoussi, head of police, denied any command to investigate the case and said that they were not given a report connected to this case. He promised to get hold of the report and investigate as soon as possible.

13 - 18 September 1989

We began our journey from Windhoek to Tsumeb still suffering the shock of the previous night's event - the brutal and senseless murder of Anton Lubowski, prominent SWAPO leader (12 September 1989). After a night of rest, Thursday dawned with renewed hope for the Namibians who are strongly supportive of the SWAPO cause as they participated in a march to celebrate the return of Sam Nujoma to Namibia after 30 years of exile. Joy was spontaneous as the news "He has landed", reached the street. Church bells rang and singing and cheering filled the air and hundreds of pairs of dancing feet covered the dusty streets. Local police, UNTAG and SWAPOL were on careful watch, but there were no incidents to spoil the day.

Friday 15 September was spent monitoring the registration office in Tsumeb - on what was supposed to be the last day of registration - late in the day we learned the deadline = 04 305 had been extended for at least a week. Mrs. Kim, UN representative said it was difficult to say whether a majority of the people had been registered as no proper census figures were available (and estimates had been made by flying over the area and counting the huts), but
registrations had been steady and she hoped the extension would guarantee close
to 100 % enrolment. The Tsumeb registration office seemed an unlikely place for people to face intimidation, thanks
to Mrs. Kim's calm but decisive manner. She admitted having difficulty with the local staff until she got the message across as to what code of conduct would or would not be tolerated - especially in dealing with black, illiterate people. The registration office had a steady stream of registrants right up until the final minute, with some needing to come back the next day.
Friday evening, Saturday and Sunday we accompanied the Anglican delegation as they met with political party leaders, a Union leader, UNTAG, and church leaders (pastors).
The regional director for UNTAG felt the Tsumeb area had few problems with intimidation, or the withholding of registration or political party information. His glowing description of co-operation in the town surely merited him a position on the local Chamber of Commerce, but also made us wonder if he was fully informed. No one else we talked to described Tsumeb as a political paradise. The Anglican delegation, plus three of us from CIMS, met with the SWAPO head for this area, Peter Shaanika, who did
not believe there was complete impartiality in allowing political parties access to the people; some farm managers had refused SWAPO entry. Of chief concern to SWAPO were the ex-PLAN members, working on a farm run by Hans Dreyer, former head of Koevet, aided by all his deputies. SWAPO hoped the men who had been imprisoned over the past 5 years at the Schutzenverein farm could be released publicly, so intimidation and harassment could not be practised against them. The Anglican delegation working through CCN would approach the Government representative, they said. But before this could happen, 17 ex-PLAN members left the farm on 18 September and presented themselves at the SWAPO office. The area church leaders were summoned and immediately made arrangements for temporary handling until the men (listed here separately) could return to their homes. A complete list of names plus a picture of the men will appear in The Namibian to make their return as public as possible.
On Monday 18 September, Sipho and Gwen attempted to visit the heads of all the major political parties in the area, endeavouring to see if a "free and fair" election process was in place - in the opinion of the parties. We first met with Mr. F.A. Botha of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA). Mr. Botha stated that his party felt that 15 September for deadline of registration had been sufficient, but saw no harm in extending it. He said his party had free access to the people with the DTA message. On the subject of UNTAG, he felt there was no need for them to stay beyond the election - that the country's own police force was sufficient. When asked if a
DTA government would work towards making the police force a friendlier lot, Mr. Botha said it might be an idea that had merit. A woman assistant in the office interjected, saying maybe that is why the police got beaten up so much because they didn't smile. Mr. Botha said the DTA was made up of all 11 ethnic groups, but they believed in keeping religion separate - and criticized the church organisations for actively supporting SWAPO. Mr. Botha questioned the need for SWAPO to have their own police force (Namibian police) and although he thought SWAPO had a good sounding manifesto, he did not trust them to stick to it. Mr. Botha said he could be quoted as saying DTA will not cause any trouble in response to the election results - that he would give it to us in writing, signed. We did not take advantage of his offer, but will remember his words. Mr. Botha denied that there was anything sinister about the Ombili Foundation. When asked whether he thought DTA's negative poster campaign (STOP WAR *STOP SWAPO * STOP SOUTH AFRICA) was very smart politics. Mr. Botha stated that he personally was not in favour of the poster but others had been favourably impressed by it. A surprising statement made by Mr. Botha was that the DTA saw themselves as the "middle of the road" party, with SWAPO far to one side and the ACN far to the other; UDF seemed of little significance. DTA would maintain its strong link with South Africa economically. He made another surprising statement saying that South Africa had put more into Namibia than it had taken out and no other country had been so good to the Namibians.

Our second visit took us to the office of Action Christian National (ACN), where we met with representative Dr. Lombard. Dr. Lombard was outspoken about his distrust for SWAPO, giving the history of their past performances as his reason. Dr. Lombard's party represents the white population, but it was evident throughout the conversation that there is little hope for improvement in the lot of the black people if ACN was to form a government. Status Quo could be their motto. They have a plan for regional government, since they do not believe the different ethnic groups can ever live together in peace. Dr. Lombard estimated the ACN would win 25% of the vote.

Our third visit was to the offices of the United democratic Front (UDF), whose manifesto and policies most resemble SWAPO, perhaps because many of their members were once connected to SWAPO and who, we were told, became disenchanted with SWAPO's aggressive ways and close connection to Angola. He admitted SWAPO did much to focus the plight of the Namibian people to the outside world. When asked if he thought UDF could work with SWAPO in the event that neither of them obtained the necessary percentage of votes, Mr. Gaochab responded in the affirmative. UDF thought UNTAG had played a significant part in the peace prevailing in the Tsumeb area and would like to see them stay on at least one year after the election. UDF was not
completely satisfied with their ability to reach all prospective voters, but said it would have been far worse if UNTAG had not been here. He stressed the need for the help of the outside world in helping Namibia reach full potential. Although we had visited SWAPO early in the week, we now felt we would like to have clarification on some of the points brought up by the other parties, so have requested an- another meeting which we will report on next week.

Visit to Mannheim Farm
25 September 1989
Engelbrecht Nawatiseb, Sipho Hlatschwako, Gwen Hawkins and Ilse Hanak went unannounced to the Mannheim Police farm to follow up a report that 80 ex-PLAN fighters had been moved to the farm.

The major in command by the name of du Plessis met us in a very hostile manner refusing our extended hands as we introduced ourselves. He brusquely asked us what we wanted and before we had a chance to reply, said he would not talk to SWAPO, and pointed to Engelbrecht and Sipho, saying he would not talk to them because "those two are SWAPO". "Get out, go away!", he said to Engelbrecht.

We told him that we were neutral observers and Sipho was not SWAPO because he was from Swaziland. The major refused a request by Sipho for an apology, so Sipho and Engelbrecht left. Ilse and Gwen asked if we might talk to some of the workers, especially to the ex-PLAN members who had stayed. The major said the workers had been so intimidated by all the visits from CCN and SWAPO and all the lies that had been printed in the SWAPO papers, they did not want to talk to anyone. We asked several times if we could talk to the workers, but the major said their work had been interrupted too much lately and they could get nothing done.

We asked how the ex-PLAN members who recently left the farm had been replaced. The major said workers came daily to the farm, seeking employment. When asked how many workers were employed on the farm, the answer was a vague "many". How many? we asked again. He told us to call him for an appointment if we wish to ask him questions. We explained that we had looked for his number in the telephone directory, before we came out. "Oh, it's not in the book" he replied. We asked him how we should get it. "Go to your friends in SWAPO, they have it", he said sarcastically.

We tried to engage him in conversation in a hope of seeing some workers, but he eased us towards the gate as he talked. As we drove out we saw three workers in DTA T-shirts emerge from behind a fence close to the house. They waved in a natural and friendly way, but we did not feel we should attempt to talk to them. We asked why, if he had nothing to hide, he was so antagonistic towards us, when we were attempting to be impartial and only searching for the truth. He repeatedly said that the SWAPO papers printed a bunch of lies - like that the farm had sand
bag fortifications, bomb shelters and armaments. He also claimed that the
workers were afraid, because the papers showed their photo and printed their
names (to our knowledge it is that they left only because their names were
published in The Namibian, which for them was a kind of official statement that
they still hold on to SWAPO).

= 311 =
6 October 1989
REPORT BY GABRIEL NDAHEPELE - AN EX-COMBATANT WHO WAS
RECENTLY RELEASED FROM MANNHEIM (THE KOEVOET CAMP
NEAR TSUMEB).
I was born on 1 January 1964 at Engela I am one of the 17 ex-SWAPO
combatants who were released on 14 September 1989 from the Mannheim
Koevoet camp.
Mr. Pretorius (Bushman) told us to return on 4 October to get our payment. But,
due to illness, I was not in the position to return to the farm on the
abovementioned date, as I went for treatment.
Today, I came to the SWAPO office so that I can be taken to the place to collect
my payment. I went together with Pastor Nashongo of Tsumeb and Mr. Thomas
Shilongo who was driving.
We arrived at the farm at 11h00, but Mr. Pretorius was not there, so Mr. David
Walende went to call him. On his
arrival, Mr. Pretorius just started using vulgar language. "Ek is moeg om deur
julle CCN en SWAPO in die gat aek-ap te word". ("I am tired of being --cratched
in tbb ass by CCN and SWAPO"). He also told us that it should be the last time
that CCN and SWAPO are setting foot on his farm. So he called me in his office
to go and get my money. When we went there, he handed R260.00 to me and
started passing question whether I was working for the SWAPO office or the
CCN. I answered him that I was not employed anywhere, I was just at home.

= 312 =
He further asked me who insisted our leaving on 14
September, who the ring leader was. I answered the
question by saying all of us were keen on leaving, so it was the idea of us all. But
he told me that he heard that Leo Shinime was the organiser. He also told me to
immediately go to Leo's place when I leave and tell him that he will "shit" and
"war begins" and that Leo should give us weapons to defend ourselves, as we are
going to be killed. He said that after the election, war begins and we are the first
to die. He also told me to inform the rest of the group to take care, because he will
liquidate all of us, because we rejoined SWAPO. He also told that most important
is that we deserve death and we shall die.
He followed us to the car to emphasize his warning that it should be clear to us
that it is the last time we step on his ground.
I now wish my statement to be published in The Namibian, or any other
newspaper. So that my fellow combatants should know about Mr. Pretorius's
threat and also for the Namibian nation to know in case any of the people who are detained at Mannheim, happen to be killed, then it is Pretorius who is responsible.

9 - 12 October 1989

On Monday, 9 October, we met Peter Tshirembu, chief of the SWAPO election campaign office in Tsumeb together with his deputy Peter Shaaniki and Henrich Ndume, the Administrative secretary. On Tuesday, 10 October, we met Boet Botha and Tubby Gouws, members of the election committee of DTA at the DTA office in Tsumeb. On Wednesday, 11 October, we met Dr. H.P.A. Lombard and a

Mrs. Boesma, who are in charge of the ACN campaign in Tsumeb area. On 12 October, we met Mr. H.A. Goachab, chief of the UDF campaign and with Mr. M.T. Kangombe and Mr. A. Angula of NAFAU and Mr. I. Nuukunde of MUN, and Mr. M.G. Somseb of MANWU Tsumeb.

Intimidation

According to Mr. Tshirembu, the situation in Tsumeb is relatively calm and not hostile. There have been a few clashes. One incident occurred two weeks ago, on Tuesday, when a few SWAPO people were beaten up by DTA people, SWAPO got in touch with Mr. K. Hamse, commander of SWAPOL in Grootfontein. There have been two meetings of SWAPO, UNTAG and DTA to try to limit intimidation and violence. It may have helped.

He stated that at Tsintsabis, there had been a SADF base. He believes that KOEVOET or SWATF are there with hideouts and arms caches. He complained that UNTAG doesn't want to go off the roads, in order to examine the situation. On the other hand, Mr. Botha and Mr. Gouws complained that they had lost faith in the impartiality of the UN, because of SWAPO intimidation and murders.

When asked for local specification, they mentioned one incident at Nomtso three weeks ago. DTA had planned an information meeting for invited guests only. Notice was given verbally only. He claimed that before and after the meeting SWAPO "hooligans" threw stones at those attending the meeting. Police arrested a number of people but released them later. "We don't make an issue of it, we don't publicise it".

A very different version of the same incident was given by Mr. Angula of NAFAU who was an eye-witness. He claimed that DTA supporters had thrown stones at SWAPO people when

the DTA emerged from the meeting. DTA supporters shouted anti-SWAPO insults at two cars from town with people inside, who had SWAPO T-shirts on and two guys responded. Mr. Angula tried to stop the shouting and stone throwing of SWAPO people, taking shelter in the Kentucky restaurant. The police saw DTA moving towards the restaurant and beat up everyone in the restaurant, irrespective of who they were. Some were simply drinking in the restaurant. All were beaten with sjamboks. Some were arrested - the police didn't care who
they were, they beat up everybody. This took place around 20h00. It was the
tuesday on which there was trouble in Katutura.
DTA claims that one of the DTA organisers was hit at a rally but he gave "double
back". "If you are provoked, you will react". Mr. Botha alleged that a night
watchman who works for NASEC, a security firm, was thrashed so badly in May by SWAPO
people, that he is crippled. He is an ardent DTA supporter. Although SWAPOL
and UNTAG took statements, they took no action.
The DTA campaign officers, Botha and Gouws warned that getting 700 000
people to the polls in 5 days will be much harder than the registration which was
spread over several months, calling for the highest possible numbers of UNTAG
and police. They should be mixed in order to avoid violence. They ascribed the violence to SWAPO aggression, "I want to know
a single SWAPO person who has been physically attacked". Mr. Gouws said.
The length of the period from 1 April to November and the increasing heat could
also be factors. If UNTAG could intervene, it might help but they do not have
executive powers. "When the shit hits the fan they run", he commented.

ACN told us that they had no complaints on intimidation. It was a DTA-SWAPO
problem. Union officials who met with Ted Lockwood on Thursday, 12 October,
outlined a number of problems of intimidation as it affects workers.
Mr. Nuukunde of MUN said the new management of the Tsumeb corporation,
now owned by Gold Fields of South Africa, had poor relations with the union.
The union has spent the last two years trying to discuss union recognition. "They don't want the unions. They are anti-union. They resist agreements, they refuse to sign".
The representatives of the Food workers complained of the anti-union attitude of
some hotel and restaurant managers. They accuse the union of being SWAPO and
chase them away.
Tsumeb corporation refused permission to SWAPO to put up posters in the
houses of the compound or to allow SWAPO flags. But DTA is treated
differently. "If you go to the hostel, they ask if you are DTA. If you answer yes,
they give you a T-shirt. If you refuse, they can dismiss you. They are for one
party". However, the company has so far allowed SWAPO supporters to wear T-
shirts.
However, there are other consequences for SWAPO people. If they go to the
hospital, they won't be treated. If the person belongs to DTA, they will be treated.
Ted asked to speak to individuals who had been discriminated against in this way.
The most serious case, however, involved a smaller company, the Henning
Crusher company, northeast of Tsumeb. The manager told the foreman that the
workers must go to a DTA rally. Some workers refused because they were not
DTA members. The manager said that it is not a
SWAPO company. Six SWAPO workers were fired on 8 July. The union tried to negotiate, but was referred to Henning's lawyer. The union appealed to Mr. Beavan of UNTAG, who was also referred to the firm's lawyer. When the workers were not re-instated, the union put the case in the newspaper. Henning refuses to discuss re-instatement unless the story in the paper is cancelled. The case was then taken to the O'Linn commission. At present, the six workers are staying with friends, because they have been evicted from their houses, which are in the Noutsob township. The houses belong to the municipality, but are rented by the Henning company to house their workers.

The municipality issued a paper which told people that political posters may not be put on the walls of houses. When people did not remove them, some of them were pulled down by the municipality.

The UDF person we spoke to, condemned violence, but dismissed the DTA-SWAPO incident as comparatively minor. He thought SWAPO was at fault.

Registration

ACN estimated the number of South Africans who registered in Namibia to be 11 000 to 14 000. Dr. Lombard maintained that they would all vote in the Namibia election. They would have a "great interest". He was very proud of the "phenomenal" registration figure. Dr. Lombard retired to South Africa to be with his children after serving 22 years, 1947 - 1969 as chief medical officer in Tsumeb. After six years of farming, he retired to the Republic of South Africa. ACN asked him to return. Mrs. Boesma is also from RSA, but had lived here previously. Dr. Lombard is not registered and cannot vote. Both said that they had returned to protect "minority rights" in the new constitution.

Mr. Gouws dismissed allegations that DTA is recruiting UNITA people, by saying that the number was small compared to the foreigners who were recruited by SWAPO. He gave no examples of these foreigners, but wanted to know if Mr. Tshireumbu was not a Cuban. He was told that he was not a Cuban.

Farms: Access to private property

SWAPO is not allowed to carry out political activities on Tsumeb Corporation property, including the compound, which Mr. Tshireumbu said contained 4 500 workers. (Mr. Gouws, who is in personnel at the TCL, said the number of Tsumeb workers in Tsumeb is 2 200 with a total of 4 000 employees in all places. Mr. Nuukunde of MUN, Tsumeb, put the figure for Tsumeb employees locally at 2 300. 1 200 live in the hostel, most of them are Ovambo or Okavango people. There are 3 000 altogether counting family members).

Access to farms is "no more problematic" according to Mr. Tshireumbu. After initial telephone refusals, farm owners were visited personally without advance notice and talked to face to face. Explanations of the SWAPO manifesto on
land reform led to relaxation and SWAPO was able to visit farms and talk to the workers.

DTA said that there were only a small number of farms in Tsumeb area. DTA phones for permission and if the answer is no, they go somewhere else.

ACN also said that there were only a few farms in Tsumeb, Dr. Lombard explained that the white farmers allow all - ;18 parties if the employees want to see them. He claimed that SWAPO tells the owners that no one will interfere with their property, but tell the workers they are working for a pittance and that the land would be theirs after independence. He dismissed the SWAPO manifesto on the land question. "Paper is patient, it doesn't mean much".

UDF said it had some problems of access, but said that it was perhaps 10 or 12 out of 100 farms which they had visited in the farming triangle (Grootfontein, Otavi, Tsumeb). Farm workers are receptive but Mr. Gaochab predicted that they would vote the way the farmer wants them to. Some farmers will transport workers but most won't. On the other hand, there will be 52 ballot boxes in the area and he anticipates that workers will get transport somehow.

The union representatives painted a far gloomier picture. They claimed that "no one has entered the farms". Workers do not know when they will get permission to vote. The farmer may set only one day for a vote "If you go, you go that date". One farmer dismissed 5 workers by saying: "I will give you each a DTA T-shirt and R50.00". The five workers who refused the money and T-shirts were fired.

Voter education
SWAPO is carrying out an active campaign of other educational to teach people to vote:
(a) the SWAPO symbol
(b) how to make a cross
(c) how to put it on the paper
SWAPO had a large supply of sample ballots with symbols

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and names available, although these were not official or in final form. SWAPO claimed to be going from house to house and farm to farm.

The churches were active in registration, but not yet in voter education. The union representatives whom Ted Lockwood met, expressed grave fears that the absence of translators and interpreters at the polling stations would lead to very serious problems for those who do not understand Afrikaans or English. Only SA officials and UN people will be on hand to assist the voter. They can only speak those two languages and not the African languages. "Our people do not know Afrikaans or English", they said.
Another fear which the union representatives expressed was that voters who had registered in one place would not be able to vote if they moved to another place. An example they gave was the case of Luderitz. The workers in the Luderitz area have moved north to their homes because the fish canneries have closed down. It is too expensive to move them back to Luderitz to vote. Ted said he thought there will be exceptions for such cases.

Political campaigns

Mr. Tshireumbu predicted that SWAPO would get 23 - 25 seats. (23 if there were a lot of spoiled ballots in the north). It would get 3 out of 4 seats in the Otavi Grootfontein - Tsumeb area. DTA would get one seat here. He predicted that SWAPO would win "overwhelmingly" in spite of the foreigners, i.e. South Africans and UNITA that come to vote.

ACN predicted that they would get 3 or 4 seats and share the 45 000 or so white votes with DTA. Dr. Lombard claimed that SWAPO has a hold over Ovamboland, because the people there bore the burden of the war and they want to see it ended and they fear that if SWAPO fails to win, the war will start again. Dr. Lombard is worried by the "unitary system" and wants a "square deal" for all of the tribal minorities. Minority rights for whites would seem to include the right, to send children to private separated schools for whites only at their own expense.

The ACN said the major masses stirred up with felt SWAPO was building peoples' minds. The problem is the violence of huge high emotions, running high. He up golden dreams and illusions in DTA and UDF people claimed SWAPO is basically Ovambo, with very little representation from elsewhere. DTA explained that it is basically an alliance of the ethnic parties who had taken part in the interim government that followed the Turnhalle talks. The white ethnic party is the Republican. It is interesting that of the three DTA offices, which Ted has visited, two out of three are manned by whites.

At least, when we say manned, we mean that the responsible people whom one gets to speak to and who claim to speak for the party are whites.

The for UDF UDF parties Bushmen. He state ethnic t knew the going on safeguard person we spoke to stated that most of the support is Damara, but it does represent a coalition of representing Damaras, Coloureds, Caprivians and He said that Ovambos belong only as individuals. d that the parties in UDF had taken part in the wo tier administration system, even though they whites retained the power simply to see what was "We saw what was being done", in order to blacks.

He acknowledged that UDF gets funds from the Namib
Foundation and that the L dation is a channel for the "international community" and South African business interests who wants a multiparty system. But he said the money came with "no strings attached". He claimed that the United Nations had intervened in the campaign unfairly by the General Assembly's vote of last week to give SWAPO one million rands.

