

This is NAMIBIA

A PICTORIAL INTRODUCTION



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International Defence & Aid Fund
for Southern Africa
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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.



INTRODUCTION

Namibia is the only country in Africa still under colonial rule. It is illegally occupied by South Africa, which has maintained its presence with armed force.

South Africa and Namibia are the only countries in Africa where white minority rule continues. In Namibia, black people comprise 93 per cent of the total population, but are denied effective political rights, self-determination and equality.

The Namibian people have resisted colonial control for over 100 years. The national liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), was formed in 1960 to lead the struggle for independence. South Africa is waging a war in Namibia, and has turned large parts of the country into military zones.

South Africa's occupation of Namibia was declared illegal in international law by the International Court of Justice in The Hague in 1971.

The South African government has imposed its own system of apartheid on the Namibian people. Apartheid, in which segregation and exploitation of the black majority are enforced by both law and constitution, has been condemned by the international community as a crime against humanity.

This booklet looks at South African rule in Namibia and the struggle of the Namibian people for their independence.

SWAPO of Namibia fights for Namibian independence by political, diplomatic and military means. It is recognised by the United Nations as the authentic representative of the Namibian people.



South Africa's occupation of Namibia was declared illegal by the United Nations in 1966. South Africa refused to withdraw from the territory and has resisted all efforts to bring Namibia to independence.

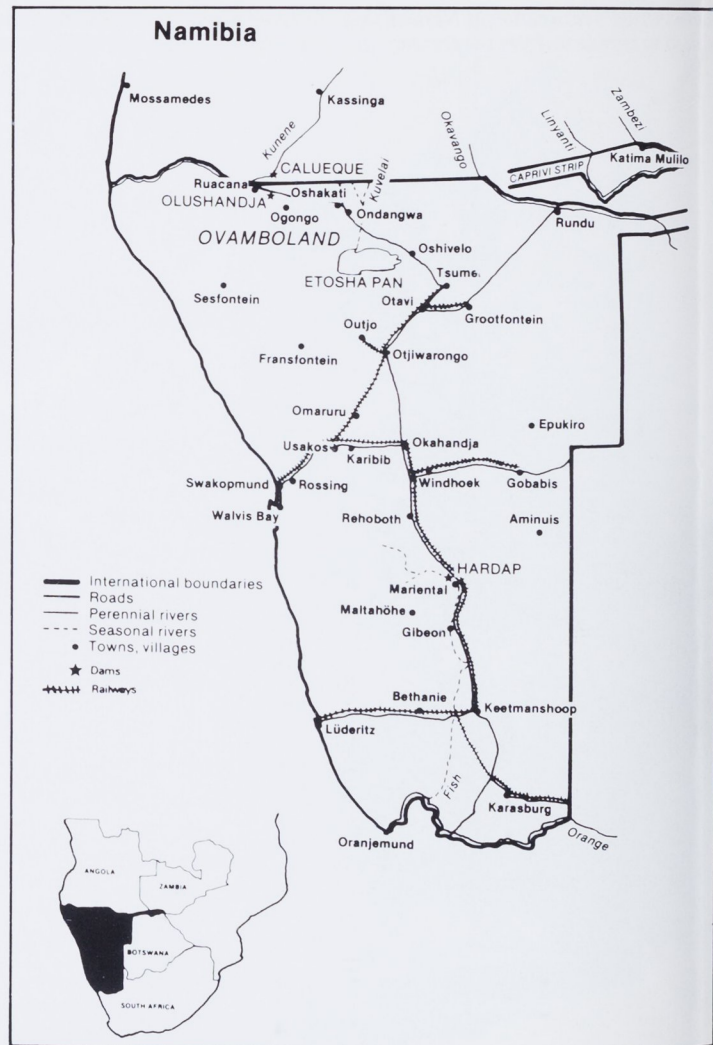


POPULATION AND GEOGRAPHY

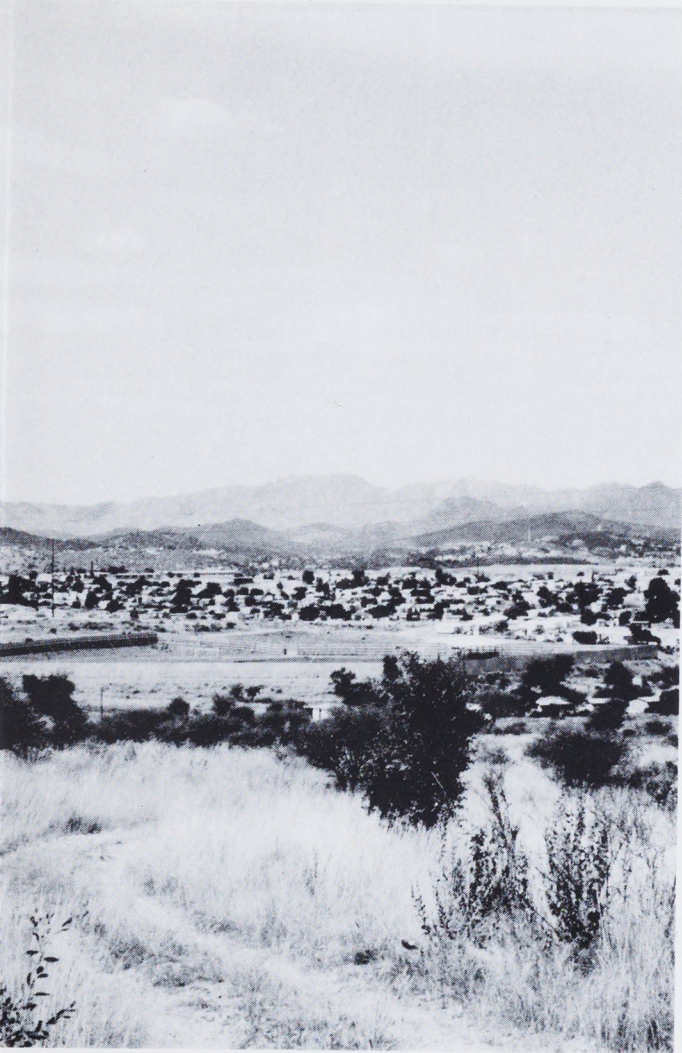
Namibia is situated in the south-western part of Africa, along the South Atlantic coast. Its vast territory, covering 824,295 sq km, makes it the fifteenth largest country in Africa. It has borders in the north with Angola, in the north-east with Zambia and Botswana, and in the south and east with the Republic of South Africa.

Namibia is a country of great natural contrasts. Large areas of the territory are desert, and because of the low rainfall there are few rivers that carry water throughout the year. The Namib desert stretches along the entire Atlantic coast; to the east is the Kalahari desert. A high central plateau, ranging in altitude between 1,000 and 2,000 metres, covers more than half the total land area. The north of the country is more lush due to higher rainfall.

