

NAMIBIA

IN STRUGGLE

a pictorial history



International Defence & Aid Fund for
Southern Africa in cooperation with the
United Nations Council for Namibia



© INTERNATIONAL DEFENCE AND AID FUND 1987

This book is copyright under the Berne Convention. All rights are reserved. Apart from any fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism or review as permitted under the Copyright Act, 1956, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, electrical, chemical, mechanical, optical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the copyright owner. Enquiries should be addressed to the publishers.

All photographs are from the photo library of IDAF Research, Information and Publications Department.

The International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa is a humanitarian organisation which has worked consistently for peaceful and constructive solutions to the problems created by racial oppression in Southern Africa.

It sprang from Christian and humanist opposition to the evils and injustices of apartheid in South Africa. It is dedicated to the achievement of free, democratic, non-racial societies throughout Southern Africa.

The objects of the Fund are:-

- (i) to aid, defend and rehabilitate the victims of unjust legislation and oppressive and arbitrary procedures,
- (ii) to support their families and dependents,
- (iii) to keep the conscience of the world alive to the issues at stake.

In accordance with these three objects, the Fund distributes its humanitarian aid to the victims of racial injustice without any discrimination on grounds of race, colour, religious or political affiliation. The only criterion is that of genuine need.

The Fund runs a comprehensive information service on affairs in Southern Africa. This includes visual documentation. It produces a regular news bulletin 'FOCUS' on Political Repression in Southern Africa, and publishes pamphlets and books on all aspects of life in Southern Africa.

The Fund prides itself on the strict accuracy of all its information.

This book was prepared by IDAF Research, Information and Publications Department.

ISBN No. 0 904759 76 8



08/056/0019/2

NAMIBIA

IN STRUGGLE

a pictorial history



International Defence & Aid Fund for
Southern Africa in cooperation with the
United Nations Council for Namibia



1. NAMIBIA: THE COUNTRY

Namibia is named after the Namib desert which lies along the Atlantic Coast. The South African government refers to Namibia by its colonial name, South West Africa.

Size:

824,000 square kilometres (318,000 square miles).

Population:

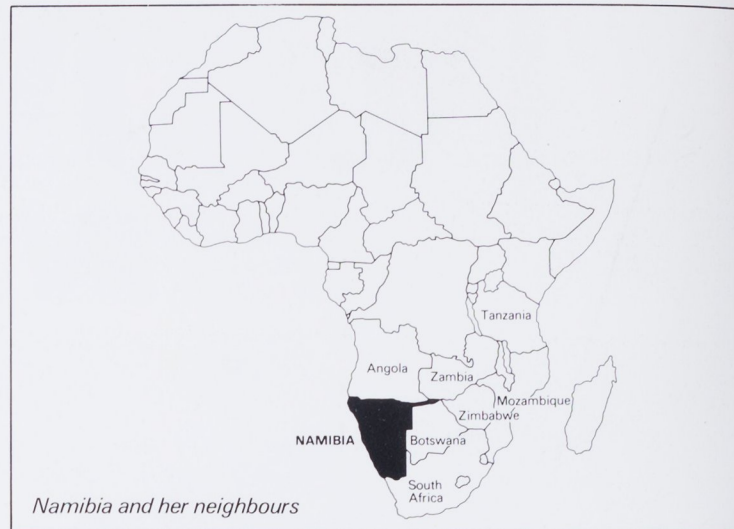
Approximately one and a half million, with one of the lowest population densities in Africa.

Government:

Namibia is a colony of South Africa. The United Nations Council for Namibia is responsible for administering the territory until it gains independence but is prevented from doing so by South Africa. Namibia is illegally occupied by South Africa which has imposed its apartheid system of white minority rule. Black people, who comprise over 90 per cent of the population, are denied basic rights. The UN General Assembly recognises the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people.

Environment:

Namibia has the driest climate in Africa south of the Sahara. Half of the country is desert or semi-desert. The coastal Namib desert gives way to a high plateau, and although the country is generally flat, there are some mountains. About 30 per cent of the country can be used for grazing sheep and goats, while 40 per cent is dry grassland suitable for cattle ranching. Only a small proportion of the land is under crops.



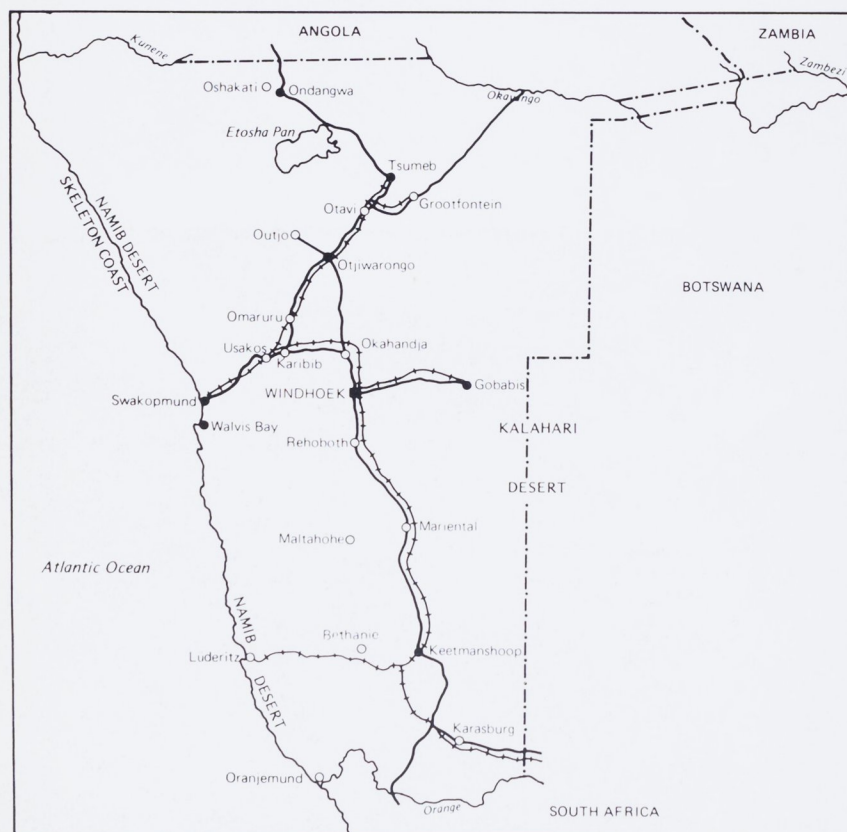
Namibia and her neighbours

Resources:

Namibia is rich in minerals. It is the largest source of gem diamonds in the world and has one of the biggest deposits of uranium, as well as copper, lead, tin, zinc, manganese and natural gas. The Atlantic coast is a rich fishing zone. Meat products and the pelts of karakul lambs are important exports. The territory's resources have been severely depleted under South African occupation.

Language:

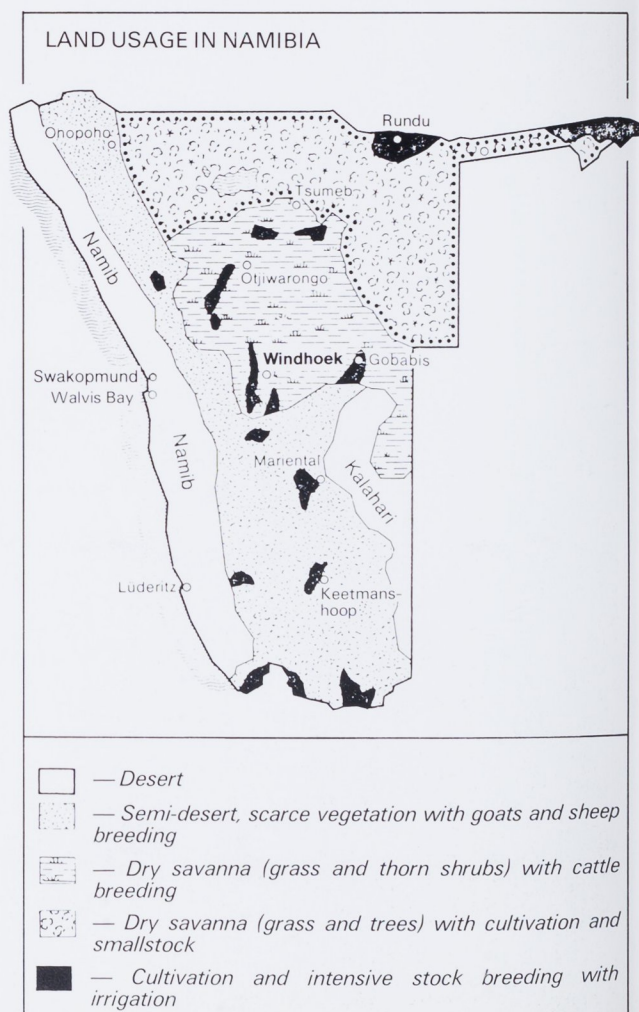
Several languages are spoken in Namibia — over half the population speak Oshivambo. The languages of the South African administration are English and Afrikaans.



