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Namibia Support Committee.

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Editorial Review

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH SWAPO GROWS

PROGRESSIVE MANKIND continues to support the just struggle of the people of Southern Africa and Namibia in particular. Events that took place in various parts of the world in the month of September once again emphasised the international solidarity that the struggling people of Namibia enjoy through their vanguard movement, SWAPO.

From September 4 to 5, a conference of member parties of the socialist international, the Socialist group of the European Parliament, leading parties of the Frontline States and the national liberation movements of Southern Africa, namely SWAPO and the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa held a conference in Arusha, Tanzania. SWAPO President, Comrade Sam Nujoma attended this conference which resolved to intensify support to the Namibian liberation struggle.

INSPIRATION

In its communique, the Arusha conference demanded, "freedom and independence for Namibia in accordance with the United Nations Security Council Resolution 435. We reaffirm our denunciation of the so-called linkage. The presence of Cuban troops in Angola is, according to international law, a subject for Angola and Cuba to consider and has therefore no place in negotiations concerning the independence of Namibia."

The Arusha conference further called on the international community to "Be prepared to support a free and independent Namibia as soon as Security Council Resolution 435 has been implemented."

SWAPO draw a lot of inspiration from this expression of solidarity and the resolution taken to intensify diplomatic, political and material support to liberation movements.

SCANDINAVIAN SUPPORT

During the same month, the Namibia Support Committee organised a conference in London to mark 100 years of colonialism and struggle.

This conference, which was addressed by SWAPO Secretary General.

Comrade Andimba Toivo .13 Toivo, was aimed to put pressure by the British people on the British government to support the struggle and remind the rulers in Whitehall that the League of Nations actually gave the mandate over Namibia to the British crown, although now it behaves as if she has never had any historical role in the historical circumstances leading to the plight of the Namibian people.

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Another expression of support by a major Scandinavian country came in the same month from Stockholm, where Comrade Toivo Ja Toivo attended and addressed the congress of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, as a guest of honour of Prime Minister Olaf Palme and the SSDP.

Among the foreign delegates and dignitaries who attended the congress only the Prime Minister of Finland Comrade Kalevi Sorsa and Comrade Ya Toivo addressed the meeting. SWAPO is indeed appreciative of the continued support of the Swedish and other Scandinavians for our just struggle.

BRAZIL SUPPORTS SWAPO

Another major event concerning Namibia was a workshop on Trans-national Corporations held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. This workshop provided an occasion for the government of Brazil to state in more clearer terms than before its support for the Frontline states, SWAPO and the Namibian people in the struggle for liberation.

Furthermore, a month-long Planning and Management Seminar was held in Lusaka for the supervisors of the Voice of Namibia's six broadcasting stations. The Seminar was sponsored by the Office of the UN Commissioner for Namibia.

Its theme was the Present and Future Task of the Voice of Namibia. Here, too, international solidarity was very much in evidence as all of Zambia's top information specialists made contributions to the deliberations of the seminar. These contributions included presentations of papers by the Directors and Heads of the following institutions: the Zambia Information Services, the University of Zambia's Department of Mass Communication, the Zambia News Agency, the Zambia Multi-Media Complex, the Zambia Broadcasting Services and the Pan-African News Agency.

All these events, which took place across the world in the month of September were a source of inspiration and encouragement that the international community was intensifying support for the struggle and demand for a just solution via the implementation of Resolution 435. All meetings emphasised UN Resolution 435 as the only just basis for a solution of the Namibian conflict, despite the Pretoria-Washington campaign to the contrary.

SWAPO, in recognition of the mounting international solidarity for the just struggle of the Namibian people, on its part pledges to continue intensify the liberation struggle until final victory when Namibia attains genuine independence and takes its over due place in the family of nations as a free and democratic country.

EVERYTHING FOR THE STRUGGLE! ALL FOR VICTORY!

SWAPO Information Bulletin, September 1984 5

Namibia In The
Context Of Imperialism

By Theo BeneGurirab
SWAPO Permanent Observer at the United Nations
Conference on Namibia 1884-1984: 100 Years of Colonialism:
100 Years of Struggle

Organised by the Namibia Support Committee
London, 10-13 September 1984.

FIRST PATRIOTIC WAR

IN THE centuries before colonial occupation, Namibia was inhabited by African people, the same Africans who live there today!

In the process of colonization, Namibians lost their land: they lost ownership and control over the natural resources, which are their national units, heritage; they were reduced to mere labourers herded into fascistic labour reservoirs ("native reserves"), without freedom of choice, that, the right to self-determination: in a word, they became slaves in the land of their birth; Namibians had ceased to be independent and sovereign people.

German missionaries, ubiquitous and unscrupulous explorers, traders, adventurers, and other agents of European penetration acted, wittingly or unwittingly, as forerunners of the eventual German colonial occupation of Namibia.

