THE PERIOD OF SOUTH AFRICAN ADMINISTRATION

1. The Administrative Takeover of Namibia by South Africa

On 9 June 1915 German troops surrendered to the South African troops under the command of General Louis Botha at Khorib and later on German also suffered a defeat as a consequence of its involvement in the World War I. In 1919 the Versailles Treaty dispossessed Germany of all its colonies, including Deutsch-Südwest Afrika (i.e. Namibia). In 1920 the League of Nations gave Deutsch-Südwest Afrika as a trustee to Great Britain. But Great Britain asked the Union of South Africa to govern Deutsch-Südwest Afrika (i.e. Namibia) as a mandate territory on its behalf.

Main activities of the South African Administration during the period were:

a. division of the territory excluding Ovamboland, Okavango and a few other areas where the commissioners have been existing since the period of military government;

abolition of the existing elements of German administrative machinery, and replacing it with South African administrative system

South African Resettlement Policies in Namibia

The main objective of South African Administration between the two World Wars had been to gain as much control as they could over Natives’ land and other resources. The land expropriated from the natives was distributed among the White farmers who were given generous aids by the South African administration.

Indeed, one of the most remarkable acts of the South African Government at the start of its trusteeship over Namibia was the initiation of a massive resettlement programme through which members of the indigenous Namibian population, especially the Damara, were removed from their land to make room for the resettlement of a big number of poor South African whites. The Land Resettlement Programme lasted until 1946. It also provided a model for the resettlement of the Angola or Humpata Boers later.

As a result of this resettlement programme the farming activities in Namibia increased considerably due to the government support.

9. South African Attempts to Make Namibia its Province
Although initially South Africa gave reports on its trusteeship to the League of Nations, slowly it relented and later ceased to do so. The outbreak of the World War II, the crisis and the death of the League of Nations, its subsequent replacement by the United Nations and the advent of the National Party government in South Africa compounded the problem. The South African government became determined to incorporate Namibia into South Africa as its fifth province. However, the international community, first through the efforts of Ethiopia, Liberia and India, and later on of the United Nations, opposed the South African move. The South African attempts to annex Namibia was dismissed once and for all on 27 October 1966 through a UN General Assembly Resolution that revoked South African Mandate over Namibia and declared its presence in Namibia illegal.

10. The Contract Labour System and the Pass Laws

Since the takeover of the South African government and administration by the ruling National Party, in South Africa many racial and labour laws were enacted. These laws were especially harsh on Blacks as they robbed them of almost all the rights. Passes, racial and ethnic laws were introduced and harsh restrictions were imposed on Blacks who could no longer move freely in the country of their ancestors. Workers were subjected to a contract labour system through the South West Africa Native Labour Association (SWANLA) and the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) that kept them away from their families for up to thirty-six (36), twenty-four (24), eighteen (18) or twelve (12) months in compounds and away from their families.

11. Namibian Nationalism

Although colonial wars had a decimating impact on the anti-colonial resistance in Hereroland and Namaland because of the pogroms and the diaspora, the defeat and disappearance of Germany from the political scene helped to re-ignite the flame of nationalism in central and southern Namibia. Worthy mentioning here are the freedom ideas of Marcus Garvey that from West Africa found their way into central Namibia through the shipping lines and the coastal towns of Lüderitz and Walvis Bay.

Contrary to many African countries that thank their nationalism to the movements of university students who were studying in the colonial metropoles, Namibia’s nationalist movement originated from the working class in the living compounds where labourers gathered after their daily exploitative work. Namibian students started to add their nationalist voice to that of the workers only in exile and the early 1970s at home. In actual effect up to that time, Namibia didn’t have any significant school system. Nor did it have meaningful higher education that could serve a free and independent Namibia. There were only apartheid institution of higher learning.

Because of the thirsty for freedom and the indomitable spirit of the Herero leadership and community, the Marcus Garveys ideas of a self-government for the colonised Black communities easily found their way into Hereroland. Soon it inspired a messianism for the restoration of the old Herero Empire.
The first Whites to settle in Hereroland were missionaries. It is only understandable, therefore, that, following the fierce colonial wars and the pogroms to which the Herero community was subjected by the German colonial authorities, Herero Christians started looking at the white church with certain mistrust to the extent of forming their own – Oruuano - church.

However the wind of Namibian nationalism gained a special impetus following the visit in 1947 by a British clergyman, Reverend Michael Scott, to the Herero Paramount Chief Hosea Kutako who is seen as the father of modern Pan-African Politics in Namibia.

12. The Formation of Socio-Political Movements

Drawing inspiration from their African National Congress (ANC) comrades in South Africa, Namibian (Owambo) contract workers in Cape Town established the Ovambo People’s Congress (OPC) in 1957. OPC aim was to fight the exploitative labour contract system and policies of the South West Africa Native Labour Association (SWANLA). Two years later, in 1959, Sam Nujoma and Jacob Kuhangua established the Ovamboland People’s Organization (OPO) at the Old Location in Windhoek. Around the same time the Herero Chief’s Council under Chief Hosea Kutako established the South West African National Union (SWANU) onto which the leaders of OPO were also co-opted to broaden and strengthen the nationalist basis of the movement.

In Cape Town, Ya Toivo and his colleagues formed the Ovamboland People’s Congress (OPC) and sent us a copy of OPC Constitution. On 19 April 1959, we formed here, in Windhoek, after Ya Toivo had been deported, the Ovamboland People’s Organization (OPO). Our chief objectives were the end of the South African colonial administration, and the placing of South West Africa under the UN Trusteeship system, but the end of the Contract system was our first priority. We were determined to destroy the Contract migrant labour system which was the most humiliating type of oppression against our people.

13. Petitions to the United Nation Organization

The social, political and racial polarisation to which the inhabitants of South West Africa were being subjected ever since the National Party ascended to power in South Africa and Namibia awakened them so as to look for a workable solution to end the South African political rule in the Territory. One of such options was to petition the United Nation.

Thus in 1947 the British Anglican missionary, Reverend Michael Scott, succeeded to bring the first petition before the UN on behalf of the inhabitants of South West Africa who were not politically free to travel abroad and appear before the world body.

The pattern of my life had completely changed ... through the chain of events that began in South West Africa in 1947 when the Reverend Michael Scott, on behalf of Chiefs Hosea Kutako and Samuel Witbooi, commenced the petitioning of the UN.
I myself had first become aware of the United Nations through Chief Hosea Kutako

The Reverend Michael Scott became our first link with the outside world where he helped to start the long struggle for South West African freedom and independence by petitioning to the United Nations on behalf of Chief Hosea Kutako and Samuel Witbooi

The petitioning to the world body by Reverend Michael Scott and his Namibian friends started in the mid 1950s. It gained momentum in 1957, when Reverend Theophilus Hamutumbangela of the Onekwaya Anglican Parish wrote a petition to the UN, complaining about the ill treatment of Black workers, and intensified after the upraise and the massacre of 10 December 1959.