NAMIBIA

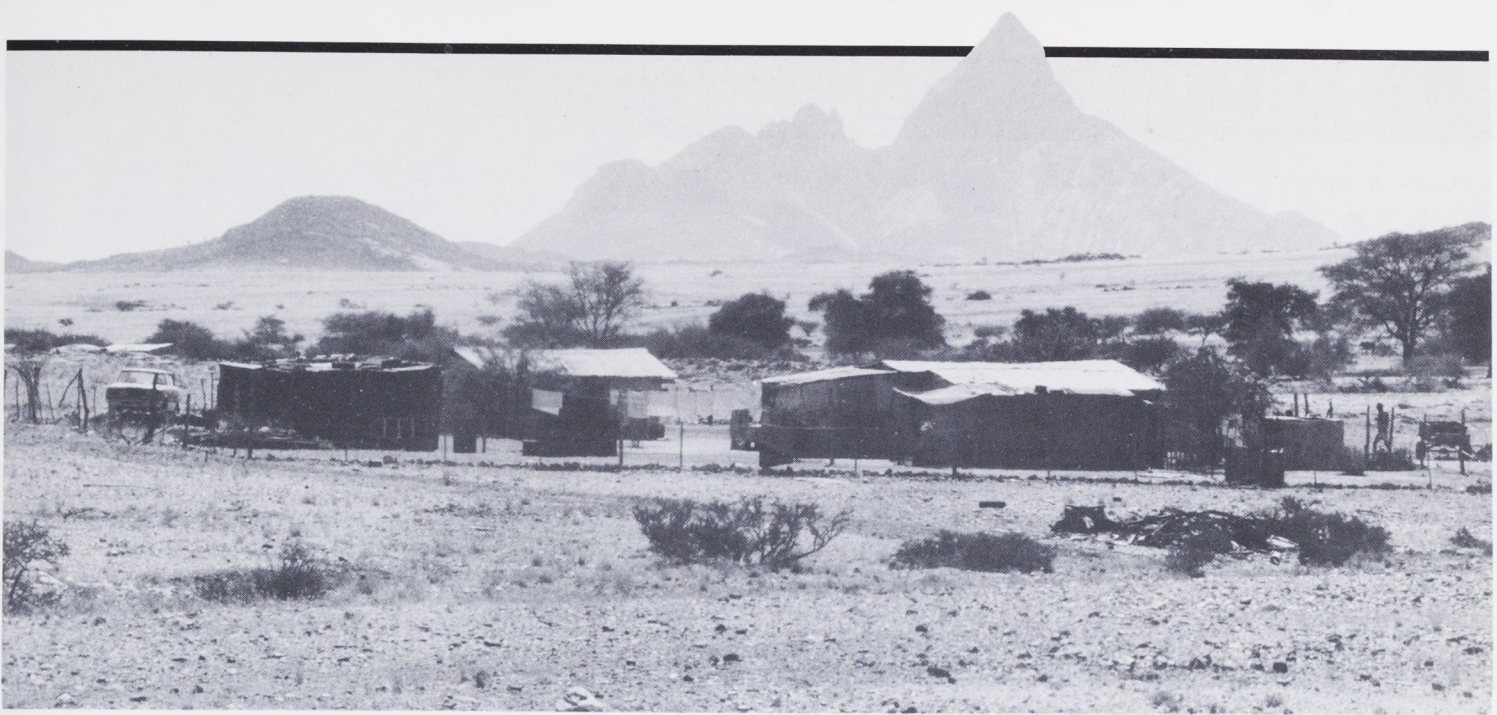
- MAJOR TOWNS
- OTHER TOWNS
- MAJOR ROADS
- ++++ RAILWAYS
- ~~~~ PERENNIAL RIVERS

0 200
KILOMETRES



LAND USAGE IN NAMIBIA

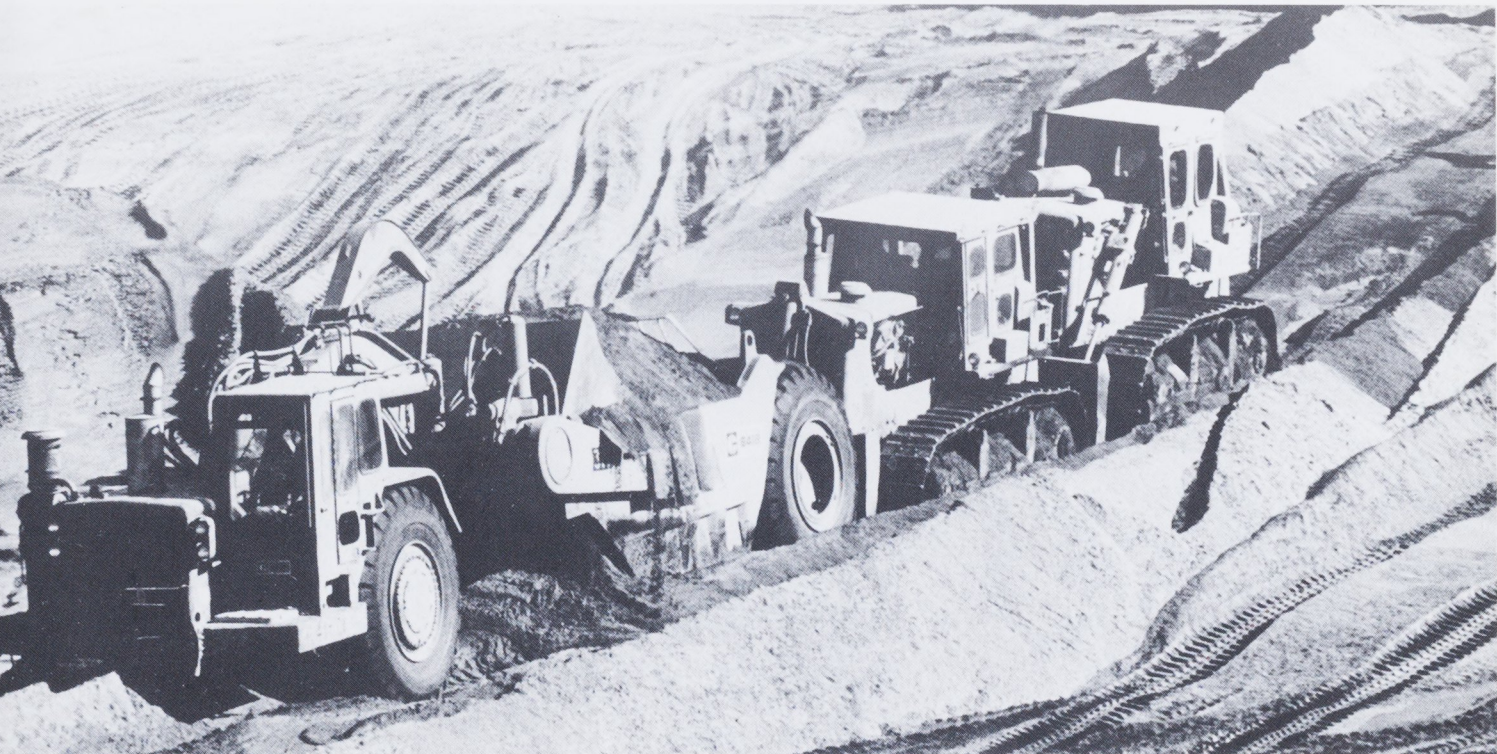
- — Desert
- — Semi-desert, scarce vegetation with goats and sheep breeding
- — Dry savanna (grass and thorn shrubs) with cattle breeding
- — Dry savanna (grass and trees) with cultivation and smallstock
- — Cultivation and intensive stock breeding with irrigation



Much of Namibia is dry semi-desert — such as around the Spitzkoppe mountains



The harsh Namib desert runs along the entire coast



Diamonds are mined in the Namib at Oranjemund

2. COLONIAL CONQUEST

The people of Namibia have experienced a particularly brutal history of colonial rule.

Before colonisation, people lived in varied communities, hunting, herding or cultivating the land. In the dry south, they herded sheep and goats, in the centre of the country they raised cattle, while in the lush north they raised crops and herded animals. Iron and copper were mined and the various communities kept in contact through trade and diplomacy.

During the nineteenth century, European colonists began to penetrate Namibia. The territory was declared a colony of Germany when the European powers met at the Conference of Berlin in 1884. In the following years the Germans attempted to subjugate the Namibian people and seize their land and livestock.

German troops on patrol — camels were introduced by the Germans but are no longer used for transport



The people of Namibia fought several wars of resistance. In 1904 Samuel Maharero led an uprising while Hendrik Witbooi united the whole of the south in a guerilla campaign against the Germans. All over the country there was fierce resistance to German attempts to take away land.

A village in northern Namibia portrayed by a European artist in the middle of the nineteenth century



Survivors of the German conquest of the south were herded into prison and labour camps. Thousands died of starvation and disease





German troops parade in front of the town hall in Windhoek



Witbooi with his commanders in the field



Hendrik Witbooi, who at the age of 80 led the Nama people in the 1904 war. He died in action in October 1905, but his followers continued guerilla war against the Germans for a further two years (above right)

Samuel Maharero. In 1904 he led the Herero people into war against colonial Germany. Defeated by overwhelming forces, they were forced into the waterless Kalahari, pursued by German troops who had orders to 'exterminate' them

3. GENOCIDE AND INVASION

After the 1904 uprising, the governor and commander of the German forces, General von Trotha, issued a proclamation calling for the killing of men, women, and children. As a result of this genocide, by 1907 sixty per cent of the population of central and southern Namibia had been killed. However, the Germans feared the military strength of the chiefs in the north, and most of northern Namibia was left unconquered.

European settlers followed the German troops, eager for the wealth of the territory. The settlers appropriated the most fertile land and forced surviving black Namibians to work for them. The

majority of the black population was restricted to increasingly impoverished 'reserves'. Faced with new economic pressures, men from the north were also forced into migrant labour, being recruited for periods of service on white-owned mines and farms.

When the First World War broke out, South Africa, as part of the British Empire, invaded German South West Africa and seized control of the country. After the war, the South African government was granted a mandate by the League of Nations to administer the territory on behalf of Britain.



General Franke, one of the German commanders



Prisoners were forced into virtual slave labour on the railways and white owned farms and mines



Victim of flogging. White settlers were legally empowered to punish African workers — often by flogging them to the point of death

Public hangings of Africans were common





Starving survivors returning from the desert



Jacob Morenga, who led a skillful guerilla campaign against the Germans in southern Namibia until his death in 1907

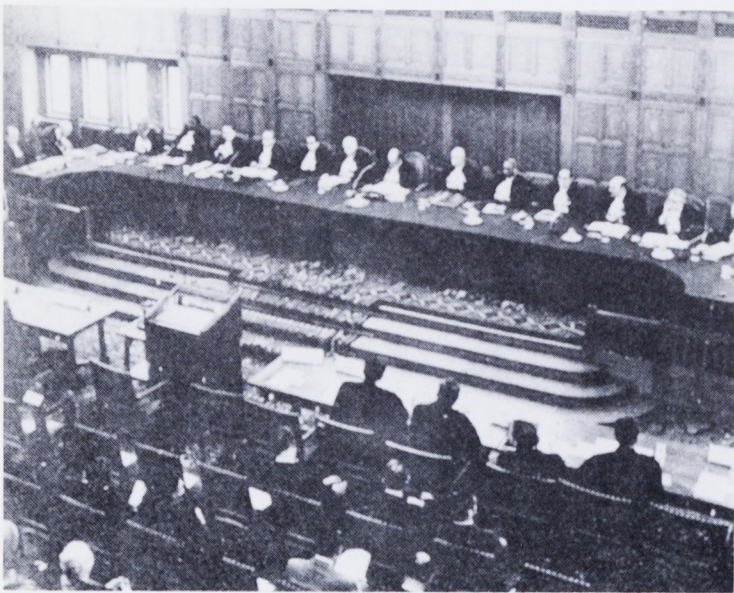


The Germans never conquered the north of Namibia. In 1917 the South African authorities sent an expeditionary force to kill chief Mandume of Ukwanyama, the most powerful leader in the north. His body is displayed here before he was decapitated

General Smuts, the South African Prime Minister (right), receives the German surrender on 9 July 1915



4. SOUTH AFRICA'S ILLEGAL OCCUPATION



The International Court of Justice in the Hague, Netherlands meeting in 1971. On 21 June that year it declared: 'The court is of the opinion . . . that, the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia being illegal, South Africa is under obligation to withdraw its administration from Namibia immediately and thus put an end to its occupation of the Territory.'

Bronze casts of Hitler and the Afrikaner leader Paul Kruger on sale in Windhoek in 1978. Many of the remaining German settlers supported Hitler — after the Second World War they swung their support behind the South African National party and its apartheid policies