The Namibian population is very small for the size of the country. Official South African statistics give the total population as 1,010,000,¹ but this has been judged as too low by several experts, who estimate that it is nearer 1.4 million.² Over 50 per cent of the population live in the northern part of the territory.



1. Official census figures, *Windhoek Advertiser* 26.5.82.
2. *Towards Manpower Development for Namibia*, by Prof. R. H. Green, UN Institute for Namibia, 1978; *Profile Namibia*, Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR), January 1982.
3. R. Moorsom, *Walvis Bay, Namibia's Port*, IDAF, London, 1984.



South Africa has illegally annexed Namibia's only deep-water port, Walvis Bay, and an enclave surrounding it. The area is of great strategic and economic importance. South Africa has built a military base there. Walvis Bay has been Namibia's economic lifeline for more than 150 years.³

COLONIALISM AND APARTHEID

Namibia has been under colonial occupation for a century. German rule, which lasted from 1884 to 1915, established the basic structures of racial discrimination and exploitation of the black majority which South Africa continues today. The German colonists forcibly took away most of the land from the indigenous people, and restricted them to barren 'reserves'.

The Namibian people fought several wars of resistance, which were crushed only after years of struggle. In the Herero and Nama uprisings from 1904 to 1907, over two-thirds of the Herero people were massacred by German troops. Many more died in prison camps.

German military victory was a prelude to the political control and economic exploitation of the Namibian people.

After the outbreak of the First World War, South Africa took control of Namibia in 1915, when South African troops occupied the territory on behalf of Britain. In 1920, South Africa was given a Mandate by the League of Nations to administer Namibia 'in the best interests of the indigenous population'.

South Africa violated the Mandate, continuing and reinforcing German policies of racial and economic exploitation of the black majority. It introduced the system of apartheid, which separates white and black people by racial laws, and subdivides the black majority into different 'population groups'.

Black people are divided into eleven 'ethnic' or 'population groups', while white people, who come from Afrikaans, English and German-speaking stock, are classified as one.



Under German colonialism black Namibians were forced into wage labour by laws forbidding them to acquire cattle and land, and introducing punishment for 'vagrancy' if they could not prove employment.

Under apartheid, all social, health and education services are segregated. Black and white people live in separate areas, and are required to use separate facilities such as libraries and swimming pools. Invariably, the services for white people are much better than those for black people. Apartheid ensures that the black majority has little or no access to the wealth of the country, which is controlled by the white minority.



THE UNITED NATIONS

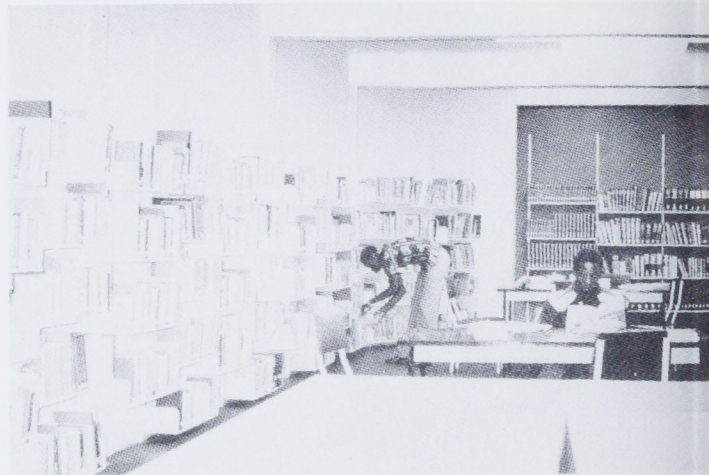
The legal government of Namibia, according to international law, is the United Nations (UN). In 1945, when the UN was founded, it entered into trusteeship agreements with countries who administered League of Nations Mandates. South Africa refused to enter into a trusteeship agreement, and after several attempts to resolve this dispute through the International Court of Justice, the UN General Assembly terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia in October 1966 (Res. 2145 [xxi]). In March 1969, the UN Security Council declared South Africa's occupation of Namibia illegal and demanded that South Africa withdraw from Namibia immediately (Resolution 264). In 1971, the International Court of Justice, in an advisory opinion, came to the same conclusion. South Africa has consistently refused to comply with these demands.

The United Nations created the UN Council for Namibia, a body consisting of 31 member countries, as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence.

Because of South Africa's refusal to leave Namibia, the Council has not been able to fully assume its responsibilities. It has, however, carried out many activities such as helping Namibian refugees, establishing a training institute for Namibians in Lusaka, Zambia, and promoting a 'Nationhood Programme' for Namibia to develop skills and expertise and to plan the economic future of an independent Namibia.

The United Nations as a whole, through its General Assembly and Security Council, has been involved in protracted diplomatic efforts to secure Namibia's independence.

In 1974, the UN Council for Namibia adopted Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. This makes it illegal for any foreign company or entity to exploit Namibia's resources while the territory is under illegal South African occupation.



At the United Nations Institute for Namibia in Lusaka, Zambia, young Namibians receive training to learn the skills needed in their country after independence.





CONTROL OF ECONOMIC RESOURCES

Namibia is a country rich in natural resources. Its main products come from agriculture, mining and fishing. All the principal sectors of the economy are controlled by whites.

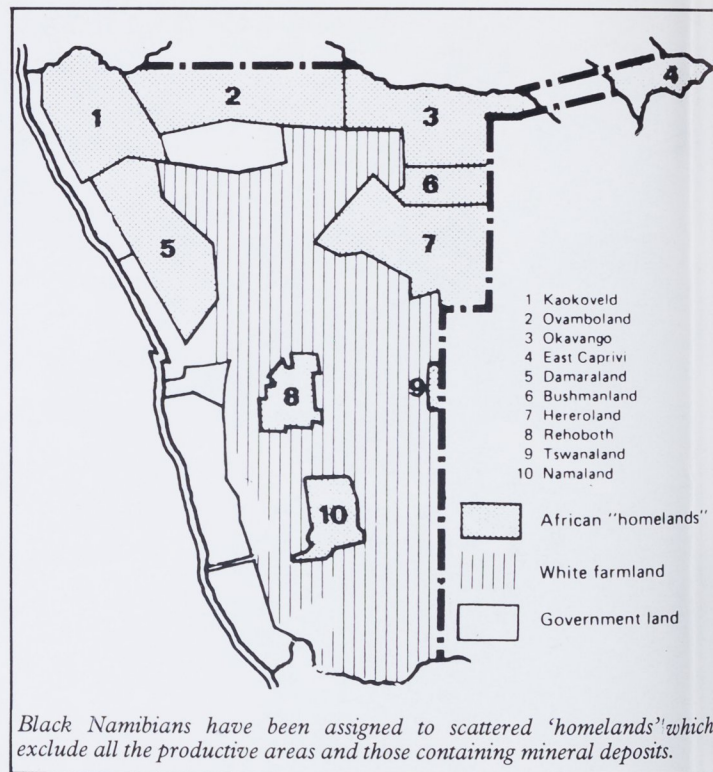
Black Namibians have been systematically dispossessed of their land by the colonial regime. Today, some 5,000 white farmers occupy over 80 per cent of viable land in Namibia. They mainly raise cattle and Karakul sheep (persian lambs) for export. The majority of black Namibian farmers survive on subsistence agriculture in the north of the country, where 120,000 families have only six per cent of the total viable farm land.¹

Many valuable minerals are found in Namibia — diamonds, copper, lead, zinc and uranium amongst others. The mines are controlled by multinational companies, mainly based in Britain, the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and South Africa. In the late 1970s, minerals accounted for about 85 per cent of Namibia's exports, and almost 50 per cent of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP).²

Three multinational companies dominate the mining sector: Consolidated Diamond Mines (CDM), a South African-based company with British and United States participation, Tsumeb Corporation, controlled by United States interests, and the British-based company Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ), which mines uranium at Rössing in the Namib desert. These companies have made large profits — CDM's profits in the five years up to 1981 were R560 million after tax.³ Under international law the operations of these and other companies in Namibia are illegal.