In 1958, Chiefs Hosea Kutako and Damuel Witbooi petitioned the United Nations against the UN Good Offices Commission, which had been given the task of consulting with the apartheid regime about a possible solution to hand over South West Africa to the UN. The British member of the three-man commission, Sir Charles Undery, spent only a couple of hours at a meeting in Keetmanshoop. The Commission eventually propose partitioning of South West Africa so that the whole of what was still called the Police Zone, where the white lived (fully 85% of the area), would become part of South Africa, while the remaining northern and eastern regions which provided a cheap labour reservoir for the minority white employers (including the Kaokoland, Ovamboland, Kavango and the Eastern Caprivi) would come under a trusteeship agreement with the UN which would be administered by South Africa.

Of especial significance is the petition of Andima Toivo ya Toivo of the OPC who managed to smuggle a tape-recorded message to Mburumba Kerina who was already at the UN in New York with Reverend Michael Scott.

14. The Liberation Struggle

SWAPO led the liberation struggle in three fronts, namely politically, diplomatically and militarily. Needless to say that SWAPO’s struggle was carried out in Namibia against the occupation power South Africa.

(a) Politically SWAPO managed to mobilize all Namibian patriots to rally behind its call for freedom, political emancipation and independence;
(b) Diplomatically SWAPO was engaged in informing the international community about the inhuman politics of occupation and Apartheid;
(c) Militarily SWAPO inspired Namibians to join its armed wing – PLAN – as combatants, to fight against South African occupation.
15. The Phase of the Liberation Struggle (led by SWAPO)

Namibia lit its liberation flame from the torch of African freedom that was sparked by the independence of Egypt, Ghana, Guinea Conacry in the 1950s, as well as Algeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo in the early 1960s.

Thus, the exacerbation of the oppression and repression of the Namibians by the Verwoerd / Vorster regime in South Africa through the labour and racial laws forced Namibians to quietly leave the country and sick the way into exile. The path of nearly all early Namibian political exiles, who in the majority were workers in South African and South West African labour markets, led to Tanganyika (i.e. today’s Tanzania) through Bechuanaland (i.e. today’s Botswana), Southern Rhodesia (i.e. today’s Zimbabwe) and/or Northern Rhodesia (i.e. today’s Zambia). From Tanzania some early Namibian exiles traveled to Ghana, Egypt, Algeria and some to China and the Soviet Union.

This soft exodus of Namibians into exile intensified after Tanganyika, Bechuanaland and Northern Rhodesia gained their independence, but was subsequently made difficult by the unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) on 11 November 1965 by white renegades under Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia and by the ensuing chimurenga or liberation struggle led by ZANU and ZAPU.

15.1 The Early Exodus and the Political Re-organization

The Old Location massacre marked a turning point in the history of Namibian nationalism. It disentangled a period of bitterness for what happened and fear for own safety, thus forcing a number of political activists to seek the way of exile. Although nearly all exoduses of the early period reached the then Tanganyika (which is now the United Republic of Tanzania) by passing through the then Bechuanaland Protectorate (now Republic of Botswana), they can be divided into three waves according to their provenience, namely:

- a. The wave of those who crossed into Botswana from the Omaheke Region (such as S. Nujoma);
- b. The wave of those who crossed into Botswana from South Africa’s Mpumalanga Province;
- c. The wave of those who crossed into Botswana from the Cape Province; and
- d. The wave of those who crossed into Botswana from Kavango through Maun and Sakawe (such as L. Pohamba, Mze Kaukungwa, H. Hamutenya).

Among the exiles of the early Namibian exodus were Sam Nujoma, Lukas Pohamba, Maxton J. Mutongolume, John yaOtto Nankudhu, Elias Tuhadeleni (Kxumbu kaNdola), Peter Muaillepeni, Jacob Kuhangua, Loth Natanael Homateni, Abel Aluteni, Vinia Ndadi, Ben Amathila, Theo Ben Gurirab, Hidipo Hamutenya, Mosè Tjitendero, Hage Geingob, Peter Katjavivi and many others.

While in exile, initially, the nationalists pursued the policy of engaging South African through peaceful and diplomatic means mainly through the petitioning at the United Nations. However, in the face of South African intransigence, Namibian nationalists had to review their strategy of
dealing with the South African regime. This required a structural re-organization of the nationalist movement itself to be able to adequately face the challenges.

Drawing lessons from the ruthless brutality manifested by the South African Apartheid regime on 10 December 1959 during the Old Location’s event, in 19 April 1960 OPO transformed itself into the South West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO) with the aim to mobilize the nation’s masses all over South West Africa (Namibia) to rally for freedom and political emancipation of the Territory. Another important milestone in the reorganization of the nationalist movement was the merger of Caprivi African National Union (CANU), then based in Zambia, with SWAPO in 1965 at a meeting held in Tanzania (Zambia).

14.2 The First (Mini-) Tanga Congress

Following the unproductiveness of numerous petitions of the Namibian nationalist movement to the United Nations, there came a time when Namibians, especially those who were under the leadership of SWAPO, had to consult and take decision whether they would continue to engage the South African regime through futile peaceful means or to adopt another strategy.

Thus, in 1962 (1969/70) the SWAPO leadership in the Tanzanian exile held their first ever congress in exile in Tanga in which they decided to resort to the only option available to them - the armed struggle against the South African regime as a means to achieve independence for South West Africa. The decision taken at the Mini-Congress of Tanga was a difficult one if one takes into account the geopolitics of Southern Africa in the early 1960s which consisted almost exclusively of European dominated colonial territories. The distance between Tanzania and South West Africa (i.e. Namibia) was another hindrance on Namibia’s long march to freedom. By allowing bases of a liberation movement to be established on its soil, the newly independent United Republic of Tanzania was putting itself at risk of being attacked by the colonial powers, including Apartheid South Africa. In view of this and with the aim to protect Namibian exiles, Tanzania authorized SWAPO to establish its bases at the centrally located Kongwa area.