Under its League of Nations mandate, South Africa was required to 'promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being' of the Namibian people. But the black majority, stripped of their land and wealth, were denied civil or political rights in the land of their birth. Thousands of white South African settlers were brought into Namibia, and further land was expropriated from the African population.

After the Second World War, the South African government made efforts to annex Namibia, but opposition from the United Nations prevented this. Nevertheless, South Africa extended its apartheid laws to the territory and brutally suppressed resistance to its rule. The South African government refused to accept that it was accountable for Namibia to the United Nations, which had replaced the League of Nations.

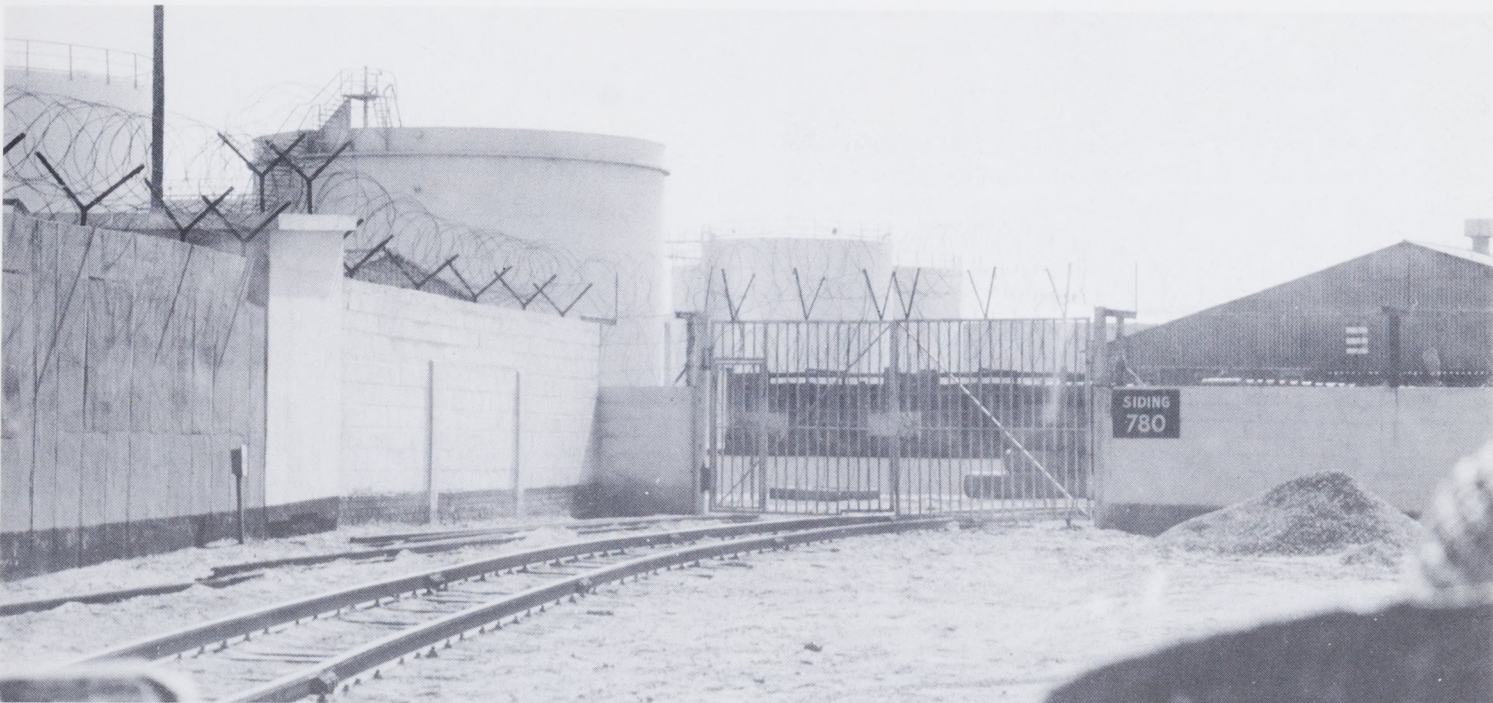
In 1966 the UN General Assembly ended South Africa's right to administer Namibia. The territory was made the responsibility of the UN Council for Namibia. The International Court of Justice stated in 1971 that the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia was illegal and that it should withdraw from the territory. South Africa ignored these rulings and continued to occupy Namibia in defiance of the world community.

The UN drew up plans for elections to be held in Namibia and for the country to become independent under UN supervision. After negotiations with the South African government, in 1978 these plans were set out in Security Council Resolution 435. Even though it had accepted the plans, the South African regime refused to agree to the implementation of Resolution 435.

In 1977 South Africa annexed Namibia's only deep water port, Walvis Bay. Although it is situated in the middle of Namibia's Atlantic coast, Walvis Bay is now administered as part of South Africa's Cape Province. Huge military bases have been established there, and South Africa has made it clear that it intends holding onto Walvis Bay even after Namibian independence. The UN has insisted that Walvis Bay is part of Namibia.



Compound for migrant workers at Walvis Bay — most of the workers are recruited on contract from northern Namibia and housed in barrack-like dormitories



Heavily protected oil tanks at Walvis Bay — South African control over the port could strangle an independent Namibia



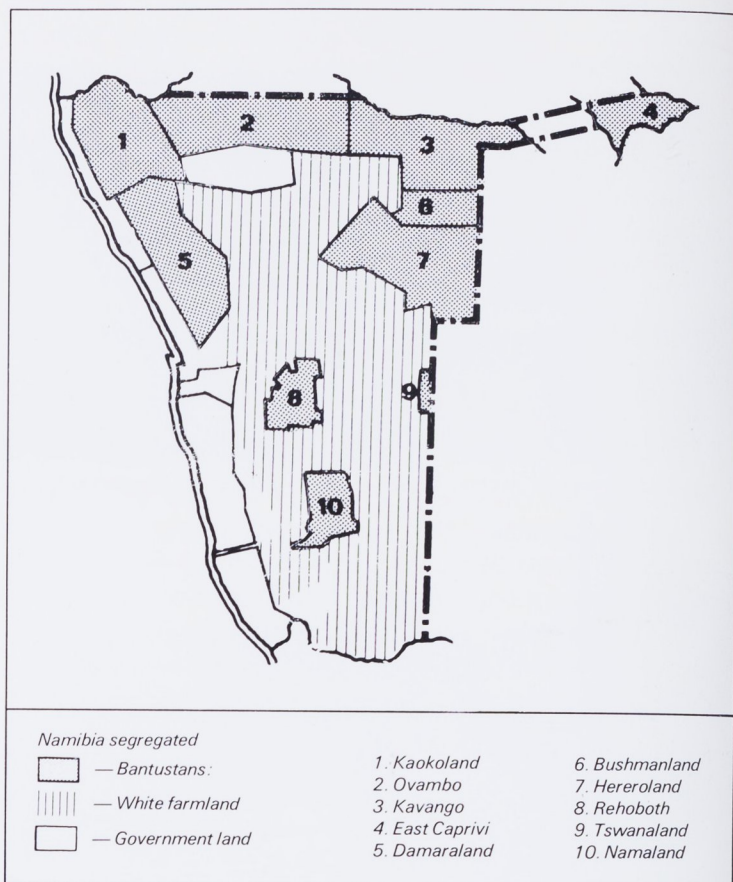
SWAPO supporters demonstrate in Windhoek in 1978 to demand United Nations elections

5. DIVIDE AND RULE

Under German colonialism, black Namibians in the central and southern parts of Namibia were driven off most of their land into 'reserves'. In order to survive in these generally barren areas, they were forced to work for white settlers, often as migrant labourers. Workers from the north were also recruited as migrant labourers, usually on limited contracts which prevented them from settling in the areas in which they were employed. South Africa extended and developed this system, especially when the system of apartheid was imposed.

During the 1960s, segregation and apartheid were further developed. Black Namibians were divided into different 'population groups' on the basis mainly of language. The reserves were renamed 'homelands' or bantustans, and limited administrative powers were given to carefully selected bantustan officials. Each of the bantustan authorities was given some control over the particular 'population group' which was supposed to be living there — though in many cases most members of the 'population group' lived outside the bantustan boundaries.

The eventual aim of this effort to divide and segregate the Namibian population was to set up a number of mini-states under overall South African control, leaving the white minority with two-thirds of Namibia, including all the commercial farming and mining areas. However, the Namibian people have strongly resisted these efforts to divide the country. The liberation movement SWAPO works for national unity under the slogan 'One Namibia, one nation'.



Desolate settlement in the Namaland bantustan

Damaraland — a barren bantustan. South African authorities claim that people can survive in the bantustans through subsistence agriculture, but the land cannot sustain the people who are forced to live in them



Homestead in the Rehoboth bantustan





Women, children and old people regarded as unsuitable for employment at white-owned farms, mines and industries make up the majority of the permanent population in the bantustans. Educational, recreational, health and other facilities for children are minimal



6. SWAPO

During the 1940s and 1950s, Namibians petitioned the United Nations and made international appeals for independence. Resistance to apartheid continued through demonstrations and other activities inside the country.

In 1960 Namibians came together to form the national liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organisation — SWAPO. The movement was formed shortly after a massacre on 10 December 1959 of Windhoek residents protesting against their forced removal to a new segregated township. A police attack on demonstrators left 11 people dead and 54 wounded.

SWAPO organises and mobilises people in Namibia and campaigns internationally for Namibian independence. Its main objective is to end South African colonial rule and bring about an independent, non-racial and socially just Namibia.