Mr. Gaochab has stopped going to the Roman Catholic church, because he sees it as part of CCN and CCN is campaigning for SWAPO. He said that when UDF asked CCN leaders to give a prayer to open their rally they refused giving some insincere excuse. He says the real reason why CCN did not do so is that they would be accused of being puppets by SWAPO.

14 October 1989

INTERVIEW WITH MR. FOR TSUMBEB, AT 09h30
KEITH BEAVEN, UNTAG REGIONAL DIRECTOR

Mr. Beavan began with an explanation of what he considered a crucial intervention by UNTAG which had opened up the possibilities of free and fair campaigning in the white farm areas. He said that the Grootfontein - Tsumeb - Otavi area had the reputation of containing the largest number of right-wing white voters in all of the country. He described it as a "frontier area" in the minds of whites, who saw themselves as the last bastion of white civilization under attack by the "black hordes" from the north. This area led the country in nationalist sentiment.

Shortly after he arrived on station, he learned that an Action committee had been formed, led by a man named Mr. Engelbrecht. Anybody who was "something" became part of it. Mr. Engelbrecht was reputed the biggest farmer in Namibia with 150 employees. The committee petitioned Beavan, threatening that unless UNTAG did certain "unspecifed things", they would "show us no mercy".

Beavan decided on a "soft approach". He wrote that he was confused. The Action committee had met with the AG the day before, welcoming UNTAG. Obviously there must be some misunderstanding. About three weeks later Engelbrecht and some other farmers invited Beavan and his staff to a meeting with a braai. Engelbrecht seemed more reasonable and far seeing than anyone else whom Beavan had spoken to. Beavan took him aside and said that while he assumed from what had been said that he was for DTA and that was certainly his choice to make, there were some things he ought to think about. Whatever happens in November, it will be a black majority government. Whether SWAPO gets two-thirds or a majority, it will be important in the government and will have a large number of votes. Engelbrecht agreed that this was so. Beavan argued that however he himself voted, he and the other farmers' interests would be better served if they had good relations with whoever was coming to power. He therefore suggested that Engelbrecht becomes the first
farmer in Namibia to declare that he would allow all parties to campaign on his farm.

Engelbrecht organised a meeting on his farm in May. He got hold of the Executive committee of the Action committee, composed of ten farmers. Nine of the ten agreed to let all parties, including SWAPO, campaign on their farms. At the meeting held in May, 350 - 400 workers and a number of the farmers were present to hear what SWAPO had to say.

Tsumeb, which is a more sophisticated area, turned out to be more difficult. Some progress was made when the local farmers' union got instructions from the head office in Windhoek that they should "stay out of politics". The Tsumeb farmers, on their own, went over to see Engelbrecht. On their own, they then decided to follow Engelbrecht's lead and allow all parties, including SWAPO on their farms. He understood that SWAPO had been having no difficulties. However, the Lawyers committee for civil rights under law group had been told on 12 October that SWAPO had encountered difficulties on the farms. If it is true, it is the first that we heard of it. SWAPO had made no complaint to Beavan about it. Beavan confirmed that the question of whether farmers were prepared to give adequate transport to the polls "could be a problem", we shall have to watch.

The mining company has taken the position that no one can go into the single hostels in order to campaign. The company has been consistent on this policy and therefore cannot be considered partisan. On the other hand, the main field where meetings and rallies are held is nearby the hostels and workers have shown no inhibitions on coming from the hostels to the rallies. He doubted that discrimination in treating patients at the main hospital, which the unions complained about, was company policy. Rather it represented lower level practice by "a guy who was making a few rands". It was no mine policy, the TNC's in his opinion have decided on a punctilious policy of hands off. They have decided that peace is profitable.

There have only been two official complaints of intimidation. This was the first region to have a meeting of the parties under UNTAG auspices. "It wasn't the warmest meeting I have ever attended, but at least they turned up". SWAPO and DTA are the principal parties involved here. It was agreed that any member of the "tri-partite" group can call a meeting on intimidation. UNTAG will act as a clearing house. The relevant union filed a complaint against Henning Crushers, a stone crushing firm north of Tsumeb. Six workers are alleged to have been dismissed for political activities, or rather for refusing to attend a rally of the DTA. According to the workers, Henning told them that there was a DTA rally on Saturday and he told the foreman that they should go. The foreman, who had worked for Henning for
nine years, decided not to do anything because the workers of the plant were SWAPO supporters. Henning then called him in, accusing him of making SWAPO salutes and fired him. Beavan went to see Henning and was referred to his lawyer.

Henning's story was that he had merely mentioned to people that there was a rally. A SWAPO car came by to "brush up the workers", and made a salute on the road. He told them that they can do what they want, outside working hours, but they can't do that at work. In half an hour the workers came and demanded their money and said "we want to leave". Beavan feels that the formeman who had never given Henning any cause of complaint is more credible than Henning.

Beavan tried to bring the union, Henning and his lawyer together to discuss reinstatement of the workers. But while these negotiations were taking place, the union leaked the story to The Namibian ("stupidly" to Beavan). Then Henning demanded an apology from The Namibian, which the newspaper obviously would never be prepared to give. The case is now before the O'Linn commission.

The only other complaint concerns a worker from the mine who was alleged to have been kidnapped by SWAPO mine workers and beaten up and stoned. Whether this was really because of his political stand (pro-DTA) or for some personal reasons, is not clear. The only thing that is clear is that the man was indeed beaten and stoned. In Beavan's view, the UNTAG regional directors say that the situation in the country is reasonably and surprisingly good, with exception of the north. "Fewer people have been killed than at football matches in Europe". His impression of the local area is that it is good and that it is due to the sensible attitude of the farmers and the political parties. Beavan sees the major problem now as being the mechanics of voting.

The election administrators are talking about 1 500 people a day voting at each polling booth. This works out to one vote every 30 seconds. That assumes only one line - maybe more than one line can be used. "I am not sure how we are going to do it, especially in Ovamboland". Counting will take even longer. There could be as many as 27 people in a room, with SA, UN and party reps and monitors. In the Zimbabwe elections people did not have to show their registration cards. If it is necessary, "we shall push for an extra day's poll". There will be two electoral districts: Tsumeb - Grootfontein and Bushmanland.

People will dip their hands in a dye that lasts five days or more. They will sign in and in some cases if they cannot sign, their names will have to be made by their fingerprints. The blind and disabled can be accompanied by any person of their choice to assist them. This does not apply to illiterates.
There will be 11 mobile teams who will be sent out to farm areas. I was assured that UNTAG knows the number of registrations at each point, so the votes can be compared with registrations and if there is a discrepancy, action will be taken. An interpreter will be there to assist the UN and SA officials to help with illiterate voters. The rule about putting an X in the square will not be rigidly applied. It could be a check mark or even if the voter chooses to rule out all parties, except one, the vote will count as long as the voters' intention is clear. The emphasis now is on secrecy of the ballot rather than on fraud.

In regard to the allegation by Mr. Tchereumbu that there are KOEVOET and SWATF abroad, Mr. Beavan said there were 45 Koevoets in the Tsumeb area and 37 in Grootfontein. "They are confined to the white areas", he said. "The whites are not complaining". They are supposed to be protecting them from robbery. In Grootfontein they can sometimes be seen with sub-machine-guns. "They are ex-Koevoet, if there can be said to be such a thing".

The UN police monitors have had no complaints about them in the last few months. If SWAPO has a complaint, they should file it. Beavan believes that South Africa will not countenance any kind of coup like the one that Walls planned in Zimbabwe. There might be covert things and they will try to control whoever comes to power, but armed action to overturn the poll does not make political sense.

The current assumption Beavan is working on is that SWAPO will get approximately 55% of the ballot, not 2/3 (two-thirds). The OAU, the Non-aligned and the Frontline observers now accept this possibility as they did not at an earlier stage. Beavan believes that the 1 April incident and the detainees issue has "put pause" to Nama and Damara votes that will probably go towards UDF. He thinks that DTA and SWAPO will split the vote in Tsumeb. 75% of whites will go DTA. 75% of black votes will go to SWAPO. Nomtsoub is a safe SWAPO area. It is largely Ovambo and union organized. You largely see SWAPO flags; no DTA flags and one or two UDF flags over Damara or Herero houses. (Beavan lives in a section of the African township).

He believes that ethnic loyalties are the primary determining factors. There is less chance of a civil war here after the vote because the population is so small and separated. He believes that South Africa will not start a Renamo here. They will use economic leverage such as the possession of Walvis Bay.

He advised me to be sure that CCN takes care of accreditation as government observers have it. There will be no problem if we want to follow UNTAG around. There is a question if we shall be allowed in
the polling station itself. It would be good to hitch up with the OAU, the Non-aligned observers and SWAPO notes.

He was enthusiastic about the plan to visit Bushmanland and gave us suggestions. He let me look at the weekly report he had filed with Mr. Martti Ahtisaari on 21 September. In it, he reported on the offer to the Waskela bushmen. According to this report, Major Ranfa of FINNBATT had submitted a report of a meeting on 12 September, at which Commandant Van Wyk had said that South Africa would grant

= 328 

to all Waskela in Bushmanland or Caprivi the opportunity to move to RSA with all their dependants, even if these dependants are from other tribes. This offer has been transmitted to them.

They would be shown videos and could send a delegation to visit the areas in order to familiarize themselves with the territory. The bushmen wanted to know if they would be discriminated against in RSA. They were told that their living would be arranged as it is in Omega base. For 5 to 10 years they would be taught farming and cattle breeding. They would be given RSA citizenship. It would be "out of the question" that they would be returned to Namibia.

When the question was raised as to whether other tribes such as the Tsumkwes, Tsungswes and Heikuwas were included, Van Wyk said that the plan only applies to Waskelas at this time. When the bushmen asked how they would make a living in an independent Namibia, it was said that there were the following possibilities:
1. The Army of Namibia;
2. Cattle breeding;
3. Working in towns;
4. Returning to their country of origin;
5. Starvation - the latter was not acceptable.

During the interview with Mr. Beavan, he was joined by an election's specialist from the UN, Ms. Kim, a person of Chinese origin who speaks perfect English.

After word:

When Mr. Engelbrecht and I left the UNTAG office, we observed a very large armoured vehicle passing the street going south. A helmeted soldier was driving it. We gave chase and took pictures of the vehicle which shortly turned left and stopped with its lights on. The vehicle was not a casspir, but appeared to be a light tank or armoured personnel carrier. We reported the incident to Mr. Beavan, who thought it must be SWAPOL. At his suggestion, we checked with the UNTAG police monitors. An Australian
police monitor said that he had encountered a convoy of six such vehicles with lights on as he came north from Grootfontein. He assumed they were on their way from the north to Grootfontein. He was surprised to see no UN monitoring vehicle with them, as there was supposed to be.

27 October 1989
There is a great concern amongst black inhabitants in Nomtsoub following an alleged rumour stating that the white community of Tsumeb is attempting to poison blacks through water and food channels. Whites were allegedly told at an all white meeting held somewhere in Tsumeb town on Tuesday 24 October 1989, that they should buy food that will at least last for three (3) months. They should also store water in water canisters and make sure to have all the important and necessary goods prepared.

A domestic worker, TUSSI, (surname not given) told CIMS that she was told by her boss that she should also buy the abovementioned articles, because one does not know what exactly will happen in the future.

At the same meeting whites were also told to make sure everyone of them possesses guns/weapons and to train their wives to shoot. (Trainings said to be conducted at shooting range - 4 to 5km from Tsumeb - Tsintsabis road). Whites with more than two guns were told to sell the remaining arms to their white colleagues. An unknown helicopter was also reported to have been seen patrolling "Main plaas" on the evening of 25 October.

A nineteen year old, std. 5 pupil at the Opuwa primary school told CIMS that at around 22h00 he could hear a helicopter making/creating a loud noise. Petrus Simon said the helicopter hung in the air for at least two minutes, he was not frightened, because he thought it was an UNTAG helicopter.

Mr. Paul Garosab also confirmed the presence of the helicopter (time given as 23h00), but he didn't see it himself, but he could hear the loud noise created by the helicopter.

CIMS also talked to a std. 4 pupil at the Ondundu primary school (Main plaas school). He is Ruben Gawiseb who told that he and his brother left their parents' house at night for the toilet and was followed by the said helicopter to the toilet and then back. The helicopter then parked in a position facing their house. The boys were not afraid, they just ignored the helicopter. When the inhabitants of the house switched on their lights, the helicopter rushed off.

3 November 1989
Jennifer and Karin went to a DTA meeting in Tsumeb. Karin had already monitored the march of DTA supporters through the town in the morning. There were about 200 people in this march. Karin monitored in particular the attitude of
the people, whilst the DTA supporters marched through Nomtoub, the black township, which is a SWAPO strong hold. Many SWAPO supporters calmly watched the DTA march; there were no incidents at all.

At the DTA celebration in the afternoon, there were about 500 - 1000 people according to Jennifer. According to Karin the number was lower (about 350, this was also a number given to Karin by a DTA organiser when she asked for his estimation). Engelbrecht estimated it on more or less 1 000.

No political speeches were observed. People were sitting around, some were dancing, quite a number of them lining up for food, soft drinks and beer. They had the impression that people were attending the celebration of the 12th birthday of DTA out of material reasons and not for political ones. Later, Karin proceeded to the SWAPO rally which was held at the Nomtoub stadium and met Mr. Engelbrecht there. There were about 3 000 people (or more) attending that rally, which started as usual with a prayer, followed by a political speech by Mr. Peter Tshirumba, Head of SWAPO election centre in Tsumeb. The people were very disciplined, no food or drinks were offered, in contrast to the DTA celebrations. During the dare of the rally some of the people drew the attention of Mr. Engelbrecht and Karin towards the bush next to the stadium, where they allegedly monitored some Koevoets. Mr. Engelbrecht and Karin went to that area by car. They found a SWAPOL car without registration numbers/plates. In it were whites in Swapol uniforms and civilian clothes. The car left the scene when they felt our presence.

They shortly after that monitored an elderly man who was hanging around. They approached him and took a photograph of him. He complained when questioned what he was looking for. He answered that he was looking for his horse, but no horse was to be seen. Mr. Engelbrecht and Karin later searched the bush in the area, but didn't find anything suspiciously. To Karin the story is an indication to what extent people are frightened of Koevoet. People are also well aware that there are former Koevoet members around and according to what we observed earlier, the concern of the people about Koevoet has good reasons.

No complaints of physical intimidation have been received, although a CIMS representative in Tsumeb, Mr. E. Nawatiseb was threatened by a group of DTA supporters, when he took photographs. He was accused of being a SWAPO supporter and was questioned why he was taking photographs of individuals wearing DTA T-shirts. Mr. Engelbrecht and Karin went back to DTA in order to attend the celebration. On arrival, Mr. Engelbrecht was denied access to the celebration. He was told by DTA supporters to leave their premises. Mr. Engelbrecht
explained that he accompanied an international observer to the celebration and that he didn't mean to interfere in what they were doing. Only Mr. Frikkie Botha, DTA chairman (who knows Mr. Engelbrecht as a CIMS worker) stopped his people from threatening Nawatiseb. In the discussion that followed, Mr. Botha alleged that armed plan fighters were moving around in the country, also in the Tsumeb area. When confronted with the argument that the UN had denied any knowledge of plan fighters moving into Namibia, as was earlier reported by the Foreign Affairs minister of SA - Mr. Pik Botha, he replied he didn't believe UNTAG. Asked whether he meant UN was not impartial, he replied he wouldn't answer the question, but had his own opinion.

6 November 1989

At a public meeting held at the Community hall in Nomtsooub on 5 November, Keith Beavan, the Regional director of UNTAG, revealed the following facts:

The Administrator General ordered up certain reserve police and armed them without telling UNTAG. Beavan said that he regarded this as a mistake to do it without public announcement and without the UN knowing about it. Beavan said that he knew there was fear and anxiety in the black community about this. However, he said, “We have discussed it with SWAPOL and I shall tell you what has happened”. He said that there will be 45 reserve police in Tsumeb - white and black. During the election period regular police will be on duty at the regular polling stations. Since some of the police have been sent to Ovamboland, the SWAPOL is short of regulars. Therefore, during election nights, reserves will police Nomtsooub and Tsumeb. All patrols will be announced to UNTAG and UNTAG police monitors will follow them and be with them all the time. It is interesting to reflect that three weeks ago, Mr. Beavan told me that there were 45 Koevoet in the Tsumeb area who were "confined to the white area". Today he told us that this was just a "coincidence" and he Henied that 353 reservists were Koevoet. He also said he had looked into the question of a meeting of whites at the High school led by the town clerk. He was told that the meeting consisted entirely of white women. The rumour had been that food and water have to be laid in for five days and that the women were to be ready for any emergency. The town clerk told Mr. Beavan that it was just a plan and only in case of "trouble" or an "emergency". He also denied that any arms were given out. People with arms were to keep them locked away. Beavan said that in his opinion it would be sensible if this had been done publicly and if Nomtsooub had been informed.
At our meeting today, Mr. Bevan said that Swapol and the AG persons present at the community meeting, accused him of stirring trouble. On the contrary, he told us, he was involved in trying to calm everyone down and tell them that their fears were understandable but out of proportion to reality. He expressed the hope and belief that the election would be conducted in peaceful circumstances. He invited those who were suspicious or frightened to let him know and UNTAG will investigate. "If we think about April, repatriation and registration, it is clear that we have come a long long way".

PART ONE:
REPORT ON ELECTIONS - TSUMEB
'DATE: 7 NOVEMBER 1989 LOCATION OF POLLING STATION (FIXED)
NOMTSONUB3
Morning:
NUMBER OF SWAPOL: NUMBER OF UNTAG: IF POLICE ARE ARMED OR NOT:
Afternoon:
NUMBER OF SWAPOL: NUMBER OF UNTAG: Extra Dpice in up orderly)
2 (1 entrance - 1 exit),
2 UNTAG police (1 entrance - 1 exit) SWAPOL (pistols)
5 (2 + 3 courtyard)
7 (4 in courtyard - 3 in queue)
afternoon, because of young people who didn't queue
NUMBER OF VOTERS FOR THE DAY: NUMBER OF DISABLED PERSONS VOTING: NUMBER OF VOTERS REFUSED VOTE: NUMBER REQUIRING ASSISTANCE:
MODE OF ARRIVAL OF VOTERS:
1 200 (07h00 - 1h30)
2
None
100 needed extra explanation difficult, because the issuing officer didn't know either Otshiwambo or Nama; Walking from Nomtsoub - some arrived by car;
GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT THE STATION AND ANY IRREGULARITIES OBSERVED:
Quiet, people were disciplined; not too many people at the same time admitted to station; people in queues very well behaving; no translators for Nama language - we observed two women (elderly) who found many difficulties because of lack of good translator. One white lady (official) was shouting and frightening people.

PART TWO:
1. VOTERS:
Quiet, calm and patient - also are long queues, but no party campaigning (2 SWAPO T-shirts). time in queue is 5 - 6 hours.
well behaved. There political signs and Approaching waiting
2. POLLING STATION:
Except the white lady that was shouting, everything was OK. One official explained voting procedure quite well.
3. BALLOTS:
Remarks:
1. UNTAG and civil servants were not identifiable badges on);
2. Processing of single people lasted 2 - 6 minut
3. No intimidation observed.

PART ONE:
DATE: 7 NOVEMBER 1989 LOCATION OF POLLING STATION (FIXED):
MAGISTRATE’S COURT
e (they had no es);
NUMBER OF SWAPOL: 2
NUMBER OF UNTAG: 4
IF POLICE ARE ARMED OR NOT: SW
NUMBER OF VOTERS FOR THE DAY:
NUMBER OF DISABLED PERSONS VOTING: NUMBER OF VOTERS
REFUSED VOTE: NUMBER REQUIRING ASSISTANCE: MODE OF
ARRIVAL OF VOTERS:
+ 2 UNTAG police APOL (pistol)
Election officer refused to give information - we estimated them at 1 000;
No answer given;
3 Observed by us;
They are mostly walking from
the township.

NUMBER OF VOTERS FOR THE DAY:
NUMBER OF DISABLED PERSONS VOTING: NUMBERS OF VOTERS
REFUSED VOTE:
NUMBER REQUIRING ASSISTANCE: MODE OF ARRIVAL OF VOTERS:
900 at 15h00 - we estimated the number for the day at
1 200 - 1 300
Observed none
4 had been refused up to 15h00; one was rejected while we were observing, because of traces of dye on left hand
the other three had been refused for the same reason. Observed none
Primarily on foot
GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT THE STATION AND IRREGULARITIES OBSERVED: (See earlier reports)
The man who was refused in our presence, had his registration card and his ID, but the traces of dye on his hand required him to be refused. He alleged that he might have picked up dye from his work. After trying to scrub it off, the dye on his fingernail roots was still observable.
PART TWO:
1. VOTERS:
We interviewed six white voters after they left the station only two were prepared to speak to us. The other four refused.
One middle-aged man refused, because he believed that the elections were not properly done. The others said they didn't want to talk to us or didn't have time. One person who refused, was overheard to remark in German as she left: "The churches stick their noses into everything".
One person said that she "hoped for the best"; the other (her daughter) hoped that the government would upgrade the standard of living of the "black people who work with us".

PART ONE:

DIT: 7 NOVEMBER 1989 LOCATION OF POLTNgj STATION:
NUMBER OF SWAPOL; NUMBER OF UNTAG: IF POLICE ARE ARMED OR NOT:
NUMBER OF VOTERS FOR THE DAY: NUMBER OF DISABLED PERSONS VOTING: NUMBER OF VOTERS REFUSED VOTE: NUMBER REQUIRING ASSISTANCE: MODE OF ARRIVAL OF VOTERS:
FARM KAKUSE - 66km north of Tsumeb
2
2 officials, 1 policeman, 1 soldier,
2 interpreters Yes, SWAPOL (pistols)
About 900
About 12 - 15 None
3 (assisted by family members) By cars, trucks, and buses of farmers and political parties.
GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT THE STATION AND ANY IRREGULARITIES OBSERVED:
There was too much familiarity between the UNTAG personnel and the white political observers (DTA). At 15h00 a white farmer supplied the registering officers with cold drinks during a break. One white party agent, Mr. W. Friedrich, talked to voters in the queue. The official controlling the ultra-violet light was never monitored by UNTAG between 14h15 to 16h30.