14.3 From Okakulumbwati to SWALA and NAPLA / PLAN

In the early 1960s SWAPO was nothing else but a political mass movement, supported by labourers and peasants. During this period of its existence the movement did not have any military experience whatsoever. This was a serious predicament for a movement that had just opted to start and wage a war of liberation against the South African regime. Once the decision was taken, SWAPO ought to find ways and means to wage the war of liberation against one of the best equipped armies on the African continent. SWAPO’s first armed wing was informally known by the name of Okakulumbwati (i.e. ‘the hitting stick’). The first SWAPO combatants were trained in Algeria and Egypt. Subsequently, after absorbing their first training in Algeria and Egypt, some members of Okakulumbwati were sent for further training to Russia and the People’s Republic of China. These well-trained military cadres of Okakulumbwati became trainers of other SWAPO combatants at Kongwa in Tanzania.
Drawing inspiration from the name of the Chinese Army (which is officially known as the ‘People’s Liberation Army’) and following the graduation of the first Namibian military trainees from the People’s Republic of China, the name Okakulumbwati was changed to South West Africa Liberation Army (SWALA).

Thus, the SWAPO combatants who established the first military base in Namibia, at Omugulugwoombashe in 1966 and those that opened the Eastern Front in the Caprivi in 1968 were members of SWALA.

Following the change of the Territory’s name from South West Africa (SWA) to Namibia, the name SWALA also underwent adaptive transformations and became NAPLA (Namibia People’s Liberation Army). After the famous Tanga Congress (1969-1970) NAPLA was changed to People’s Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), a slight but very profound change of the SWAPO armed wing!

Both Okakulumbwati and SWALA were responsible for starting Namibia’s War of Independence. NAPLA became responsible for the opening of the Northeastern Front while PLAN became responsible for the opening of the Northern Front and the Northwestern Front as well as for the completion of the work of the liberation of the Namibian Motherland.

The creation and shaping of the People’s Liberation Army into a fighting force With a power of endurance that spanned nearly a quarter of a century was no mean task. It required organization, an inculcation of iron discipline, an unbending will to win, as well as resolute action and vigilance. All these called for commanders, political officers and soldiers who possessed exemplary qualities... Among them are the names of Tobias Hainyeko, Peter Eneas Nanyemba, Jason Hamutenya Ndadi, Greenwell Matongo, Hanganee Katjipuka Kavezeri, Helao Nafidi, Wilbard Tashiya, Peneyambeko Hashoongo, David Mbango, Isack Shikongo, John Hamukoto, Peter Manyuka Mberushu and others. They stood out among those who performed their duties with exceptional dedication and profound sense of mission, thereby making invaluable contribution to the growth of PLAN as an army that proved capable of withering the storm of the enemy’s ferocious onslaught for almost a quarter of a century

14.4 The Omugulugwoombashe Battle (26 August 1968)

26 August 1968, the day in which a group of Namibians under the command of the Tanzania-trained SWAPO combatant, John yaOtto Nankudhu, engaged members of the South African armed forces in a battle in Namibia at Omugulugwoombashe, does not only mark the beginning of Namibia’s liberation struggle. It also constitutes an important date in the history of Namibia as it marks a turning-point in the long and arduous path of Namibians in search for freedom, independence and justice. Although this was only a one-day event, it lit the torch of freedom for Namibia’s twenty years of liberation struggle that lay ahead.

14.5 The Caprivi and the Start of the Eastern Front (1968)
Although Omugulugwomabashe marked the start of Namibia’s liberation war, Africa’s geopolitics and geographic position of Owamboland at the time were not adequate and conducive to sustain the liberation struggle in Northwestern Namibia as it had no link to free Africa and was therefore cut off from any supply roots. Moreover, it was sandwiched between hostile, colonial, forces of South Africa and Portugal (in Angola). A new military front – the Eastern Front - was therefore opened in the Caprivi.

14.6 The Big Exodus (1974)

The overthrow of the autocratic regime of Marcello Caetano by General António de Spínola’s Revolution of the Armed Forces in Portugal on 25 April 1974 opened a new corridor for tens of thousands of Namibians of different age, ethnic and sex groups to leave the country through Angola and join the liberation movement SWAPO in Zambia and Angola. This new, big and long-lasting wave of exiles did not only increase the number of SWAPO fighters and its capacity to intensify the liberation struggle but also increased and diversified the expertise and the number of educated Namibians.

Through this massive exodus SWAPO was able to send Namibians to a variety of (academic, professional and military) trainings, amongst others, in Zambia, Cuba, United States, Canada, France, Nigeria, Kenya, German Democratic Republic, United Kingdom, Cameroon, Congo (Brazzaville), Liberia, Czechoslovakia, Finland, United Kingdom, Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, China, and China.


On 26 December 1969 SWAPO opened a consultative congress at Tanga, Tanzania, whose deliberations lasted until 2 January 1970. The aim of the Tanga congress was to review the progress made in the liberation struggle, restructure the movement and create structures that would enable the organization to face the challenges with confidence and determination. The movement also created a strong secretariat in a move to make its work more effectively. From the Tanga Congress SWAPO emerged stronger with newly created or strengthened wings, such as the Youth League, Workers Union, Women’s Council, Elders’ Council, NAPLA (renamed PLAN in 1973), and providing for broader participation of Namibians of all walk of life in the movement’s activities. SWAPO also emerged from the Tanga Congress with a reinvigorated fighting morale (SWAPO 1987:179).

14.8 The Start of the North and Northwestern Fronts by PLAN

The independence of Angola in 1975 under the leadership of MPLA opened an opportunity for the armed wing of Namibia’s liberation movement, PLAN, to penetrate deeper into the country, mobilize and recruit more combatants and to engage the South African Defence Force on a wider front through new military fronts, such as the Northern Front (that comprised Kavango, Oshimholo and Eastern Owambo) as well as Northwestern Front (that comprised Northern and Northwestern Owambo as well as Kaokoland) for fourteen years.

14.9 The UN Resolution 435
On 29 September 1978 the UN Security Council passed a resolution reiterating the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia, to transfer the power to the people of Namibia with the assistance of the Organization of the United Nations through a United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG).