SWAPO concentrated at first on mobilising Namibian

workers against the contract labour system, but the movement soon spread into all sections of Namibian society. In 1966 it took up an armed struggle against the South African regime, forming the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). SWAPO has repeatedly stated its readiness to sign a ceasefire with South Africa in order to allow for the implementation of the UN plan for independence, but South Africa has refused.

The liberation movement has received support from many sections of Namibian society, with the churches in particular playing an increasingly important role. In 1985 the major Namibian churches and a number of other Namibian organisations joined with SWAPO in signing the *Ai-Gams Declaration*. This declaration committed the signatories to campaigning for independence as set out in UN Security Council Resolution 435. Mass rallies and meetings were held throughout Namibia as part of the campaign.



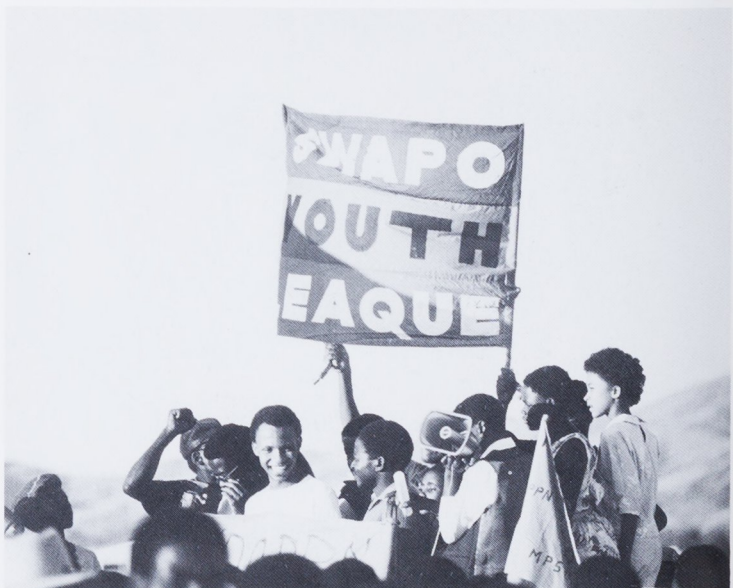
The President of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma

Catholic Corpus Christi procession in Windhoek — one of many events to unite Namibians around the Ai-Gams declaration, which calls for independence under UN Resolution 435



Pastor Hendrik Witbooi, a Vice-President of SWAPO, pictured outside the SWAPO offices in Gibeon. Despite repression, SWAPO continues to organise inside Namibia

SWAPO has mobilised Namibians through its Youth League, Women's Council and the National Union of Namibian Workers



Thousands of Namibians attend a SWAPO rally in Katutura



7. POLITICAL MANOEUVRES

South Africa has rejected UN and international demands for an end to its illegal occupation, and has refused to implement the UN plan for Namibian independence as set out in Resolution 435.

The South African regime has instead attempted to push Namibia towards pseudo-independence without the participation of SWAPO or the involvement of the international community.

These efforts have involved mainly groups participating in the South African bantustan administrations. In the 1970s, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), consisting largely of bantustan groups, was installed in a 'National Assembly'. This administration collapsed and the territory reverted to direct rule under a South African Administrator-General.

In 1985 another group, the Multi-Party Conference (MPC), was given administrative powers by South Africa. Military and economic affairs continued to be directly controlled from South Africa.

Despite all the South African efforts, the vast majority of Namibians support SWAPO, the national liberation movement. In the face of South African repression, SWAPO has mobilised the Namibian people for independence. Thousands of Namibians have risked arrest and police violence by attending SWAPO meetings and taking part in the activities of the liberation movement.



Arrest of demonstrator opposed to the DTA, 1978



SWAPO rally to demand full independence under UN supervision

Police break up a SWAPO demonstration in Windhoek





Demonstration protesting at the establishment of the MPC administration in June 1985



Armoured vehicles of the notorious Counter-Insurgency police unit known as Koevoet patrol Katutura, Windhoek, during the inauguration of the MPC administration

SWAPO rally in Windhoek in 1986 attended by a crowd variously estimated as between 10,000 and 25,000



8. LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

Poverty, famine and social deprivation stem from the denial of political, social and economic rights to over 90 per cent of the Namibian people. In contrast, most white Namibians have managerial, professional or skilled jobs and live comfortably, usually employing at least one black servant. Whites, on average, earn about 18 times as much as blacks in Namibia.

One out of every six black children dies in infancy, compared to one out of 50 white children. *Per capita* spending on health for whites is up to fifty times as great as that for black Namibians.

Education is segregated, and for black children it is vastly inferior compared to whites. Over five times more is spent on the education of each white child than on each black child. As a

result of lack of access to education, the majority of black adults are illiterate, and only one percent have completed secondary schooling.

Poverty in the bantustans has forced many black Namibians to seek work in the towns. With few jobs and little housing available, thousands have been forced to live in vast, unsanitary squatter settlements. Many workers live in large cramped 'hostels', while their families are forced to remain in the bantustans. Most black Namibians live in severely overcrowded conditions, often with an entire family living in one room. Thousands live in makeshift tin shacks or shanties.



White residential area in the seaside town of Swakopmund



Children play in Katutura, the African township of Windhoek

Health facilities have been described by the United Nations Council for Namibia as 'inextricably linked to the apartheid system imposed by South Africa and ... characterised by gross inequalities'



Children's graves in Katutura



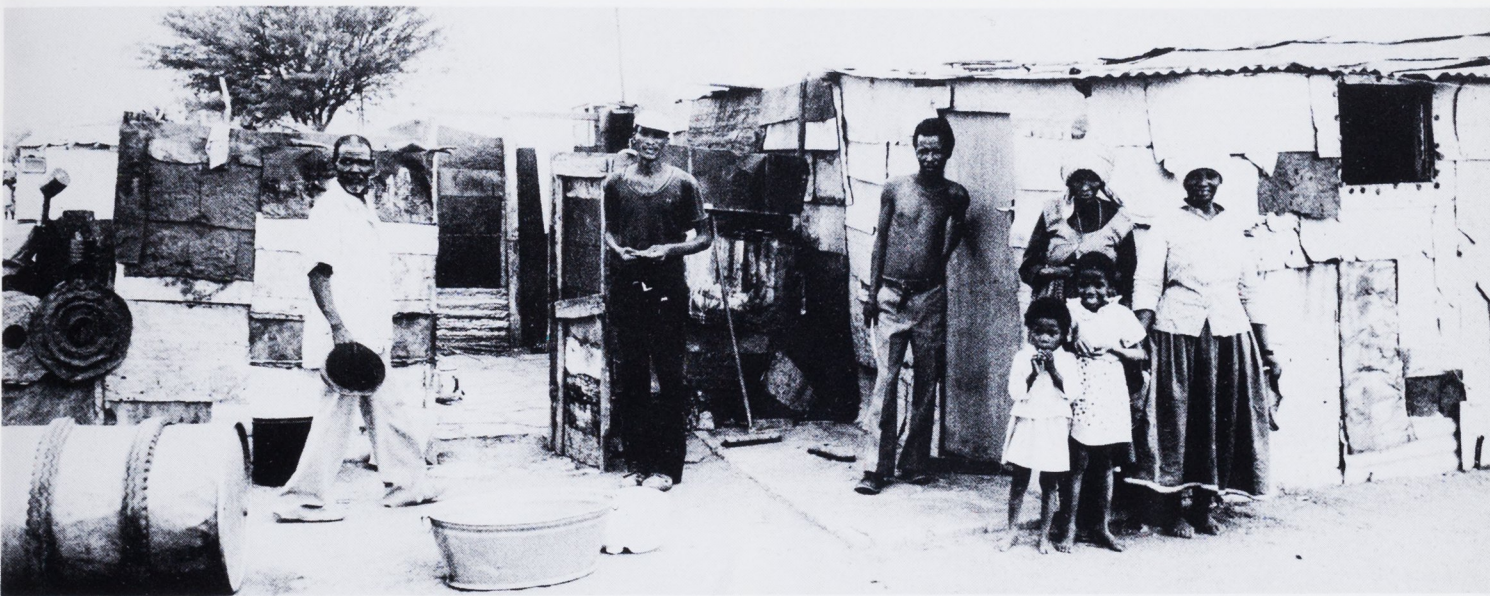