PART TWO:
1. VOTERS:
Many voters are coming from the farms. Some are from Tsumeb and Pitiki farm (a big number are wearing DTA T-shirts, caps, etc.), we observed only 4 UDF symbols. Most voters went straight to a DTA braai, which was held approximately 300m away from the polling station.

2. POLLING STATION: The station is very simple, it is situated under a roof and accessible from three sides
1 polling booth.
3. BALLOTS:
   observations:
   1. During our stay, one voter per minute was processed;
   2. UNTAG and the civil servant are not identifiable/they don't wear badges. Only the police (UNTAG and SWAPOL) are wearing badges;
   3. The farmers are strategically well posted - the polling agents are to be seen by workers.
   4. 168 tendered voters from 07h00 - 14h00;
   5. The atmosphere was quiet; people are queueing in good order, but still they are not very comfortable. No direct intimidation was observed.

PART ONE:
DATE: 7 NOVEMBER 1989 LOCATION OF POLLING STATION:
NUMBER OF SWAPOL: NUMBER OF UNTAG: IF POLICE ARE ARMED OR NOT:
LUHEBU
1 policeman; officers; Not armed
3 civilian election
NUMBER OF VOTERS FOR THE DAY:
NUMBER OF DISABLED PERSONS VOTING: NUMBER OF VOTERS REFUSED VOTE: NUMBER REQUIRING ASSISTANCE:
340 from 07h00 - 16h00. Estimated 50 additional voters that will vote up till closing time.
2
1 (to our knowledge)
5

- 340 =

MODE OF ARRIVAL OF VOTERS: The voters arrived on foot and by car. (We assisted 10 voters to get to the polls in our truck).

GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT THE STATION AND ANY IRREGULARITIES OBSERVED: In general, we were impressed with the orderliness of the voters and the officials. The speed of processing voters improved as the time went on. The voting booth was too low and one could look into it no one took advantage of this irregularity. Mr. Gulbrandsen observed a voter who tendered his ballot after voting to the ballot officer who proceeded to stamp it with the official stamp after the ballot had been marked. We remarked on this to the electoral officer.

PART TWO;
1. VOTERS:
Almost all the voters seemed to be illiterate - they put their thumbprint on the registration card in almost all the cases. A number of persons, especially elderly people, needed extensive briefing on how to vote. Many voters wore DTA caps and some had DTA T-shirts on. We estimated the number of caps to be 50% of the voters. SWAPO insignia or paraphernalia were not in evidence.

2. POLLING STATION:
The polling station was a primary school. The room was adequate in size, but very hot.

3. BALLOTS:
We did not observe any spoiled ballots. Some voters didn't know how to fold their ballots after voting, and opened them so that the officials could see how they voted before folding the ballot paper or instructing the voter how to proceed.

3.2 KAKVZV: 811 voted, of which 629 were ordinary and 187 were tendered ballots.
3.3 TSINTSABIS (Direct north of Tsumeb on border of Bushmanland). By 15h00 on 8 November, about 800 people voted. Only 269 registered voters in the area. An excess number accounted for by DTA. The bus loads, was supervised by a white person who had no identification as a polling agent. A white woman stood behind them with a DTA T-shirt. Observers were requested to be allowed to speak to them. They were asked how they had arrived and they answered by bus. When asked who paid for the bus, they answered that they rode free of charge. SWAPO brought people in a Kombi. A white woman spoke to blacks in Damara and after that they wouldn't speak to the observers. A Mr. Friederich objected that the observers were asking the people who they were voting for. It was denied. The SWAPO person intervened and explained to the crowd that they didn't need to answer questions. Mr. Friederich then stated that he only wanted to prevent intimidation. Farmers who brought their workers, escorted them like small children. DTA had tables and chairs with food and drinks.

PART ONE:
DATE: 8 NOVEMBER 1989 LOCATION OF POLLING STATION:
NUMBER OF SWAPOL: 2 NUMBER OF UNTAG: 4
IF POLICE ARE ARMED OR NOT:
NUMBER OF VOTERS FOR THE DAY:
NUMBER OF DISABLED PERSONS VOTING: NUMBER OF VOTERS REFUSED VOTE: NUMBER REQUIRING ASSISTANCE: MODE OF ARRIVAL OF VOTERS:
TSUMEB COURTROOM
We estimate tendered ballots to be 7 to 10, (1 600) - estimated at 2 voters per minute, The total votes the previous day was 1 103 ordinary and 67 tendered;
None observed None observed None observed Mainly by foot
GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT THE STATION AND ANY IRREGULARITIES:
PART TWO:
1. VOTERS:
No irregularities were observed. The procedure was orderly and the lines proceeded at a rate of 30 seconds per voter, for regular ballots. Voters felt free to vote for the party of their choice. No intimidation was reported - one interview showed that out of ten, one person was unaware of the significance of the election, or what it was all about, The remainder were conscious of what the election meant.

PART TWO!
1. VOTERS:
About 50% of the voters were wearing DTA T-shirts and caps. We did 8 interviews. 7 had arrived on DTA sponsored buses. One was from Hereroland and the others from Tsumeb. Mr. Friedrich intervened with us to say people who were interviewed, had objected to our questions. Three people allegedly complained that we asked for which party they are voting. We told him and the complaining parties that this was untrue. Some of the DTA supporters became angry and would not accept our explanation. Mr. Friedrich said it was a matter of crossed communication and that we never asked anyone who he is voting for.

2. POLLING STATION:
The polling station was an old South African army base. We are critical of the choice of such a place for a polling station, because of its possible associations.

3. BALLOTS:
A man accidentally took a regular ballot when he was supposed to have taken a tendered one. The ballot he took was exchanged for a tendered ballot.

PART ONE:
DAE: 9 NOVEMBER 1989
LOCATION OF POLLING STATION: NONTSOUB COMMUNITY HALL
NUMBER OF SWAPOL: 4
NUMBER OF UNTAG: 5
POLICE ARMED OR NOT: YES

- 344 =
2. POLLING STATION:
The station was appropriate and commodious. There were four polling booths of which one was marked for the use of those who used tendered ballots.

3. BALLOTS:
67 Ballots out of 1 170 votes on the previous day were tendered ballots. Most voters were literate - no irregularities were observed. The number of tendered ballots were estimated at 7 9% by the electoral officer on the following day, Thursday. Ms. Kim of UNTAG estimated the percentage at 10%.

8 NOVEMBER 1989

The situation is orderly and slow. 340 people voted at one mobile polling station (Luhebu) by 16h00. People are wearing DTA caps (50%). Predictor could be seen until queue ended. One irregularity noted - stamped ballot at the man that voted - team took it up with election officer, who denied it had happened. The observers were not allowed to talk to polling agents.

Tsumeb
1 800 people lined up at the Community hall at 07h00. 1 200 people have voted by the time the station closed.

EPG has just left with Engelbrecht and Jennifer to Otjiwarango, stopping at Otavi on the way. They want to visit the mobile and 2 stations in Otjiwarango.

No problem with accreditation, except for the .................
Beavan has denied that 45 police reservists are Koevoet "It is just a coincidence that they are Koevoet", he said. SWAPO is taking it up locally with SWAPOL (Mr. Harmse in Grootfontein).

PART ONE:

LOCATION OF POLLING STATION:
DATE: 8 NOVEMBER 1989 NOMTSOUB COMMUNITY HALL
NUMBER OF SWAPOL: NUMBER OF UNTAG: ARE POLICE ARMED OR NOT:
NUMBER OF VOTERS FOR THE DAY: NUMBER OF DISABLED PERSONS VOTING: NUMBER OF VOTERS REFUSED VOTE: NUMBER REQUIRING ASSISTANCE: MODE OF ARRIVAL OF VOTERS:
Estimated at 1 100 to 1 440 were actually
9 November 10 or 12 up to noon NONE
10 - 12 up to noon On foot
1 200. counted on
GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT THE STATION AND ANY IRREGULARITIES OBSERVED:

= 346 =
PART TWO:
1. VOTERS:
The voters are mostly black people; in the evening the queue increased. Most voters didn't wear party identification. We interviewed six persons who had voted and they all felt free to vote for the party of their choice, they said. No intimidation was reported. They were all aware of what the elections were about. We asked them what they expected of the new government. Four gave no clear answers/no answers, but the other two had a clear understanding of what they expected. One man said he expected a fair labour law, equal treatment for all workers and increased salaries. A middle-aged contract worker spoke of fair wages and the need of accommodations for the families of the workers.

2. POLLING STATIONS:
The station is more spacious and appropriate than the courtroom.

3. BALLOTS:
There were 151 tendered ballots out of a total of 1,440. There were 1,299 ordinary ballots. 10 ballots were spoiled and replaced.

PART ONE:
DATE
LOCATION OF POLLIGSAON
8 NOVEMBER 1989 TSINTSABIS, (former SADF base)
SWAPOL: UNTAG: ARE ARMED OR NOT:
NUMBER OF VOTERS FOR THE DAY: NUMBER OF DISABLED PERSONS
VOTING:
800 up to 15h00; the line ended at 15h30 - perhaps another 50 voted after that. 30 - 50 old people were assisted
NUMBER OF VOTERS REFUSED TO VOTE: NONE
NUMBER REQUIRING ASSISTANCE: See answer above

MODE OF ARRIVAL OF VOTERS:
6 Buses brought DTA supporters from Tsumeb to vote at Tsintsabis to avoid the long queues and hot sun. Others arrived by a farm truck. Two minibuses were used by SWAPO.

GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT THE STATION AND ANY IRREGULARITIES: One voter was permitted to vote without a registration card, she had no ID and nobody to vouch her identity. Her name appeared on the list of those who had lost their registration cards. Mr. Thomsen, the UNTAG officer alleged that a tendered ballot was OK in these circumstances. We don't believe this to be correct. White farmers who were DTA polling agents were in close proximity to the polling station, supervising their supporters.

NUMBER OF NUMBER OF IF POLICE
4
YES
PART TWO:
1. VOTERS:
About 50% of the voters were wearing DTA T-shirts and caps. We did 8 interviews. 7 had arrived on DTA sponsored buses. One was from Hereroland and the others from Tsumeb. Mr. Friedrich intervened with us to say people who were interviewed, had objected to our questions. Three people allegedly complained that we asked for which party they are voting. We told him and the complaining parties that this was untrue. Some of the DTA supporters became angry and would not accept our explanation. Mr. Friedrich said it was a matter of crossed communication and that we never asked anyone who he is voting for.

2. POLLING STATION:
The polling station was an old South African army base. We are critical of the choice of such a place for a polling station, because of its possible associations.

3. BALLOTS:
A man accidentally took a regular ballot when he was supposed to have taken a tendered one. The ballot he took was exchanged for a tendered ballot.

PART ONE:
DA=: 9 NOVEMBER 1989
LOCATION OF POLLING STATION: NOMTSOUB COMMUNITY HALL
NUMBER OF SWAPOL: 4
NUMBER OF UNTAG: 5
POLICE ARMED OR NOT: YES

NUMBER OF VOTERS FOR THE DAY: NUMBER OF DISABLED PERSONS VOTING: NUMBERS OF VOTERS REFUSED VOTE: NUMBER REQUIRING ASSISTANCE: MODE OF ARRIVAL OF VOTERS: 900 at 15h00 - we estimated the number for the day at 1200 - 1300
Observed none
4 had been refused up to 15h00; one was rejected while we were observing. traces of dye on the other three refused for the same reason. Observed none Primarily on foot because of left hand had been reason.

GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT THE STATION AND IRREGULARITIES OBSERVED: (See earlier reports)
The man who was refused in our presence, had his registration card and his ID, but the traces of dye on his hand required him to be refused. He alleged that he
might have picked up dye from his work. After trying to scrub it off, the dye on his fingernail roots was still observable.

PART TWO:
1. VOTERS:
We interviewed six white voters after they left the station only two were prepared to speak to us. The other four refused.
One middle-aged man refused, because he believed that the elections were not properly done. The others said they didn't want to talk to us or didn't have time.
One person who refused, was overheard to remark in German as she left: "The churches stick their noses into everything".
One person said that she "hoped for the best"; the other (her daughter) hoped that the government would upgrade the standard of living of the "black people who work with us".

- 350
2. POLLING STATION:
(See previous report)
3. BALLOTS
Procedures were orderly. No irregularities were observed.

PART ONE:
DATE:
LOCATION OF POLLING STATION:
9 NOVEMBER 1989 TSUMEB COURTROOM
OF SWAPOL: 3 OFUNTAG: 4
ARMED OR NOT: YES
NUMBER OF VOTERS FOR DAY:
NUMBER OF DISABLED PERSONS VOTING: NUMBER OF VOTERS REFUSED VOTE: NUMBER REQUIRING ASSISTANCE: MODE OF ARRIVAL OF VOTERS:
Expected to be close to the number, which voted yesterday; i.e. about 1 600
Observed none Observed none Observed none The voters arrived by car and on foot.
GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT THE STATION AND IRREGULARITIES OBSERVED:
(See previous report on this station)
NUMBER
NUMBER POLICE

500; 5% tendered ballots
O red none
Observed none
One case reported - probably more cases existed
The station was on a private farm owned by a former commander of the SA Defence Force. This is not an appropriate venue. A number of white women were hanging around the entrances to the polling station - they were not polling agents. Once again our interviews were disrupted and harassed by DTA polling agents who endeavoured to hear our questions and answers.

Both Ped and Karin were falsely accused of taking photographs inside Ute polling station by DTA agents. One of the SWAPOL, Mr. Groblar, had asserted earlier that I (Ted) was not to take photographs at all. When I replied that the rules prohibited photos only in the polling station, he asserted that photographing around the polling station was also prohibited, but he could not point to any regulation to that effect and eventually he gave up on the point. I believe that this harassment was initiated by DTA complaint.

PART ONE:
DATE: 9 NOVEMBER 1989
LOCATION OF POLLING STATION: Mobile 2 - WELMOED FARM
4 YES, with pistols 233; 11 were tendered ballots Observed none Unknown One was observed, but was assisted by a young man
MODE OF ARRIVAL OF VOTERS:
The voters arrived in large groups by buses and trucks from DTA
GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT THE STATION AND ANY IRREGULARITIES OBSERVED:
The polling station was in the sitting area outside a white farmhouse. The drive into the farm went for several km along a road, which had about 10 campaign posters for DTA. While this was technically within the law, since the posters were more than 500m from the poll, we question the choice of this farm for a polling station in view of the atmosphere.

PART TWO:
1. VOTERS:
Many voters had DTA caps and T-shirts on. A large refreshment stand and rallying point for transport was maintained by DTA just outside the 500m line.
2. POLLING STATION: (See remarks above)
3. BALLOTS: No irregularities were observed

PART ONE:
LOCATION OF POLLING STATION:
NUMBER POLICE
10 NOVEMBER 1989 NOSIB
OF SWAPOL: 1; A.G. Ofiolalgi 2 interpreters OF UNTAG: 4,
ARMED OR NOT: SWAPOL (pistol)
NUMBER OF VOTERS FOR THE DAY:
NUMBER OF DISABLED PERSONS VOTING:
NUMBER OF VOTERS REFUSED VOTE: NUMBER REQUIRING
ASSISTANCE: NODE OF ARRIVAL OF VOTERS: The voters arrived by
trucks from
About 235 voters from
07h00 - 16h50
Only 1 blind person was
observed
Observed none
1
farm owners
GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT THE STATION AND ANY
IRREGULARITIES OBSERVED:
PART TWO:
1. VOTERS:
UNTAG informed us that most of the voters for the day were old people,
between the age of 50 - 60. Wa Ould observe tension amongst voters in the
afternoon, Caused by their masters. The masters (farmers) were watching the
movements of the workers at the polling station.
2. POLLING STATION:
The station is very isolated - about 12km from the main road
UNTAG also commented that the polling station was hidden.
3. BALLOTS:
The ballots were not counted - 2 polling booths,
tendered and ordinary

0 354 =
PART ONE:
DATE
LOCATION OF POLLING STATION:
11 NOVEMBER 1989 TSUMEB COURTROOM
OF SWAPOL: 4 OF UNTAG: 6 ARMED OR NOT: YES
NUMBER OF VOTERS FOR THE DAY:
NUMBER NUMBER NUMBER
OF DISABLED PERSONS VOTING: OF VOTERS REFUSED VOTE:
REQUIRING ASSISTANCE:
650 in total; ballots up to 11h00. Observed none Observed none Observed none
MODE OF ARRIVAL OF VOTERS: The voters arrived primarily on foot; 11 prisoners in detention
were brought to the poll by a police van. Together there were 25 prisoners and it was said that they would all be brought by the police to vote in civilian clothes.
GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT THE STATION AND ANY IRREGULARITIES OBSERVED: (See previous report)
PART TWO:
1. VOTERS:
Only a few voters were observed - the line had disappeared by the time we came to the polling station.
2. POLLING STATION:
(See previous report)
3. BALLOTS
(See the above in regard to tendered ballots - this station has run at a rate of about 10% tendered ballots)
NUMBER
NUMBER POLICE
60 tendered

= 355 =

PART ONE:
DATE:
LOCATION OF POLLING STATION:
11 NOVEMBER 1989 On the farm GRASVLAKTE
OF SWAPOL: 2 OF UNTAG: 4
ARMED OR NOT: YES
NUMBER OF VOTERS FOR THE DAY:
NUMBER
NUMBER
OF DISABLED PERSONS VOTING: OF VOTERS REFUSED VOTE:
168 People had voted 15h30, of which 14 tendered. While were there, 14 more voted, of
4 were tendered
until were were which
2
2 Girls of 16 years old, that had no registration cards, were refused
NUMBER REQUIRING ASSISTANCE:
Many people said to the presiding officer that they "don't have a clue" of the mechanics of voting. One man put his cross on the outside of the paper - there was a danger of over-instructing by showing the person where to put his/her cross.
MODE OF ARRIVAL OF VOTERS:
Most of the voters arrived by a farm truck.
GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT THE STATION AND ANY IRREGULARITIES OBSERVED:
The station was on a private property farm. As in other cases a DTA tent provided watermelon, cold drinks and beer for the voters. 25 Persons, including children were at the tent to provide hospitality. The tent was more than 500m from the polling station, but again it was clear that the farmer had given access to only one party to do this.

NUMBER NUMBER

POLICE

w 3-6 =

PART TWO;

1. VOTERS:
The voters wore primarily farm workers. One truck we observed with 14 farm workers, appeared with the farmer driving. He shook hands with the SWAPO agent and seemed friendly. We learned that on the previous day he had allowed SWAPO to do voting education on the farm.

2. POLLING STATION:
The station was in a modern three car garage

3. BALLOTS:
18 of the 182 ballots were tendered. The mobile station reported that in the first two days many tendered ballots were taken because the western part of the Tsumeb area in the Etosha pan district brought many voters from Ovamboland or from south of the Tsumeb district.

In Kakuse on Tuesday, there had been 800 voters, when only 250 were expected. This was because of the initial day crush in Tsumeb itself.

INTRODUCTION

"Windhoek Region" in the sense of CIMS monitoring comprises the town, its townships, and surrounding farms. But most events occurred in the "black" township Katutura as well as in the "coloured" township Khomasdal. Monitoring activities have thus concentrated on those two areas. According to the colonial myth Windhoek was founded in 1890 by a German officer. There isn't a grain of truth in this claim but his monument can still be seen in front of the Town Hall. Up to 1989 it has been dangerous to publicly expose undesirable facts about the past, even about the past under German rule. Now, however, this must be done. Hopefully it will be avoided that in 1990 - Windhoek becomes international laughing-stock by celebrating - in a "hundredth anniversary" - a foreign officer as its hero who started the first colonial war against the Namibians with the massacre of Hornkrans, and thereafter spent his time running away from Hendrik Witbooi (till he was sent
home to his mother).
The total population of Windhoek was, in 1988, estimated to be 115,000. It is anticipated that there will be a substantial increase.
In this compilation of raw-material selected by CINS from its own files the reader will see how the process "435" went, in its implementation, through both extremes: Human reaction was both very peaceful and extremely aggressive. The evil spirit of apartheid was also still there. But the spirit of renewal and reconciliation appears to have been victorious.

= 35&8 =
BOTSWANA
18-
NAMIBNAUKLUFT
LODERITZ
= 35S
Project "Visit to farms and farmworkers", Windhoek District First report - 25/8 - 1/9/89 - Karl Schmidt and Ilse Schmidt
(2) General remarks
The situation on the farms is characterized by an enormous dependence of the farmworkers on the farmer. The farmworkers are mainly illiterate and live under poor circumstances. Now they are faced with the challenge of a democratic exercise. For them it is difficult to understand what independence and 435 means. From the beginning it could be expected that the farmowners view SWAPO very critically because of their interests they fear the change of the status quo. In order to contact farmer and farmworkers and to try to bring together (reconcile) different people and positions it is essential that, the farm-project-group consists of black and white members.

a. Registration
- Apparently all farmworkers have registered after repeated arrival of Mobile Stations, except one 18 year old gardener who seemed to be too young and was unable to show a birth certificate (SWAPO is taking up the matter).
- The Mobile teams came to nearby farms. Farmers or farmen took the workers by car to the registration points. In o. cag-8 supposed a DTA registration and refused to be registered at Aris. The farman brought them later to Windhoek for registration.
- Some farmers informed their workers about 435 and registration by using UNTAG pouters and material (timetable).