While European contacts with and penetration of Namibia dates back to the 1480s, particularly to 1485 when the Portuguese navigator Diego C210 set foot on Namibia's Atlantic coast, followed, during the intervening centuries, by various other uninvited visitors from Europe, Bismarck's outrageous declaration, resulting from the imperialist, infamous and racist Berlin Conference (1884-1885), for the "scramble of Africa," to seize Namibia, as a so-called protectorate of Imperial Germany, has come down in Namibian history as the beginning of the most brutal and destructive colonial experience suffered by a people anywhere in the world. In the face of such imperialist aggression, the Namibian people rose in a heroic armed resistance to foreign invasion. That armed resistance to German colonialism marked our people's first patriotic war. Since then, the story of Namibia has been a continuous, tragic saga of tyranny and genocide, as the United Nations describes today the mass killing of national, racial, ethnic or religious groups as "a crime under international law and for the commission of which principals and accomplices are punishable."

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In invoking the term "genocide," it is worth recalling here that during the German colonial rule in Namibia, the genocide that would manifest itself in Europe in the wake of Nazi hegemony, in response to which a United Nations Convention on genocide was adopted in 1948, was systematically being experimented and perfected first on the Namibian people. In an ironic twist of history and circumstances, the first imperial Commissioner in Namibia, Dr. Heinrich Goring, was the father of Hermann Goring, Hitler's right-hand man, adding, as an African scholar put it, eleven more infamy to the name,"

Furthermore, another racist, mass murderer, General von Trotha, who was responsible for ruthlessly suppressing the Boxer Rebellion in China and similar uprisings in Tanganyika, during German occupation, was also sent to Namibia to execute the Imperial "Extermination Order" against the Namibian patriots.

In all these instances of genocide or colonial tyranny. the major European powers, as well as the United States, the convenors of the infamous Berlin Conference, were either the principal culprits, cunning collaborators or acquiescing apologists of imperialism and racism, hiding behind the hypocritical cloak of Christianity and Western Civilization. Had it not been for their overweening, Machiavellian pre-occupation with accumulation of wealth and unmitigated racist proclivity for world dominance, they could have taken effective measures to stop German genocide in Namibia. That way a precedent could have been set that would have prevented Nazi Germany's murder of six million Jews and tens of millions of others in Europe. Africa and elsewhere.

SECOND WAR OF LIBERATION

One hundred years after German colonial conquest of Namibia, the anti-colonial struggle, being waged by the Namibian people, continues unabated. SWAPO calls the current phase of the struggle, the second patriotic war of national liberation. This is a new stage reached by the continuing national resistance of the Namibian people against colonialism. imperialism and internal reaction. It is the most critical and decisive phase of the struggle.

As both SWAPO's armed struggle and the United Nations declaration of South Africa's illegality in Namibia approach the end of the 18th year, there is an imperative need that the struggle must be further intensified on all fronts, by all the necessary means. including in particular the armed struggle. to wrest Namibia from the clutches of the Boers and their foreign mentors.

Imperialism and apartheid and Transnational Corporations stand for continued, unfettered colonial domination, imperialist plunder and reactionary violence. These forces of evil, darkness and destruction are working around the clock against liberation, justice and peace.

' Now is the time For all the Deucealoving. justice-upholding and democratic-minded forces the world over to further strengthen unity, to consolidate solidarity and to march forward, in confidence and devotion, towards final victory.

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GERMAN COLONIZATION

The German colonialists and other agents of imperialism seized Namibia and raped the whole nation in search of raw materials and the expansion of their foreign markets.

German occupation of Namibia was meant for and to led to:

1. Brutal subjugation of the indigenous people and their confinement to the notorious native reserves,
2. Seizure of land, at a gun point, and its allocation for an exclusive use by the colonialists and white settlers,
3. Usurpation of all rights of ownership by the Namibians over the natural resources,
4. Ruthless exploitation of the cheap African labour power,
5. Negation and falsification of our history and destruction of culture and social institutions,
6. Genocide, as a matter of policy and practice, forced exiling of patriots and the violent suppression of the people's anti-Colonial resistance,
7. Articulation of Namibia colonial economy to international monopoly capital.

These were the root causes that had given rise to the First Patriotic War in Namibia.

With the passage of time and the intensification of the instruments of exploitation and repression, the conditions under which our people are forced to live have gone from bad to worse. SWAPO is, therefore, in the circumstances.

Called upon to advance the struggle on an even higher plane, emulating the indomitable spirit of those gallant fighters of the first bloody encounter with the enemies of our people.