Schools for black children are overcrowded and lack basic facilities. In 1985 there was one classroom for every 11 pupils in white schools, but in the Ovambo bantustan there was a classroom only for every 59 pupils



Roadside market — one of the few economic activities in the bantustans

Squatter settlement at Kalkrand



'Single quarters' for migrant workers, Mondesa, Swakopmund. Women and children often illegally join their menfolk rather than live in poverty in the bantustans. Police raids lead to regular evictions



9. THE ECONOMY AND WORKFORCE

The Namibian economy is dominated by large South African and other foreign transnational corporations. Every year up to a third of all the wealth created in Namibia is taken out of the country, mainly in the form of corporate profits.

In 1974 the United Nations Council for Namibia enacted a *Decree for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia*. This prohibits any foreign company from extracting, using or selling the territory's products without UN permission. However, the large companies operating in Namibia have ignored this decree, and Namibia's resources have been whittled away. Over-fishing has led to the virtual collapse of the fish stocks off the Namibian coast, while the major mining companies have been accused of wasting resources and avoiding paying tax to the authorities.

There is no minimum wage regulation in Namibia. Health, pension and other employment conditions are inadequate and generally favour white workers. In urban areas, unemployment is between 30 and 50 per cent — there are no unemployment benefits for black workers.

The majority of black workers are paid poverty wages. They

have little job security and are subjected to authoritarian and often brutal treatment by white bosses. Workers on the farms and domestic workers have virtually no legal protection against victimisation or poor working conditions.

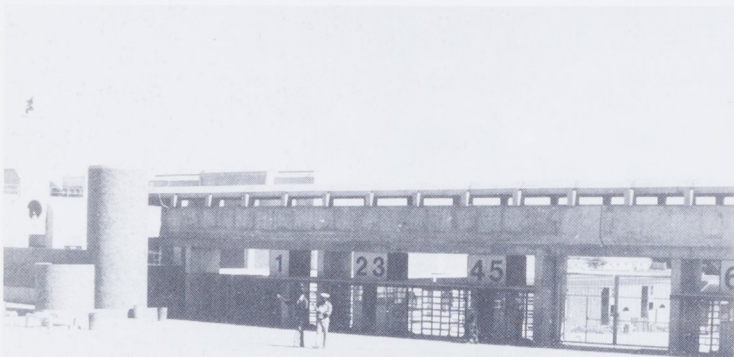
The migrant labour system which was established under German colonialism still exists today. Half of all black employees are contract workers, employed for six to 18 month periods, after which they have to return to the bantustans. Families remain in the bantustans, usually living in poverty as there is insufficient land there to support themselves by farming.

Resistance to contract labour led to a nationwide strike by over 20,000 contract workers in 1971-72. Many of the workers returned to the northern bantustans where there were violent clashes with the police and bantustan authorities. SWAPO played a leading role in the strike and later established the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW).

The NUNW has been largely forced underground through political repression and the arrest and harassment of its leaders, but it has continued to organise workers. Many strikes have taken place at mines and factories.



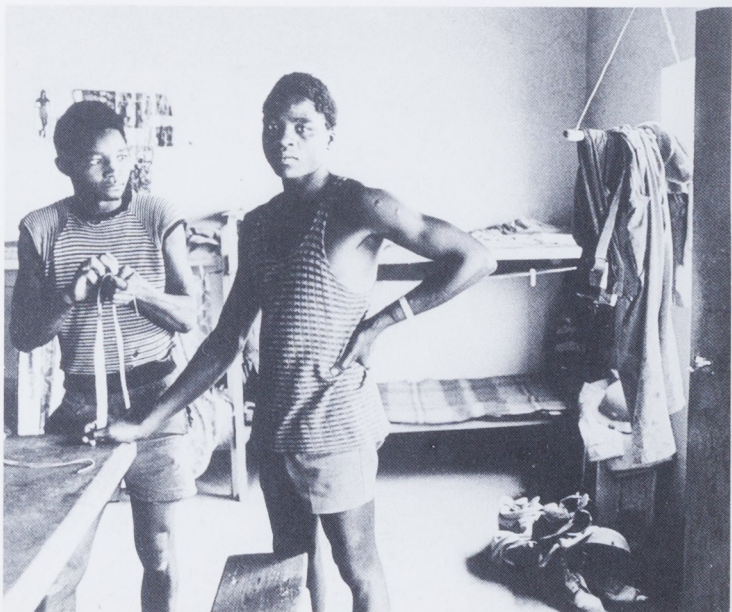
Main street in Tsumeb, showing the mineshaft of the local copper mine



Entrance to the migrant workers' hostel in Katutura. A survey of workers living there in 1983 revealed that over 70 per cent were married — their wives and families were prohibited from joining them

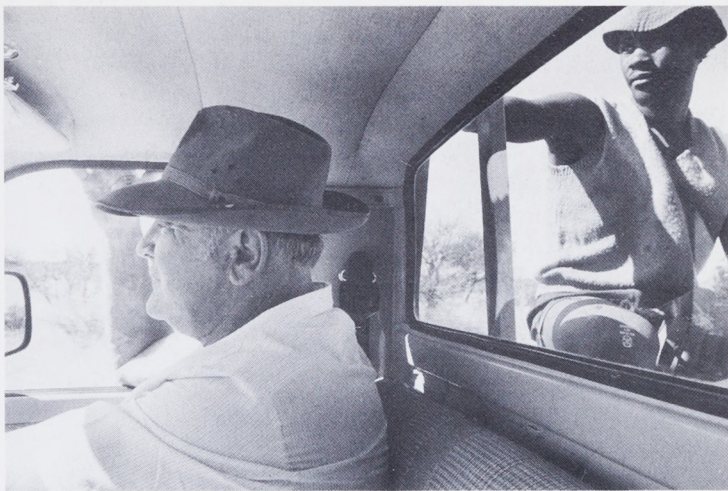


Thousands of black workers are housed in cramped rooms in large compounds run by individual companies or local authorities. Their families have to be left behind in the bantustans or live illegally in squatter shanty settlements outside the towns.

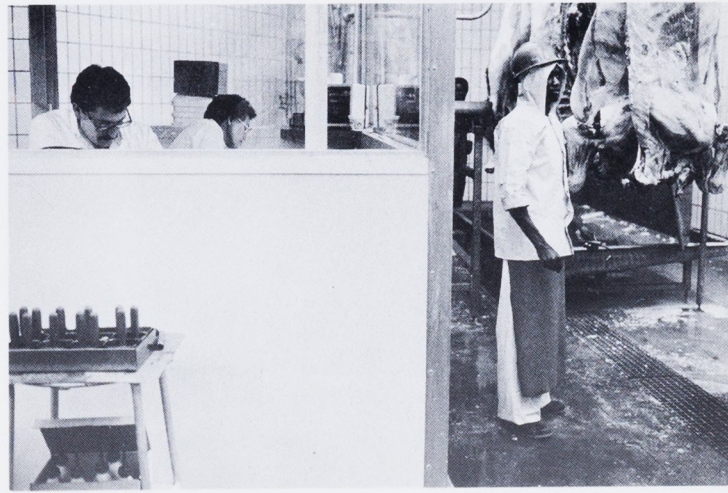




Black workers, who produce the wealth of Namibia, are discriminated against in wages, working conditions and fringe benefits. There is little legal protection against victimisation and maltreatment at work and workers can be dismissed at short notice without redundancy pay. Despite repression, workers have continued to organise trade unions and to struggle for better conditions. Strikes and other protests take place regularly, and workers play a leading role in the national liberation struggle led by SWAPO



White farmer transports one of his labourers. Black farm workers are the most exploited of all Namibian workers. Angula Mwaala, who was sentenced to 11 years' imprisonment for guerilla actions in 1983, told the court of his life as a farm labourer. He was paid a pittance and treated badly — for example, his white employer would let his dog sit in the front of his van, but make Mwaala sit in the back, even when it rained



10. MILITARY OCCUPATION

South Africa maintains its illegal occupation by force, using an estimated 100,000 troops. In the north of the country, which has been virtually sealed off, troops and police mount daily patrols from dozens of army and police bases. Towns have been turned into military garrisons and local army units have been established all over the country. Twenty thousand Namibians have been recruited or conscripted into the occupation forces, despite strong resistance to conscription.

Given vast powers, the police and army carry out what church leaders have called a 'reign of terror'. At least 15,000 Namibians have been killed. Whole villages have been destroyed along the northern border and vegetation has been cleared. Troops are under orders to 'shoot anything that moves' after the curfew comes into force in the evening. Local people suspected of supporting SWAPO are beaten or killed. Women are often raped.