One farmer was generally against politics on his farm, but the farmworkers talked amongst themselves and were keen to register.
- On all farms we were told that the registration cards are kept by the farmworkers.
- Mistakes discovered by farmworkers on two cards were rectified on 31st August.

1b) Political campaign
- Information have been given about ballot paper etc. and how to vote after promulgation of the Election Law. This should be done by informed persons and the parties.
- Usually the farmers allow their workers to go to rallies after work.
- One farmer (H.-P. Luehl) allows all parties on his farm. One farmer (J. Luehl), active DTA member, had already a DTA- and a UDF meeting on his farm under the condition that they use English or Afrikaans and he is present. Asked about SWAPO he added: "but my farmworkers must want it". One farmer does not want his workers to be involved in politics at all: "All parties are lying and it only creates quarrels amongst my workers".

(4) Interesting observations
- One farmer (M. Krafft) refused first to speak to "CCN- and SWAPO people", but he was prepared to pull out our car stuck in the deep sand and afterwards he was ready to talk with us.
- Nearly during all visits we noticed that the farmers are very much against CCN and associate it with SWAPO. It took always some time to clarify the churches' stand in the context of the "ecumenical process for justice, peace and integrity of creation" and to question some seemingly indisputable positions: "The PLAN fighters invasion 1st April showed how violent SWAPO is and will be when they will lose election"; "SWAPO will take away our farms".
- One farmer demanded impartiality of CCN and the churches which should be open to members of all parties. But when asked whether any SWAPO member would be in his German Evangelical Church he could neither confirm nor imagine this; The same German farmer tended to speak German which our black friend couldn't understand, although we spoke and replied always in English. It showed how difficult it was for him to accept a black man sitting on his veranda.
- A female farmworker told "The biggest problem on this farm is alcohol. For us women it is a heavy burden." When there is payday and the Nama- and Damara people get their money they buy liquor and start drinking. Some don't come to work for two, even three days. For this reason one farmworker was dismissed the day before. We went to see him, but he was too drunk to answer questions. This special problem of alcohol abuse amongst farmworkers should receive attention by churches and trade unions.
Conclusion: all talks between the farmers and the black and white observers were often tense, but very interesting. It brought people together which were separated by apartheid, but have to live together in a future independent Namibia. Reconciliation has to be practised also on the farm level.

Report on Katutura 19/9 - 23/9

by

Tu 19/9 Mr. C. Kienecker, Untag-police Mr. Gardener, Head of Untag-police
Katutura not present
Mr. J. Nambinga, Swapo office, community centre
Mr. Shalan Alayan, Deputy Head of Untag-civil, Katutura, responsible for registration, Post Office
Mr. Clifford ?, social worker, Roman Catholic Centre (Hans Uirab Str.)
We 20/9 Mr. Gabriel Ithete (NUNW)
Mrs. Binda Diallo, Head of Untag-civil
Mr. J. Nambinga, Swapo office
Phone Mr. Detlef Buwit (Commander of West German Untag contingent, BGS)
Th 21/9 Voigtland Farm, Mrs Heidi Voigts, Tel. 319, Farmmanager and farmworkers accompanied by Mr. G. Ithete (NUNW) and John Hallaub, SWAPO
NPF meeting at Katutura Community House Fr 22/9 Mr. Hendrik Venter, DTA, Tel. 62350 Mr. Shalan Alayan, Untag-civil
Mr. Danny Tjomgarero, Deputy National Chairman of SWAPO
Sa 23/9 Duesternbrook Farm, Mr. Vaatz, Tel. 32572, farmworkers
SWAPO bazar, community centre

Katutura - 2 -
= 32 =

1) Registration

During the extension period one registration office was kept open (Post Office) while there were 4 previously (3 of the mobile). According to Mrs. B. Diallo (Untag-civil) hospital and prison nevertheless have been visited regularly, even during the extension time. Compared to the number of people registered on Friday the 15th (528) the number of people registered during the extension period was fairly low (until Fr. 327).

Out of 42 000 registered people at Katutura according to Mr. S. Alayan (Untag-civil) only 10 did not qualify. These people presented South African ID-Cards and they did not have the extra documentary prove for the qualification to register.

Problems observed

Time notice of extension of registration was too short (no notices were found outside Post Office);
- Lack of awareness; that people born between 16/9 and 23/9/1971 qualified to register (e.g. (i) DTA office only knew when we informed them on Friday, (ii) only 3 persons of this group registered up until Friday).

2) Intimidation
According to Untag representatives there were no intimidations, Mrs. B. Diallo stressed that Untag was not only supervising but also controlling the process. Untag attributed this to the code of conduct, as the different parties were adhering to the stipulated conduct. However, contact with different sources proved contrary. SWAPO reported cases of intimidation (e.g. exchange of SWAPO flags on private houses by DTA flags, shots after a SWAPO film show by unknown persons). Mr. Nambinga Summed it up as "politics of provoking". DTA accused SWAPO of having stoned cars and houses of DTA members, but specific cases were not available. Mr. Venter pointed out that DTA was always blamed yet they don't start the incidents. General view of people is that the political life in Katutura is very tense, the code of conduct has not helped.

r ,utra - 3
~Politicali Pars ip. ai d 'anpa'p,
OTA campaign sees to utll argan.ized wi'.'h a Jear hier.,hy. Fieldworkeoz have gt the duty to vist K),,. houses a day and to produce 'wo'king 'ards' where amongst other he_ bousenumber and the political affiliation the people living therye is recOrded for future re'ference, proably. S'Al'C t'e.pr~'es a atrl statet that they have not started their active campaigm~ g as yet. Their major programme of campaigning begin : after the -.vcar rally'. When approching DTA ,. faced problems. We ijt.re not welcom a't al and after having nr:. -acd rxsed es an o-servers from CCN we were identified .- beir'£ Si}P supporter's a 3d the atmosphere, became apgessi .. According to :information given ak: tll liiarning devotion (3CN, 25/9/8q) pamphlets disredituiug and C(CN arc being distributed around KXtutura, After th_.jWAB rm,'.&. y al Wirk@ oik Stadium strangled puppets (aricaturing Sam Nu.,- 1'1:. same source, at the road back to Katutura.

4) Returnees
MR. H. Venter (PTA) Complained of rot having access to enter Dobrareturnee- camp and accused Mr. Bwakiva (Untag) in charge of the camp of being protective towards SWAPO. Unfortunately we were unable to find out the correct number of returnees staying at Katutura.

5) Presence of Untag.
-Untag offices difficult to find
-few Untag personnel was seen around Katutura.
-No Untag at the NPF public meeting and at the SWAPO bazaar.
-one Untag police member is supposed to be present at the Katutura polic. station permanently, but not in when we visited. 6) Recommendation
We suggest that the monitoring of Katutura should continue because an escalation of violence is apprehended.
26/9/1989

-- 34 --
WEDNESDAY 27th Sept, 1989 Marten Kapewasha, SWAPO YOUTH LEAGUE (Deputy Secretary) Keith Gardner, Jamaica Constabulary, Head of UNTAG POLICE, Katutura Tel. 62062.

Medical Superintendent, Katutura hospital (further particulars unknown) Erasmus Handuba, CIMS office, Katutura. Mr Hendrik Venter, DTA office, Katutura. Tel 62350.

THURSDAY 28th Sept, 1989 Gabriel Ithete, NUNW. Tel. 62876.


MONDAY 2nd Oct, 1989 Writing of report.

= 365 =

Intimidation:

On the 26th Sept, 1989 the DTA held a march at KATUTURA. The march started around 6.00 pm, and violence erupted. Report by SWAPO office, Katutura. According to Marten Kapewasha, the march consisted of persons in cars, 2 buses and others on foot. noting that the participants of this march were only young males accompanied by SWAPOL traffic cops, he said. The marchers were were shouting anti-SWAPOL slogans, provoking the residents of the well known SWAPOL area. Stones were thrown at houses, whether there was a SWAPOL flag or not was immaterial. A number of persons were injured and these were rushed to hospital for treatment. Kapewahsa condemned SWAPOL and UNTAG as; SWAPOL failed to stop the violence in time and UNTAG police did not at any time intervene. Mr Kapewasha said it was clear that DTA was trying by all means to"Sabotage"the elections. He observed that DTA is not adhering to the code of conduct signed on the 12th, Sept, 1989. He further stated that DTA was intimidating and slandering SWAPOL and its supporters. He noted that the AG is doing anything to stop this violence.


Mr Keith Gardner stated that he would give no details on Tuesday's events except that the damage caused was immense and it could have easily been avoided. SWAPOL must have known that the area had a lot of SWAPOL supporters and the hour at which the march took place was not right; it should not have taken place during the evening.

UNTAG police received information on Tuesday noon from SWAPOL about the march as demanded by AG 23 yet SWAPOL were denying that they gave permission for the march. He reported that there were FIVE UNTAG monitors on the spot and SWAPOL was not present at the beginning. Mr Gardner stated that stones were thrown at houses and thirty-four houses were damaged, which he had personally visited by the time CIMS went to his office.

Nine people were hurt and treated in hospital (as far as known at the time).

366 =

He stated clearly the scope of UNTAG on these marches and rallies: UNTAG could not intervene and stop the march because UNTAG merely had monitoring
powers not controlling powers. However people were dissillusioned about their powers and they were always being condemned for not controlling rallies, marches etc. This he felt, was an important point to be noted. He stated that he was tired of being blamed for not taking action and false accusations amongst the parties. Because of this UNTAG has taken films and pictures of the incident. However this was not to be publicised, to avoid excitement, and the films issue was being dealt with at 'top level'. He stated that the films will be available when anticipated charges are made by the parties concerned.

Mr Gardner recognised the role of CIMS and was delighted that CIMS had approached his office instead of, like other parties, making unwarranted accusations at UNTAG.

Report of DTA

We phoned the Katutura Director of DTA and arranged for a meeting with him for 4.00pm. We were well receieved at the gate when we mentioned that we wanted to see Mr Venter and we had made prior arrangement so he was expecting us. Mr Venter himself welcomed our presence. We stated the objectives and aims of CIMS. On the Tuesday night incident he stated that the march was a success. They had started with three hundred people and ended with a thousand. The march he noted was orderly. The march covered a distance of four kilometres and trouble only occured over a stretch of 200 metres. He stated that they did not experience any trouble in the Owambo concentrated area but only in the mixed groups area. Mr Venter did not state what he meant by trouble or how the trouble started, who was wrong and the extent Mr Venter stated that it was a rally and a march within the requirements of AG23. Asked about DTA's complaints, he noted that they only had 2 complaints, otherwise they were generally satisfied: a) Concerning the camps of SWAPO in Angola and Zambia b) People in a certain Owambo area are intimidated if they do not support SWAPO. He suggested, therefore, that the particular area of Owamboland should be excluded from the elections. Otherwise the elections would not be 'fair and free'.

= 367:

(On Wednesday night TV News Indicated that there was no notification of a rally or march. But only a permit to drive through Katutura with loud speakers.)

Report by Erasmus Handuba of CMS

Erasmus stated that around 7.45 'pm on Tuesday he was driving through Katutura when he came upon the march. He Witnesses one car with DTA stickers chasing people. His car was surrounded by DTA people who wanted to pull him out of the car. He ordered the other occupants of the car to lock their doors. He observed that the crowd was unruly and they were an 'angry lot' and although he has no proof they behaved as if they were under the influence of alcohol.

Whilst they surrounded his car, they stoned his back window. The boot of the car was also damaged with the use of a metal instrument (the type of the dent affirms this allegation.)
CIMS quest.: Would you say the stoning of the rear window was deliberate? 
Ans: Yes, I would say it was with deliberate intention as the people were 
surrounding the car. They did not throw stones from a distance but 
they smashed the window from a close range. 
The victim in this instance begged the marchers to "please leave me 
in peace."
A lady in the car had to be taken to hospital for treatment. He reported 
the matter to the police who took a statement. The victim aims at 
instigating legal action he has already approached 
a lawyer. The amount of the damage, approximate figure, is around 
R1000-00. He re-affirmed Kapewasha's (SWAPO) allegation that the marchers 
were only young males.

= 368 = 
THURSDAY 28/9/89 
Report by Mr Gabriel Ithete, NUNW 
Mr Ithete stated that although he was not present he had also heard 
reports about Tuesday trouble. He alleged that the troublemakers were not 
local people but they were brought to Katutura 
by buses with South African Registration number plates. The 
Salve'L buses were seen with and without DTA stickers.
Unfortunately we, CIMS, did not verify the allegation of foreign buses. 
However on Tuesday afternoon whilst going home from work, approx. 5.00pm, 
Nozizwe (CIMS) had seen 2 buses with South African Registration 
number plates stationed at the gate of DTA office in Katutura. These 
howerver were empty.
On Thursday evening the TV reported that DTA had sought permission 
to march in the same area and SWAPOL had refused to grant this.
DTA, TV interview, stressed that if the elections were to be 'free and fair' 
every party must have access to campaign in any area. There must not be 
any 'no go area' for any party.
According to Drot*sky INoursdal is relatively calm. SO was having problems, 
home, with OTA. DTA campaigns by loudspeakers on vehicles and is not only 
'stating its cause' but also denouncing SWO to the effect of even instigating against 
it. The loudsiers cupaign takes place at night, day and very early in the mning. 
Intimidation thore is more psychological than p isical. Freddie Shipownila 
alleged that som yargsters had admittd that they received pa*ant frem DTA to 
pull dora SO posters. Eg. 390 had placed270 posters for the rally at ftousdal; in 
the end 50 posters remled.
DTA sunoters are also reportW to be putting up DTA flags on private houses 
without the consent of the residents. Some residents hae reported this to SO and 
sportausly bougt 3* flags to replace the DTA ones.
Wien asked about problems concerning the other parties. TonWy said SWAO had 
had trouble with UDF supporters Uotned SI O posters avund'(on street posts).
Ib4av, he stated this had been bhu to an end Wdin he brought this behaviour to the
attention of tDF pfficials. On this line there is good unaerstanding awngst all the parties except with DTA.

A meeting with the parties chaired by tAG, W Vicar kdr (ditrict dirtr) and Esslin Sylvester (dputy), was held two weeks ago. urp w of tho Mrtig Was to iron out an diffences beben the political parties. All th politital ties ecept TA aftte; NNf ,NPF, UDF, 3MO. Note should be mad& tt all parties ww ittMnd by IAG of the meting. The different parties, all omplained about DTA'I hartwont and intimidatio. It is hoped that in the next meting, on the 4th OcLtI.fr by Ot dpifi the GTA party will be Tresented.

CMIM received copies (fran 34MO RIoa aoffi) dt a leaflet dropped fran a plare in KMomasdal, in large mibers. The author's name is not given. On one side 94M) leaders are pictured and Intraok as [UIWL SKINJET (Children of the Devil) The text refers to the 03P SrAR RPLLY" in the t l a n It Sept. and reads as follows (translated by lbrnun)

'Top star will be San NI&oiama, chitf liar and deceivr in Africa, its lowest educated leader who will tell beautiful lie-stOie 8d make lots of false promises. question ojca about O'S Vprrm of violane against our parents, brothers Nd sisters in its Prism-Carps and holost & Wtwhr he dars to tell you how its shirt leaders will cause famine and uneiployment for the masses and how disease and death will wipe out thousands of our people because S4PO 'leaders' will put all the MMey of the people and of the govenwit into their own pockets. We shall miser frcm huiger. The Cacil of Curches of Namibla (OCN) will also be present in its sanctimOneus glory in order to bewitch our Souls in the nom of its SM masters by its godless, camrusit, political preaching. Yes if you are si~id era*g to believe the, then go ahead and atted S4's rally so that it can bewitch you with its satanic ways".

W I N O H 0 E K R E G I O'N

Report for the period 24 October to 3 November 1989 compiled by KATUTURA: Untag district head,Ms Diallo, stated that posters which may deter people from voting had been removed from Katutura. Since the violence that had erupted on the 26th of August Katutura had been relatively calm. lowever, CIMS observers noted that violence has erupted in the Single Quarters during the weekend of the 27th-29th oNe .-.<cc -. The following occurredas reported by Keith Gardner, Station Commander of Untag Katutura.

27th,
1. A SWAPOL car was stoned but there were no injuries.
2. Although Mr Gardner stated it was a domestic problem, one person died through beating and another was injured in one incident

28th;
1. In the morning two SWAPOL patrols were stoned.
2. 05.40 am the body of a policeman was found in the same area no arrests have been made.

29th:
I. The body of a local, Single Quarters resident was found in the area. The man had been stabbed to death.

SWAPOL: With regard to the Single Quarters incidents Inspector Du Toit reported the following. 27th;
In the early morning a man was found stabbed to death. 28th:
A policeman was shot and killed in the area. He was not sure whether the policeman was killed because he was a policeman or because he was Herero.

CIMS observers interviewed the following victims: SUNDAY 29th Oct:
1. THOMAS AMTHENYA, DAVID HAUFIKU and ELIANDER IIPINGO were assaulted by 12 policeman. Time - 19.00 -20.00 hours. Facts: On their way home from Blod River they had to pass the Police base opposite the Single Quarters. In doing so they were surrounded by twelve policeman, who fired into the air and started assaulting the victims with sjamboks and knobkerries. Injuries sustained: Thomas had head and shoulder injuries. He fell brokea tooth and his tongue was slit. Report: He reported the matter to SWAPOL who dismissed him. He also reported the matter to SWAPO.
DAVID: His right arm bone cracked. He reported the matter, through Mr Nambinga, to UNTAG. UNTAG referred them to SWAPOL which said It would only take the case after David had been to hospital and a doctor had written a report. He has left the matter with SWAPO oficers.
Eliander: He suffered head Injuries and had to be stitched. His back had also been hurt from sjambok beatings. He only reported the matter to SWAPO.
Facts; Police came to his house and demanded that he produce 'Sam's gun'. He allowed them to search his place and when they found nothing they beat him up. Pushed him around with a gun. Injuries: One leg is swollen and his face was also hurt. Report: he reported the matter to SWAPOL who dismissed and chased him away he has not reported the matter to UNTAG but has reported it to SWAPO.
3. Joseph Kadh~la, 40year old. 20.30 hrs. facts: he was going home and trying to avoid the gate of the SWAPOL base. The police followed him beat him with a sjambok and threatened to shoot him. They left him afterwards. Injuries: back of the head and arms. Report: SWAPO only.

Monday 30th
1. Joseph Martin, over 30 years. 02.00 hours. facts: He was driving and with a friend from work to the Single Quarters in his car (reg. SW 175358) The deceased visited a house in the area with a friend. When they returned the car tyres were all flat,. Whilst checking the damage four policemen came and asked what they were doing and where is the person'they had killed. A fight broke out and the two victims ran away. One hid in the toilet. The policemen found him, stabbed and beat him to death. The survivor has identified two policemen and he claims that the policemen were in uniform.
Report: only to S4APO because people "caanot report the police to the police, and even those who did were not helped."

*The narrator was not present during the assault but as he, is the SWAPO representative in the Single Quarters, the matter was reported to him.

372 =

2. Matheus Reinhold, 20yrs old. facts: Around twelve police came to his house at the Single Quarters and asked whether they were Ovambo or Damara. They stated that they were Ovambcs whereby the Police beating them with sjamboks. They ran away but one policeman managed to grab his shirt. He escaped and ran to the toilet. The police followed him and he was stabbed. Injuries: stabbed on the arm and back. Report: He has neither reported to UNTAG nor to SWAPO but has only reported the matter to SWAPO.

Tuesday 31st Oct.

1. Anna Susana Swelo / Single Quarters. facts: They with three other women, were invited to a house of a DTA supporter, who is a friend. On arrival they were thrown out of the house by the host and other people from Caprivi because they were SWAPO supporters. Injuries: Anna fell on her face and her upper lip was swollen and her face scrapped. Reports: No reports have been made to UNTAG or to SWAPO. However Anna reported the matter to SWAPO office.

Wednesday 1st Nov.

Ruben Joseph, age around 40 was attacked at Tripple J area by six policemen. facts: He was collecting bottles to sell when the policemen demanded to see the contents of his bag. He refused and told them that he was carrying empty bottles. One policeman jumped out of the car and attacked him while the others watched. He pushed the police away and the others came out of their vehicle and started beating him up. Injuries: His lower lip and left ear got torn in the fight. He lost two teeth. Report: He has neither reported the case to the police nor to UNTAG. He has however reported the matter to SWAPO. CIMS observers brought these incidents to the attention of UNTAG police who assured us that they would investigate the claims. CIMS observers will follow the cases.

POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING OF PARTIES.
The mode of campaigning by parties is to attack their opponents. In most cases SWAPO was the victim. DTA and UDF capitalises on the ex-detainees issue. Ex-detainees have to repeat their experiences in the SWAPO DUNGEONS. This however seems to get the necessary reaction from their supporters who express their shock and hate for SWAPO. SWAPO emphasises the concept of National Reconciliation in its campaigning.

NNF attacks SWAPO, DTA and UDF and is seen to be relying on the issue of Womens Emancipation.

- 373

VOTER EDUCATION
1. Much of the material is in print form or carried on radio and television. Little is likely to reach the illiterate rural masses. The UNTAG office in Okahandja had not yet received the UN videos for use in voter education by November 1.

2. While the primary responsibility for voter education might seem to rest with the political parties, their efforts have varied greatly. A DTA "voter education" rally at Katutura single quarters amounted to propaganda film, and videos on boxing and football. The DTA organiseysaid (October 30) that it was too early to start teaching the people how to vote, though the DTA office in WINDHOEK was conducting mock elections. SWAPO and NNF rallies also were more political than educational. However, among parties, SWAPO has done far more than any other to educate its supporters. In an effort to ensure freeness and fairness, the electoral process has become exceedingly complicated (especially the tendering procedure) and confusing to the ordinary voter, this means that voters need a good deal of explanation. During a sustained UNTAG educational session for farm workers in the Hochfeld area (November 1) no ballot was spoilt, though 5 were blank. Nevertheless, only a fraction of the population will have this opportunity (It was the first undertaken by UNTAG) and the 43 workers had been especially selected ones who might be able to spread the word to their fellow workers. By contrast the SWAPO district head in Rehoboth reported with shock, 40% of the ballots In a mock election session had been spoilt. This suggests that the quality of instruction was questionable.

