

National Liberation in Postcolonial Southern Africa

Tracing the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) across its three decades in exile, this book examines the rich, local histories of the camps where Namibian exiles lived in Tanzania, Zambia, and Angola. Christian A. Williams highlights how different Namibians experienced these sites, as well as the tensions that developed within SWAPO as Namibians encountered one another and as officials asserted their power and protected their interests within a national community. The book then follows Namibians who lived in exile into postcolonial Namibia, examining the extent to which divisions and hierarchies that emerged in the camps continue to shape how Namibians relate to one another today, undermining the more just and humane society that many had imagined. In developing these points about SWAPO, the book draws attention to Southern African literature more widely, suggesting parallels across the region and defining a field of study that examines postcolonial Africa through "the camp."

Christian A. Williams is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Institute for Reconciliation and Social Justice at the University of the Free State.





African Studies

The African Studies series, founded in 1968, publishes research monographs by emerging and senior scholars that feature innovative analyses in the fields of history, political science, anthropology, economics, and environmental studies. The series also produces mature, paradigm-shifting syntheses that seek to reinterpret and revitalize the scholarly literature in these fields.

Editorial Board

David Anderson, University of Warwick
Catherine Boone, London School of Economics
Carolyn Brown, Rutgers University
Christopher Clapham, University of Cambridge
Michael Gomez, New York University
Nancy J. Jacobs, Brown University
Richard Roberts, Stanford University
David Robinson, Michigan State University
Leonardo A. Villalón, University of Florida

A list of books in this series will be found at the end of this volume.





National Liberation in Postcolonial Southern Africa

A Historical Ethnography of SWAPO's Exile Camps

CHRISTIAN A. WILLIAMS

University of the Free State, South Africa





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107099340

© Christian A. Williams 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2015

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Williams, Christian A., author.

National liberation in postcolonial Southern Africa: a historical ethnography of SWAPO's exile camps / Christian A. Williams, University of the Free State, South Africa.

pages cm. - (African studies series; 132)

Based on the author's thesis (doctoral)–University of Michigan, 2009, titled: Exile history: an ethnography of the SWAPO camps and the Namibian nation.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-1-107-09934-0 (hardback)

- 1. SWAPO History. 2. National liberation movements Namibia History.
- 3. Exiles Namibia Social conditions. 4. Exiles Africa, Southern Social conditions.
- 5. Memory Political aspects Namibia. 6. Namibia History 1946-1990.
- I. Title. II. Series: African studies series; 132.

DT1645.W55 2015

968.8103-dc23 2015015731

ISBN 978-1-107-09934-0 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLS for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

List of Maps and Photos Acknowledgments		<i>page</i> viii xi
PAI	RT I – CAMP, NATION, HISTORY	
Ι.	Liberation Movement Camps and the Past of the Present in Southern Africa	2
2.	Revisiting an Image of a Camp: Remember Cassinga?	30
PAI	RT II – CAMPS AND THE FORMATION OF A NATION	
3.	Living in Exile: Life and Crisis at SWAPO's Kongwa Camp, 1964–1968	65
4.	Ordering the Nation: SWAPO in Zambia, 1974–1976	94
5.	"The Spy" and the Camp: SWAPO in Lubango, 1980–1989	123
PAI	RT III – CAMPS AND THE PRODUCTION OF HISTORY	
6.	Namibia's "Wall of Silence": Challenging National History in the International System	149
7.	Reconciliation in Namibia? Narrating the Past in a Postcamp Nation	185
8.	The Camp and the Postcolony	215
Bib	liography	233
Index		251

vii



Maps and Photos

Maps

I.	Southern Africa	page xv11
2.	Namibia	xviii
3.	Cassinga	33
4.	Southern Angola and SWAPO's route through Cassinga	37
5.	SWAPO Camp in Tanzania	66
6.	SWAPO (and Zambian) Camps in Zambia	98
7.	SWAPO Camps in Angola	135
Pho	tos	
I.	Cassinga parade	31
2.	Remains of the camp office at Cassinga	36
3.	Remains of the PLAN office at Cassinga	38
4.	PLAN commanders at Cassinga	39
5.	Johan van der Mescht together with Peter Nanyemba	42
6.	Cassinga parade (Namibia Today)	46
7.	Cassinga grave (Namibia Today)	47
8.	Prisoners captured by the SADF during its attack on Vietnam	49
9.	Old railway station renovated for use at Kongwa camp	69
IO.	The Old Farm after a church service	102
II.	Deep dugout, located near Tobias Hainyeko Training Centre	
	outside Lubango	142
12.	Toivo Ya Toivo and others present for the detainees' release	
	outside Lubango	161
13.	The female detainees' release outside Lubango	162