An estimated 36 per cent of the wealth produced in the country (GDP) is remitted abroad in profits made by the multinational companies, taxes and other transfers.⁴

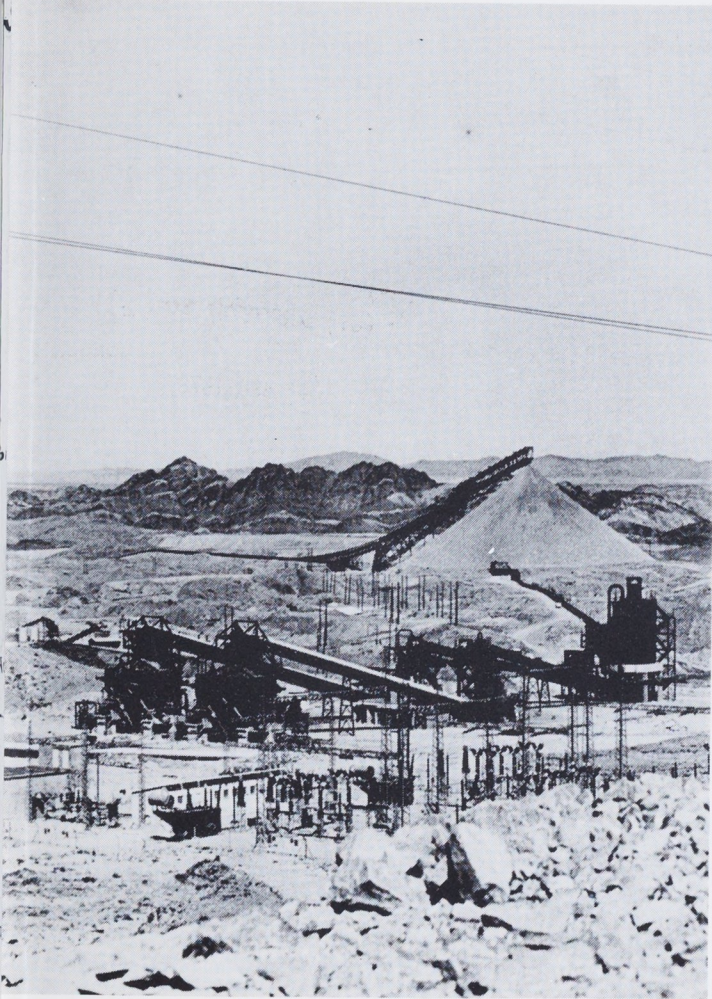
Namibia has a very small manufacturing sector; it imports most of its manufactured goods from South Africa.



1. R. Moorsom, *Transforming a wasted land*, CIIR, London, 1983, p.66.
2. *Mines and Independence; A Future for Namibia*, CIIR, London, 1983, p.29.
3. *ibid.*, p.34.

4. *To be born a nation, The Liberation Struggle of Namibia*, Department of Information and Publicity, SWAPO of Namibia, 1981, p.43.
5. Richard Moorsom, *Walvis Bay, Namibia's Port*, IDAF, 1984.

The largest uranium mine in the world is at Rössing in the Namib desert. It employs about 3,200 workers.



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WALVIS BAY

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ENQUIRIES: TOWN CLERK, PRIVATE BAG 5017, WALVIS BAY

... THE FINEST ANGLING IN THE WORLD IS JUST A BONUS!



Namibia's rich fishing stocks off the Atlantic coast have been depleted through overfishing by foreign companies, many of them South African.⁵

THE LABOUR FORCE

Apartheid involves the exploitation of black workers for the benefit of the white minority. Black Namibians, having been deprived of their land, have been forced to work for wages on white farms, industries and mines. The total black workforce is estimated at over 500,000, of whom some 240,000 are involved in subsistence agriculture, and 260,000 are employed in the white-owned sectors of the economy.¹ Very few black workers are employed in skilled jobs or professions; the great majority are relegated to the most menial, unskilled and low-paid work.

About 110,000, almost half of all black employees, are migrant workers.² The contract labour system is an integral part of apartheid. It means that black Namibians have to leave the 'homelands', which have few employment opportunities, in search of work in the white economy on six to 18 month contracts. Their families must stay behind in the 'homelands', eking out a living from the soil and remittances from relatives working as contract labourers.

Under the contract labour system women who remain in the 'homelands' must raise their children alone as well as doing heavy agricultural work. The long periods of separation lead to the break-up of families. Wives are not allowed to be with their husbands during contracts, when the men are housed in huge single-sex hostels.

There is high unemployment among the black workforce. In late 1982 the total unemployment figure was put by some experts at about 75,000, with the underemployed figure at a further 50,000.³ Many South African and other foreign companies have since cut back or ceased their operations, dismissing thousands of black workers.

There are few employment opportunities for black women. Only 73,000 women out of the total workforce are paid workers; of these, about 60,000 work as domestic servants in white households.⁵



1. *Activities of foreign economic interests operating in Namibia*, Report of the United Nations Council for Namibia, March 1983, A/AC.131/92, p.21.

2. *ibid.*

3. *Windhoek Advertiser* 19.10.82.

4. *Focus* 51 p.4; *South African occupation and the Namibian economy*, CIIR, London, 1984.

5. Interview with Frieda Williams, SWAPO Women's Council, in *Link*, 1982.



most black Namibians have barely enough to survive. In September 1983, a survey was found that about 86 per cent of black workers in Windhoek earned less than R301, the minimum monthly amount officially calculated for a

black family's basic needs. In the north of the country, 99 per cent of wage earners had less.

Per capita income for whites in 1980 was 24 times that of blacks.⁴

WORKERS' RESISTANCE

Namibian workers have a long history of resistance to exploitation.

The national liberation movement, SWAPO of Namibia, has its origins in the organised activities of Namibian migrant workers in South Africa. They were instrumental in forming the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO), launched in Windhoek in 1959. OPO changed its name to the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) in 1960, reflecting the fact that a national liberation movement would fight for freedom for all Namibians.