The Security Council,


Having considered the report submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 2 of resolution 431(1978) (S/12827) and his explanatory statement made in the Security Council on 29 September 1978 (S/12869),

Taking note of the relevant communications from the Government of South Africa addressed to the Secretary-General,

Taking note also of the letter dated 8 September 1978 from the President of the South West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO) addressed to the Secretary-General (S/12841),

Reaffirming the legal responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia,

1. Approves the report of the Secretary-General (S/12827) for the implementation of the proposal for a settlement of the Namibian situation (S/12636) and his explanatory statement (S/12869);

2. Reiterates that its objective is the withdrawal of South Africa’s illegal administration of Namibia and the transfer of power to the people of Namibia with the assistance of the United Nations in accordance with resolution 385(1976);

3. Decides to establish under its authority a United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in accordance with the above-mentioned report of the Secretary-General for a period of up to 12 months in order to assist his Special Representative to carry out mandate conferred upon him by paragraph 1 of Security Council resolution 431(1978), namely to ensure the early independence of Namibia through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations;

4. Welcomes SWAPO’s preparedness to co-operate in the implementation of the Secretary-General’s report, including its expressed readiness to sign and observe the cease-fire provisions as manifested in the letter from the President of SWAPO.
dated 8 September 1978 (S/12841);

5. Calls on South Africa forthwith to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the implementation of this resolution;

6. Declares that all unilateral measures taken by the illegal administration in Namibia in relation to the electoral process, including unilateral registration of voters, or transfer of power, in contravention of Security Council resolutions 385(1976), 431(1978) and this resolution, are null and void.

7. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council no later that 23 October 1978 on the implementation of this resolution.

15.9 The Start of the North and Northwestern Fronts by PLAN

The independence of Angola in 1975 under the leadership of MPLA opened an opportunity for the armed wing of Namibia’s liberation movement, PLAN, to penetrate deeper into the country, mobilize and recruit more combatants and to engage the South African Defence Force on a wider front through new military fronts, such as the Northern Front (that comprised Kavango, Oshimholo and Eastern Owambo) as well as Northwestern Front (that comprised Northern and Northwestern Owambo as well as Kaokoland) for fourteen years.

15.10 The Turnhalle Conference and the Interim Government

In the late 1960s the South African government, through the Odendaal Plan, established racial and ethnic-based homelands (Bantustans) in Namibia whose aim was to create alienation and consolidate social and political separation between different racial and ethnic groups in Namibia in order to perpetuate White South African supremacy and Apartheid domination over Namibia. However, through the independence of Angola and Mozambique South Africa found itself suddenly surrounded by independent Black African states that not only vehemently opposed Apartheid but also supported the struggle of SWAPO for independence of Namibia as a unitary an non-racial state.

Faced with such situation and pressure, in November 1977 the South African government engineered the formation of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA). DTA emerged as an amalgamation of ethnic and racial parties whose “homeland” leaders had been called together by the South African Administration to a conference in the Turnhalle building in Windhoek. The aim of this Apartheid gymnastic, in lamping together what in their own philosophy should be separated, was to create a political front to oppose, contain and neutralize the growing political, military and diplomatic support and successes of the liberation movement SWAPO in its bid for Namibia’s independence and black rule in Windhoek.
Thus, although DTA also started talking about an independence of a hybrid political entity called *South West Africa / Namibia*, it could, however, not hide its true colour: that of being a stooge and surrogate of the South African administration and of its interests in Namibia.

### 14.11 The Internationalization of the Conflict and the Reagan *Linkage* Policy

The sudden and confused departure of the Portuguese from Angola and the unexpected opening of the Northern and Southwestern fronts by SWAPO military wing created panic and insecurity in the South African government with regard to the most viable strategy for them to militarily defend South Africa. South Africa opted for the so-called military insurgence strategy and invaded the sovereign state of Angola. The invasion of Angola by the South African army, being in breach of international law, was not only condemned by the international community but also galvanized a wave of solidarity. Countries such as the Republic of Cuba, the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic sent military contingents to defend Angola and/ or observers or instructors to train the Angolan army. The internationalization of the conflict precipitated the Reagan policy of *linkage*, which made the independence of Namibia dependent on the withdrawal of foreign troops – including PLAN - from Angola.

### 14.12 Quito-Cuanavale: The Prelude to Serious Negotiations

Instead of abating, the war inside Namibia intensified despite the linkage policy of the American central administration and PLAN military operations reached the areas of Grootfontein and Otavi. On its part, having been halted at Cahama, the South Africans moved a big number of troops into Angolan Cuando-Cubango Province and combined them with UNITA forces to attack the Angolan FAPLA troops to try a push toward the west to cut the SWAPO supply lines. A coalition of the FAPLA, Cuban and SWAPO troops engaged the South African- UNITA troops at the Lomba River and encircled and immobilized them completely at Quito-Cuanavale. South Africa, realizing that their troops were unable to get reinforcement, beat a retreat or advance but, instead, were submitted to intensive fire and growing casualties, sought a negotiated solution for the settlement of the conflict as the unique option to rescue thousands of South African troops and armory from a total annihilation.

### 14.14 Negotiations to end the War of Namibia's Independence

The precarious situation in which thousands of South African troops found themselves in Quito-Cuanavale, forced the South African government to opt for an immediate different type of a linkage policy, whereby South Africa ought to accept a disengagement from Angola, demilitarization of Namibia and immediate implementation of the UN Resolution 435. The modalities for the implementation of such peace making process was subsequently to be agreed through negotiations in Geneva, New York, Brazzaville and Mount Etjo that ended with the signing of the cease-fire agreement in New York on 22 December 1988 and paved the way for the pull out of the South African Defence Force (SADF) from Angola and Namibia and demilitarization of Namibia.
Agreement among the People’s Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cuba, and the Republic of South Africa

The governments of the People’s Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cuba, and the Republic of South Africa, hereinafter designated as “the Parties”,

Taking into account the “Principles for a peaceful settlement in southwestern Africa”, approved by the Parties on 20 July 1988, and the subsequent negotiations with respect to the implementation of these Principles, each of which is indispensable to a comprehensive settlement,

Considering the acceptance by the Parties of the implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978), adopted on 29 September 1978, hereinafter designated as “UNSCR 435/78”,

Considering the conclusion of the bilateral agreement between the People’s Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba providing for the redeployment toward the North and the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from the territory of the People’s Republic of Angola,

Recognizing the role of the United Nations Security Council in implementing UNSCR 435/78 and in supporting the implementation of the present agreement,

Affirming the sovereignty, sovereign equality and independence of all states of southwestern Africa,

Affirming the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states,

Affirming the principle of abstention from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of states,

Reaffirming the right of the peoples of the southwestern region of Africa to self-determination, independence, and equality of rights, and of the states of southwestern Africa to peace, development, and social progress,

Urging African and international co-operation for the settlement of the problems of the development of the southwestern region of Africa,

Expressing their appreciation for the mediating role of the Government of the United States of America,

Desiring to contribute to the establishment of peace and security in southwestern...
Africa,

Agree to the provisions set forth below.