4. The party symbols are occasioning considerable confusion, especially the various hands and fists, SWAPO-D's use of the torch (a former SWAPO symbol), and ACN's appropriation of the Cross.

5. One "dubious campaign tactic" (to quote the UNTAG press spokesperson) is the use of fictional ballots. DTA is the principal culprit. Its mock ballot had phoney names and symbols for all parties except DTA. A sample of this ballot obtained from the DTA office in Windhoek was handed to the Deputy UNTAG Regional Director. UNTAG denounced the practise publicly on November 2.

We saw five women in charge of UNTAG regional offices:
Windhoek: Ms Eliza Kimball (USA), phone 226226, ext.22
Katutura: Ms Binta Diallo (Senegal), phone 217424
Khomasdal: Ms Ingrid Lehmann (FRG), phone 212581
Rehoboth: Ms Kabelo Makhetha (Lesotho), phone 06271/2265
Okahandja: Ms Isel Rivero (Cuba), phone 06221/2909

They were all dedicated to voter education, usually using schools and churches to spread the news of their meetings and even asking us to offer their services and
materials (posters, T-shirts, videos etc.) to the churches so that they might be invited. We

All UNTAG offices had held fortnightly meetings with the political parties of their region where usually 5-6 major parties turned up. AlUNTAG officers were satisfied with their achievement of having the party leaders talk to each other and discussing their problems. Ms Diallo was especially proud of the fact that they had convened DTA and SWAPO after the violence of 26th September and they had agreed on 8 additional points within the Code of Conduct (all areas in Katutura shall be accessible to all parties, they will not insult leaders, rallies will take place only after prior notice and not in late hours, participants must not carry any weapons, etc.). At this occasion UNTAG had done a great job helping people into safety, Ms Diallo said, Ms Kimball emphasized the efficiency of the UNTAG photographer whose pictures clarified the situation beyond doubt. Since the mutual agreement on the additional 8 points no further violence had erupted, Ms Diallo stated. However, on the weekend after our talk (27-29th October) and almost every day after that several incidents occurred in the Singles' Quarters, some of them fatal. which might have a political background (see report on intimidation).

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCHES

We saw eight clergymen and partly attended the prayers, discussions and the march organized by the Women's Desk of CCN on 27-29th October. The clergymen were:


Most of them said their parishioners had registered and would vote. The exception is Rev. Nakamhela who stated that his congregation, largely made up of Basters and so-called 'Coloureds', are to a large extent not interested in national politics: not all of them registered (only 7,000 out of a population of 25,000), they claimed to 'vote for Christ', would not want unpleasant things and politics to be discussed in the sermon. They see the election and 435 only in favour of SWAPO and fear that they might lose privileges under a SWAPO government. Voter education was seen as important and carried out by most churches, less so by the two Lutheran pastors in Katutura who both stressed that they kept party politics out of the church, and by Rev. Karuaera, who conducted one two months ago, whereas Bishop Prinz felt, political preaching was necessary. Bishop Kauluma emphasized that reconciliation was the business of the church. Father Nordkamp stressed that the Catholics had made a statement on the ex-detainee issue already in July saying that investigations should be carried out and the respective persons be held responsible, but that the publicity around it produced
by the other parties was disproportional and unfair. Bishop Prinz on the other hand felt it was not a big issue, and Rev. Karuaera thought it had to be dealt with along with the issue of all the other people killed or detained by South Africa and not accounted for. The two Katutura Lutheran pastors thought the church should issue a statement going beyond the one of the ELC Synod and work for reconciliation. In general one can say that the churches help to raise political awareness. They see clearly that South Africa tries all kinds of manoeuvres that are still internationally acceptable (Rev. Karuaera). UNTAG invites the churches and spreads their material through them. Rev. Nakamhela deplored, however, that in his case and also concerning the German Lutheran Church, apartheid and ethnicity has been kept up by way of the 'freedom of religion', that does not encourage ethnic groups to worship together. The church women's groups and the Women's Desk play a special part in their endeavour to reduce tension between political parties, to ease family conflicts where one member may have been a koevoet, the other one a PLAN fighter; to help re-integrate returnees and also take care of their needs. 'By coming together we empower each other!' This helps to avoid conflicts and outbreaks of violence.

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Notes from election report formst
07.11.8/04 - a station in Katutura W'the mmin at ob' tere were already hundreds of people waiting, outside the fence. The station did not open before o7.16 when suddenly Chief Kuoima Riruako (Paramount Chief of Herero, President of DTA) arrived with 7 to 8 of his followers or bodyguards. He jumped the queue, did not even have an identification card and did not know that somebody who had already voted could not sign an affidavit for him. Presumptious behaviour also towards a GIMS monitor who asked him when he had arrived." - "Between o6.40 and o7.40 in the morning there was an NPF tent with 2 flags within the premises. We reported to UNTAG and to SWAPOL who referred us to Sgt. Rheent. He said the NPF people were waiting for their boss. We asked him to instruct them to remove at least the flags - which did not lift even while we were there, but reportedly soon afterwards. - A SWAPO-car was reductedly stoned near the polling-station."
18.9.8/05 - a station in Katutura d at 4.000. Several hundred were lining up inside the compound; a short line of 12 to 15 immediately at the entrance to the room serving as the polling-station. At lo.15 when another group was invited to proceed to the door of the polling-station, order broke down and there was a rush forward. There was now an uninterrupted line right to the door. But there was no injury and no breakdown of good humour. Police are good-humoured but clearly far too few. Between lo.20 and 10.30 thirty voters emerged from polling. Officials say that at 19.00 hours only those within the compound will be allowed to vote; those outside must return another day."
of influence was exercised on the voters. 3 disabled persons were helped into the station but not in the nolling-booth. Voters exercised their right with confidence. Only one tendered ballot. Electoral officer and TNTAG concurred on most of the points. Where there was disagreement, they solved it amicably." - "Observers had access into the nolling-station without any 'oroblems. Voters couly exercise their vote with absolute secrecy." - "The cress-oeople, between 07.00 and 07.45, surrounded the voting place and were filmir around. This was intimidating on the voters. They had no feeling of crivacy."

O7.11.89/lo - a station in Katutura Wfe'n caused commotion when they arrived in a combi ond wanted to place their neoole within the line, inside the gate of the school. SWAPOL was called to restore order."I O7.11.8911 - a station in Katutura ,f-f6. T -stg-tionclo-sd-fo 3- -minutes because the crowd of voters were 'ushing and dodaing the line. A big crowd of around 5co people surged and wanted to force their way in. A SWAPOL re-inforcement anO UNTAG Police were radio--honed to help in oontrolling the voters. Orderly. - People who voted at 2o.oo had arrived at 06.30. Officials very efficient. - Most voters walked to the station, a few were brought by their party-cars. No difference of opinion between UNTAG vrm electoral officer."

27.11.89/12 - a station in Katutur.. "Ballots proerly arranged. First box v vs full at 18.35 and the presiding officer showed the new empty box not only to the polling-agents but to everybody inside the station. At 19.00 there were 324 tendered ballots because persons/voters did not have an identification-card (in most cases)."

O7.11.89/16 - a station in Khomasdal "Voters came in their own oars, some S.A. registered, and in DTA trucks. Voters were informed about the Drocedures of votin,. No persons were seen assisted by officials within the station. No voter was refused the right to vote. Voters exercised their right with confidence and the situation endorsed the concert of "Your vote is your secret."

O8.11.89/04 - a station in Katuttur. "Queue was almost as long at 07.00 as on the previous day. Station did not open until 07.31 because of delay in arrival of 3 UNTAG persons. The UNTAG military person to gu;rd the ballot-box had not arrived by 07.45. After frantic radio consultations, it was decided to Droceed anyway. Some voters brought chairs."

O8.11.89/06 - a station in Katuttur. "At end of day, presiding officer reooted that his ba~ot-boxes were almost full and that the AG office reorted that no more were available. He added thst additional boxes ma y hqve to be flown in from Jo'burg."

O8.11.89/18 - station at Windhoek Airport "Yesterday an SA charter-flight arrived at 15.30. South Africans were very aggressive and demanded priority as the plane was scheduled to leave at 17.00. In fact, the plane did not leave until after the station closed at 21.00. On Nov. 8 no SA-flights and fewer local voters. No queue.
09.11.89/02 - emral report
'The voters seemed calm and confident. Compared with the first two days the queues at 6 of the 7 stations visited were short or nonexistent. Some presiding officers anticipate a heavy rush on Saturday. The exception (surprisingly) was Khomasdal where voting had previously been light. Most polls had closed shortly after 19.00 on Wednesday.'

0 .1.89/06 - a, station in Khomasdal "Lost voters seemed to be well informed of the procedures. Those who were not, had the officials explaining to them. No undue influence noticed. Vote could be exercised in a free and secret manner. Cooperation between UNTAG and supervisors was terrific. Station easily accessible to the voter. Observers well received. All officials helpful to the voter."

lo.Ii.89/02 - general report
The role of SWAPO. in the election process is still a cause for concern both in terms of their activities outside the pollingstation (controlling and streamlining queues) and especially inside (where they should not be). The situation at Brakwater was particularly disturbing as the SWAPO member played an active role in checking documents, liaising with the presiding officer, and interneting. This case was reported to the UNTAG Regional Director who visited Brakwater promptly to investigate."

- 378 =
lo.11.89/68 - station at Windhoek Airport "Tuesday 7th: SA charter- light voters were very aggressive and abusive. 08.40 flight due to depart lo.30 but did not leave till 15.30. 15.30 flight due to depart at 17.00 but did not leave to about 21.00. - Wednesday 8th: SWAPO closed the airwort road. UNTAG intervened at lo.30 and groups of 50 voters were allowed in at 30 minutes intervals. - Friday loth: One flight of 170 arrived which accounts for most of 200 votes so far for today. AG (Louis Pienaar) visited airport (Nov. 9th) and ruled that SWAPO were entitled to control queues of voters outside pollingstation itself, following an incident in which observers tried to interfere with SWPOL. This was interpreted to mean that SWAPO could line voters up on basis of whether or not they needed tendered ballots."

11.11.89 - similar remarks on a number of forms: SAHt iHons were r-rinated last minute rush did not materialize."
11.11.89Z22 - a station in Pioneerspark Onlly-the endor-er-eal on the ballot-box, besid-s the AG's officials and UNTAG."

= 379 =
SPECIAL
IS B US ES
This section of "special issues" contains reports,
of three MR(IS) monitors: a Canadian professor who tackled the issue of reconciliation a German Church executive who monitored trends among German-speaking Nkemibians, and a Dutch-journalist who investigated the attitudes of Afrikaans had to be
farmers after the elections. These reports abridged because, of lack of space.

Mourners next to the coffin of Comrade Anton Lubowski, a White SWapo official who was assassinated during the, transitional period in September, 1989. A great deal of reconciliation will be required from all sides.'

= 380 =

ETIONAL RECONCILIATION: THE RESPONSE OF THE POLITICAL PITIES.

"True Reconciliation and Peace .... is based upon truth, repentance, justice and love" (The Kairos Document, 1985)

One of the most encouraging aspects of the current electoral campaign is the extent to which there is a public commitment to the pursuit of national reconciliation across virtually the full spectrum of political opinion. A widespread consensus exists on the urgent need to redress the grave injustices of the past and to seek to heal the painful wounds of war. At the same time, it is by no means clear if the spokespersons of the different political parties mean the same thing when they call for "reconciliation", or share the same or even compatible strategies to bring it about.

Admittedly, a crucial and hard-fought election campaign scarcely provides the optimum environment for reconciliation to flourish. An election is an inherently adversarial contest in which the whole tendency is to emphasise and even exaggerate differences rather than focus on shared concerns. Nevertheless, there is a sense in which the promotion of national reconciliation may serve the immediate partian interests of the political protagonists. The challenge the parties face is two-fold: To persuade and reassure uncommitted electors, and to retain the loyalty of their traditional supporters. In both instances, parties earn votes through their skill in devising programmes with broad popular appeal and, equally, through their sensitivity to the need to defuse issues that threaten to alienate sympathies. Experience in democracies elsewhere strongly suggests that voters are sore frequently motivated to vote against parties they oppose than for parties they favour. If so, it may be in the opportunistic interest of political parties to pay as much attention to redressing their weaknesses as to emphasising their strengths. In this respect, policies of reconciliation can serve the twin goals of solidifying existing support and broadening its base to embrace the presently undecided voter - provided, of course that the commitment to reconciliation is perceived as genuine.

The Challenge of Reconciliation

This is not to suggest that true reconciliation can be realized readily, or without cost. It is an ideal that is difficult to define and painful to practice. Conflict cannot be transformed into harmony simply by papering over the cracks or pretending important differences do not exist. To begin with, reconciliation involves forgiveness of others but, more crucially, a sincere effort to earn the forgiveness of those that feel wronged. And this is possible only on the basis of an act of repentance on the part of the
wrongdoer. The first step in reconciliation is an acknowledgement of injustice, followed by a demonstrated determination to rectify the situation to the extent that this is possible. Even this effort can generate controversy if consensus on the ends of justice does not extend to the means of securing those ends.

Thus, there may be agreement on the urgent need to redress the glaring economic inequalities in society, yet the remedies recommended may differ radically. Similarly, the key to national unity may be sought in imposed uniformity or in recognition of the desirability of permitting a measure of diversity. The situation may be further complicated if the legitimate interests of individuals conflict with the reasonable concerns of society, for instance, in such matters as language policy and security. Finally, while reconciliation implies a willingness to tolerate differences and respect the integrity of opponents, it stops short of tolerating or condoning injustices, though admittedly the distinction is often a difficult one to make. In summary, although reconciliation is a complex concept and open to varying interpretations, its essential elements are clear: an acknowledgement of injustices committed, repentance in the form of action to right past wrongs, and a willingness to forgive the shortcomings and sins of others. Unfortunately, none of this comes easily either to individuals or to organizations. It is especially problematic in the heat of a political battle.

Namibia is a hurting society; some would suggest a "broken society." The divisions are diverse, disruptive and deep. In the first place, there is the obvious gulf between those Namibians who served the colonial authorities in the security services and those who suffered at their hands within the country and beyond its borders.

Secondly, there is the mutual distrust, if not open disdain that is felt between those who chose to work with the colonial structures, ostensibly with a view to undermining it from within, and those who dismiss them as collaborators in oppression and opted instead for the path of armed confrontation. Then, again, there are those who were essentially innocent victims caught in the crossfire of a cruel war that, as in most conflicts, witnessed gross abuses of the elementary rights of humankind. Their bitterness towards their persecutors is surely understandable.

More fundamental is the chasm that divides the racially privileged from the racially disadvantaged, the economically prosperous minority from the materially deprived majority, and those who feel ethnically insecure from those who dismiss such sentiments as subversive tribalism. Finally, there are the less open but nevertheless real conflicts across political, religious and ideological as well as gender and generation barriers. It all adds up to a situation in which the need for the healing hand of reconciliation is enormous, widespread and urgent.

The Spectrum of Political Opinion
The pattern of parties and alliances in Namibia is currently characterized by considerable fluidity, with shifts and realignments rumoured or real - a prominent feature. Moreover, little stability can be expected prior to the formal party registration period and the close of nominations. Only then will it become apparent which of the numerous aspirants will succumb and which will survive. Even after that, the election itself can be expected to unleash a fresh spate of inter-party negotiations and manoeuvring. Nevertheless, the broad pattern of policy options is already discernible, reflecting a range of ideological orientation, historical experiences and dominant personalities. One of the rare points on which all parties appear to agree is that the South West Africa Peoples Organisation is "the party to beat." SWAPO proclaims itself a revolutionary party, but it is not alone on the left of the political spectrum.

Three others claim to be heirs of the same radical tradition. These are the Namibia National Front (EIF), the Socialist Alliance of Namibia (SAN) comprising the (Trotskyite) Workers revolutionary Party and the Communist Party (of Jacob Norenga), and, the Patriotic Unity Movement (PUN), led by ex-SWAPO detainees. SAN and PUN are essentially dissident movements whose leaders broke with SWAPO in protest against its alleged autocratic structures. The SWAPO Democrats constitute a similar but earlier’splinter group which has since drifted to the right. The party that appears to pose the only serious challenge to a SWAPO sweep is the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA). Between 1985 and 1989, it had assumed the leadership of the so-called Transitional Government of National Unity in coalition with earlier incarnations of the National Patriotic Front (NPF) and the Federal Convention of Namibia (FCN), amongst others. In addition, there are a number of minor parties whose futures must be deemed far from assured. Among them are the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Namibia National Democratic Party (NNDP), and Christian Democratic Action for Social Justice (CDA) as well as arguably the most truly independent of all parties, Hans Iohr's Namibia Christian Democratic Party (NCDP). Finally, there are the white Afrikaner parties which remain effectively branches of their South African parent organisations. Of the two, the National Party (NP) is the more significant. It has chosen to campaign under the umbrella of an organisation of its own creation, the Action Christian National (ACI). Its even more fanatical rival, the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) prefers to boycott the elections outright rather than risk complicity in implementing Resolution 435 which represents "the destruction of everything we have stood for."

PARTY POLICIES ON RECONCILIATION

In its enunciation of a policy of national reconciliation, SHAPO has been the most explicit and consistent of any of the political parties. In early February the party's Central Committee formally resolved to adopt a policy
of national reconciliation in order to enhance the chances of peace in Namibia, and to constitute it 'the corner-stone of current and future SWAPO activities in Namibia.' This was regarded as an imperative necessity in view of the polarization imposed on the Namibian people by the colonial war. Distrust, suspicion and fear are some of the ugly features of the Namibian society today. Communities have been set against each other, tribe against tribe, race against race, wife against husband, son against father, daughter against mother, etc. The SNAPO policy of national reconciliation is aimed, therefore, at healing these wounds of war. Curiously, in view of this, the word 'reconciliation' finds virtually no place in the party's Election manifesto launched at a mass rally at the beginning of July. However, a leaflet entitled "Healing the wounds of war", distributed on this same occasion, amplifies on the concept. 'SWAPO considers the healing of these (deep and painful) wounds (in our society) its top priority. This policy involves, among others, a general pardon for all those Namibians who were misled and misused by the colonial power to prevent the achievement of Namibian independence..... Now that the war is over, SWAPO has committed itself to a new leaf in our history by working to overcome the divisions and conflicts which have characterised the Namibian society. National reconciliation and unity are, Pressar7 pre-conditions for peace, stability, economic recnestrucation an development of our country.' Similar sentiments, sometimes in more qualified form, have found frequent expression at subsequent SWAPO rallies around the country. Now the general principle of reconciliation has been interpreted in specific policy terms is discussed later.

The DTA manifesto commits the Alliance, and presumably its twelve constituent parties, to a policy of "peace...between political, religious, cultural, linguistic and ethnic groups in Namibia," and promises that "the goal of national reconciliation between all the people of Namibia will be realised." At the same time, references to the term "reconciliation" in the campaign speeches of official spokespersons seem less common than more general appeals for peace and justice.

The Namibia National Front embraces five constituent parties, of which SWANU-Progressives provide the core. The NNF Programme and policy pledges it to "strive to create a strong, united nation out of a greatly divided people." The document is replete with such phrases as "domestic tranquility," "unity, communalism and solidarity," and "peace and justice" but, as with SWAPO's manifesto, there is almost no mention of "reconciliation" as such, despite SWANU's persistent, but frustrated efforts to effect & reconciliation with its "natural ally," SWAPO. Sensing this omission, the NXF president issued a lengthy statement on 19 August
outlining the party's perspective in "the important question of Reconciliation". In summary, it states that,
"we cannot even begin to think of reconciliation until and unless the following are addressed: We all acknowledge each other's contributions to the national liberation struggle and the sacrifices made by all of us.... We all renounce any agendas on and against our erstwhile enemies or adversaries. We appreciate that each Namibian is entitled to bring his/her part to the socio-economic development of Namibia regardless of his/her political affiliation, iriikal or racial origin, sexual status, etc.... We all (particularly our white brothers and sisters) accept that independence must offer the dispossessed sections of our society a far better deal than the raw one they got from white Pretoria .... We Black leaders recognise that, given the division and polarisation within our own Black community, Black and Black reconciliation is a prerequisite for Black and White reconciliation, which in turn is the basis for genuine and lasting National Reconciliation."

The other SWANU faction currently provides the backbone of another coalition, the National Patriotic Front. The NPF claims to have been the first party publicly to have advocated national reconciliation. The idea finds pride of place in its motto: "Reconciliation, Democracy, Development" - and its party symbol extends the "open hand of friendship" to all Namibians. In amplification of this commitment, the party's Election Manifesto pledges its use of the spirit of National Reconciliation - which means to forget or put aside past differences and conflicts - to establish a sense of national identity, national pride and national purpose and to have the differences of language, culture, ideology and religion within our society also help us define what binds us together as a people and make us one nation in one indivisible country.4

A number of other political groupings acknowledge the need for national reconciliation either explicitly or by implication. The United Democratic Front, an aspiring alliance struggling to carve a distinctive niche for itself somewhere towards the right end of the political spectrum, has declared itself "desirous of national reconciliation and permanent peace." "Our struggle is not based on any section of the nation, "the leader of the Namibia Labour Party, a UDY affiliate, declared," but on justice." The equally vocal but somewhat elusive Namibia National Democratic Party has called on all political parties to iron out their differences prior to the election to avoid the fatal polarisation that has afflicted Angola and Mozambique. Similarly, SNAPO-DA- argue that independence without peace and reconciliation would be meaningless. The Patriotic Unity Movement, too, sees "unity, democracy and peace" as preconditions for nation building, while the motto of the Namibia Christian Democratic Party points "Through justice to peace."
Only the radical left and the reactionary right appear to question the merits of reconciliation. Thus, "before we can talk of reconciliation," the leader of the minuscule Communist Party has declared, "we need to know about the crimes of the German era, the crimes during apartheid colonialism, about life in exile, and only then can we talk about reconciliation." Subsequently, with the emergence of the Socialist Alliance, it was contended that, faced with the reality of racial privilege and capitalist exploitation, unity could only be "conditional."