In 1971-72, over 20,000 workers led a nationwide strike against the migrant labour system. The South African regime responded by bringing in South African soldiers and police, banning public meetings, and detaining hundreds of people.

A state of emergency was declared in the northern region of Ovambo, from where most contract workers came. Some changes were introduced as a result of the strike, but these were superficial.¹

Black workers' bargaining power through trade union organisation has been restricted by laws and by repression. The National Union of Namibian Workers, formed to promote black trade unions, has faced persistent harassment and repression. In 1980, its headquarters in Windhoek was closed by the regime, its records seized, its vehicles and property confiscated and all its funds frozen.²

1. Cronje & Cronje, *The Workers of Namibia*, IDAF, 1979.

2. 'The workers strike back', *Action on Namibia*, Bulletin of the Namibia Support Committee, undated.

3. *To be born a nation*, op. cit., Ch. IV.

4. *The Workers of Namibia*, op. cit., Ch. VI.



Farm workers are amongst the lowest paid workers; their isolation on white farms makes it difficult for them to organise. Many farmworkers are not provided with shelter, fuel, access to health care or to schools for their children.³





Trade unions are not recognised as legitimate bargaining partners unless they are registered. Conditions for registration effectively prevent any black trade union, particularly if it is linked to SWAPO, from gaining recognition. Trade unions are prohibited from giving or receiving funds from any political party. The SWA Confederation of Labour represents white-

dominated trade unions.⁴

Workers have taken industrial action for better wages, against racial discrimination and against the bad conditions in which they work. These actions have occurred despite severe restrictions on trade union organisation.

THE BANTUSTANS

South Africa has designated ten separate 'homelands' in Namibia, one for each black 'population group' (with the exception of the 'Coloured'). Under this plan, the whites have reserved about two-thirds of the total land area of Namibia for themselves. The 'homelands', or bantustans, are in semi-desert areas, or in the north.

The South African government has set up 'homeland governments' for each bantustan, consisting of tribal chiefs and other black Namibians prepared to collaborate with the apartheid regime. They have been given nominal control over a number of functions, including education, health, pensions, etc. for their 'population group', as well as matters such as roads, transport, housing, etc. In practice, they remain entirely dependent on the South African government, which has ultimate control over all administrative matters in Namibia.

Each bantustan government is supposed to provide services for all members of its own 'population group'. This absolves the South African-appointed administration from ensuring equal provisions for blacks and whites. The poverty of the bantustan residents means little revenue can be raised and provisions for health, education and other services are poor or non-existent. In addition, enormous waste of resources results from the creation of ten health services, for instance, one for each 'population group'. By contrast, the administration for whites provides excellent facilities for its 'population group', having a much greater revenue.¹

The 'homeland' policy ensures that some black Namibians develop a vested interest in maintaining apartheid. A vast bureaucracy has been created by the 'homeland governments', providing its employees with guaranteed income and numerous opportunities for private gain. In 1983, a Commission investigating malpractices in government service found gross incompetence and rampant corruption in the bantustans.²



Most black Namibians reject the bantustan policy as a South African device to foster divisions among the population. They support the national liberation movement SWAPO, whose policy is to unite all Namibians, regardless of race or sex, in the struggle for independence.

The bantustans serve as dumping places for those not employed in the white economy, women, children and old people. They lack industrial employment opportunities and sufficient agricultural land. This ensures constant flow of cheap labour for white-controlled enterprises.

1. *Namibia, The Constitutional Fraud*, IDAF Briefing Paper No. 2, July 1981.

2. *Reports of the Thirion Commission*, 1983-4.



LIVING CONDITIONS

The contrast between white wealth and black poverty is illustrated by greatly different living standards. While most whites live in large houses, own cars, employ servants and have a luxurious life-style, blacks in the urban areas are confined to overcrowded townships which lack basic amenities.

For the majority of black people, living conditions are crowded and insanitary. A survey of one black town found in 1983 that an average of 13 people were living in every rented two-bedroom house. In some cases, up to 35 people were occupying one house. There are few facilities for recreation or entertainment. Street-lighting, rubbish collection, proper sewerage and other facilities are poor or non-existent.¹ In one black town, a reporter found that the 500 living units had no proper sewerage system and no cooking facilities. The roofs were held down by rocks.²

Thousands of black Namibians have no recognisable housing at all; they live in tin shacks or make-shift constructions in squatter camps around the urban centres. Many have fled from the war zones in the north, or been removed by South African troops clearing large areas to establish 'no-go' zones.³

The dislocation of large numbers of people as a result of the war has made the existing housing shortage even worse.

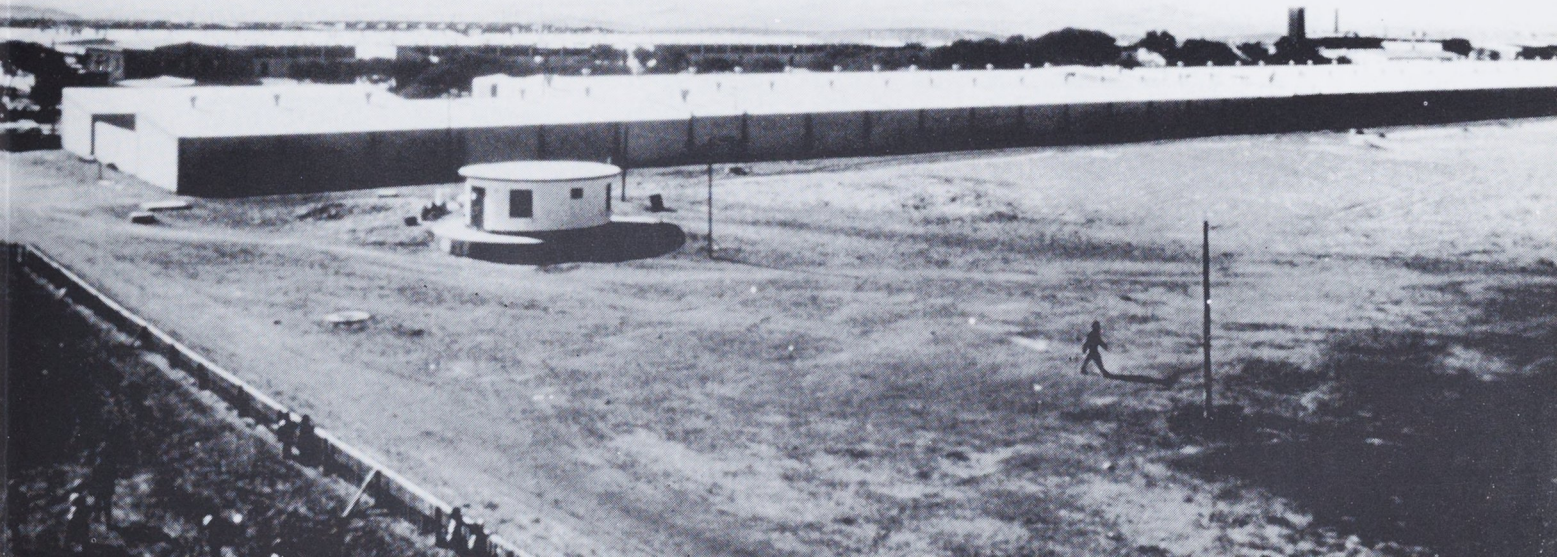


1. *Children of Namibia*, IDAF Briefing Paper No. 10, March 1983.
2. *Windhoek Observer* 8.10.83.
3. *Focus* 49 p.4.
4. *Windhoek Observer* 11.9.82.