An international delegation from the Anglican Church which visited Namibia in 1983 concluded: 'The curfew in operation in the north, the undoubted intimidation, the restriction of movement, the spreading of distrust through informers, the division of family life, the cases of abduction, torture and beatings, the total massive presence of the SADF, cause the community to live in a state of fear and repression'.

Some of the worst atrocities have been carried out by special military and police groups such as Koevoet (officially known as the Counter-Insurgency Unit of the South West Africa Police).



There is estimated to be one soldier to every 15 Namibians



South African instructors with Namibian recruits in the occupation army



Military checkpoint outside the fortified town of Oshakati





Portas Blasius, a 15 year old schoolboy, after he had been tortured by South African troops. The soldiers held his face against the exhaust outlet of their armoured personnel carrier



Lutheran printing press at Oniipa destroyed by South African troops



Victims of a South African massacre at Oshikuku. Troops from the Koevoet police unit disguised themselves as SWAPO guerillas to carry out these killings



11. REPRESSION

SWAPO members have been detained, tortured, killed and harassed. Leaders have been restricted to certain areas of the country and refused jobs. The movement's meetings and publications have been banned. Although the organisation has not itself been formally banned, it has been forced to operate largely underground.

Repressive South African laws have been extended to Namibia, and proclamations issued by the South African Administrator-General have given further powers to the police and army.

Proclamation AG9 empowers troops and police to search, arrest and detain people without trial for 30 days, a period which may be extended. Detention without trial is also a provision of Proclamation AG26, which empowers the authorities

to restrict people to specified areas of the country. The Terrorism Act allows for indefinite detention for 'interrogation' and provides for the death penalty.

Dusk-to-dawn curfews have been imposed in the north of Namibia which has been sealed off and placed under restrictions amounting to martial law.

Thousands of Namibians have been detained without trial. Most of them have been ill-treated, beaten or tortured. Detainees are often held in degrading and inhuman conditions at army or police camps — sometimes in makeshift wire and corrugated iron detention pens. People released from detention have reported being tortured through electric shocks, burning, beatings and other methods.



Kasire Thomas was chained to a pole and tortured for three days by a white farmer until he died. The farmer, a member of the local military unit, asked a friend to take this snapshot of him forcing Kasire to make a clenched fist salute



Ndara Kapitango, 63, was tortured by two soldiers who roasted him over a fire. The soldiers were each fined R50 as punishment





Police break up a SWAPO demonstration in January 1986 called to commemorate the United Nations' International Year of Peace



12. POLITICAL PRISONERS

An unknown number of Namibians are imprisoned or detained for political reasons. Often people are secretly held by the army or police, and the authorities have on many occasions denied knowledge of people who have been detained.

In 1968, 37 leading members of SWAPO, including the founder of the movement, Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, were charged under the Terrorism Act. Nineteen of them received life terms, and nine were sentenced to twenty years imprisonment. An international campaign was initiated for their release, but it was not until 1984 that ja Toivo and four of his fellow prisoners were released. In November 1985 a further 22 Namibian long-term political prisoners were released.

For several years, the South Africans secretly held more than 100 Namibians they abducted from the Kassinga refugee camp in Angola. More than 700 refugees were killed by South African troops in the attack on Kassinga. The detainees endured years of hardship and brutality in a prison camp and were only released after an international campaign.

The South African regime has continued to charge and imprison SWAPO members. South Africa has no right in law to imprison Namibians, as its presence in the territory is illegal. Furthermore, the right of the Namibian people to take up arms to fight for their freedom has been recognised by the United Nations and the international community.

Namibian political prisoners have suffered beatings and victimisation and endured harsh and inhuman conditions. Ja Toivo and others who were held on Robben Island, together with Nelson Mandela and other imprisoned leaders of the South African liberation struggle, were cut off from the outside world and subjected to insults, beatings and harsh punishment. They were denied proper medical facilities or clothes and kept in appalling conditions. Even in prison, Namibians have continued to resist the South African authorities. In 1986 twelve political prisoners held in the Windhoek prison went on hunger strike in protest at conditions and to demand better facilities.



Toivo ja Toivo, who played a leading part in founding SWAPO was imprisoned on South Africa's notorious Robben Island prison for 16 years. Together with 36 other Namibians he was tortured and tried under the South African Terrorism Act in 1967-68. Ja Toivo is now Secretary-General of SWAPO