At the other extreme, the National Party and the HINP are vociferously and unashamedly committed to the defence of the traditional privileges of the white "population group." In a frenzied appeal to "its minority constituency, Action Christian National has exclaimed: 'It's your country, it's your future, it's your identity, it's your language, culture and religion that's at stake.' There is little echo evident here of a readiness to reach out to other "population groups" in a spirit of reconciliation.

With these few and perhaps unimportant exceptions, the urgent need for national reconciliation finds wide acceptance among party spokespersons of varied political persuasions. Yet, political promises come cheaply, especially under the competitive conditions of a fiercely contested election campaign. Now far can party advocacy of national reconciliation be considered more than mere campaign rhetoric In attempting such an assessment, there is a problem of deciding what evidence is relevant and reliable. Party manifestoes and platform speeches are obvious and indispensable sources, though not in themselves adequate bases for confident judgements. The tendency to portray party policies in an overly-favourable light is typically too great to resist. Nor can the partisan press be relied upon for authoritative insW. Equally, the opinions of opponents, so freely given, while sometimes instructive, are rightly suspected of being less than disinterested. Interviews and press conferences can be revealing, but may not always be available. Moreover, however sincere politicians may be in their declared intentions, their behaviour in office, when confronted with the realities and temptations of power, may depart considerably from their previous professions - if experience of democracies elsewhere

is any guide. In any case, it would be unusual for members of a political party to be of one mind on every issue. No party is monolithic, and Namibian parties are no exception. Characteristically, the broader the base of a party's appeal, the greater the likelihood of a diversity of opinions within it. Nevertheless, despite the inherent difficulties, the effort will be made to analyse what the parties are saying and doing concerning national reconciliation when confronted withalcific issues dividing Namibian society. For this purpose four broad issue-areas have been selected for exploration:
1. colonialism and apartheid
2. the independence process
3. political participation and human rights
4. social justice.

This is not to suggest that other aspects of Namibia's troubled body politic are irrelevant. Rather, these four have been chosen for the illumination they might provide of the extent to which party policies and practices are calculated to contribute to a climate of opinion conducive to genuine national reconciliation.

C-OLONIALISM and APARTHEID

The two issues of colonialism and apartheid are intimately interrelated but analytically distinct. The former denotes the fact of foreign rule, the latter the specific form it has taken. Both have generated bitter divisions in the past, and both threaten to leave a legacy of suspicion and hostility to darken the future. Certainly, there has been no universal repudiation of past practices, let alone genuine expressions of remorse for sins committed and suffering inflicted. On the contrary, ACM proclaims loudly that "we are proud of our past," now pervasive such sentiments are is difficult to establish, but the suspicion is bound to persist that the instinct to dominate and discriminate remains as strong as ever among a significant section of the white community.

Of the parties associated with previous South African colonial regimes, the DTA has been almost alone in conceding any element of white guilt for the oppression blacks suffered in the past. In an attempt to reach out to the black majority, it has been calling for a new spirit of national unity. "If the black man is ready to forgive the whites their bad treatment in the past," Dirk Nudge has pleaded, "then the whites must also be ready to forget the past." Admirable as such admissions are, they fall considerably short of a fulsome act of repentance. Moreover, DTA leaders are less than apologetic about their past collaboration with the South African authorities in perpetuating colonial rule and oppression. Rather, they are quick to claim credit for initiating a process of dismantling apartheid, in particular the abolition of the "hated pass laws" and contract labour system, and for successfully negotiating the release of scores of SNAPO detainees, among them Toivo Ya Toivo. Yet, despite determined efforts, to distance itself from South Africa, DTA continues to suffer from an image problem. For many, it is still perceived as a puppet of Pretoria. The same holds true of other parties and politicians who were similarly compromised. Much more forceful action is required if they are ever to convince a skeptical public that they have turned their backs on the past firmly and finally.

In addition, there is the Communist Party's curious and contradictory call for ethnic autonomy, at least in the north, within a single centralised state. Whatever the ultimate decision, this explosive issue appears destined to stir powerful emotions and latent aniosities-unless handled with the greatest sensitivity.
In summary, the imperatives of national reconciliation would seem to require that the parties on the right appear more genuinely contrite in acknowledging the scars left by the years of colonialism and apartheid, and that the parties of the left be less dismissive of the motives of those who seek unity through diversity.

National reconciliation at a minimum implies a broad consensus on the goals of society, most immediately in the Namibian case the ending of colonial rule and the eradication of apartheid. It also presupposes a substantial measure of agreement on the modalities of achieving the purposes held in common. In the present context, the rules of the game are inscribed in ON Security Council Resolution 435 of 1973 and associated documents, which collectively comprise the UN peace package. Three issues arising out of this unique Initiative merit attention; the extent to which the political parties are prepared to abide by the provisions of Resolution 435, their willingness to respect the verdict of the people in a free and fair election, and the reception accorded the returnees. Resolution 435 was the product of a prolonged process of negotiations during which South Africa held the trump card in the form of an army of occupation in the country. Inevitably, the price Pretoria was able to extract for its agreement to a military withdrawal was high. In the circumstances, SWAPO was compelled to acquiesce in a series of painful compromises, often under pressure from friendly neighbouring states. Nevertheless, it eventually concluded that, on balance, half a loaf was preferable to no loaf at all. The proof of the pudding would be in the eating. If the formula, with all its imperfections and ambiguities worked, it would be judged worthwhile. On the whole, SWAPO has reconciled itself to working within the strictures of Resolution 435, and has contented itself with insisting that other parties live up to the letter and spirit of its terms. This has not, however, constrained SWAPO completely from voicing its continued dissatisfaction with the Resolution, and even indulging in occasional wishful thinking in calling for its renegotiation.

Nor have party spokespersons been sparing in their criticisms of the person of the ON Special Representative. Indeed, during the early weeks of the operation, there were repeated demands for his dismissal. More recently, the accusation has been that he has failed to fulfil his mandate to "control," and not merely "supervise*, the independence process. His pleas of impartiality have evoked little response, particularly as the South African Administrator-General, who is under an equal obligation, has signal failed to disguise his political preferences. Despite some easing of the relationship, a legacy of distrust remains which has prevented complete frankness in SWAPO's dealings with OITAG.

Respect for the role of the electorate as the ultimate arbiter of the fate of parties and politicians is closely related to the extent to which the political actors are
prepared to tolerate rival parties and opinions. Controversy concerning the latter issue has involved two questions: Whether certain categories of parties can be considered clearly illegitimate, and whether there should be a specific constitutional provision precluding institution of a one-party state. The first aspect was given public prominence in Kay when the ACI urged that SWAPO should be ruled ineligible to participate in the election on the grounds that it had allegedly violated the ceasefire arrangements under Resolution 435. Fortunately the idea found no favour among any other party, apart from the FCN, and quickly died a natural death. SWIPO, too, has argued that certain parties, specifically ethnically-based parties and surrogates of South Africa, have no place in a democratic society. It also contends that individuals who "consciously collaborated with the colonial administration in suppression of the Namibian people" should be disqualified from membership of the national assembly. Tribalism, it is argued, is a crippling disease and colonialism a crime to be eradicated rather than permitted the freedom to subvert the system. Yet, since SWAPO has castigated virtually every other party as either tribalist or a colonial puppet, its opponents have perceived these exclusions as a prescription for a one-party state, and thus a political sentence of death. They also insist that the constitutional principles agreed to in 1982 which guarantee freedom of association for political parties are binding on the Constituent Assembly and non-negotiable. SWAPO’s attitude is less clear. It neither advocates a one-party state nor opposes a multi-party system. Instead, it believes the decision rightfully should be left to the people acting through a sovereign Constituent Assembly. Nevertheless, regardless of the outcome of the election, the party has undertaken to "rule with consensus". SWAPO’s attitude is understandable in light of the long period it enjoyed the blessing of the international community as the "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people". However, with the implementation of Resolution 435, the rules of the game have changed. In view of the unease that the present ambiguity in attitude has occasioned, it would be helpful if SWAPO sought to clarify its position. The current uncertainty inhibits the spirit of national reconciliation. This is not to deprecate in any way SWAPO’s sustained efforts to broaden the base of its popular support and to embrace all sections of the population. Its attempts to reach out to the generally suspicious white voters and assure them of a respected place in an independent Namibia (once they have been "emancipated" from the "narrow dehumanising confines of class and race privileges") are particularly noteworthy. In the Namibian context, it is vital that all parties should persist in their search for ways to bridge ethnic and racial barriers.

Another range of actors in the political arena that have come under increasingly critical party scrutiny are the media. The issue in debate is
how to correct or compensate for the obvious bias of such of the media, especially SWABC, without encroaching on their legitimate rights. For most of the parties, the traditional principle of freedom of the press is sacrosanct and virtually unqualified. SWAPO, on the other hand, argues that the solution to the dilemma lies in the democratisation of control through the state. While reaffirming that "freedom of expression is a basic human right", it proposes establishing its own "state-owned media" to "serve as a vehicle to promote national unity, reconciliation, reconstruction, development and international solidarity, "rather than promote the interests of the colonial power as in the past. A SWAPO government would also appoint a Mass Media Council to arbitrate "complaints and conflicts between the mass media and the general public." Thus, although the media would continue to perform an explicitly political role, it would to so, it is claimed, in a constructive manner.

The Namibian people, having fought for their freedom, and having won the right to determine their own destiny, are unlikely to countenance too readily any curtailment of their basic rights. The political parties appear to recognize the strength of popular sentiment in this respect, and are competing among themselves in the fervour of their protestations of devotion to a constitutionally inserted bill of rights. Nevertheless, differences in emphasis have emerged with respect to the scope of its coverage, the drafting procedure, and the provisions for enforcement. Most parties are committed to entrenching the constitutional principles to which South Africa and SAPO subscribed in 1982. However, even these guarantees are not enough to appease the white parties, which remain quite unrepentant in pressing for the perpetuation of a right of political self-determination of tribal groups.

XSWAPO, too, has developed its own distinctive perspective on the question. It advocates a 'genuine bill of fundamental rights' which is "radically different from all the bogus ones, previously produced by the appointees of the colonial power in the country." Although it has incorporated the 1982 principles into its Election Manifesto almost verbatim (except for the deletion of the specific reference to the right of association of political parties), it considers it the prerogative of the constituent Assembly to formulate its own version in accordance with the "interests and will of the people."

All the arguments of party exponents of human rights carry complete conviction. Few parties can boast of records totally without blemish. Currently, those who participated in the interim and transitional governments are making a major effort to interpret their involvement in themost persuasive light. While claiming full credit for the alleged positive accomplishments of the period, they deny any responsibility for the inequities and injustices that were inflicted on the people. Indeed, they are reluctant to acknowledge any negative impact. Thus, the DTA "stands proud on its achievements" in effecting I drastic changes in the old system, often in 'direct confrontation with the colonial government of South Africa."
reform initiatives were unsuccessful, as in the attempt to "limit the powers of ethnic authorities", it was "thwarted" by Louis Pienaar, then as now Administrator-General, who 'stubbornly refused to accept a dispensation which did not provide for explicit guarantees of minorities'. Whether the attempt to rewrite history will succeed with the electorate is still unclear.

It may take more than full-page newspaper advertisements to erase the reputations of politicians tainted by the old regime, however. Mwivem. their recent conversions. While the party acknowledges the need for a fresh image, it faces the challenge of convincing the people that it fully comprehends the magnitude of the colonial administration's sins of commission and omission, and that it is prepared to shoulder its share of responsibility for them. SNAPO, too, suffers from some inconvenient skeletons in the closet. The detainees issue in particular, threatens to become a major focus in the campaign and, from a party perspective, a potentially damaging one. Fortunately, some of the leaders (but, by no means, all) recognize the need to defuse the issue and to demonstrate convincingly the party's good faith. The most open in his approach has been Theo-Ben Gurirab. Acknowledging that it was 'a painful subject affecting virtually every family in Namibia,' which 'would not go away' by being ignored, he declared on 7 July: 'I, for one, am ready to stand up and answer for SWAPO. Only by talking frankly can we try to understand. Now, at last, such a dialogue is possible. We have come home and they have come home. At the end of the day, we will have to sit around the fire and take inventories: who is alive, who is dead, how did it all happen? As a SWAPO leader, I will never defend the humiliation and suffering of torture. If the allegations are true, I apologize to the victims and to their parents, and pledge to you now that the SWAPO leadership will take the necessary steps to bring those involved to book.' In a somewhat less conciliatory statement entitled 'lies win no elections' issued simultaneously, SWAPO's election headquarters attempted to set the controversy within the larger context of a bitter liberation struggle in which the South African authorities detained and tortured a much larger number of Namibian patriots.

leaffirming that it neither approved nor condoned any method of torture, it explained that, 'if any such method was used, it was a case of excess dictated by the extreme conditions of a brutal war.' moreover, it had been 'consistent SNAPO policy to spare the lives of the South African spite that it bad neutralised and isolated and to release them once the war was over.' At the same time, the statement maintained that the detainees had all been enemy agents who had betrayed their compatriots and caused the deaths of thousands of them. Lot surprisingly, they were now, once again, participating in a 'South African-inspired campaign to prevent SWAPO from coming to power'. It also dismissed accusation that a thousand persons remained in detention as a 'malicious fabrication'; all had been released as promised.
Whatever the truth regarding the alleged guilt, torture, deaths and disappearance of the detainees, SAPO's assurances and denials are apparently less than fully credible to a significant number of the electorate, among them SWAPO sympathisers and supporters. Despite the obvious politicisation of the issue and the element of exaggeration in some of the allegations, it would seem to be in the clear interest of the party to check any further diversion of public attention from its own election programme. This may require it to be more forthcoming in the provision of information, to cooperate more closely and frankly with the International Committee of the Red Cross in clearing up the mysteries surrounding the missing detainees, and to propose some specific mechanism, possibly an independent international commission of inquiry, to report on the fate of all Namibian detainees, including but not confined to, those in SMAPO camps. Difficult but dramatic initiatives such as these may be the only way to enable SIAPO to contain the "fuss" and get back to the business of elections full-time. They would also add credence and power to the appeal of the party for national reconciliation.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

The present Namibian society is demonstrably inequitable and unjust with respect to incomes, health, education, housing and other material benefits. Clearly, as one SWAPO spokesperson has appreciated, there can be no true reconciliation in the midst of such glaring social disparities, primarily between black and white but also between rural peasants and urban dwellers. This situation has also been diagnosed (by the UDF chairman) as a condition in which too many people have too little and the few have too much. Among the political parties, there is widespread recognition, at least rhetorically, of the urgent need for fundamental social change, but less agreement on what precise changes are desired and how to institute and finance them. Two broad strategies have been advanced. The first stresses economic growth as a necessary precondition if adequate increased resources are to be made available for allocation to the deprived sectors of the community, while the second concentrates on the redistribution of existing wealth and production. Although no party suggests it would pursue either strategy to the total exclusion of the other, a distinct difference in emphasis is evident, with the explicitly free enterprise parties favouring the first approach and the more socialism-inclined the second.

For SUAPO, "egalitarianism forms the basis of its vision of a just social order." Accordingly, it has committed itself, if elected, to a programme of 'fundamental social, industrial and economic change,' though its specific proposals appear less revolutionary than this promise might suggest. Land is to be redistributed to the landless, opportunities for productive employment expanded, a comprehensive health service established throughout the country,
and education made available to all. At the same time, the importance of the private business sector and especially the mining multinationals as a source of state revenues is expressly recognized. "Ne shall not bite the hand that feeds us," one party official commented.

On paper, the "socio-economic policy" of the DTA differs from SUAPO's mainly in its emphasis on "gradualism" and on "maximum participation by private enterprise." Its declared goal is to enable every Namibian to "live free from poverty," to enjoy their "right to education," and "adequate" health facilities and housing, and to ensure "balanced regional development." It also expressly rejects "uncontrolled economic liberalism" in favour of a "mixed economy." The broad similarities in the purposes and policies of the two parties are encouraging, though it has not deterred them from indulging in much mutual criticism. Thus, the DTA accuses its rival of "startling ignorance of economic and social reality," and SUAPO is equally uncharitable in return. So, it is doubtful if the policy differences are as great as commonly assumed. The real danger is

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Figures

How many Whites are there in the country? According to the administration, the number of Whites is about 80,000, that's about between 6.5 and 5.5 percent of the total population. According to the Secretary of the Department of Civic Affairs and Manpower, Mr. I. van der Merwe, more than 30 percent of the Whites have left since 1981 when 120,000 "hited were living in SWA/Namibia. Mr. van der Merwe thinks that the number of Whites now is less than 80,000 (But more than 70,000). The majority left around 1980. Last year some people left, but not many. Among them were 4 to 5,000 South African secondants.

b. Summary: "As long as they let us keep our standard of living," Whites are prepared to cooperate with the new government.

Some Whites believe very soon PLAN will start a war against the "non-Ovambo's" in Namibia. So they sold as much of their property as possible and invested their money in South Africa. A small minority of the Whites, the members of Aksie contra 435', are ready to leave the country any minute. They even have a secret escape route and are collecting money to help the future victims of war in the 'South West'. But the majority of the Whites who are still in this country (35 percent left during the last ten years) want to stay in this country and are willing to cooperate with the new government. Uncertainty and some fear is still there, mainly amongst the civil servants in high positions. The farmers mostly cannot sell their property and buy a farm of the same quality and price in another country, so most of them have to stay.

Out of fear that the government will prohibit the transfer of money to countries outside of Namibia after independence farmers deposited as much money as they could in the banks of South Africa. This is not because they want to but they want to use the money for medical health care and education in South Africa because the farmers consider these facilities in the Republic as better than
those in SWA/Namibia. The move of the white churches to privatise a number of white schools with state money is apart from the majority of the political

that no party, confronted with the formidable constraints on its scope for manoeuvre, will be in a position adequately to remedy the country's inherited disparities and deficiencies. Yet, whatever progress is registered in other areas of national endeavour, without fundamental social and economic transformation, national reconciliation will remain largely a noble aspiration.

II CONCILIATION: CONCLUSIONS

The present analysis represents a preliminary assessment of the extent to which Namibian political parties evidence a consciousness of the importance of national reconciliation to the future of the country and, in their behaviour, contribute positively to the promotion of conditions conducive to the development of such a spirit. What, then, can be tentatively concluded concerning the prospects of reconciliation?

1. Expressions of support for national reconciliation on the part of parties and politicians are frequent and fervent and, as far as can be judged, reflect genuine concerns. Competition among them in protesting the sincerity of their commitment is intense. The need now is to act on these admirable sentiments.

2. Despite some disturbing tendencies, there has been discernible progress in rendering the political climate of opinion in the country generally more favourable to reconciliation. As the campaign has proceeded, a substantial convergence, if not yet consensus, has occurred in the policy pronouncements of the various parties across a range of issues - at least at the rhetorical level. Thus, SNAPO has toned down its radical ideology markedly, and the DTA now claims to be as committed as anyone to the eradication of all traces of apartheid beginning with AG.8, to the institution of a truly just and caring society, and to the early recovery of Walvis Bay. Although this process has proceeded further than the parties themselves would be prepared to admit, considerable skepticism remains concerning the genuineness of their conversions.

3. The level of understanding among political parties of what constitutes true reconciliation remains generally low. Reconciliation is typically conceived of as a willingness to forgive the past misdeeds of opponents and to welcome them into party ranks, provided they admit to the error of their ways and pledge their loyal support. There is nothing in this that is objectionable in itself. All the parties are in the business of winning converts. However, it should not be confused with reconciliation, which requires in addition a fundamental change in one's own attitudes and actions. Too often repentance is something expected only of others. Admittedly, reconciliation requires courage and, as Dan Tjongarero once confessed, "No politician can concede that he is wrong." Nevertheless, for parties determined
to broaden their popular appeal, reconciliation may represent a rational election strategy with a distinct political pay-off.

4. It might reasonably be argued that the present period of institutionalised party conflict is scarcely the most auspicious to urge reconciliation. Once the election is over, prospects would improve. "Let us cross the river first," One SWAPO official has contended, "and then ask questions later." Yet, apart from the likelihood that the post-election period will be no less tumultuous than the current campaign, the need for reconciliation is now.

5. Crucial as the contribution of the political parties to the reconciliation process is, other institutions and interest groups also have opportunities and obligations to play their part. Foremost among them are the media, whose record and role are in need of urgent review and, perhaps even more critically, the churches.

6. The responsibility of the churches to offer effective leadership in the promotion of national reconciliation is surely beyond dispute. If the churches, for whom reconciliation is a central article of faith, fail to exercise fearless and forceful leadership, political parties could hardly be expected to do so. This presents the churches with an awesome responsibility which they dare not shirk.

FOOTNOTE:
10 parties were accepted to contest the November elections:
UDF United Democratic Front.
The National Christian Democratic Party applied for registration but failed to come up with the required 2,00 signatures in support of their application.