In the bantustans, the lack of building materials forces many people to live in shanties or huts built of non-permanent materials such as grass and clay, or sheets of scrap metal from oil drums and sacking.



Contract workers, who are not allowed to have their families living with them, are housed in overcrowded hostels or single quarters in the townships and mining areas. In the contract workers' compound in Katutura, the black town outside Windhoek, 16 to 30 workers live in each room, sleeping on concrete bunks. There is no privacy, conditions in the hostel are unhygienic and bleak. The hostels are frequently raided by police looking for 'illegal residents'.⁴



HEALTH

Health care in Namibia is racially segregated with rudimentary or even non-existent services for the black majority.

Under the apartheid system, each bantustan authority is charged with administering its own health service, though with vastly different resources. R233.70 was spent on health for each white person in 1980/81. In contrast, health expenditure per black person ranged from R56.84 to R4.70 for different 'population groups'.¹

Most health facilities are concentrated in the urban areas. There is a general shortage of doctors, nurses and hospitals. In 1981, there were 2,261 registered nurses, 126 general practitioners, 26 specialists and 16 dentists. The average doctor/patient ratio was 1:6,600, but in the rural areas, which include all the 'homelands', it was 1:17,000.²

Poverty, malnutrition, overcrowded living conditions, an unsanitary environment all contribute to the spread of disease among black people. Many illnesses could be eliminated through proper preventive care such as immunisation campaigns and a better standard of living. Two of the biggest killers among children are gastro-enteritis and measles. The infant mortality rate among whites is 21.6 per 1,000 live births, among Coloureds 145 per 1,000, and among Africans 163 per 1,000. Life expectancy shows a similar pattern: Whites can expect to live to 68-72 years, Coloureds 52 years and Africans 42 years.³

Bubonic plague, malaria, tuberculosis and typhoid are all widespread and may reach epidemic proportions in some areas. Security legislation in force in the northern half of the country restricts health teams from carrying out immunisation programmes, while patients have stayed away from hospitals for fear of encountering the police or army on their way.⁴

1. *Windhoek Advertiser* 18.11.81

2. *ibid.*

3. *Windhoek Advertiser* 5.5.81.

4. 'Caught in the Crossfire; The War in Namibia', T. Weaver, *Work in Progress* No. 29, October 1983.

5. *Windhoek Advertiser* 8.12.80, 5.11.82.



People in the northern region have to walk up to 50 kms to obtain medical treatment. Hospital provision in the north has been described as 'totally inadequate to cope with people's needs in an area torn by war'. Mission hospitals provide health care, but lack resources, staff and medicines. One mission hospital in Ovambo, with 246 beds, was accommodating between 400 and 500 patients in late 1982, as well as treating 300 to 500 out-patients per day.⁵



In the refugee settlements in Angola and Zambia, SWAPO has established health care facilities, including a maternity clinic, to provide treatment for every Namibian refugee in need.



EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Black Namibians are trained from an early age to fill the low-level roles and jobs reserved for them by the white minority. The education system reflects this policy, with inferior schools for black children and discriminatory expenditure. All state schools are racially segregated.

Primary and secondary schools are the responsibility of bantustan governments. The amount available to be spent on education is much less for black pupils than for whites. During the 1982/83 financial year, R1,762 was spent per white pupil. Expenditure per black pupil ranged from R324 to R673.¹

Enrolments of black children have increased during the 1980s, but many drop out after a relatively short time. School attendance is compulsory for white but not for black children. Only seven per cent of black children reach secondary school, and most leave before completing it. In 1980, 71 per cent of black children were in lower primary schools, and only 22 per cent in upper primary school.²

There are many reasons why black children drop out: the cost of the required school uniform and of books may be too high; the children may have to walk a long way, often on an empty stomach, to reach the school. In the north, schools have been closed because of the war, and building programmes for new schools stopped.

South African soldiers have been placed in black schools as teachers. Schools have also been used as recruiting grounds for the army.³

The curriculum in black schools reinforces the discriminatory attitudes of apartheid. History books portray blacks as uncivilised and aggressive, while whites are portrayed as Christians and the bearers of civilisation.

Opportunities for further education are very limited. There is no university in Namibia, and very few black Namibians go to universities in South Africa or abroad.

1. *Namibian Review*, Windhoek, July-August 1983.

2. Justin Ellis, *Education, Repression and Liberation: Namibia*, CIIR, 1984, p.36.



Namibian students have shown their opposition to apartheid education through demonstrations, school boycotts and other protests. In 1976, students at schools throughout Namibia boycotted exams, and distributed leaflets attacking the bantustan policy.⁴

3. B. Konig, *Namibia, The Ravages of War*, IDAF, 1983, pp. 31-2.

4. *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 16.11.76.



Most black schools suffer from shortages of staff and accommodation, with up to 70 pupils in a class.

RESISTANCE

The struggle of the Namibian people against colonial domination and apartheid has taken various forms. The armed uprisings at the beginning of the twentieth century were crushed by German troops. In the 1940s and 1950s Namibian leaders submitted numerous petitions for independence to the United Nations.

With the formation of SWAPO in 1960, Namibians organised themselves in a national liberation movement which represents the aspirations of the majority of the people. SWAPO's central objective continues to be liberation from colonial oppression, the achievement of independence and the transformation of Namibia into a democratic, non-racial, egalitarian society.¹

SWAPO has mobilised Namibians inside the country, and gained international support for the Namibian cause at the United Nations and other international and regional forums. Through its intensive political work, SWAPO has gained the support of the great majority of the Namibian people.

In 1973, the UN General Assembly accepted SWAPO as the authentic representative of the Namibian people. The liberation movement receives diplomatic, financial and humanitarian support from many organisations, including the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), international church bodies and UN agencies as well as from member states of the United Nations.

In 1966, prompted by the failure to resolve the Namibian question through diplomatic and legal efforts, SWAPO launched an armed struggle. Its military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), became increasingly effective in carrying out sabotage operations, attacks on South African army bases in Namibia, and other targets.

SWAPO's armed struggle helped to push the South African government to the negotiating table, where the regime has, however, produced a series of obstacles to a successful outcome.

1. *Constitution of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia*, adopted by the meeting of the Central Committee, July 28 – August 1, 1976, Lusaka, Zambia.



Sam Nujoma, the President of SWAPO, has on many occasions declared SWAPO's readiness to sign a ceasefire with South Africa and contest free and fair elections in Namibia, held under the supervision and control of the United Nations.