Alfred Babing and Hans-Dieter Brauer. authors of a recently published book entitled, NAMIBIA (1981), Cite a revealing passage from the German colonial records in which the colonialists make this admission:

In fact, the "sm" (luring the latest rituals more low/nf/zmneland and freedom, more hatred of the people, n'adimtv's jbrsurnifz'nt, real patriots' feeling, (I'iplomat's skill, military skill, wide surzwy (j'jizr-dzlvtnf fz'rldx of battle, and more luug'hnc'n 10 (m zmuxual ((jgnw Hunt 1) 710 would have illnughl pumibll'. ',

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Battles lost and setbacks sustained during the past 100 years have not quenched the torch of the liberation struggle in Namibia. On the contrary, the Namibian patriots are today able to draw succour and sustenance from the exemplary heroism and fighting spirit of our forebears, and we are convinced that we will eventually win the war. For that is the only historically logical and inevitable outcome of the present anti-imperialist struggle.

Granted, the national resistance of the Namibian people started out as a local reaction, on a regional basis, to foreign aggression and imposition of the forces of colonialism and imperialism. But in point of fact these alien forces of destruction had maintained interlocking international, commercial and political connections. Most of the major European powers, including the United States relying on the notorious 1884-1984 agreements for the scramble of Africa", were involved in one way or another in the exploration and economic plunder in Namibia. Thus, it is their exploitative activities which had given an international orientation to our anticolonial and anti-imperialist struggle.

It follows from this that the historical development of the struggle of the Namibian people has a manifest anti-imperialist heritage. The root causes that are associated with the German colonial occupation and that had to inevitably give rise to resistance, underline the fact of colonial imperialism, having made Africans into objects of history.

In assuming the vanguard role to mobilizing, uniting and leading the Namibian people, SWAPO is ever so aware of the roots of our national resistance that must continue to serve as constant reminders to the Freedom Fighters now and the future generations in Namibia.

Guided by this consciousness about our historic duty, SWAPO has articulated a political programme which is a seminal document of the Namibian Revolution.

It, SWAPO commits itself to hold high the banner of international anti-imperialist struggle and solidarity. SWAPO further undertakes to foster and strengthen the anti-imperialist unity amongst the national liberation, world socialist, progressive and peace-loving forces in order to eliminate all forms of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

Realizing that the fundamental characteristic of the colonial economy in Namibia is to cater to the interests of the racist white settlers in Namibia and the international monopoly capital. SWAPO is committed to ensuring that the economic reconstruction and social transformation in a free, democratic and united Namibia will have as its motive force, the establishment of a classless society. The social justice for all is the governing idea behind every SWAPO policy decision.

SWAPO strategy and tactics are designed in such a way that the struggle is being carried out simultaneously in the political, military and diplomatic fields. This involves three separate but organically complementary fronts. The first being the political or the home front. Where the Namibian people themselves, having assumed the responsibility as their own liberators, are carrying on a struggle against the apartheid and illegal occupation.

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The second front is the international front. It represents the international solidarity and co-operation. Its importance is consequential to the struggle internally and anticipates the next stage of the struggle. In terms of the historical development the contemporary phase of the struggle, this front is a vital link between the political and the military fronts. On the basis of the all-round, concrete material assistance and political support rendered by its allies and friends, SWAPO has been able to launch and sustain an armed struggle, which is the third front. The first (political) and third (military) fronts are the exclusive domain of the Namibian patriots. They are the masters of their own actions and must decide on the burning questions of what, when, how and why as far as the overall struggle is concerned. Historically this has always been the case, both political activity and armed resistance were used against the German colonialists. Today's struggle has an added advantage, the internationalist dimension. Unlike our forebears who found themselves under very trying circumstances of having to fight in isolation against the powerful forces of colonial imperialism, SWAPO is today an integral part of a worldwide peoples' struggle against colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism, apartheid and all the other forms of oppression and exploitation. Indeed, SWAPO is a valued member of the community of nations and is expected to and is making its own 'small contribution in this noble struggle.

Now, regarding the armed struggle, SWAPO considers this the highest and the most effective instrument for the liberation of the motherland. SWAPO's Political Programme puts it thus:

1. Nevertheless, much as we are convinced that armed struggle must now be the main form of our liberation activity, we do not beautify war as a form of sport. We see war for what it really is, an extension of politics by other means. It is the continuation of political relations in the form of violence.

2. We consider our own armed liberation struggle as just (and therefore), deserving support from all the justice and peace loving peoples. In supporting or committing oneself to the winning of victory by the oppressed peoples or nations, one is helping to bring about ('and) the end of the struggle under which war will be ended for ever. For where there is oppression, there will always be armed resistance to bring about justice. It is in this light that we appeal for world support in our war of liberation.

In other words, in terms of the root causes that have given rise to the struggle, in the first place, it must be recognised here that the objective of the overall struggle is to liberate:

(a) the people,

(b) The labour power of the workers. The fundamental task of the other workers is to (abolish) imperialism and colonialism,

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(c) The natural resources and reestablish ownership and control over what is truly our national heritage; to re-gain,

(d) Freedom and sovereign independence,

(e) The right to selfdetermination in order to rekindle the spirit of our history that speaks of proud heritage and outstanding achievements and to re-invigorate our splendid culture: to end, once and for all,

(f) Oppression, repression and exploitation, building on the ashes of the colonial edifice a new democratic society based on the principles of socialism and to abide by,

(g) The principles and objectives of Non-Alignment.