1. The Parties shall immediately request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to seek authority from the Security Council to commence implementation of UNSCR 435/78 on 1 April 1989.
2. All military forces of the Republic of South Africa shall depart Namibia in accordance with UNSCR 435/78.
3. Consistent with the provisions of UNSCR 435/78, the Republic of South Africa and the People's Republic of Angola shall co-operate with the Secretary-General to ensure the independence of Namibia through free and fair elections and shall abstain from any action that could prevent the execution of UNSCR 435/78. The Parties shall respect the territorial integrity and inviolability of borders of Namibia and shall ensure that their territories are not used by any state, organization, or person in connection with acts of war, aggression, or violence against the territorial integrity or inviolability of borders of Namibia or any other action which would prevent the execution of UNSCR 435/78.
4. The People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba shall implement the bilateral agreement, signed on the date of signature of this agreement, providing for the redeployment toward the North and the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, and the arrangements made with the Security Council of the United Nations for the on-site verification of that withdrawal.
5. Consistent with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, the Parties shall refrain from the threat or use of force, and shall ensure that their respective territories are not used by any state, organization, or person in connection with any acts of war, aggression, or violence against the territorial integrity, inviolability of borders; or independence or any state of southwestern Africa.
6. The Parties shall respect the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the state of southwestern Africa.
7. The Parties shall comply in good faith with all obligations undertaken in this agreement and shall resolve through negotiation and in a spirit of co-operation any disputes with respect to the interpretation or implementation thereof.
8. This agreement shall enter into force upon signature.

Signed at New York in triplicate in the Portuguese, Spanish and English languages, each language being equally authentic, this 22nd day of December 1988.

For the People's    For the Republic    For the Republic of

Republic of Angola:  Cuba:    South Africa:
16. SWAPO Membership and Constituency in the Liberation Struggle

As was seen earlier SWAPO draw its early membership chiefly from Namibian contract workers who were recruited by SWANLA and WINLA to work in different sectors of the economy in Namibia and in South Africa. Clandestinely some teachers and nurses also joined the movement. Later on in the early 1970s students joined in and helped to organize strikes or went to increase the number of armed combatants. Also members of the clergy became sympathizers or members of SWAPO.

Although initially predominantly male dominated SWAPO proved to be an inclusive mass organization that from the very beginning attracted both men and women alike. Because of the justness of the cause of SWAPO, its struggle also captured the sympathy and solidarity of all ethnic groups without discrimination of ethnic origin, race, religious affiliation or creed. People from all walk of life and from almost every corner of Namibia joined SWAPO and fought or supported the liberation struggle from home or abroad, fighting guerrilla war, sacrificing, providing intelligence and/or logistical support and being involved in mass mobilization.

Through the decision of the Tanga Conference (1969/70) a platform was created for persons and organizations to be granted membership in SWAPO as individual members or affiliate members. Thanks to such a foresighted decision not only individual persons but also organizations (e.g. labour unions, student organizations and professional organizations) can become members of SWAPO. It is on the basis of the collective affiliation principle, for example, that NANWU, NAPWU, NANTU, NANSO became affiliate organizations of SWAPO. Indeed, SWAPO became not only a mass organization but also the most popular political force in Namibia before and after independence.

17. The Churches and the Liberation Struggle

While initially the Lutheran Church, to a certain extent, paved the way for German colonization, and later on the NG Kerk blessed and supported the Apartheid policy of the South African Government, it is also worthy mentioning in general that the Church in Namibia also went through dialectics of change. Such dialectics were caused mostly by some individual members of the clergy who preferred to be the voice of the voiceless and decided to bear witness in favour of the poor and the oppressed. That was especially the case with (ELOC)/ELCIN, the Anglican Church, the Catholic Church and (ELKSWA)/ELCRIN whose membership also provided some aid to Namibians in exile.

(a) On 30 June 1971 two Lutheran Churches represented by (ELOC)/ELCIN Bishop Dr. L. Auala and Rev. P. Gowaseb of (ELKSWA)/ELCRIN sent reprimanding letters to the South African Government on apartheid, colonial occupation and the
systematic injustice of the South African Government. ELOC'/ELCIN Church printing house was burned down several times; the fearless Bishop Auala was intimidated and many pastors were tortured;

(c) Members of the Anglican Church such as Rev. M. Scott, Bishop Winter and Rev. Th. Hamutumbangela petitioned to the UN, were deported or were heavily tortured;

(d) Catholic Bishops declared Apartheid and South African occupation as a sin and vowed not to cooperate with the South African Government; and some of their members such as Rev. Fr Hunke, Rev. G. Heimerikx were deported or went into forced exile for exposing South African atrocities. It also saw its church houses burned down.

However, the voice of the Church became louder and more effective after the churches in Namibia decided to set up an umbrella body, the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN), speak with one voice and articulate their resistance to “the status quo and to embark on a campaign of positive action to bring about the implementation of the UN Resolution 435”¹, especially following the /Ai//Gams Khairos conference of April 1986.

IV. THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

1. The Repatriation and Resettlement of Namibian Exiles

The signing in New York of the tripartite agreement between the Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cuba and the Republic of South Africa on 22 December 1988 did not only open the door for the cessation of hostilities between South Africa and the Namibian liberation movement SWAPO but also led to the disengagement and confinement of the warring forces and to the pull out of the South African Defence Force from Namibia, demilitarization of Namibia and the returning home of tens of thousands of Namibians exiles and SWAPO combatants.

The repatriation of Namibian exiles and SWAPO combatants was primarily the responsibility of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)²⁶ which it carried out in collaboration with the Repatriation, Resettlement and Reconstruction (RRR) programme of the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN). To facilitate the repatriation of the exiles and resettlement through the reunification with their families, UNHCR in collaboration with CCN established reception camps in Döbra, Engela, Mariabronn, Okahandja and Ongwediva. These were transitional church havens of safety where exiles were received, accommodated temporarily while their relatives were tracing them for the reunion.

The repatriation of Namibian exiles was a mammoth programme that not only required robust logistics but also involved many players such as the UN (through UNHCR and UNTAG), SWAPO, CCN, South Africa and a number of different countries. In order to acquaint itself with the preparations that were being made to receive the Namibian exiles, SWAPO sent an advanced team consisting, amongst others, of Mr V. Ankama, Dr Libertina Amathila and Ms. Pendukeni Iithana. The repatriation exercise kicked off after SWAPO, under whose care over 90% exiles

were, was briefed and satisfied about the progress made in the set up of the reception centres and other important logistical arrangements.

Although marked by a number of incidents such as delays caused by security considerations, the logistics concerning both transport and accommodation, attempts of water poisoning in some camps, politicking, as well as intimidation, all in all the repatriation of Namibian exiles was very successful. It lasted almost six months.