CIMS REPORT ON THE WHITE (AFRIKAANS AND ENGLISH) SPEAKING COMMUNITY IN WINDHOEK 19-01-1990
Asking for the opinions of the Whites - the "Pinks" would be a more correct colour description of the people who are called (according to the South Africans) the Whites - asking such a question, in my country, would be regarded as racist. Whites, Blacks, Yellows and Reds do not have special thoughts different from people of other colours.
Blacks in general do not differ from Whites in general. It is even more likely that individual Whites differ as much from one another, as the individual 'whites' differ from individual blacks.
Asking questions like what do 'Whites' or 'Blacks' think are very dangerous and could emphasis again the differences between the 'races' instead of the many things they have in common. It would even work against the policy of CCN, SWAPO and the other political parties to reconcile and build up one Namibian
nation where people of all colours and backgrounds live together in peace. However in a country where apartheid has dominated the lives of every individual so intensely, and whites have lived so separately from all the other people, it could be useful to know what the 'Whites' are up to now that the country is on its way to Independence and a new multiracial government is ready to take over the reins. Are they going to cooperate?, are they going to frustrate the new government? or are they going to leave the country if the government is disappointing their expectations? The answers could be worth to considering to see if 'The white factor' as part of the former South African apartheid system is still a factor which could destabilize the country. The answers 'il be totally irrelevant if they are used to make again & distinction between people with different skin coa-kurs.

The previous remarks are just a warning to handle this issue very, very carefully to prevent coming to racist conclusions. Let us hope this report will be the last time that a question 'of colour' has to be answered.

Aksie Contra 435 - say that they feel very positive about the future. A number of them is even openly stating that they are glad to get rid of the South African mloniser. All of the people interviewed by CIMS'are willing to cooperate with the future government as they said and that may be the positive conclusion of this report.

Recommendations to CIMS
1. The Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging let their members keep their arms and organisation as a civil defence force. Although it is only - according to the spokesman Mr. Van As - to keep them busy to prevent them from organising an underground movement to undermine the new government, the AWB still can be a threat for the peace in this country. Both the AWB and the group Aksie Contra 435 need close monitoring to see how these groups develop.
2. The new Commissioner of Police does not see any reason to change the policy of the SWA police. Although there are many complaints about the police such as an increasing number of thefts and robbery, especially in the north. The Commissioner finds it quite reasonable to recruit and train a high number of new policemen and women without consulting the new government. The police does not seem to be ready to cooperate smoothly with the new government. They should be condemned for that.
3. Some departments of the present government are making plans and alternatives to offer the new government. Others don't. It could be useful to know which departments are refusing or less preparing for the independence.
4. Most whites expect destabilisation in the economical sector. More information about privatisation and transfer of capital to other countries is needed.
5. The role of whites in Swakopmund, Windhoek and the north does not give reasons to be concerned. The role of Whites in the south is still unknown and could be investigated.
parties also condemned by a large number of whites. The chairman from the Government Service Staff Association (SSA) for instance was furious about it "because it would have repercussions for other non-racist Whites as well”

Very important for the Whites to feel safe under a black SWAPO government were the speech of Sam Nujoma on the annual congress of the farmers union SWALU (he assured the farmers that SWAFO in general would not confiscate their farms after independence) and that the civil servants are assured of the fact that no future government can take their pension funds away.

Amazing is the fast and enormous change of attitudes of the Whites towards the Blacks. The majority is astonished of the serious and peaceful talks in the Constituent Assembly. Even Mr. Van As of the right wing Afrikaner Weerstands Beweging (AWB), who considers former president P.W. Botha as a weak man and a traitor of the interests of the Whites, had to admit that the discussions in the Assembly are of such a high quality. -Some people said openly that quite a number of SWAPO politicians were better educated than members of the former government.

Except for members of Aksie Contra 435 nobody believes that SWAPO shall try to expel whites after they have come to power. The main concerns of the whites are the loss of their Identity (language, religion and their own school system) and that it is not possible to keep their present living standard.

The members of the Namibian Peace Plan seemed to present a new generation of whites. On the question of what he as a white thought about a certain issue director Gorelick said he did not consider himself as a white but as a Namibian.

It is interesting to note that a number of whites (from the Government Service Staff Association (GSSA) f.i.) want to distinguish themselves from the whites who want to maintain the apartheid system. Some of them were furious about the move of the three Reformed churches to privatise 15 schools with state money.

Said chairman Mr. Buesl: "They discredit all the whites by such a move".

Destabilisation is most expected in the economical sector with the farmers as an example by withdrawing their money from Namibian banks and investing it in South Africa.

The majority of the whites - with the exception of the AWB and I Action against Resolution 435

a 400 = 1. ANTI 435: THE AFRIKANER WEERSTAND BEWEGING (AWB) AND AKSIE CONTRA 435 (Afrikaners' Resistance Movement and Action against Resolution 435)
Aksie conara 435. (Spoke to Mr. and Mrs Foerster; and Mr. and Mrs. Haase)

Although the members of 'Aksie contra 435' (AC 435) since elections are over are convinced that nothing can stop the implementation of UNSCR 435 does the group still exist. Their activities are according to them only of a defensive kind. They don't try to stop the implementation of 435 anymore, but are collecting money "to help Whites to escape out of the country when the Ovambo's start to kill each and everyone". Secondly they are prepared to leave the country anytime if necessary. The group can be described as being part of the ultra"Rights". They are a small group, at most a couple of hundred people, and they are not willing to cooperate with other right wing groups who are even the slightestmote moderate. The group mentioned to have had a lot of conflicts with other right wing groups. The members feel most close to the Herstigte Nasionale Party. They received assistance from the AWB but don't trust the AWB anymore after a quarrel they had with the leader of the AWB Mr. van As.

The National Party, P.W. and Pik Botha, SWAPOL, and even the AWB are "Weaklings" who sold the principles of apartheid to the international community who is dominated by communists and Jews. It is the world, not SWPO or the people of Namibia, that forced South Africa to give up the apartheid system. The Whites as well as the black South Africans and "South Westers (as they keep on calling the Namibians) were perfectly satisfied with the segregation system. Whites do not want to mix, and the "kaffers" prefer to live with their own tribal members as well.

Who are these people?
The majority of the members of AC 435 seems to be German speaking. The Foersters and the Haases are hard working people belonging to the lowermiddle class. (The Foersters have a small garage in Windhoek) They still believe in the old Nazi principles: Whites (ariers) are better people than others. Blacks are stupid lazy and violent by nature. They deny that German started actually the Second World War that the Nazi's are guilty of the killing of six million Jews. Jews are trying to get more and more power

- 403 -

- 403 = this world. The Jews and communists are working together to get Africa in their grip. Thi AC 435 members strongly believe that they themselves and their ancestors brought civilisation to Africa. So they have the right, as Whites, to rule over the Blacks. The progress of the implementation of resolution 435 will cause the end of the civilisation in South West Africa. AC 435 is the only group left in 'SudWest' who really knows what is going to happen in Namibia after independence.
The members of AC 435 talked in a very aggressive way and showed feeling hatred against everybody or every organisation who have different views from them. The language they use is very rude and contemptuous. Nearly every other sentence they utter is racist.

Is AC 435 dangerous?

The group is aware of the fact that they as a small minority cannot start a war against SWAPO and DTA (who they also regard as left wing) because of the international community who support the implementation of 435. They did not want to say which country has their preference to live when they have to flee the country. ("Germany does not want to support us") After asking them if there is still any safe place for them left in the world (They think the only safe place at the moment is South Africa but they realize that the same process is taking place in that country as in Namibia), they smiled mysteriously and only repeated several times the words: "We are prepared for what is coming".

They seem to understand that they have not much support in Namibia, not even in South Africa. The United States is exporting Communism to Africa, Thatcher is supporting Namibia's independence as well, it seems AC 435 has no 'friends' left in this world. The only thing they still can do is defend themselves. The members of AC 435 deny that they are afraid of the future. That is part of their philosophy: a real White is never scared. Because of their ideas of superiority over other races and having not many political friends left and because of the fact that they lose more and more the sense of reality the members of Aksie Contri 463 are a potential group of terrorists. Mrs. Haase suggested that a time to start the fight against the SWAPO-terrorists' would be "as the Blacks start to kill each other after independence.", because "That would be a good time for us to take over power again"

The Afrikaner Weerstands BeweRinR (AWB)

The AWB has announced that they will stop their activities in Namibia. After concluding that the majority of the Namibian people want the implementation of the 435 resolution the AWB decided that it is useless to try to stop the independence process. The new aim of the Namibian members of the AWB is to transfer their activities to South Africa and try to prevent the abolishment of the apartheid system there. This is what Mr. van As, for years a member of the 'Stadsraao of Windhoek and an outspoken man who continously seeks publicity told both The Namibian and CIMS. But what, Mr. van As told me as well is that the AWB will not abolish their local groups of civilian soldiers. According to Mr. van As it is not possible (!) to desolve the armed local groups because they will start to fight against the new government, so the AWB keep these groups to prevent them from becoming violent. Mr. van As thinks it would be very unwise for his people to start fighting now in Namibia.
Both, the AWB and AC 435 have violent members who easily use weapons, have regularly parades and shooting exercises. They both need close monitoring to see how these groups develop.

1) City Council

2. PRO 435; Namibia Peace Plan (NPP)
(The NPP has been very successful as a pressure group of a small number of whites that supported openly the implementation of UN resolution 435. The group, consisting highly educated members, produced information material, organised debates on various issues and discussed many controversial subjects with the political party. The members of NPP are not related to a particular political party and lay emphasis on human rights issue and democratic principles. Between the first of April 1999 until elections the NPP was concerned with monitoring of the elections as their main task. After elections education on democratic principle the economy of the country and so on will be the most important activities of the group

Interview with Mr. N. Gorelick.

The NPP is mainly 'white' because as part of strategy to be as effective as possible the founders of the group only asked influential people to join the NPP. Now after elections a broader membership has become possible after revising the constitution of the NPP. The NPP is not working for the Whites but for the country as a whole. They have for instance successfully promoted the 1982 principles being part of the constitution.

The members of the NPP can be considered as a new generation of Whites, a frontline of people who don't think any longer along ethnic lines. Mr. Gorelick said when asked what he as a white thought about a certain issue that he does not consider himself as a White but as a Namibian.

About Whites. Gorelick divides the Whites in two groups: The ones who want to have an internationally recognized Namibia, and the group who wanted 'South West Africa' to become a fifth province of South Africa. For the first group an independent Namibia means a lot of advantages, more business possibilities, a better development of the country, access to foreign funds, and more possibilities to travel. But for the second group an independent country means a loss of their privileges. Namibia was for them the last colony in Africa where they can be a privileged group. Quite a number of them lived in other colonised countries before and moved after these countries

About NPP,

= 405 =
became independent. (Zimbabwe, Angola) Among such people there is a great fear about what is going to happen. Some have left already for South Africa, most of them left in the early eighties. Others feel they have no place to go anymore because South Africa is moving towards the abolishment of apartheid as well. On the other hand there is quite a number of the seconded civil servants who wanted to stay in Namibia. The main reason for that is that they are deeply in love with this country.

1 April events
The events in the first days of April last year were a nightmare for most of the Whites. For the majority it confirmed what they already thought about SWAPO (You cannot trust them). Later on UNTAG has played a big role in breaking down the stereotypes of black and white. All of a sudden, the Whites in this country had to deal with intelligent, well educated and respected Blacks. People were reluctant and hostile in the beginning to accept the change and maybe they are still not happy with UNTAG but they accepted their presence.

Resistance
Gorelick thinks that the white Afrikaners will cause the biggest problem in the future. They still believe strongly in the white supremacy and they propagate apartheid. Gorelick even considers the younger ones as more dangerous, because they have never fought for their privileges as their parents did. The older Afrikaners have often worked very hard and strong bonds with Namibia have grown, while the young ones take their privileges for granted. A good informed source told Gorelick that a backlash from the Whites is not to be expected. What the Whites are trying now is to keep their community/ies as strong as possible in terms of religion, and language.

3. Business people: "It could have been worse"
We could read it several times in the international business magazines. The past few month businessmen showed their interest in investment in an independent Namibia. According to Mr. Gous, the Secretary for Economic Affairs, he received sometimes five businessmen a day who

wanted to have an explanation about the economic prospects of Namibia. At the moment nobody is spending his money now in Namibia. They are waiting for the new government's policy. And how about the business people inside Namibia? The several businesspeople are rather positive about the future and ready to cooperate.

Asking Mr. Stier (auditor: Price Waterhouse and co) private economic advisor and (partly absent) farmer, it became clear that it had mostly to do with the general situation in the country. The Constituent Assembly is behaving sensibly: and there is peace in the country, except for some incidents in the north. About the present economic situation, Mr Stier stated: "It could have been worse," and many businesspeople think like that. About the future: Mr. Stier tries to establish contacts, as other business people told me as well, with SWAPO. He was proud on the fact that SWAPO already had asked for financial advice. He is still worried about the quality of SWAPO's economic advisors. "I am afraid they have
no good economist in the party". Mr. Mandy, (owner of a small wholesale business), thinks Koevoet is stilla threat to the peace in the country. He himself, shortly after elections was beaten up by 6 or 7 former Koevoets (Whites) in Oshakati. It gave him a shock, he did not knew that Koevoets were mistreating innocent citizens. The incident had also a possitive effect on Mandy's business: several black business men 'in' Oshakati area doubled their orders after they heard about the incident.

According to several visitors of the German Club in Windioek business people in the Club are very positive about the future. Both, Mr. Mandy and Mr. Stier definitely want to stay in Namibia. Mandy comes from South Africa, has lived for more then ten years in 'South West' and never thought about leaving. So does Stier, but, he emphasized "They (the new government) should let us keep our living standard".

4. FARMERS

Probably the most medieval institution in the country is that governing labour relations between (white) farmers and farmworkeri Extremely low wages, bad treatment and a patriarchal attitude of the farmers make farmworkers not much less than a slave. No wonder that the farmers feared a black government into power. But shortly after- elections the feelings and the attitude of the farmers changed and they are now optimistic for the future. This was due to the speech of the future president Sam Nujoma at the annual congress of the farmers union SWALU on the 28th of November. It was also due to somewhat more prolressive farmers and the union president Mr. A.Mauton who believed that their property is no longer in jeopardy. The following are accounts of interviews with Mr. Mouton (rumoured to be the new minister of agriculture) and several farmers

I. Interview with the president of the South West African Agriculture Union (SWALU) Mr. A.Mouton.

On the first day of the 43rd Annual Congress of the SWALU held on the 28th of November Mr. Mouton expressed a very positive opinion on the future of the farmers in this country. In general Mr. Mouton believes that an independent Namibia has a lot of advap tages for the farmers such as a bigger market, more poesibilliti*e for foreign development aid and the possibillity of being a member of international organisations ( e.g. SADCC or does suoscribe for the Lom6 Convention.

On the second day of the congress CIMS had an interview with Mr. Mouton, again.

How many farmers left the eountry and wat were there reasons for that?
"You can count them on two hands. The people who left did so for emotional reasons, not for rational reasons. They left because of the politiaul uncertainty of the moment. They could not adjust to the new political situation; therefore they had to move to another couhtry or place with political guarantees. I don't know of such a country. In fact the farmers changed the one uncertainty for another.
But further, he said, it is a rather silly question to ask why people want to leave because the majority of the farmers were born in this country, are citizens of this country and want to stay.

-Did farmers make provisions so that they still can leave the country in a short time?

"It is true that a lot of (agricultural) money left the country last year. There were three reasons for that. The first is that under a threat of land being confiscated due to land reform, it would be utterly stupid to make large investments, instead people sent their capital out of the country," he said. "A second reason for these actions were education of the children. Education is very expensive in private schools, so one needs to invest in that and of course farmers don't invest in local facilities otherwise how will one pay for it if one cannot take money out of the country anymore," he said. "And on the third place farmers sent money out of the country for medical facilities. The facilities in South Africa are of a much higher standard and farmers want to make use of that in the future as well".

- The majority of the farmers were hoping and even believing that DTA would win the elections. DTA did not get a majority of the votes, how come it did not make people desperate? He answered: "In any country if you become the opposition it is not a reason to leave the country, but that does not mean that you don't work on a position to become a government. Most farmers hoped for a DTA-government, but being a opposition is for farmers just being the opposition of a country."

- When you were addressing the Annual Congress you said a lot of false propaganda frightened the farmers, what kind of propaganda? "I will give you two examples. Firstly the majority party was labeled as anti-christ. This was of course not true, as well it was not true that the whites exploited this country. Look at the economic figures and you see the opposite.

- What if SWAPO wants to take away the land of the farmers to give the poor people also a piece of the cake? (This was asked before Sam Nujoma addressed the farmers congress and told the farmers not to be afraid of land reform. "There is no guarantee that this will not happen".

"But", he said, "we will have a responsible government and a responsible citizenry, so that will not happen. But if such a thing were to happen we would hold the United Nations and the world responsible for this because they started the whole process of 435." Mr. Mouton suggested that the international community certainly does not want land reform, and would therefore not expropriate farms.

- But some things will change, the wages are very low and farmworkers don't have the same rights as many labourers in the world? "One cannot compare the workers of a factory with the ones of a farm. The manager or boss in a factory is only responsible for his workers during working hours". Mr. Mouton said, "takes care for the whole family of a worker also after hours, takes him to the clinic, to school etcetera. Mr. Mouton: "The farmer is not only the employer, but also the
nurse the doctor, the teacher. The main reason," he further said, "is the long distances to the necessary facilities where the farmworker without transport cannot go." "The farmer has the responsibility to work on the development of his labourers, but his primary responsibility will always be to run the farm properly and make profit out of it.

-What do you think about land reform? "I am against changing of the ownership of the land without any (financial) guarantees for the farmer. There should be no land reform as long there is still unused land. He was not against land reform, if it means a better use of the land, and the development of unused land or if greater production would be made possible by available capital. In answer to the question what is the attitude of the average farmer nowadays, Mr Mouton said: "The farmer feels still uncertain. On the other hand farmers are very impatient too. They want to hear as soon as possible what the new government's policy will be. They need a clear indication from the government in what direction they could go."

About himself Mr Mouton declared: "I don't need anything from the government. I don't want subsidies, I can cope by myself as I always have done. The only thing, he said, I want is the knowledge that there is no threat hanging over my head. However, in the long term I need finances with a better rate. The rent rate is a bit too stiff for a farmer," Mr Mouton said. 

"Further I hope, that the 15 percent virgin land in the country will be developed in the future, because the country needs a broader economic base for a strong agricultural sector. Mr. Mouton was right about the attitude of the farmers. A farmer from Grootfontein area said for instance that blacks would not be willing to work for him anymore. But because that did not happen his main fear disappeared. The majority of the farmers said that they were willing to cooperate with the new government. However when it comes to the issue of improvement of the circumstances of the farmworkers nobody seems to understand it. which bed conditions many farmworkers are living. Very hopefully is the--oba-baas of Mr Jan Engelbrecht where farmworkers have a community hall, a farmworkers committee, where the children have a playground and every house a nice garden and the farmworkers get some education. (it is a pity the farmworkers call Mr. Engelbrecht still 'baas' and secondly although the workers committee can give their opinion about the organization of the work one farmworker said that if Mr. Engelbrecht is against a proposal of the workers there is no way of changing his mind.) But it seems that neighbours of Mr. Engelbrecht seeing growing production figures start to educate their farmworkers as well.

5. THE WHITE CIVIL SERVANTS: "The grass on the other side of the river is not so green as it used to be" About one third of the workers in the formal sector are civil servants. CIMS spoke to the government service staff association (GSSA), three Secretaries of governmental departments (Health & Welfare,
Economic Affairs and Civic Affairs and Manpower), with the new Commissioner of Police and several civil servants.

= 411 =

They think that the new government will appreciate their experience and make use of it. Mr. Van der Merwe and Mr. Erasmus expect one or more supervisors of the government in their department, but have no problems with that. Mr. Gous thinks that his replacement is a possibility. He is worried about his future: "At my age it is difficult to find something else on the same level as this job."
The GSSA has never heard anything about the coming of supervisors of the political parties within the departments. However, the GSSA got signals from political parties that they all appreciate an efficient government service. They expect loyalty and that is no problem for the civil servants. The main concerns of the GSSA are that the new government will lower their salaries and secondly that they will put blacks too soon into senior posts without being trained.

Leaving the country
Last year till now a lot of wives of army people have left together with their husbands. A high number of them were working as teachers and administrators. But in general other Whites are planning to stay. Going to South Africa is no longer an alternative.

Mr. Gous: "The grass on the other side of the fence is not so green as it used to be". Most people expect that in South Africa the abolishment of the apartheid system will soon be a fact.

Staying in the country: a challenge
The three secretaries of the departments mentioned a lot of positive developments for their departments as a result of the coming independence of Namibia. Firstly it makes the work of the department much more interesting. Under the supervision of South Africa the work of the departments was restricted to internal affairs. Now the exchange of information and negotiations with the international world is becoming part of their work. The secretaries are relieved that Namibia will in future be less isolated partly because of the fact that sanctions will probably no longer be imposed on Namibia. All the civil servants mentioned that they feel Namibia is their country.