These are the stated objectives of the struggle, being waged by the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative. To achieve them, in the shortest possible time, SWAPO is working ardently towards a universal arming of the people, that is, to transform the armed struggle in Namibia into a truly people's war.

Our people have endured colonial tyranny for 100 years. But let there be no doubt about the determination of the Namibian patriots to carry on with the anti-colonial struggle for many more years to come. It is our land: we are devoted to it; we are, as well prepared to die for it, just as those who preceded us were called upon to sacrifice for the liberty of our people and sanctity of the motherland.

SWAPO's military wing, the Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia

(PLAN), has fought the massive racist, colonial occupation army to a standstill.

There is now a pervasive political uncertainty militarily, the situation is at a standstill. The military situation has long proved untenable for the Boers. What is currently happening on the diplomatic front is nothing more than mere pestering, public relations gimmicks and procrastination on the part of the Pretoria racists, who are in the circumstances more preoccupied with American Presidential elections. In all this, we take pride in the fact that the years of arrogant boasting and militarist acts by the Pretoria junta have done nothing to destroy SWAPO's ability to sustaining and continuing the, patriotic war of liberation.

GANG OF FIVE

The Western Five, Canada, Federal Republic of Germany, France, United Kingdom and United States said to have been a "contact group" on Namibia, came into being in 1977. The Carter Administration, which initially sounded eagerly a pro-human rights tone, led the pack in promoting the group as the friends of the United Nations that would in time make apartheid South Africa accept and implement the outstanding United Nations resolutions on Namibia.

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It was said that the five powers would be honest brokers and that their only interest was to promote a peaceful solution of the Namibian problem. In attempting to assuage our trepidations and skepticism, the five put forward three basic reasons for their initiative:

First, they argued theirs was a collective undertaking by a group of countries that were uniquely qualified to convince Pretoria about the efficacy of their "mission's

Secondly, they pointed out the whole gamut of relations that they maintain severally or collectively with South Africa, i.e. economic, military, nuclear, commercial, financial, political, cultural, racial and so forth. Indeed, an impressive arsenal! They claimed that there was the necessary political will to employ these levers to prod, if need be, the racists along;

Thirdly, they admitted seeing a handwriting on the wall in Southern Africa that racial strife and violent confrontation were likely to ensue, if the situation were not attended to promptly.

There was no doubt in our minds that they were anxious lest their access to the "gulf of minerals" and vital strategic interests would be jeopardized, in the most likely even of the intensification of the armed struggle.

For our part, we found the third point both revealing and disturbing. We asked why we should trust them given the fact that by the very elucidation given they merely confirmed their traditional ties with Pretoria and underlined their selfish strategic and geo-political interests in the region?

At the end, however, it was in spite of, or perhaps because of, this very consideration of realpolitik that we grudgingly agreed "to play ball." Hence the painstaking, time-consuming, frustrating and retrogressive negotiations on Namibia that have now turned into a vicious cycle!

The five powers felt that their strategic interests and the activities of the transnational corporations in Namibia could no longer be guaranteed by a continued South African occupation of Namibia. This concern triggered a search for an internationally acceptable solution which would not jeopardize their interests. The one thing that had to be stopped at all costs was the armed struggle. It was feared that SWAPO would grow stronger and the situation would be radicalized, as the armed struggle went on. Somehow along the way also hoped that the West would score a significant ideological victory, and thus gain prestige internationally, particularly in Africa. That was and continue to be the real motive behind the so-called Western initiative.

In the ensuing process of negotiations, the "contact group" turned out to be a protective shield for a rescue operation in favour of the combined interests of the West; the same group turned out, on the other hand, to be a relentless pressure group against SWAPO.

United States role is central and crucial in terms of the consideration of Namibia in the context of imperialism. It is a matter that goes back into history for many centuries.

In his pioneering study, "US Economic Power and Political Influence in Namibia, 1700-1982", which is being recommended highly, Dr. Allan D. Cooper offers a critical analysis of the economic and historical determinants of current US policy in Southern Africa. Dr. Cooper points out how the convergence of

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extensive European commercial interests in Namibia involved United States in the colonization of Namibia.

For our purpose, we shall have to make a long leap forward conceptually from 17005 to the Kissinger era.

Following the victories won in Mocambique (1974) and Angola (1975), leading to a rapid transformation of the power equation in Southern Africa, Kissinger's evil genius was unleashed on Africa.