2. Preparing the Establishment of the Namibian State

The Implementation of the United Nations Security Council resolution 435 of 29 September 1978\(^{27}\) that aimed at ensuring a smooth transformation of Namibia into an independent and sovereign state, provided, amongst others, for the organization of UN-supervised general elections and the drafting of a constitution for the new state. Immediately after the South African troops, SWATF and the koevoet paratroops left the Namibian territory or were demobilized, the exiles returned and a number of anti-SWAPO laws were repelled. The United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) started helping the country to prepare for the first ever general and free elections through, amongst others, registering the voters and political parties as well as working out the conditions for the registration and a code of conduct for the multitude of political parties that proliferated in the period preceding the first ever universal and democratic elections in Namibia.

### Political Parties in Namibia before the 1989 Election

#### Alliances

1. **CAN - Aksie Christlek Nasionaal** (2 parties)
2. **DTA - Democratic Turnhalle Alliance** (12 parties)
3. **FCN - Federal Convention of Namibia** (6 parties)
4. **NNF - Namibia National Front of Namibia** (5 parties)
5. **NPF - National Patriotic Front of Namibia** (3 parties)
6. **SA - Socialist Alliance** (2 parties)
7. **UDF - United Democratic Front (Namibia)** (6 parties)

#### Parties

1. **ANS - Action National Settlement**
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>BA - Bushman Alliance</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>CANU/NPF - Caprivi African National Union (NPF)</td>
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<td>CANU/UDF - Caprivi African National Union (UDF)</td>
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<td>CAP - Caprivi Alliance Party</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>CDA - Christian Democratic Action for Social Justice</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>CDP - Christian Democratic Party</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>CPN - Communist Party of Namibia</td>
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<td>DAN - Democratic Action for Namas</td>
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<td>DC - Damara Council</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>DSK - Deutcsh-Südwester Kommittee</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>DTPN - Democratic Turnhalle Party of Namibia</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>HNP - Herstigte Nasionale Party van SWA</td>
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<td>IDP - Ipelegeng Democratic Party</td>
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<td>LDP/LF - Liberated Democratic Party/Liberation Front</td>
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<td>MPP - Mmabatho Peoples Party</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>NCDP - Namibia Christian Democratic Party</td>
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<td>NDP - National Democratic Party</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>NDUP - National Democratic Unity Party</td>
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<td>NIP - Namibia Independence Party</td>
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2.1 Organization of UN-Supervised General Elections

In preparation of elections, on 12 September 1989 nine political parties signed a Code of Conduct for the elections in the presence of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the UN in Namibia, Martti Ahtisaari.

Code of Conduct for Political Parties during the 1989 Election Campaign in Namibia

On Tuesday 12 September 1989 nine Namibian political parties signed an agreement among themselves. It establishes a Code of Conduct which they have pledged to respect during the coming electoral campaign. They have also agreed to issue directives to their members and supporters to observe this Code, and to take other necessary steps to ensure that its terms are respected. They, and I, have also agreed to publicize this Code throughout Namibia by all the various means at our disposal.

It have been deeply impressed by the attitudes of restraint, constructiveness and flexibility shown by the parties in concluding this agreement. It is an important and historic achievement on the long road that has led to the prospect, soon to be realized, of free and fair elections for an independent Namibia. It is also a significant step towards national reconciliation.

Martti Ahtisaari, Special Representative of the Secretary-General

An essential part of free and fair elections is freedom of political campaigning. Everyone has the right to put forward their political principles and ideas, without threat or fear, to every other person, without exception. But freedom of political campaigning also carries responsibilities, including the duty to accept every other person's freedom to campaign.

The Namibian political parties whose names are subscribed to this document, meeting
together in Windhoek under the chairmanship of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 12 September 1989, have agreed as follows:

1. **Intimidation, in any form, is unacceptable, and will be expressly forbidden by the parties in directives to their members and supporters.**

2. **Party leaders will instruct their members and supporters that no weapon of any kind, including any traditional weapon, may be brought to any political rally, meeting, march or other demonstration.**

3. **Parties will notify UNTAG-CIVPOL as well as SWAPOL in advance of their planned meetings and other rallies.**

4. **All practical steps will be taken by parties to avoid holding rallies, meetings, marches or demonstrations close to one another at the same time. Party leaders undertake to co-operate in applying this principle in good faith and in a reasonable spirit should any coincidence of time or venue arise.**

5. **Speakers at political rallies will at all times avoid using language which threatens or incites violence in any form against any other person or group of persons. Parties will not issue pamphlets, newsletters or posters, whether officially or anonymously, which contain inflammatory language material.**

6. **All parties will consistently emphasize, both to their supporters and also to voters in general, that there will be a secret ballot, and that consequently no one will know any individual may have voted.**

7. **Party members and supporters will not disrupt other parties’ rallies, meetings, marches or demonstrations.**

8. **Party members and supporters will not seek to obstruct other persons from attending the political rallies of other parties.**

9. **Party members and supporters will not plagiarize symbols of other parties, or steal, disfigure or destroy political or campaign materials of other parties.**

10. **Party leaders will use their good offices to seek to ensure reasonable freedom of access by all political parties to all potential voters, whether they be at farms, on state-owned properties, in villages, or at secondary reception centres. They will also seek to ensure that such potential voters wishing to participate in related political activities have freedom to do so. This may, where necessary, take place outside working hours.**

11. **Parties will establish effective lines of communication to one another at**
headquarters, regional and district levels, and will appoint liaison personnel who will be constantly on call to deal with any problems that may arise.

12. Parties will meet on a fortnightly basis under the chairmanship of UNTAG regional directors or centre heads to discuss all matters of concern relating to the election campaign. A standing committee of party leaders at headquarters will meet on a fortnightly basis under the chairmanship of the Special Representative or his Deputy to deal with such matters on a nation-wide basis. An observer from the office of the Administrator-General will be invited to attend the meeting of the standing committee. Emergency meeting will be convened as and when necessary.

13. All allegations of intimidation and other unlawful conduct in the election campaign will be brought to the attention of the nearest UNTAG-CIVPOL and SWAPOL stations or patrols.

14. Party leaders will issue directives to their members and supporters to observe this Code of Conduct, and take all other necessary steps to ensure compliance.