Cooperation with the new government
Mr. Erasmus (Health) already works (according to himself) very closely with SWAPO (Dr. Libettine Amadhila) to develop a new health policy. The Secretary has regular contact as well with the other political parties. The Secretary of Civic Affairs and Manpower,
the outcome of the elections was for many whites working for the government as shock, (they expected DTA to win) but within a week they accepte the election results. The explanations of the secretaries of the departments and the GSSA are more or less the same. Many people are pleased with the fact that SWAPO did not get the two-thirdSmajorityp the biggest fear the whites had was the establishment of a one party-state. Many civil servants were very amazed that the elections went so peacefully and besides that the safety of wife and children is a relief to many people. The majority of the white civil servants who are still in Namibia want to stay. Some Some head of departments expect a small exodus of civil servants next next year (5 to 10 percent). The majority of the civil servants want the South African@ out of the country. There is a small group of people who stick to the old structures. Some of them asked for early retirement (the wi-tdrawal of money out of thepension fune worked as a golden handshake for these people). Others try to maintain the old apartheid struc+ure the privatisation of 15 schools with state money is considered as such a move. The members of the GSSA are furious about the actions of the threcreformed churches responsible for the privatisation attempt. Mr. Traut (technician at the postoffice and vice-chairman of GSSA): "This will reflect negatively on all the whites". And the chairman Mr. Budeing$ "I find it disgusting. I never can accept it." Fear$. Rumours that the new government is going to kick the Whites out of the country are still there, especially about the senior people. Mr. Erasmus, secretary of the Dep#rt-ent of Health and Welfare, received phone calls from an aquintance who asked when he was going to leave. And e heard at a party that Erasmus should be replaced as well. Both Mr. Erasmus and Mr.van der Merwe (Civic Affairs and Manpower) are not afraid to be dismissed Mr. Van der Merwe., after being responsible for alQt of work on the registration of voters and the elections, is workInS on'th, legislation which has to be finished as soon as Namibiais customlaw and borderposts, nationality and so on).He only works out a number of alternatives. Anything further is up to the new government to decide. The department of Economic Affairs~ produce surveys and figures for the new government Realistic The GSSA and the three secretaries realise that the three to five coming years will be a period of hard work for the civil servants. New structures and new legislation will be needed. According to the GSSA , the heads of the departments very pro an independent Namibia.'Both Mr. Van der Merwe and Mr. Erasmus have held lots of discussions about the future with their personnel to prepare them for a new Namibia and to decide to let them stay in Namibia. Mr. Gous was against talking with the civil servants about changes in Namibia. "That will make
them leave," he said.

Resistance
The GSSA expects the most resistance from the white administration. The members criticize the white administration for spending their 7 million Rand on unnecessary works soon before independence. An example is for instance the reconstruction from parts of Kaiserstreet. V-ecy criEa, was Mr. Traut, vice-chairman of the GSSA, about the spending of 11 million Rand on (non compatible) computers by the white administration. Mr. Traut: "After a couple of years these computers are useless, With$ that amount of money I could have changed the telephone system from Ovamboland and Caprivi (magnets-telephone) into an automatic system".

Optimlistic
The optimism of the civil servants was astonishing. Or is it a try to save their skins or is it really convinced about what they are saying? We will know "in the near future. As Mr. Buesl said: "Civil servants of Namibia have already worked under different kind of governments". Mr. Van der Merwe showed the optimism of the civil servants in the most simple way by saying: 'I am very, very positive'.

Staying or leaving?
5B. THE POLICE & THE NEW COMMISSIONER OF POLICE In Ovamboland, Katima Mulilo and Kakaoland most of the white police officers have left. In the rest of the country, according to Mr. Fouché the new commissioner of police, none of the policemen have left after the elections. (Must ne checked) He expects about ten percent to leave after independence. Soon after the elections most of the policemen were very afraid and wanted to go back to South Africa. However the senior officers wanted to stay and asked the younger ones to wait a while to see what is going to happen. And because the junior officers follow the lead of senior officers usually, Mr Fouche said, they stayed. Most policemen were frightened after Sam Nujoma's announcement that he would appoint a commission to investigate whether all the policemen were fit for the police force. But after the present Commissioner of Police Lt Dolf Gous (Fouche will soon become his successor) got the assurance from Nujoma that he never ment that every single policeman will be investigated, and that he was wrong ly reported in the newspapers, the senior policemen decided provisionally to stay. The police who have left were seconded by South Africa so were some Koevoets. ONLY A FEW WHITE KOEVOETS WERE LEFT IN THE NORTH and at a visit to the north, the 20th and 21st of January NO WHITE KOEVOET WAS SEEN ANYMORE.

Why does Fouche want to stay in Namibia? He says he loves this country and feels responsible for the country as well. "If everybody (f c) is leaving, this country will be " a chaos".

No changes
Mr. Fouché is not going to work on a new or improved policy of the Namibian police force. He does not agree with the critics that SWAPOL was too much influenced by South African policy. According to Fouché SWAPOL is doing an excellent job. The only problem the Namibian police force has to face is a shortage of manpower. SWAPOL needs 2000 new police men and women after the demobilisation of about 2450 former Koevoet members. The new police commissioner does not see the need of undertaking action against increasing criminality. (thefts, robberies etcetera: see Ovamboland) The training of 250 to 300 police recruits which started in January of this year will be the same as it has been during the last year. After asking whether UNTAG could be useful in training the police force for an independent Namibia Fouché answered, that he does not see what UNTAG could do. The laws and the criminal process differ from other countries, they don't speak the local language and the environment in different. In the whole Fouché is satisfied about the way his people are doing their job at the moment.

Special constables
Out of the the 3300 police in Namibia 2000 are special constables who are not duly trained as policemen. These people are interpreters, trackers and guards; they are not allowed to arrest anyone. Therefore these constables always work together with qualified policemen. Fouché wants to keep these people to use them in the north for border patrol and as guards and trackers. Fouché does not see the necessity of giving these constables extra training.

= 416 =

6. OTHERS
A. technicians, & administrators
Paula Carville, engineer.
Paula is in her fifties and has lived now for twenty years in Namibia. She is not interested in politics, has no radio or television. She is a regular visitor of the German Club although she does not speak German, but English (she was born in England) The people of the German Club are her main informants about the political situation. She has heard that there are no problems and that a number of businesspeople are optimistic about the future. She herself is not afraid of anything. Dismantling of the old system does not bother her. She has lived under many sorts of governments (Libya, Bangla Desh, South Africa) and will do this again in Namibia. In regard to her work as an engineer Paula thinks that any government will always need her skills.
Dietmar, computer consultant
Dietmar was born and has lived in Israel. He is a computer consultant and works temporarily in Namibia. Dietmar is a Jew and a single man. For him
Namibia is just a place with a lot of work for him. He has a normal relationship with the black and the white people he snores a house with. He is not scared of any problems in this country.

Discotheques. In the Namibian Nite discotheke in Windhoek Khomasdal, more and more whites are seen, obvious feeling very comfortable there. White parents - from the racist kind - don't need to be worried yet because at the end of the evening white girls go home with white boys and men - if not they are from UNTAG. Not many mixed couples are seen yet.

In the -much cheaper- club Thriller in Katututa only a handful Whites are visiting the club.

FREE TIME Q

The German Club: You have to be a member of the club. Only whites were seen - who - eat each other there after working hours. They are German and Afrikaans speaking business-people mostly.

Von Bach Dam. Witnessed on a Sunday: There are still only Whites going to this dam (waterskiing, windsurfing, swimming) The Von Bach Dam is near Okahandja. Later one black UNTAG official was seen accompanying a white lady.

7. THE NG CHURCH

CIMS only attended one service of the NG Church in Windhoek, spoke to dominee Cobus de Klerk shortly after the three reformed churches had tried to privatise about 15 schools with state money (De Klerk is chairman of the organisation of the three churches which wanted to privatise schools) Furthermore CIMS spoke to dominee Dirk de Vos in Grootfontein and dominee Henning in Otjiwarongo.

Dominee de Klerk was not very willing to talk freely to me so soon after the debacle of the three churches. Everybody had misunderstood them, De Klerk complained, they certainly did not want to maintain apartheid, but it was only a matter of having "Christian education" for their children. Why does De Klerk thinks that everybody was so upset about the move of the NG churches? "They mistrust us, they very easily suspect us as being Pretoria's puppets and promoters of South African interests. Partly the reverend is satisfied about what happened because the new government "reaffirmed that private schools is an issue that the majority of the people feel ought to be promoted", he said. According to De Klerk they are willing to adapt to the new government and the, are feeling confident as well. What especially was difficult for his members to accept was that they always had the feeling that South Africa would look after them. Now all of a sudden is no longer true. After half an hour Dominee De Klerk asked me to go but he was willing to talk to the interviewer again

Dominee Freddie Henning (NG church Otjiwarongo) seems to be a moderate man in the NG church trying to let his congregation members get used to a multi-racial church. Very positive is the fact that the NG members did not protest when dominee Henning organized a service where Kenyans of UNTAG, after been invited, were at present. The dominee talked very frankly with us about the
difficulties in his congregation. now that apartheid will soon be abolished. Henning told us that he has to be very careful with changes in the church, his members are very conservative and don't except strangers, even dominee Henning is not yet fully excepted in the community because he is not originally from Otjiwarongo and only about 15 years serving the community.

A strange experience was t-*king to dominee Dirk de Vos converting Bushmen which is an extremely difficult task because Bushmen are not very fond of the christian religion, Mr. de Vos said. De Vos was a member of the Citizen Force in his district and he liked it to talk about how he and other members of the force captured PLAN fighters in the region. I did not knew that a reverend could be so fond of playing soldier. According to the dominee the Force is not active anymore, is dismantled, only the radio system linking isolated property is still working and useful to find cattle. for instance.

I also attended a service of the NG church in Windhoek. My impression was that the present developments in the country are not yet discussed in the NG church, not even in 'The light of the Bible', in fact they were not mentioned at all during the service. What struck me was that the reverend - it was soon after the election results were announced - was talking all the time about Maria who was chosen by God out of all the women in the world to give Him a son. It seemed to me that Maria -according to the dominee- must have been a white woman, Why laid the reverend so much emphasis on Maria chosen by God for a certain task? It gave me the feeling that it had something to do with letting whites feeling comfortable by avoiding talking about the big changes in the country.

8. Additional report on the white communities Report on a visit to Otjiwarongo, Grootfontein, Oshakati and Katima Mulilo. (21/12/89L.7/12/90; 06/01/90; 16 Katima Mulilo.
The CIMS observer spoke to: Mishake Muyongo (Senior vice-president of DTA; Richard Matali (Black immigration officer); UNTAG official Jurgen Kunze (Bibby); and the Secretary of the Katima administration; some local people and Lt general Prem Chand (UNTAG Force Commander). About one third of the Whites has left Katima (It had a population of 350 before) There is now a small white community of 240 people mostly involved in business and there is a small but strong Portuguese population in Katima. The Secretary of the Katima administration describes the community as a 'happy community'. Some prefer to stay, others have to stay because of their businesses. The people who left are the majority of the civil servants (army and police). According to Mr. Kunze (UNTAG) the army officers destroyed all the furniture and utility fittings in the army base. Part of the jobs of the white civil servants of the administration is taken over by black people. The white 'domain' of Caprivi as the locals call the area where the whites are living is no longer the exclusive area of the Whites, black civil servants recently moved into the houses left empty by the Whites who left Katima Mulilo.
In general the Whites don't feel threatened anymore by the new government especially since their pension funds are safe. Initially the Whites were shocked when the army - their protectors - left Caprivi but that feeling disappeared soon after seeing that the Blacks did not confiscate their properties. Apartheid has not faded yet in Katima. Locals and also black South African tourists did not feel very welcome in the ZAmbezi Lodge.

The owners more than once tried to refuse us having dinner by saying we had not booked a table. They were disappointed when we proved we had made a reservation. A local man (with a good position) told us that he cannot have dinner in this hotel, because the owner let him understand that he does not like the presence of black guests. Mishake Muyongo promised us to take up the matter with the owner of the Zambezi Lodge. Shortly after the election results came out, Whites came with many questions to Mr. Muyongo. On questions like "Are we safe now under a black government?", Muyongo answered: "We are no cannibals, so please stay". The Whites who still live in Katima decided 'to live with the black man' according to Muyongo.

The ones who are still scared about the future are a small number of 'die bards, who married apartheid' and some civil servants who are afraid of being replaced by Blacks. The main worry of the Whites is the possible lowering of the school standards. Otjiwarongo

CIMS group: Bill McMechan; Irene Aartsma We spoke to the UNTAG Deputy District Head Natalia Prado (Russia); and Dominee Freddie Henning (see chapter NG church) and some locals.

We were very PLEASED TO HEAR THAT UNTAG is planning to organize with local leaders and representatives of UNTAG from the different countries to explain how PROBLEMS which Namibia has to face now have been SOLVED in OTHER COUNTRIES.

Dominee Henning told us that he considers this kind of meetings as very useful for the community of Otjiwarongo. Although Whites seem to accept the abolishing of old apartheid 'privileges' of the Whites, the white community still has a lot to learn about their black brothers and sisters. After talking to several Whites we noticed prejudices against blacks are very much alive. Not many Whites left the village.

Grootfontein
CIMS observer: Irene Aartsma. Spoken to: Dirk de Vos (reverend NG church see chapter NG church); Mr Hugo, town clerk; Mr Steijn, mayor; Mr Schoeman, principal of the secondary school; Jan Engelbrecht plus some of his farmworkers; UNTAG Head of the Grootfontein District Centre Mr. Thistov and several UNTAG policeminitors.

Open schools

-24-
On Monday the 21st of January the first 9 Black and Coloured pupils will start at the Secondary School in Grootfontein. Three children have been refused admission because of their age (only two years older than the average in a class is permitted; this has the approval of SWAPO according to Mr. Schoeman) About 40 parents have not yet sent the application forms back to the school. Requirements are: age (see above); good Afrikaans speaking; good results at school the past year. Mr. Schoeman, the principal, is content with the SWAPO policy to open the schools only for a small number of Coloured/Black pupils. He had some difficulties to explain to the white parents that they have to accept open schools in the future He does not expect any problems when the first non-white children will enter the school. The Secondary School was one of the schools which the churches wanted to privatise with state money.

The racist Nord Hotel

One of the hotel owners, of the Nord Hotel in Grootfontein, a German speaking lady has beaten up a black UNTAG official with a whip. The lady has the opinion that she was standing in her right because the UNTAG man (from Kenya) did not want to leave the so-called white bar where only white people are allowed. And also according to Mrs. Avenant the hotel owner the UNTAG man was telling her that her hotel was a 'Namibian hotel' and 'that he would take her license away . According to the Kenyan the woman beat him several times on his back and afterwards he took the whip out of her hand and gave it to a colleague. The woman is accusing him now of stealing her whip. UNTAG laid a charge on her. (discrimination is one of the accusations) Date: 17th of January 1990.

Increasing thefts

According to some locals the number of thefts has increased in Grootfontein (area). The reason for this is mainly unemployment, "the people are hungry” said an UNTAG official. Before the elections former Koevoets assisted SWAPOL to fight criminality. They only patrolled in the white area and around farms so the black population of Grootfontein had surprisingly no problem with the presence of Koevoet in Grootfontein. Just before elections the former Koevoets had to leave and since then the number of thefts has increased.

Economic situation

Economic situation

Since the army base is closed and UNTAG is about to leave Grootfontein is suffering an economic depression. (That means 700 UNTAG officials are leaving soon or have left already and about 5 to 600 army personnel went back to South Africa and others (Namibians) lost their jobs)
UNTAG officials at Grootfontein developed a plan together with local authorities: leaders and parties were to reuse the military base again. Facilities as the airport and buildings are in an extremely good condition. UNTAG represented the plan to UNDP (United Nations Development Program) but don't expect much help from the UNDP.

Farms

The Hoba farm of farmer and Chairman of the Kkerbouw Twe-eniging Mi Jan Engelbyz-eht has stimulated other farmers in the region to give their farmworkers better education and more responsibility. SWAPO seems to have confidence in Mr. Engelbrecht, because he showed us a letter from President Nujoma directed to the German government recommending Mr. Engelbrecht for a subsidy for a new citrus project.

The white community

We did not find any sign of whites organizing subversive activities. Farmers, business people in general are waiting for the new Government's policies. The mayor and the town clerk said that apart from the army and police personnel not many whites left the town and some people who left the country have come back. Mr. Pricket, farmer, said that the Whites expected the Blacks to be obstinate and not willing to work for them anymore. But that did not happen; so the general feeling of the Whites towards the new government is positive. "They must give us Whites a chance in this country and it seems SWAPO is willing to give us that chance", Mr. Pricket said.

1. Agricultural Agronomy Producers Association

Oshakati

In Oshakati we did not find any white former Koevoet. In the places where they used to be (international guesthouse; the 'Koevoetrestaurant', the gates of the former white area/base), there was no sign of their presence anymore and also their houses looked empty. The owners of the hotel and restaurants told me that unfortunately they had to leave. More and more Blacks are moving into houses of Whites who left Oshakati.

The security situation is alarming. Since many police officer have left the area, it is easy to steal and to rob. SWAPO is, according to UNTAG, not following up any case anymore. In the short time we visited Ovamboland/Oshakati we heard of two expensive cars being stolen: a Mercedez Benz and a landcruiser from UNTAG.

A white businessman of Windhoek complained that he had to close his shop in Oshakati because his (black) manager had stolen R60,000. He thought that money has been given to SWAPO. According to the businessman 'an Ovambo speaking' person warned him not to report this case to the police. Later the man confessed he was an informant of the police for some times now and active in illegal businesses as well. The border
Several cases of stealing cattle, robbing cucashops and abducting people even to bring them to Angola has been repore to UNTAG. UNITA should have been involved.

Subversitive activities
Some stories about sabotage and reorganisation of ex-Koevoets were reported to UNTAG, I could not yet get confirmation of the information.

THE END

= 427 =
s. zWNiJoma's Visit
The surprise visit of Sum NUjoma to a large gathering of farmers, and the contents of his speech, also created a lasting impact. The farmers applauded his speech and the Agricultural magazine gave a positive detailed report of his visit and speech. Farmers now appear to have changed their attitude to an amazing extent. Their main concern now is lack of rain. They still have certain fears that the new Government will probably force them to pay their farmworkers more, but they do not think this will make business impossible.

Mfetho&, of onacts
The project started with the sending of a circular letter to 28 selected addresses on December 9, 1989. It was hoped that through them there could be access to additional contacts leading to systematic analysis. The date we posted the letters, however, was too late. Only a few contacts could be established during the Christmas holidays. Mail deliveries within Wirehodk proved to be, too slow, with letters taking as many as 12 days to reach the addressees and vice versa. Then in the beginning of January it was decided that the undersigned together with other monitors concentrate on the careful selection and compilation of field reports of CIUS monitors under the leadership of Dr. Denis M'Passou as Editor. These reports were scheduled to be published in time for independence celebrations. So the project had to be cut short.

But in spite of the limitations conclusions may be drawn on "Thoughts and Trends in the German-speaking Community since 14th November 1989.

Conclusion
To the majority of German-speaking Namibians the election were shocking but this shock has been short-lived and now they have reconciled themselves with the realities of the Namibian political situation and are looking forward to make their meaningful positive contribution to the development and building of the new Namibian nation.

= 428 =
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Recommendation
The project was started with a reference to the watchdog function of CCN member-churches who accented - or worked, along the line of - the Barmen
Theological Declaration of 1934 which makes the Watch-dog function of a Christian a duty under the Gospel: Observing political and economic developments the church "reminds the rulers and the ruled, of God's kingdom, of God's justice, and thus of their responsibility" and it challenges the state when necessary, irrespective of the consequences for itself - as Jesus did just that, irrespective of the personal consequences for himself.

When terminating the project - or his share of it - the undersigned wrote letters to all those contacts which did not materialize, repeating the offer to utilize the watchdog-function of the CCN member-churches also in future. Without request or suggestion from anywhere within CIMS the letter has even been published in "Allgemeine Zeitung" of 23rd January (which information was obtained by telephone from Swakopmund). See enclosures. It is recommended to make sure that church-activities will take this into account. That the churches will change their position vis-a-vis Swapo from that of sympathizing with the liberation-movement into that of critical distance vis-a-vis the political party representing the state, must be taken for granted, if they want to retain that kind of credibility which earned them world-wide recognition and which was based on the letter to Vorster of June '71: That letter made political as well as irreversible church-history.

= 429 =
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= 432 =

SWABC SWAPOL SWATF SR
TCL UDF UDP
UNHCR UNSCR UNTAG
UNITAG-CIVPOL
South West Africa Broadcasting Corporation South West African Police South
West Africa Territorial Force Special Representative of the UN Secretary
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Tsumeb Corporation Ltd United Democratic Front United Democratic Party
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- Senegal (President of IPU)
- Pakistan
- United Kingdom
- United States

(C) FROM TIBISA

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GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACN Aksie Christelik National (Action Christian National)
AG Administrator General
AG 9 Administrator General's Proclamation No 9, which was the basis for declaring half the country as Security District.
AWEPAA Association of West European Parliamentary Association Against Apartheid
CCN Council of Churches in Namibia
CIMS Churches Information and Monitoring Service
CDA Christian Democratic Action for Social Justice
DTA Democratic Turnhalle Alliance
ELCIN Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia
ELSWA Evangelical Lutheran Church in South West Africa
FCN Federal Convention of Namibia
FINBAT Finish Ballation of UNTAG
IMBISA Inter-Regional Meeting of Bishops in Southern Africa
IPU Inter-Parliamentary Union
KOEVET Counter-insurgence "Police". The name is a Afrikaans for a crawbar and koevoets were known for cruelty and murderous acts. MUN Mineworkers Union of Namibia
NNDP Namibia National Democratic Union
NPF National Patriotic Front of Namibia
NADEL National Association of Democratic Lawyers
NNF Namibia National Front
PLAN People's Liberation Army of Namibia
SADF South African Defence Force
SWAPO South West Africa People's Organisation
SWAPO-D South West Africa People's Organisation Democrats

- 434 -

- 435 -
SWABC SWAPOL SWATF SR
TCL UDF UDP UNHCR, UNSCR
UNTAG UNTAG-CIVPOL
South West Africa Broadcasting Corporation South West African Police South
West Africa Territorial Force Special Representative of the UN Secretary General
Tsumeb Corporation Ltd United Democratic Front United Democratic Party
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees United Nations Security
Council Resolution United Nations Transitional Assistance Group UNTAG Civil
Police Unit