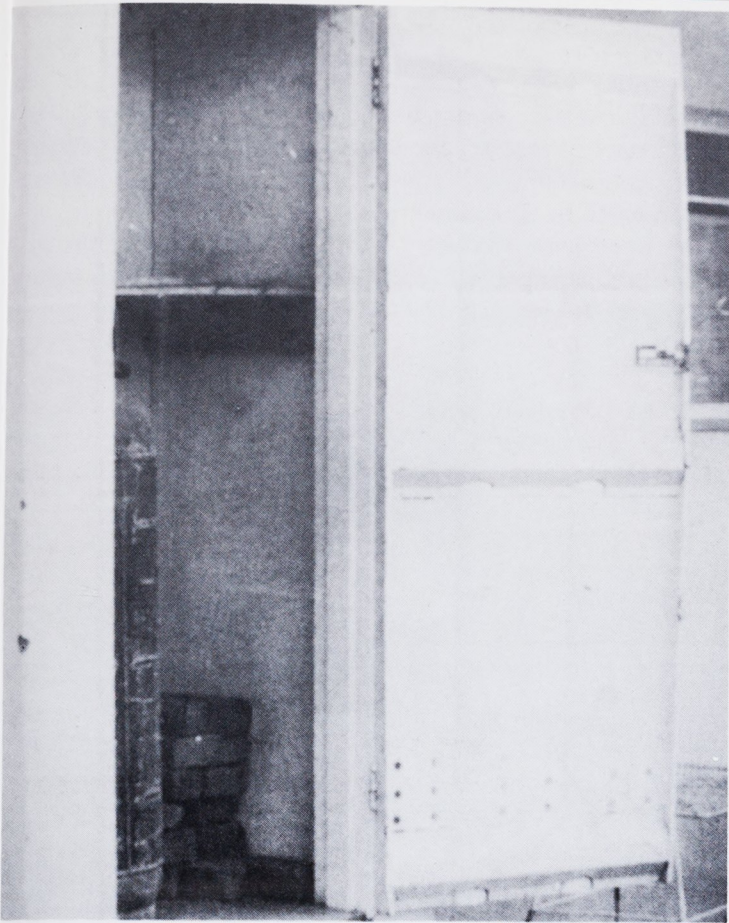
Markus Kateka, a farm worker sentenced to death in 1980 for assisting SWAPO guerillas — his sentence was later reduced to 17 years' imprisonment



Sam Mundjindji and Veiko Nghitewa, two PLAN combatants who were each imprisoned for 24 years in 1985

Windhoek central prison





Johannes Kakuva died in police custody in 1980 after being held in this cupboard which was so small that he could not stand up or lie down. Another detainee was held blindfolded and bound for six days in the same place.



Josef Sagarias, Lucius Malambo and Theofilus Jason, three PLAN combatants sentenced to between nine and eleven years' imprisonment in 1982. Sagarias and Jason were severely wounded. The court refused to grant them Prisoner-of-War status, which they demanded under the Geneva Conventions



Some of the more than 100 Namibians abducted from the Kassinga refugee camp in Angola after it was destroyed by South African troops in 1978. They were tortured and held secretly for several years in a concentration camp

Ida Jimmy, SWAPO women's leader greeted by supporters after completing a five year sentence for making a speech in support of SWAPO. She gave birth to a son in prison, who was taken away from her when he was 18 months old. The son died a year later, but Jimmy was refused permission to attend his funeral.



13. ARMED STRUGGLE

In the face of continued repression and the refusal of the South African regime to agree to international demands for Namibian independence, SWAPO launched an armed struggle in 1966. Many of the organisation's leading members, including its president, Sam Nujoma, had by that stage been forced into exile.

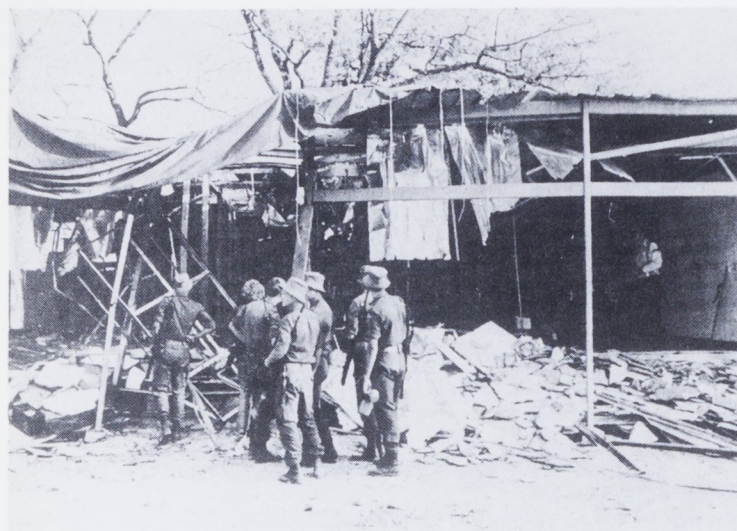
At first SWAPO military operations were small and isolated but since 1975 the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) has carried out widespread actions. PLAN fighters mount attacks on South African army bases, military patrols and strategic targets. The South African army has been unable to defeat PLAN, which is supported by the local population.

The liberation army operates over a wide area of Namibia, mainly in the north, though attacks are also carried out further south, including around Windhoek. The combatants hand out

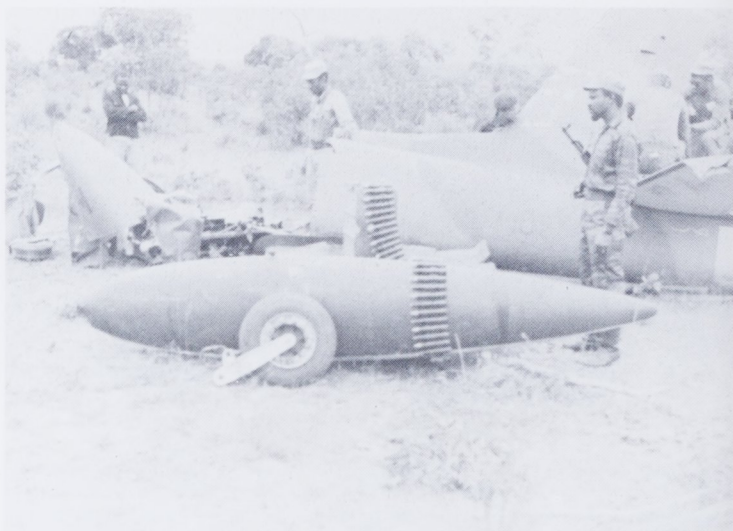
leaflets about the liberation struggle and give medical and other assistance to the local population. Attacks on South African targets occur almost daily, although information about the war is suppressed by the authorities.

The South African Defence Force regularly claims to have 'defeated' SWAPO but PLAN activities have increased significantly over the past decade. South African military intelligence officers admitted in a secret document obtained by SWAPO in 1984:

'SWAPO internally is organised on a wide terrain on different levels . . . it has an extensive intelligence gathering network whereby the public . . . are involved and keep it informed as to the movement of the security forces.'



South African army base at Katima Mulilo damaged in a PLAN rocket attack



Downed South African Impala jet being inspected by PLAN troops

A platoon of PLAN troops





Tobias Hainyeko, PLAN commander, who was killed in action on the Zambezi River 18 May 1967. Today the date is commemorated as Namibia Heroes' Day



Women are encouraged to play a full part in the liberation struggle, including service in PLAN



A field workshop for weapon repairs

Many PLAN combatants are trained as literacy teachers, medical assistants and in other ways so they can provide a service to fellow Namibians. PLAN operates with the support of the local population



14. SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION

South Africa has used Namibia as a base to carry out an undeclared war against independent Southern African countries. Angola and Zambia which neighbour Namibia have been attacked from South African military bases in the north of the country.

South African troops invaded Angola in 1975 in an attempt to prevent the MPLA liberation movement from establishing an independent government. Repulsed by the MPLA the South African forces withdrew across the Namibian border to newly established bases, and were soon carrying out further destabilising actions in Southern Angola. On 4 May 1978, over 700 Namibian refugees — mostly children — were killed by South African soldiers in a raid on the Kassinga refugee camp in Angola.

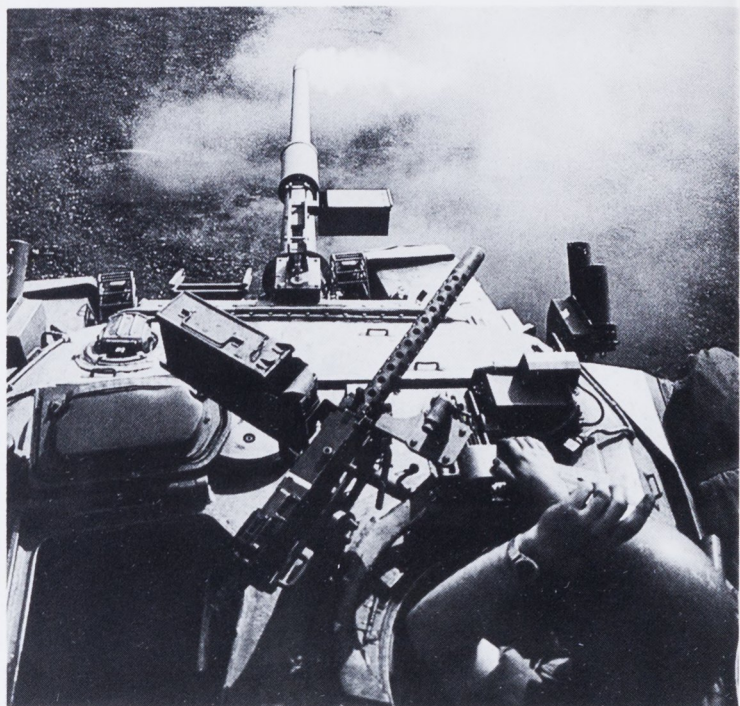
Thousands of Angolans have been killed and extensive damage done to the Angolan economy in more than a decade of South African aggression. After 1981, large areas of Cunene province bordering Namibia were occupied and devastated by South African troops.

South Africa has supplied and trained the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), a force which has attacked villages, factories, shops, health outposts and other civilian facilities in Angola. South African commandos have attacked oil and port facilities. Massive bombing raids have been carried out to destroy Angolan towns, and hundreds of thousands of people have been made homeless.

Attacks on Zambia have been carried out for many years. In 1979 it was invaded by South African troops based in Namibia and border incursions took place on many occasions