viii



Maps and Photos		ix
14.	The male detainees' release outside Lubango	163
15.	KaufilwaNepelilo and Abed Hauwanga at the Tsumeb Old Age	_
_	Home	188
16.	Namibians in a classroom at Tobias Hainyeko Training Centre	
	outside Lubango	206
17.	The "Living in Exile" exhibition in Keetmanshoop	207





Acknowledgments

This book is written primarily with and about people who experienced Namibia's liberation struggle. The names of those who contributed to the book directly are scattered throughout the text and references that follow. Nevertheless, there are several individuals and organizations that I especially wish to acknowledge here.

First, I would like to acknowledge people affiliated with St. Therese Secondary School in Tses. There, as a WorldTeach volunteer in 2000 and 2001, I found my first Namibian home. It is St. Therese alumni who first shared with me their personal histories of exile, including histories of violence perpetrated on them by fellow SWAPO members in camps. Through our encounters, I was pushed to question my early views of national liberation in Southern Africa and to consider the consequences of a dominant narrative that effaces how different people have experienced a painful past.

From these beginnings many have contributed to my research. In 2007 and 2008 I again lived in Namibia while preparing a doctoral thesis on Namibia's exile history. Then, and during annual return visits, I have based myself in Windhoek and traveled throughout the country following former exiles and their families to some of the many scattered places where they now live. Here I would like to acknowledge several individuals who, although they are not cited in this book as research participants, have nevertheless helped make my research productive: Martha Akawa, George Beukes, Phillip Bolocoto, Raymond Castillo, Erasmus Stephanus, Wolfram Gleichmar-Hartmann, Werner Hillebrecht, Justine Hunter, Grace Kandundu, Pauline Kruse-Vries, John Liebenberg, Beauty Matongo, Antoinette Mostert, Lovisa Nampala, Vilho Shigwedha, Kontiki Silva, Jeremy Silvester, and Josef Thomas. Special thanks are also due to research participants whose contribution to my project extends far beyond that of our cited interviews. These include Steve Swartbooi for working with me for several months as a research assistant, Canner and



xii Acknowledgments

Theopholus Kalimba for accompanying me on our journey to Cassinga, and Salatiel and Anita Ailonga for hosting me many times while I studied their archives and shared their home. Also, Junius Ikondja, Samson Ndeikwila, Helao Shityuwete, and Joseph Stephanus have been exceptionally helpful in introducing me to others who have participated in my research and in commenting on my writing.

Throughout these years, my research has been supported by a range of institutions. In 2002 I found an ideal space to think through my volunteer experience at the University of Cape Town's Department of Social Anthropology where I wrote a master's thesis under the supervision of Sally Frankenthal and Fiona Ross. From 2003 to 2009 I enrolled in the Doctoral Program in Anthropology and History at the University of Michigan which created the conditions for me to write the thesis on which this manuscript is based. I am grateful to all faculty and students at Michigan who engaged with my work, especially my thesis advisor, David William Cohen, and other members of my thesis committee: Adam Ashforth, Patricia Hayes, Alaina Lemon, and Miriam Ticktin. Several additional institutions also enabled my doctoral research. These include the U.S. Fulbright Scholars Program, the National Archives of Namibia, the Special Collections Library at the University of Namibia, the African Studies Library at the University of Cape Town, the Basler Afrika Bibliographien in Basel, Switzerland, and the Vereinigte Evangelische Mission in Wuppertal, Germany. Special thanks are due to Dag Henrichsen and Giorgio Miescher in Basel and Wolfgang Appelt and Siegfried Groth in Wuppertal for going out of their way to assist this project.