The now infamous Kissinger "Tar Baby" study of 1969 (NSM 39, option 2), concluded:

"The whites are here to stay and the only way that (un)structive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the black to attain the political rights they seek through violent means, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the communists. "

The study recommended a complete relaxation of (the US.) stance toward the white regimes" in order to encourage some modification on their (current racial and Colonial policies, " and must substantial economic assistance to the black states" in order to "offer the black states an alternative to the recognized risks of mounting (Communist) influence. "1

Additionally, Kissinger was determined to reverse the process of the intensification of the armed struggle, if need be, by decapitating SWAPO, "the guys with the gun. " Next, he was equally determined to block any meaningful United Nations action to ensure independence of Namibia.

A knowledgeable scholar of African Affairs declared prophetically in 1976:

"The immediate purpose of the present Kissinger mission to Southern Africa is to tell the I/nitu/lsre. (1.5.) the reason that as long as they can beat the ball in their net they must prevent the South African from taking action South Africa and the major western powers fear U.N. action. They know that a change in Namibia under United Nations supervision and control would result in a S.W.A.I.'O development. And a government led by SWAPO would mean the removal of the South African influence. It would be in motion for the time being (however). These powers are therefore trying to buy time in order to strengthen their own position in Namibia. They want to maintain the situation which will leave the existing situation (and the situation of the environment in the future). The danger of installing such a situation is that it will involve an explosive situation. A situation which would lead to no popular movement. It could survive only by repression and violence. The situation of the future would continue. And the present regime would have to find the way to 'maintain the situation'. It would thus have to depend upon South Africa or upon the situation (13513!!!) from some sympathetic country. "

... This profound Analysis made in 1976 has not only weathered the various issues of the rapid change in the region but has also correctly anticipated. 'The years ahead, the reprehensible policy of 'destructive engagement,' which is today singularly responsible for undermining independence of Namibia, due to its stance by the Ruling Administration on the linkage problem.

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Reagan Administration's collaborationist policy of "constructive engagement" has been subjected to severe and continuing criticisms from many quarters.

In March 1981, barely two months after taking office, Reagan expressed his views on a television show. To a question what the US attitude should be toward the apartheid regime, Reagan responded:

"Can we abandon a country that has stood by us in every war we have ever fought - a country that is strategically essential to the free world in its production of minerals we all must have? I feel that if we're going to sit down at a table and negotiate with the Russians, surely we can keep the door open and continue to negotiate with a friendly nation like South Africa."

Naturally, P.W. Botha was jubilant, assured of the fact that he had a reliable friend in the White House. The President of the United States showed not only criminal ignorance of world history of a critical period. He was actually hailing Nazi sympathizers and armed terrorists who were undermining the cause of the Allied powers.

The essential tenets of the "constructive engagement" policy were largely set out by Chester A. Crocker, then Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, in his article on South Africa: "Strategy for Change" (Foreign Affairs, Winter, 1980-81). Cooperation, rather than confrontation, is the key to a successful relationship with South Africa. Like his mentor, Kissinger, Crocker's ideological mind-set is inclined to ensuring the existence of a moderate, pro-Western, anti-communist regime in South Africa which will protect US imperialist interests in the region.

Elizabeth Schmidt, writing in "TransAfrica Forum" (Fall 1983), concluded:

"While the racist overtones of the Reagan policy render it less palatable than those of its predecessors and the lethal implications of military and nuclear collusion with a racist state situate it in a more urgent context, constructive engagement is, in the long view, standard U.S. imperialism unashamedly exposed. In the immediacy of the present, however, the consequences of the Reagan policy for millions of Southern Africans are absolutely deadly."

We completely share these sentiments and we condemn this diabolical policy in the strongest possible terms. It is an imperialist policy; it is a pro-apartheid policy; it is a policy of aggressive, gun-boat diplomacy.

On the issue of Namibia's independence, we find the position of the Reagan Administration and of the Contact Group, which it dominates totally unprincipled. There is only one legal, political and moral principle involved. That is, racist South Africa illegally and wrongfully occupies Namibia and must get out immediately and unconditionally. Until it does so, in accordance with the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, in particular Security Council Resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978), and 539 (1983), it is an international outlaw and must be treated as such.

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This discussion on "constructive engagement" can best be concluded with a useful summary made by Sean Gervasi in his paper, "South Africa: Dr. Crockef's Secret War?" prepared for delivery to the Socialist Scholars Conference, New York City, April 20, 1984:

President Reagan decided upon a general posture which would be supportive to South Africa in a region increasingly threatened by instability. The United States would seek to encourage peaceful evolutionary change in order to forestall mass revolutionary violence, within South Africa. Beyond South African borders, the U.S. would seek to counter Soviet influence in the region. In particular, U.S. policy would seek to help bolster the security of South Africa, that is, to foster regional security by means which would meet South African needs. "

Today the Reagan Administration and the apartheid junta are joined together in an unholy alliance against the interests of the millions of Africans in Southern Africa, in general, and in Namibia in particular. "History repeats itself. Again, the internationalization of the colonial conflict in Namibia has, once again, crystallized the anti-imperialist character of our struggle. Pretoria's regional aggression is being encouraged and supported by the United States of America. And, therefore, the struggle must and will continue.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah bequeathed these words:

"It is by the people's effort that monopoly is routed, it is by the sweat of the people's brow that nations are built. "

To the fallen Namibian patriots and to the combatants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). let us repeat the words addressed to a celebrated black American Freedom Fighter, Harriet Tubman.