In Namibia, SWAPO has held public meetings, organised political education groups, supported and led workers' actions and exposed South Africa's apartheid policies.



In line with SWAPO's policy of linking political and armed struggle, PLAN combatants have close contact with the civilian population.

REPRESSION

South Africa implements apartheid through administrative control, military occupation and repression. The regime has imposed both the repressive laws operating in South Africa itself, and new laws designed especially for Namibia.

In the north of the country, emergency measures have been in force since 1972. The South African police and the army have wide powers of search, arrest, detention without charge or trial, and bans on meetings.

Repressive measures, including curfews and restrictions on movement, were extended in the late 1970s. Under Proclamation AG9, introduced in 1977, 80 per cent of Namibia, including Windhoek was placed under what amounts to martial law. AG9 and another law, Proclamation AG 26 of 1978 have been used to detain hundreds of people without charge or trial.

The widespread and systematic torture of detainees has been documented by many organisations and individuals, and by the victims themselves. The methods include electric shocks, beatings, extreme confinements, deprivation of food and water, sexual assaults on women and simulated execution, in some cases leading to actual death.¹

While SWAPO is not banned as an organisation, it has been effectively prevented from organising public activities by political trials and imprisonment, the detention of its leaders, closure of its office and bans on its meetings.

1. H. Hunke, *Torture, a cancer in our society*, CIIR and British Council of Churches (BCC), 1978; *Namibia, A Nation Wronged*, Report of a visit to Namibia by the British Council of Churches, 1981; BBC TV programme, *The Devil's Circle*, 1983.

Kasire Thomas was brutally beaten to death by a white farmer who accused him of being a member of SWAPO. Thomas had been released from prison as a farm labourer into the custody of the farmer.





Three SWAPO combatants were convicted in June 1982 under the South African Terrorism Act. Two were sentenced to nine years', one to seven years' imprisonment. In the 1960s and 1970s, several political trials took place involving prominent SWAPO members. More recently, South Africa has used more often detention without charge or trial. Amongst other things, this avoids the international attention which political trials have attracted.

In 1984, some political prisoners serving long sentences on Robben Island were released, including Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, a founder member of SWAPO.



THE WAR

Much of Namibia is a military zone, dominated by armed soldiers and police, and with its civilian population reduced by South African clearing operations. The number of South African controlled troops and police in the country has increased from approximately 15,000 in 1974 to an estimated 100,000 in 1981. It now includes black Namibian conscripts as well, after the introduction of compulsory military service for black men in 1980.¹

South Africa uses its military presence to counter SWAPO's armed struggle and to repress civilian support for the liberation struggle by intimidation, interrogation and assaults.

Despite South African attempts to present the armed forces as benevolent, they are seen as oppressors by black Namibians. Resentment has increased as more and more aspects of daily life for the black majority, particularly in the north, have been affected by the military occupation.

People have been left without a livelihood by the destruction of crops and sources of water, markets have been restricted by the dusk to dawn curfew in force in the entire north, health centres and schools closed and church missions attacked? Civilians constantly risk assaults, death or detention by the numerous military, paramilitary or police units who often visit villages disguised as SWAPO guerillas, in search of SWAPO sympathisers.

There is a continuing flow of refugees, both into neighbouring countries and towards urban areas inside Namibia. Army programmes of population removal, defoliation and the fortification of 'white' towns, have forced the black population into 'protected villages' close to South African military bases, or into huge squatter camps.



The South African Defence Force has built an estimated 85 to 90 military bases in Namibia; about 50 bases are concentrated in the north of the country. They are heavily fortified with security fences, watchtowers and bomb shelters.³



1. *Apartheid's Army in Namibia*, IDAF, 1982, pp. 11-13.
2. *Caught in the Crossfire*, op. cit.
3. *The Military Situation in and relating to Namibia*, UN Council for Namibia, A/AC.131/91, 28.3.83, p.5.



SWAPO's guerilla forces operate throughout Namibia, merging with the civilian population while preparing attacks on South African installations.

The armed struggle has escalated in recent years, covering a large area and including sabotage operations in towns, including Windhoek.

ATTACKS ON ANGOLA

South Africa has pursued a policy of military and economic destabilisation of Southern African countries supporting the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia. It has done this through military attacks and invasions of their territory, and by maintaining surrogate forces in those countries. South Africa's aim has been to force countries to stop their support for the liberation movements.

South African armed forces have frequently attacked Angola, and in 1981 and 1983 occupied large areas of southern Angola.

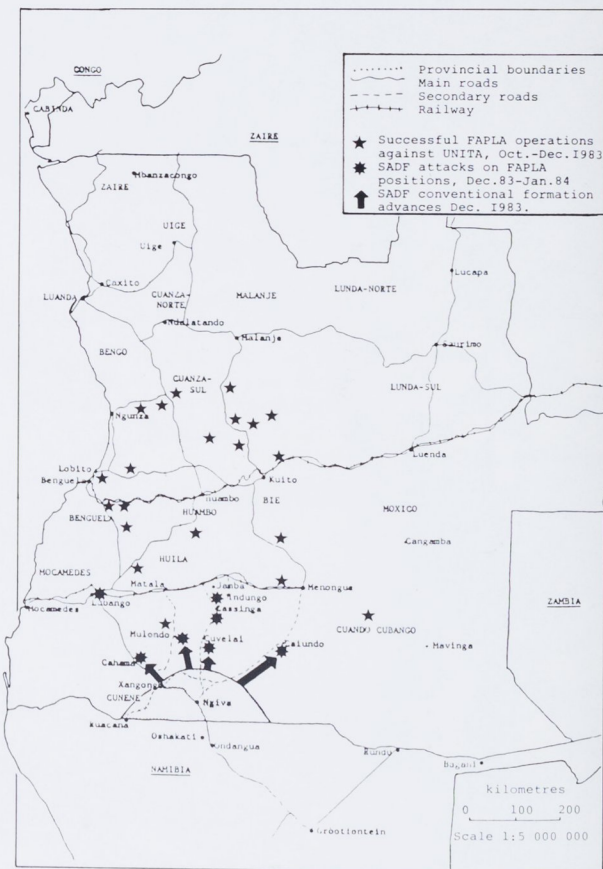
The attacks have been carried out under the pretext of 'hot-pursuit' operations against SWAPO guerrillas, and to bomb alleged SWAPO bases in that country. Evidence shows, however, that they have caused huge damage to the Angolan economy, destroyed Angolan towns, villages and installations, and killed thousands of Angolan citizens.