15. It is stated in the Settlement Proposal that: “The elections will be under the supervision and control of the United Nations in that, as a condition of the conduct of the electoral process, the elections themselves and the certification of their results, the United Nations Special Representative will have to satisfy himself at each stage as to the fairness and appropriateness of all measures affecting the political process at all levels of administration before such measures take effect.” Party leaders undertake to honour the outcome of free and fair elections to certified by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

16. The Special Representative and party leaders undertake to publicise this Code of Conduct throughout Namibia by all means at their disposal.

The Namibian political parties whose names are subscribed below accept and endorse this Code of Conduct as binding upon them. They agree that alleged violations will be brought to and considered by the Standing Committee referred to in paragraph 12 above.

Name of Party     Name of Representative

Action Christian National     J.M. de Wet
Democratic Turnhalle Alliance     F.J. Kozonguizi
The elections took place from 7 to 11 November 1989 and 96.4% of the registered voters cast their votes. The elections were contested by nine political parties that met the requirements, namely ACN, DTA, FCN, NCDP, NNF, NPFN, SWAPO, SWAPO-D, and UDF. The liberation movement SWAPO obtained 57.3% of the total votes, thus securing 41 seats in the Constituent Assembly. The liberation movement SWAPO was, therefore, later on also entrusted to form the first government of an independent Namibia and to inaugurate the Republic of Namibia.

2.2 The Formation of a Constituent Assembly and the Drafting of a Constitution for Namibian

Principles concerning the Constituent Assembly in Namibia

The Constituent Assembly

In accordance with United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978), elections will be held to select a Constituent Assembly, which will adopt a Constitution for an independent Namibia. The Constitution will determine the organization and powers of all levels of government. Every adult Namibian will be eligible, without discrimination or fear of intimidation from any source, to vote, campaign and stand for election to the Constituent
Assembly.

Voting will be secret ballot, with provisions made for those who cannot read or write.

The date for the beginning of the electoral campaign, the date of elections, the electoral system, the preparation of voters roll and other aspects of electoral procedures will be promptly decided upon so as to give all political parties and interested persons, without regard to their political views, a full and fair opportunity to organize and participate in the electoral process.

Full freedom of speech, assembly, movement and press shall be guaranteed.

The electoral system will seek to ensure fair representation in the Constituent Assembly to different political parties, which gain substantial support in the election.

2. The Constituent Assembly will formulate the Constitution for an independent Namibia in accordance with the principles for a Constitution for an Independent Namibia and will adopt the Constitution as a whole by a two-thirds majority of its total membership.

2.3 Guidelines for the Drafting of the Constitution of an Independent Namibia
Principles for a Constitution for an Independent Namibia

1. Namibia will be unitary, sovereign and democratic state.

2. The Constitution will be the supreme law of the state. It may be amended only by a designated process involving the legislature and/or votes cast in a popular referendum.

3. The Constitution will determine the organization and powers of all levels of government. It will provide for a system of government with three branches: an elected executive branch which will be responsible to the legislative branch; a legislative branch to be elected by universal and equal suffrage which will be responsible for the interpretation of the Constitution and for ensuring its supremacy and the authority of the law. The executive and legislative branches will be constituted by periodic and genuine elections which will be held by secret vote.

The electoral system will be consistent with the principles spelled out in the Principles concerning the Constituent Assembly in Namibia, above.

4. There will be a declaration of fundamental rights, which will include the rights to life, personal liberty and freedom of movement; to freedom of conscience; to freedom of expression, including freedom of speech and a free press; to freedom of assembly and association; including political parties and trade unions; to due process and equality before the law; to protection from arbitrary deprivation of private property without just compensation; and to freedom from racial, ethnic, religious or sexual discrimination. The declaration of rights will be consistent with the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Aggrieved individuals will be entitled to have the courts adjudicate and enforce these rights.

5. It will be forbidden to create criminal offences with retrospective effects or to provide for increased penalties with retrospective effect.

6. Provision will be made for the balanced structuring of the public service, the police service and the defense services and for equal access by all to recruitment of these services. The fair administration of personnel policy in relation to these services will be assured by appropriate independent bodies.

Provision will be made for the establishment of elected council for local and/or regional administration.
V. THE PROTO-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

In the case of Namibia the proto-independence period encompasses the twenty-four hours period that includes the mid-night of transition during which Namibia bade farewell to the South African colonial administration and welcomed the installation of the government of the independent Republic of Namibia. It also encompasses the first independence day during which the basic government structures of the new independent State were established. It is a period where:

- The Apartheid South African flag was lowered forever on the Namibian soil;
- The symbols of sovereignty of the Namibian State (i.e. The Namibian Constitution, the National Flag and the State Seal) were inaugurated;
- The Namibian Constitution became the supreme law of the land.
- The Namibian Flag was hoisted for the first time on the Namibian soil as a symbol of the sovereign state and the independent Republic of Namibia;
- The three organs of the Namibian democratic State (i.e. the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary) were inaugurated;
- The First President of the Republic of Namibia was sworn in and installed;
- The First Parliament of the Republic of Namibia (initially and de facto only consisting of the National Assembly) was sworn in;
- The first Cabinet of the Republic of Namibia was appointed and took office.

The Speech of the Founding President on the Hour of Namibia's Independence

In the midnight of 21 March 1990, on the hour of Namibia’s independence and its ascendance to statehood, SWAPO President and the Founding President of the Republic of Namibia made the following moving speech after being sworn in by the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. M. Ahtisaari.

Inaugural Speech,
21 March 1990, Windhoek

For the Namibian people and for myself, this day, March 21, 1990, is the most memorable and indeed the most emotional moment in the annals of our history.
This solemn hour is the moment for which our people have been waiting for more than a century. This is the day for which tens of thousands of Namibian patriots laid down their lives, shed their precious blood, suffered imprisonment and endured a difficult life in exile. Today, our hearts are filled with great joy and jubilation because our deepest and longest yearning has been realised.

For the past 43 years or so this land of our forebears has been a bone of contention between the Namibian people and the international community, on one hand, and South Africa, on the other. The Namibian problem has been at the centre of bitter international dispute over the last four decades. The United Nations and other international bodies produced huge volumes of resolutions in an attempt to resolve this intractable problem.

However, it pleases me to state that we are gathered here today, not to pass yet another resolution, but to celebrate the dawn of a new era in this land and to proclaim to the world that a new star has risen on the African continent. Africa's last colony is, from this hour, liberated.

It is, therefore, profoundly momentous and highly joyous, for the Namibian people and myself, that the highest representative of the international community—the Secretary-General of the United Nations—together with the State President of South Africa, and the Namibian nation, which I am honoured to lead, are able to announce here today to the world that a definitive and final solution to the protracted Namibian problem has, indeed, been unanimously reached by these three parties.