"The midnight sky and the silent stars have been the witnesses of your devotion to freedom and of your heroism. "

We have reached the present stage in the struggle because of the sacrifices made by those who died and the continued sufferings of the struggling masses.

SWAPO leads the nation at home and abroad; SWAPO is the Namibian people organized to liberate themselves. It has stood the test of time, and has never been found wanting on the battle field, in the diplomatic circles, as the sole and authentic representative of the oppressed people of Namibia.

On the 31 January 1984, racist P.W. Botha was forced to admit publicly in the all-white parliament in Cape Town, that the cost of his aggressive, colonial war has become unbearable in terms of lives, resources and the resulting internal political contradictions. What Botha was forced to admit is an objective manifestation of the viability and effectiveness of a protracted people's war.

In the meantime, until final victory, fight for
All for Victory! Yes - Victory through the Struggle,

Statement By The
International Conference
On Namibia

THE INTERNATIONAL Conference on 'Namibia 1884 - 1984: 100 years of Foreign Occupation, 100 years of Struggle', was held in London at the City University from 10 to 13 September 1984. It attracted over 400 participants from all over the world, including the Vice-President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Ambassador Noel Sinclair of Guyana and a delegation from the Council, the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Mr Brajesh Mishra, a team of scholars from the United Nations Institute for Namibia, led by its Director, Comrade Hage Geingob, leading academics and many supporters of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people.

Above all, the Conference was greatly honoured by the presence of a large SWAPO delegation, headed by the new SWAPO Secretary General, Comrade Andimba Toivo Ja Toivo. A sizeable contingent of Namibian students from all over the world also attended.

The Conference was organised in the context of the centenary of two tragic and shameful events in world history - the German colonial annexation of Namibia in 1884 and the Berlin Conference later that year, at which the European imperialist powers agreed to carve up the Continent of Africa among themselves.

Participants were unanimous that there are few parallels in modern world history to the calculated and deliberate genocide against the Namibian people under the occupation of Imperial Germany, followed by the brutal racist domination of South Africa. They noted that it is now almost 18 years since the United Nations declared the occupation by the apartheid regime illegal and a full six years since the United Nations Security Council adopted the independence plan for Namibia (Resolution 435).

The Conference saluted the resistance of the Namibian people, an epic struggle in which the heroic and nation-wide resistance, since 1960, under the leadership of SWAPO, is the final chapter.

Nowhere in Europe, it was agreed, has a nation fought for freedom against the odds that the Namibian people have faced - a million and a half people scattered in a huge territory struggling against a brutal and racist regime which respects no law and no morality, and which has built up a gigantic military machine with the connivance of the United States of America and the powers involved in the Conference of Berlin.

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By reviving and assessing this experience, the Conference was unique in its linking of intellectual endeavour and political commitment. Seventy five papers were presented in the course of 21 seminars and seven plenary discussions over the four days of the Conference.

The participants committed themselves to oppose Western collaboration with the South African apartheid regime in its continued illegal occupation of Namibia. They rededicated themselves to unremitting support for the cause of the liberation of Namibia from colonial rule, and the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of their liberation movement, SWAPO of Namibia, for genuine independence, peace and justice.

A LUTA CONTINUA!

Brazil Supports SWAPO

And Frontline States

A WORKSHOP for Namibia (m Transnational Corporations and National Development was held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, from September 17 to 21, 1984. It was attended by a large SWAPO delegation which was accorded warm welcome by the Brazilian authorities. The Workshop examined the activities of transnational corporations in the field of mining, fisheries, agriculture, banking and insurance sectors of the Namibian economy. The Workshop also provided a unique occasion for the government of Brazil to spell out more clearly its policy towards SWAPO and the struggle for national liberation in our country.

In his opening speech, the head of the Africa Department of the Ministry of External Affairs, Ambassador A.P. Ulyssea, said in part that:

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itimate representative of the Namibian people, as well as our strong condemnation of South Africa's manoeuvres in order to delay the implementation of Namibia's independence according to the will of its people. You also know how strongly the Brazilian Government repudiates apartheid. Aware and proud of the mixture of races and cultures which contributed to our nationhood, Brazil could not have a different position vis-à-vis the apartheid regime. Not only does it offend the very essence of the Brazilian nation, but it is also the main cause of instability in the whole of Southern Africa, the most menacing threat to peace in the region and, further and foremost, the deepest reason why Pretoria has been refusing to implement Resolution 435, with no acceptable excuse.