Between 1975 and 1982, military actions by South Africa and its surrogate force in Angola, UNITA, caused the deaths of 10,000 people.¹ By November 1982, the total cost of South African aggression against the country was estimated at \$10 million by the Angolan President.² Between 150,000 and 160,000 Angolan citizens were left homeless as a result of South Africa's 1981 invasion.³

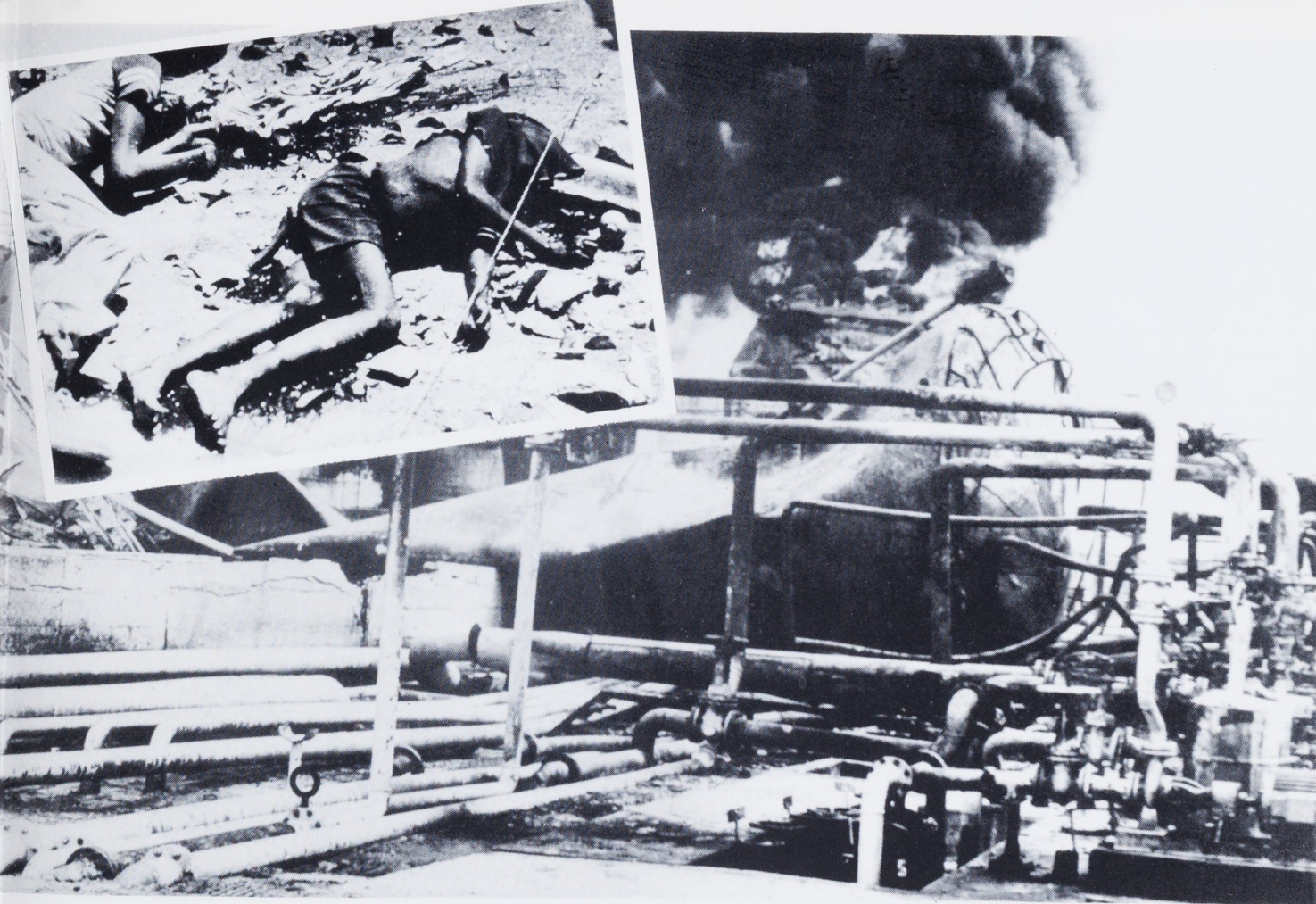
In December 1983, during another large-scale invasion, South Africa offered to withdraw its occupying forces from Angola under certain conditions. In March 1984, after the two governments concluded a disengagement agreement, South African troops began to withdraw, but remained inside Angola well beyond the agreed deadline of 31 March 1984. South Africa refused to proceed to the next stage of moving towards Namibian independence, and South African troops remained heavily concentrated in northern Namibia, ready to renew their attacks on Angola.

1. Statement by the Angolan Government at the United Nations, *Windhoek Advertiser* 27.4.83.
2. *BBC* 15/16.11.82.
3. *BBC* 21.11.81.

Several provinces of southern Angola have suffered from South African aerial bombings and ground attacks. Cunene Province has been particularly hard hit. The cost in human casualties has been enormous.



4. Marga Holness, *Apartheid's war against Angola*, UN Centre against Apartheid and World Campaign against military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa, February 1983.



On 30 November 1981, South African commandos sabotaged the oil refinery in Luanda, Angola's capital, destroying part of the refinery. The cost to Angola amounted to \$36.55 million.⁴

SOUTH AFRICAN MANOEUVRES

South Africa is aware that free and fair elections in Namibia, under United Nations supervision and intended to usher in independence, would be won by SWAPO.¹ This prospect is unacceptable to the apartheid regime, and its initiatives in Namibia have all been designed to frustrate such an event.

As international pressure for a Namibian settlement has grown, South Africa has created institutions and promoted groups to serve as an alternative to SWAPO. These have all adhered to the policies of apartheid and racial segregation, while presenting a veneer of democracy.

In 1976, the Turnhalle Conference, sponsored by South Africa and attended by representatives selected from each 'population group', presented a draft constitution which would have perpetuated the racial and ethnic divisions fostered by colonial rule and apartheid.² The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), a coalition of ethnic representatives emerging from the conference and heavily subsidised by South Africa, subsequently participated in South African-organised elections in 1978 and was pronounced the winner. Both the Turnhalle Conference, and the elections, were boycotted by SWAPO and rejected by the liberation movement, independent observers and the United Nations as fraudulent.³

In 1983, South Africa tried to establish a more acceptable grouping in the shape of the Multi-Party-Conference (MPC), a coalition of groups ranging from the pro-apartheid National Party to previously professed radical groups. The MPC quickly lost credibility as several groups withdrew, accusing it of being an anti-SWAPO front.

South Africa's failure to produce any credible alternative to SWAPO shows that the majority of Namibians reject a solution based on apartheid principles. The popularity of SWAPO remains a crucial factor in any future settlement.

1. *Star*, Johannesburg, 16.10.82; *Sowetan*, Johannesburg, 26.3.84; *New York Times*, New York, 8.3.84.
2. *All Options or None*, IDAF Fact Paper No. 3, August 1976.
3. Justin Ellis, *Elections in Namibia*, BCC and CIIR, May 1979.
4. *Namibia: The Constitutional Fraud*, IDAF Briefing Paper No. 2, July 1981.



Between 1978 and 1983, South Africa created various bodies such as a National Assembly and Council of Ministers, all dominated by the DTA. They collapsed when it became clear that they had minimal support among the Namibian population.