subsequently. In May 1986 a bombing attack was launched on a refugee settlement near the Zambian capital Lusaka.

Despite South African aggression, Angola, Zambia and the other Front Line States have stood firm in their support for the Namibian people and their right to self-determination.

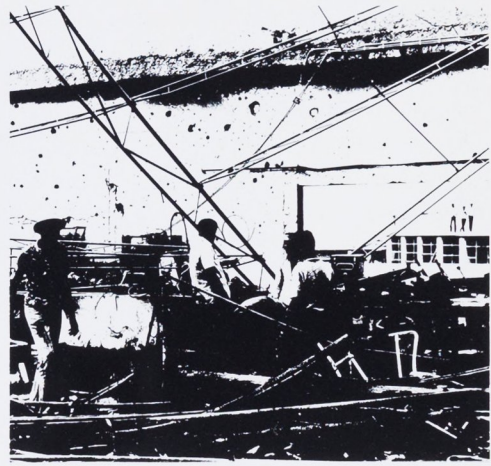
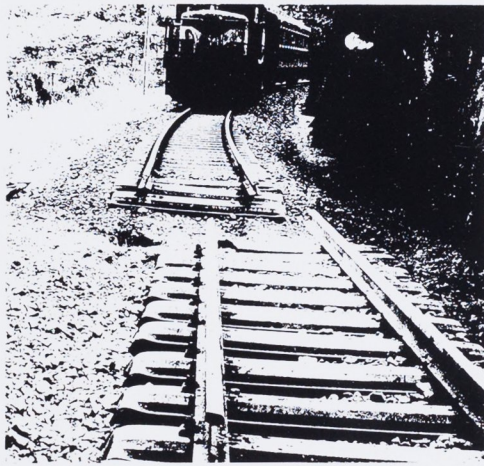


South African tank on a military exercise. Namibia has been used as a base for large-scale invasions of Angola





Effects of South African aggression on Angola



Mass grave for Namibian refugees — victims of the Kassinga massacre. South African paratroopers killed over 700, in many cases by shots through the back of the head



15. PREPARING FOR INDEPENDENCE

As a result of South African repression, it is estimated that up to one out of every ten Namibians has been forced into exile. Refugee settlements have been established in Angola, Zambia and other countries. Here SWAPO is preparing for an independent Namibia, running health, education, agricultural and other development projects.

At SWAPO schools and other educational institutions Namibians can prepare for a future free from apartheid and exploitation. Namibians are also being trained for the tasks of reconstruction in an independent Namibia at the United Nations Institute for Namibia and other educational institutions around the world.

South Africa violates international law and has sabotaged negotiations to bring about Namibian independence. The Namibian people, led by SWAPO, are continuing their struggle for independence through political organisation, military action and diplomatic negotiation.



Adult vocational training and education is a vital aspect of SWAPO's preparations for independence

Health care at Kwanza Sul



PLAN medic provides assistance to Namibian child



SWAPO school at Kwanza Sul refugee camp in Angola

SWAPO nurtures Namibian culture as part of the struggle for freedom. Onyeka, one of the SWAPO cultural groups, on an international tour





ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Afrapix
Frank Spooner Pictures
Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika
Orde Eliason/Link
Namibia Communications Centre
Per Sanden
SWAPO

IDAF Photo Library

The photographic collection, consisting of some 40,000 images, documents conditions of life and the struggle against apartheid in Southern Africa. It covers aspects of South African and Namibian resistance from pre-colonialism to the present and is the largest collection of its kind. The library is open to researchers by appointment, Tuesday to Thursday 10 a.m. — 5 p.m. at 64, Essex Road, London, N1. Telephone: 01-359 9181.

Printed in England by A. G. Bishop & Sons Ltd., Orpington, Kent.



IDAF: PUBLISHING THE FACTS ABOUT NAMIBIA
WORKING UNDER SOUTH AFRICAN OCCUPATION — Labour in Namibia
Fact Paper No. 14

IDAF Research, Information and Publications Department. **49 pp. £1.00**

'Much still has to be done to explain how employers in Namibia regard their workers as non-human units of labour power. The facts disclosed in this booklet should go a long way to enlighten people.'

AEU JOURNAL

THIS IS NAMIBIA — a pictorial introduction

IDAF Research, Information & Publications Department **40 pp. with 53 illustrations. 50p**

'For a short, readable and cheap introduction to the situation in Namibia one can do no better than this pictorial booklet.'

COMLAMH NEWS, Ireland

WALVIS BAY — NAMIBIA'S PORT

Richard Moorsom **96 pp. Illustrated. £1.50**

In co-operation with the United Nations Council for Namibia.

'Details just how vital the enclave is to an independent Namibia, whoever rules in Windhoek . . . well-documented.'

THE GUARDIAN, UK

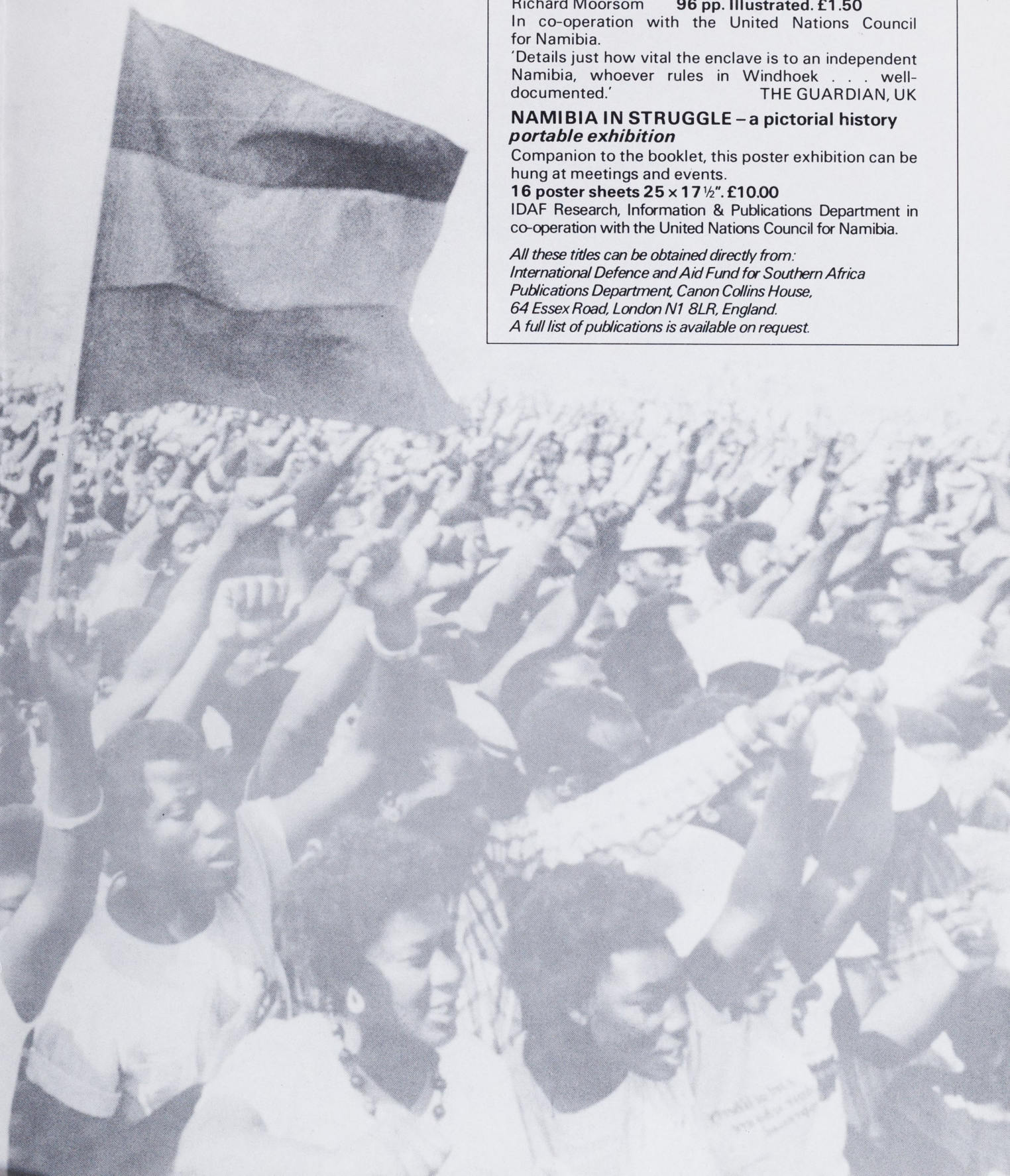
NAMIBIA IN STRUGGLE — a pictorial history
portable exhibition

Companion to the booklet, this poster exhibition can be hung at meetings and events.

16 poster sheets 25 x 17 1/2". £10.00

IDAF Research, Information & Publications Department in co-operation with the United Nations Council for Namibia.

*All these titles can be obtained directly from:
International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa
Publications Department, Canon Collins House,
64 Essex Road, London N1 8LR, England.
A full list of publications is available on request.*



NAMIBIA IN STRUGGLE — A PICTORIAL HISTORY

Independence for Namibia is one of the most urgent problems facing the United Nations and the international community. Yet few people know what life is like for the people of Namibia under South Africa's military occupation.

"**Namibia in Struggle**" illustrates and explains the Namibian people's long-standing struggle for freedom from apartheid and racial discrimination. Sections covered include:

- German occupation and resistance to colonial rule.
- Namibia's international status and the South African government's defiance of the United Nations.
- Daily life under apartheid.
- Namibia's economy and the position of black workers.
- South Africa's military occupation.
- Suppression of political opposition; detention and political trials.
- Negotiations for independence.
- Towards the future — the continuing struggle for freedom.

idaf International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa
Canon Collins House, 64 Essex Road, London N1 8LR.

£3.00