FREEDOM AND JUSTICE

Mr. Ulyssea went on to say that conscious of the relevant contribution of Africa to the formation of the Brazilian culture, the Brazilian society shares with the African peoples their aspirations for freedom, justice and progress. It is not a rhetoric exaggeration to state that, to a very large extent, the African causes are also causes of the Brazilian people. Thus, Brazil's sympathy naturally flows to the Namibian people and to its legitimate representative, SWAPO, and the Brazilian Government firmly supports every measure destined to assure Namibia of an acceptable settlement for its cause.

CO-OPERATION

He further stated that: "We do hope, however, that the discussions between the leaders of SWAPO and representatives of South Africa, differently from what happened in Geneva in 1981, due to Pretoria's attitude, will eventually open the way for the correct implementation of Resolution 435. A developing country itself, with limited financial resources, Brazil has been co-operating with all the Frontline States of Southern Africa in several spheres. With all of them we have already forged strong links, mutually advantageous, without any form of interference in the internal affairs of one another or any hidden hegemonism. In the capacity of a brotherly partner, Brazil has been attending the annual meetings of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference - SADCC - since 1980. Since that year we have realized - and stated - that SADCC will only be able to achieve its noble goals when its tenth potential member - Namibia - can effectively join the organisation. With the mutual will of our respective Governments, Brazil and Angola, your Northern and our Eastern neighbour, have established a net of transport and communication through the Atlantic which has been supporting our mutual cooperation to levels and areas that never cease to grow. With financing from international organisations, such as the African Bank for Development, the Kuwait and OPEC Funds, several joint projects are being implemented by Brazil in the other Frontline States. As you may have already noticed, and will still see in the next few days, although Third World country itself, Brazil has developed a kind of technology that can easily be transferred to the African environment."

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Abiding by the Resolution (iii) the United Nations, no Brazilian enter-
prize htis tiny (lml with the illegally o(tupied Namibia. Abiding by the same
resolution, it is our polity not to take any step that ('ould be interpreted as a
way of Icgitimuting South Africa's presence in your (totintry, Documents issued
by the South African administration for Namibia residents have no validity On
Brazilian soilt

Actording to its SCAR? financial possibilities. Brazil has been contributing
to the main United Nations institutions, for Namibia: the Nationhood Pro-
gramme. the Institute for Namibia and the L'nited Nations Fund for your
country. Such (iontributions are. of course, symbolic And we hope that this
Seminar. held within the i'raiiicwork uf thc Nationhood Programme of the
United Nations for Namibia. may also symbolize Brazil's support for your cause.
We therefore, thank the L'nited Nations Centre on Transnational Cor-
porations for sponsoring the workxhup in Rim tmd for the invaluable help it has
provided for the organisation of this event. .Xntl. above all. thank you. dis-
tinguished representatives of the Namibian people. for choosing Brazil as the
site for this fifth Seminar on the subject It is our sincere wish that the lectures,
visits and discussions that will take plum here with you may represent a token
of Brazil's willingness to (14)PCIXHC with .1 rcully independent Namibia. to the
benefit of pcut'c Llllti progress in the Smith thantit' region, and in the Third
World as a whole. "lie iniirliulcd.

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Playing A Vital Role

In Liberation Struggle:

Voice Of Namibia Radio Service

SWAPO's RADIO Service, the Voice of Namibia, has been so effective that its programmes are very popular today inside Namibia.

According to the reports from Namibia, the Voice of Namibia programmes, broadcast from the capitals of six independent African states, Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), Brazzaville (Congo), Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), Harare (Zimbabwe), Luanda (Angola) and Lusaka (Zambia), are today not only a source of information and political education but also of inspiration and encouragement to Namibians that history is on their side.

The Voice of Namibia, which is one of SWAPO's most effective means of mobilising the Namibian masses as well as of reaching the world at large, in September held a planning and management seminar, in Lusaka, Zambia, to review its operations and programmes in order to gear its production to meet the ever increasing challenges in the liberation struggle as well as assess the ever changing situation in Namibia.

The seminar, organised by the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, was attended by the supervisors of the radio service based in the six countries as well as officials of the Department of Information and Publicity.

MOBILISING AND EDUCATING

Addressing the official closing of the seminar at the Zambia Institute of Mass Communications, SWAPO Secretary for Information and Publicity, ICOMrade Hidiipo Hamutenya said that for over a decade now SWAPO has been provided with the opportunity to beam programmes to Namibia through the radio stations of Tanzania, Zambia, Congo, Ethiopia, Angola and Zimbabwe. Thanks to this vital assistance, the Voice of Namibia programmes have become a central feature of our struggle and an important means of politicising, mobilising and educating the masses of our people to support and participate in the political and armed resistance to the South African occupation of our country, Comrade Hamutenya said.