Picture shows Council of Ministers.⁴



South Africa has established propaganda agencies in Western countries to promote its apartheid policies in Namibia. These agencies have sponsored visits to Namibia by parliamentarians and trade unionists to present a favourable image of the situation there. Such visitors have usually been given little opportunity to deviate from the official programme.



South African police arrested demonstrators at a political rally to greet the U.N. Commissioner for Namibia in Windhoek in August 1978 to discuss the

details of the United Nations independence plan. A month later South Africa sabotaged the plan by announcing elections without a U.N. presence.

INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS

In addition to the struggle of the Namibian people to achieve their independence, international efforts towards this goal have involved the United Nations (UN), the Western Contact Group (five Western members of the UN Security Council: the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, Canada, France, and the United States of America), African states involved in Southern African issues (the Front Line States), as well as solidarity and anti-apartheid organisations.

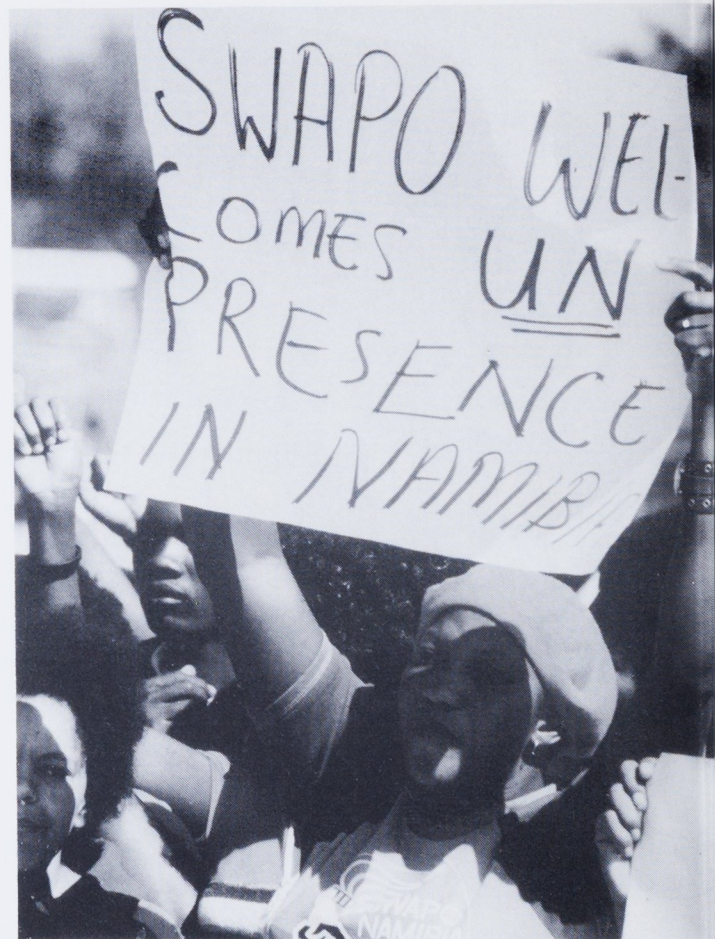
UN Security Council Resolution 385, adopted in 1976, laid down the principles on which an independence settlement must be based, including free elections under UN supervision and control for the whole of Namibia as one political entity.

In 1978, the UN adopted a Plan proposed by the Contact Group outlining the modalities for a transition to independence (UN Security Council Resolution 435). The plan has become the basis for the implementation of a Namibian settlement. While SWAPO has accepted all its provisions with minor reservations, South Africa has gone back on earlier agreements and produced a series of obstacles to frustrate implementation.

South Africa has linked the issue of Namibian independence to its strategy of regional domination and the destabilisation of neighbouring states. In particular, it has used the presence of Cuban forces in Angola to impede progress to free elections in Namibia.¹

Through a combination of military aggression against Angola, the promotion of client groups in Namibia as an 'internal government', and obstruction of the United Nations Plan, South Africa has continued to frustrate the desire of the Namibian people for independence.

1. *Namibia: The elusive settlement*, IDAF Briefing Paper No. 6, November 1982.



The UN, as the legal administering authority for Namibia, has the primary responsibility for negotiations to achieve a settlement. UN efforts have involved lengthy consultations with all parties, visits to Namibia, conferences and many other activities.



At a meeting in Lusaka in May 1984 between SWAPO, the South African Administrator General and the MPC, leaders of a wide range of political parties and organisations publicly aligned themselves with SWAPO,

including some who had previously participated in the MPC. The talks collapsed following South Africa's refusal to move towards the implementation of UN Resolution 435.

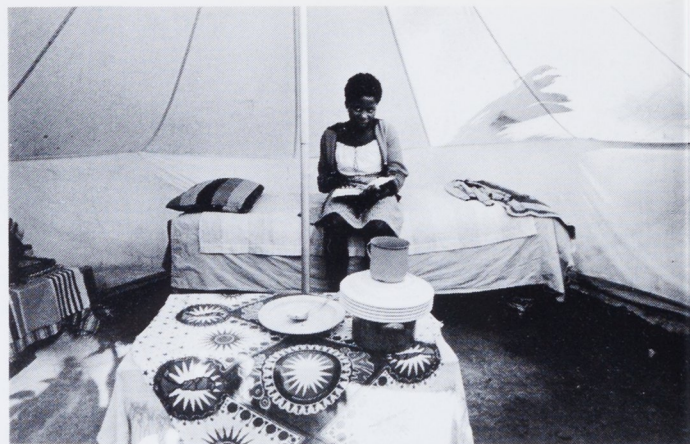
THE FUTURE

Namibian independence cannot be delayed indefinitely. Plans for the development of the country after South Africa's departure have already taken shape. Through their support for SWAPO, the Namibian people have demonstrated what sort of society they wish to see in an independent Namibia.

SWAPO's Constitution, adopted in 1976, pledges that the liberation movement will seek to unite all the people of Namibia into a cohesive, representative, national political entity.

It states SWAPO's opposition to racism, tribalism and sexism, and proposes the establishment of a democratic, secular government in Namibia, founded upon the will and participation of all the Namibian people.¹

Some 85,000 Namibian exiles, living mostly as refugees in Angola and Zambia are preparing for the future by establishing the kind of working relationships they would want in their country after independence. Under the guidance of SWAPO, people in the refugee settlements have developed health and education centres, training projects to acquire essential skills, agricultural projects, nurseries, etc. All these will be employed in the enormous task, after a hundred years of colonial exploitation and apartheid rule, of reconstruction in an independent Namibia.



SWAPO Women's Council (SWC), the women's section of SWAPO, runs an adult literacy project in the refugee settlement in Kwanza Sul, Angola. An SWC survey carried out in the refugee settlements in 1979 showed that 99 per cent of women in the 35-60 age group were illiterate.²



1. Constitution of SWAPO, *op. cit.*

2. Document produced by SWAPO Women's Council for its First Congress, January 1980.



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