For the Namibian people, the realisation of our most cherished goal, namely, the independence of our country and freedom of our people, is a fitting tribute to the heroism and tenacity with which our people fought for this long-awaited day. We have been sustained in our difficult struggle by the powerful force of conviction—in the righteousness and justness of our cause. Today, history has absolved us. Our vision of a democratic state of Namibia has been translated into a reality.

With regard to the international community, the achievement of Namibia's independence today is, we believe, a welcome and laudable culmination of many years of consistent support for our cause. The world's demand for our country to be allowed to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination and independence has been achieved. We express our most sincere gratitude to the international community for its steadfast support.

As for the Government of South Africa, it can be said that the decision to accept the implementation of Resolution 435 has been the first demonstration of political will to find a negotiated solution to the problems of our region. Furthermore, President De Klerk's proclamation here today that South Africa has reached a
final and irreversible decision to relinquish control over Namibia is an act of statesmanship and realism. This, we hope, will continue to unfold in South Africa itself.

I seize this opportunity to point out that the protracted process of negotiating an agreement on Resolution 435 and the struggle for its implementation has been difficult and, at times, acrimonious. It was only perseverance, forbearance and commitment which helped us to see the process through to its logical conclusion, namely, the birth of the Namibian nation we are about to witness here.

Against this background, it is heartening for the Namibian people and myself, to know that our independence has been achieved under conditions of national consensus and international unanimity. The impressive presence here today of so many world leaders and other dignitaries is a clear testimony to the fact that Namibia's achievement of independence is an event of great world importance. For us, this is yet another reason for celebration.

With respect to the important question of national consensus, I am glad to announce that, following the independence election last November, the various Namibian political parties have been able to work together in the Constituent Assembly, where we formulated and adopted a Constitution acceptable to the broad majority of our people.

I am indebted to the Namibian electorate for giving SWAPO an absolute majority, thereby enabling the party to form the first Government of the Republic of Namibia. In the same vein, I am grateful to the members of Namibia's Constituent Assembly for the confidence they have placed in me by electing me the first President of the Republic of Namibia. I pledge to do my utmost to uphold the Constitution of the Republic, and to honour the trust which the Namibian people have bestowed upon me to lead this new nation at this critical juncture.

To the Namibian people, I would like to state, on this solemn and historic occasion, that our nation blazed the trail to freedom. It has risen to its feet. As from today, we are the masters of this vast land of our ancestors. The destiny of this country is now fully in our hands. We should, therefore, look forward to the future with confidence and hope.

Taking the destiny of this country in our hands means, among other things, making a great effort to forge national identity and unity. Our collective security and prosperity depend on our unity of purpose and action. Unity is a precondition for peace and development. Without peace, it is not possible for the best and talented citizens of our country to realise their potential.
Our achievement of independence imposes upon us a heavy responsibility, not only to defend our hardwon liberty, but also to set for ourselves higher standards of equality, justice and opportunity for all, without regard to race, creed or colour. These are the standards from which all who seek to emulate us shall draw inspiration.

In accepting the sacred responsibility which the Namibian people have placed upon me as the first President of the Republic of Namibia, I would like to bow and pay homage to our fallen heroes and heroines whose names Namibia's present and future generations will sing in songs of praise and whose martyrdom they will intone.

In conclusion, I move, in the name of our people, to declare that Namibia is forever free, sovereign and independent! 32

VI. THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

The post-independence period is the whole perennial period after the independence day. It is a fluid period of time that encompasses the present and future of Namibia. In terms of history, the post independence period is only at its infancy. Although Namibia experienced historic achievements, transformation and progress in changing the colonial status quo in the area of social peace, international relations, socio-economic development through initial education, health, infrastructure, urban, regional and development planning, it is still very early to talk about the history of Namibia after independence as a whole future is still open. However, the biggest achievement Namibia has achieved so far is the visualization of its future through the conceptualization of its capital development plan – Vision 2030.

1. National Reconciliation

Namibia as a country and society that had just emerged from the alienation of Apartheid and a bitter and protracted liberation struggle of 21 years could not afford to be plunged into another war. Therefore provision was made in the Constitution, other laws as well as in the practice to instill in the mind of the citizens and all inhabitants of Namibia the culture of forgiveness, tolerance, non-discrimination and in a gesture of a new beginning. This is what is commonly known as national reconciliation. The National Reconciliation Policy is not a written policy but a self-imposed set of socio-ethical values 33 to which the Namibian nation committed itself at independence in order to forestall any new spirit of war, heal the wounds of the past, forge national harmony and unity, and work for peace, stability, prosperity and socio-economic development.

2. Implementation of the Democratic Principles
In a democratic state like Namibia, the exercise of civic and political freedoms that are guaranteed in the country’s constitution can be expressed by various means. Those fundamental rights range from the freedom of movement, freedom of expression, freedom of association and the freedom to form political parties. The aim of politics is to ensure the well-being of all the citizens through good governance and to take care of the common good. Political parties are there to canvas for the support and votes of the citizens in order for these to entrust them with the affairs of governing the country. Since in a democracy politicians run the affairs of the country on behalf of the citizenry that put them into power through elections, citizens have the right to be heard by politicians when they have something to share with them, complain against them or check their work and performance. The citizen can do that through the so-called civil society organizations (also known as CBDs or non-governmental organisations), such as newspapers, radio programmes, panel discussions, the Legal Assistance Centre, or through government watchdog institutions such as the Office of the Ombudsman and the Auditor General’s Office. The exercise of making government answerable or accountable to the people or electorate is known as checks and balances. However, checks and balances do not only exist between citizens and government but also among government structures themselves. For instance, the National Council is mandated to review laws that were passed by the National Assembly. Furthermore, parliament is entitled to ask the executive branch of the government, that is, Cabinet and the ministries, how the latter spent the public money that was allocated to it. On the other hand, the Courts (generically known as the Judiciary) are entitled to intervene and rectify through a ruling if a law has been infringed upon by a branch of government or by a citizen.

3. The National Currency and Setting up Fiscal Policies

Apart from helping Namibia to master its fiscal policy, the introduction of the national currency, the Namibia dollar, marks another important step in the consolidation of the national economy and further fostering of national identity.

4. Setting up Central, Regional and Local Government Structures

The principal aim of the government in setting up central, regional and local government structures is for the public sector to provide the relevant government service to all the people throughout the country and to serve as enabling environment and act as a catalytic agent of development. In this regards the country was divided into regions and the regions into constituencies. A number of towns were proclaimed, roads and other means of communications were developed, water and electricity reticulations were laid and/or planned. The process continues.