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He continued, "The six independent African countries have been kind enough to put at our disposal their broadcasting facilities thus the Voice of Namibia, a SWAPO radio network, is today able to reach our people from the national radios of all these countries. Thanks to these facilities, SWAPO is able to talk to the Namibian population over the heads of the South African colonial authoritiesfl

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Comrade Kandy Ne'hmrui, SWAPO Deputy Secretary for Information and Publicity, speaking to HIV VON supervisory during the Closing session of the Seminar on 29/1/84. '1?) his right is Zambian Minister of Tourism, Comrade Rugvir Sukuhuka. ()71 1/16 left is Comrade Hidipo Hamutenya, SWAPO Sacralczry fur ln/hrmatimz and Publiu'ty.

"'I'hmuigh the Voice of Namibia broadcasts, SWAPO has been able to provide to the Namibian people correct interpretation of events as they unfold in and around Namibia. In this regard, our movement has been able to exercise significant influcnu: over the minds. hearts and actions of the broad masses of the Namibian people."

PROG RAMMES POPULAR

Comrade Hamutenya stated that the Voice of Namibia has been able to shape the polttiud opinion of the oppressed Namibian masses. Its programmes are today not only a source of information and political education, but 3150 0f inspiration and cncnuragcment to the Namibian people that history is on their side.

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"I am happy to announce that the Voice of Namibia programmes are very popular in Namibia. This is confirmed by all those who come out of Namibia, including the delegates who attended the Lusaka talks on Namibia in May this year. For this reasons, were are truly grateful to the government of Zambia as well as to those of the other countries which have helped in this connection? Comrade Hamutenva concluded. "I would like to thank the UN. Council for Namibia, through the Office of the Commissioner for Namibia, for training our broadcasters to run our Voice of Namibia programmes and to prepare them to man the broadcasting service in an independent Namibia. This,indeed, is a vital short term and long term assistance?

The Zambian acting Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services Comrade Roger Sakuhuka, officially closed the seminar and hailed the Voice of Namibia for the important contribution it was making towards the liberation of Namibia.

Comrade Sakuhuka, the Zambian Minister of Tourixm, who was aeting asle'nzl ster of Information and Broadcasting Services, addressmg thr' rlnxzng sesszon Of the Seminar at the Zambia Institute ofMass Commummlmu an 29th September 1984.

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He noted that the Voice of Namibia was conceived by the gallant SWAPO leadership to mobilise the Namibian masses in the just and noble cause for the liberation of their motherland from the illegal occupation of racist South Africa and to articulate the Namibian cause to the world at large.

VON EFFECTIVE

The service, the Minister recalled, started broadcasting from Tanzania with a programme called "Namibian Hour" in the early sixties. In 1973, Radio Zambia also began transmitting "Namibian Hour" from Lusaka. In 1974, a decade ago, the service became appropriately known as the Voice of Namibia, since it became truly the main channel through which the patriots of Namibia could freely speak to themselves and the world about the colonial situation in Namibia. Since then, the service has expanded to the point that it now broadcasts in all Namibian languages from six African states.

As the struggle for the liberation of Namibia intensified, so has the Voice of Namibia's contribution to the struggle. SWAPO's radio service has matured together with the struggle. From that one hour pioneer programme called "Namibian Hour", the Voice of Namibia today broadcasts daily from six different countries a variety of programmes aimed at mobilising and informing the Namibian people and the world at large about the struggle and SWAPO's gallant efforts to liberate Namibia and counter South Africa's extensive propaganda machinery." said Comrade Sakuhuka.

He said that there was no doubt that the Voice of Namibia has been effective in rallying the Namibian masses to the liberation cause.

THE IMPORTANT ROLE

The Zambian Minister said it was no secret that the racist South African regime was spending a lot of resources on broadcasting in order to hoodwink Namibian and international opinion about its illegal occupation and repressive rule of Namibia. The Voice of Namibia was therefore playing an important role to counter South Africa's manoeuvres.

He said. The humble front for the Voice of Namibia is the most extensive in the Namibian liberation struggle. It is not confined to a single geographical operational zone. The battle of the air waves knows no police zones and red lines. The whole of Namibia and beyond is its operational zone. The Voice of Namibia is simultaneously reaching Namibians in exile, at the battle front and those at home. Your audience is made up of all shades of Namibian patriots as well as puppets of your allies in the region and the international community as well as the enemy?

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The Voice of Namibia therefore shoulders the heavy responsibility in executing the Namibian liberation struggle. Courses, workshops and seminars for SWAPO cadres charged with this important responsibility are therefore very important in improving the performance of the service and accelerating the struggle," he added.

At the ...

Seminar of the Voice of Namibia. Comrade Kandy Nehova, SWAPO Deputy Secretary for Information and Publicity, chaired the seminar.

Comrade Sukuhuka expressed the hope that the results of the seminar

would go a long way in improving SWAPO's radio service,

He concluded that there was no doubt that independent Namibia was

around the corner. As Namibian patriots under SWAPO relentlessly march

on the road to freedom, it was imperative that Namibian cadres be prepared

for the daunting task of national reconstruction and development in Independent Namibia.

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