Since completing my doctorate in 2009, my work has been supported primarily by persons and institutions in South Africa. I particularly wish to thank Patricia Hayes (again), Premesh Lalu, and other interlocutors at the Centre for Humanities Research at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), which offered me postdoctoral fellowships in 2010 and 2011 and hosted me for four years while I rewrote my doctoral thesis into this book. During this period I also participated in several conferences that have shaped my subsequent work, above all "Camps, Liberation Movements, Politics," a conference that I ran at UWC with considerable help from Patricia, Premesh, Nicky Rouseau, Paolo Israel, and Brian Raftopolous, and "Mobile Soldiers and the Un-National Liberation of Southern Africa," a colloquium organized by Luise White and Miles Larmer at the University of Sheffield. I am further grateful to Heike Becker in the UWC Anthropology Department and South Africa's National Research Foundation for granting me fellowships in 2012 and 2013 that enabled me to continue working on this book and conduct further research on liberation movement camps and international relations at Kongwa, Tanzania. Although most of the material from my research at Kongwa will be used in future writings, some of it is incorporated here thanks to the assistance of many in Tanzania, including Paul Bjerk, Paolo Mtutuwi, White Zuberi Mwanzalila, Godfrey Nago, Neville Reuben, Musa



Acknowledgments xiii

Sadock, and Elias Tarimo. Also, I wish to thank Jess Auerbach and two anonymous reviewers at Cambridge University Press for exceptionally helpful readings of my manuscript; Rob Gordon, Petro Esterhuyse, and Andre Keet for providing me with a supportive space to complete the manuscript at the University of the Free State; and Chris Saunders and Richard Pakleppa for repeatedly supporting my work since my return to South Africa.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge my wife, family, and friends in many places. For years you have supported this project, inspiring it in various ways and sharing its pleasures and burdens with me. For this (and a great many other things), I thank you all.





Abbreviations

AFP Agence France-Presse

AME African Methodist Episcopal Church

ANC African National Congress
BAB Basler Afrika Bibliographien
BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
BWS Breaking the Wall of Silence Movement
CANU Caprivi African National Union
CCN Council of Churches of Namibia
CCZ Christian Council of Zambia

DELK Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche

DTA Democratic Turnhalle Alliance EIN Ecumenical Institute for Namibia

ELC Evangelical Lutheran Church in South West Africa
ELOC Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo-Kavango Church

Exco SWAPO National Executive Committee
FNLA Frente Naçional para Libertação de Angola
FRELIMO Frente de Libertação de Moçambique
G1 the first SWALA group to infiltrate Namibia
G2 the second SWALA group to infiltrate Namibia

ICC International Criminal Court ICJ International Court of Justice

ICRC International Committee for the Red Cross
ICTJ International Center for Transitional Justice
IDAF International Defence and Aid Fund

IGFM Internationalle Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte

ISHR International Society for Human Rights

LWF Lutheran World Federation LWI Lutheran World Information

MK Umkhonto we Sizwe

MPLA Movimento Popular para Libertação de Angola

NAN National Archives of Namibia

ΧV



Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-09934-0 - National Liberation in Postcolonial Southern Africa: A Historical

Ethnography of SWAPO's Exile Camps

Christian A. Williams

Frontmatter

More information

xvi Abbreviations

NBC Namibian Broadcasting Corporation

NISER Namibian Institute for Social and Economic Research

NSHR National Society for Human Rights
OAU Organization of African Unity
OPC Ovamboland People's Congress
OPO Ovamboland People's Organization
PCC Political Consultative Council
PLAN People's Liberation Army of Namibia

PUM Patriotic Unity Movement

RDP Rally for Democracy and Progress

SADET South Africa Democracy and Education Trust

SADF South African Defence Force

SIDA Swedish International Development Agency

SPARC SWAPO Party Archive

SWALA South West Africa Liberation Army
SWANU South West Africa National Union
SWAPO South West Africa People's Organization

SWAPO-D SWAPO-Democrats

SWATF South West African Territorial Force

SYL SWAPO Youth League

TRC Truth and Reconciliation Commission

UCT University of Cape Town
UDF United Democratic Front
UN United Nations
UNAM University of Namibia

UNHCR United Nations High Commission for Refugees

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund
UNIN United Nations Institute for Namibia
UNIP United National Independence Party
UNITA União para Independençia Total de Angola
UNMD United Nations Mission on Detainees
UNTAG United Nations Transition Assistance Group

UWC University of the Western Cape
VEM Vereinigte Evangelische Mission

WENELA Witwatersrand Native Labour Association
WFP United Nations World Food Programme
ZANU Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU Zimbabwe African People's Union

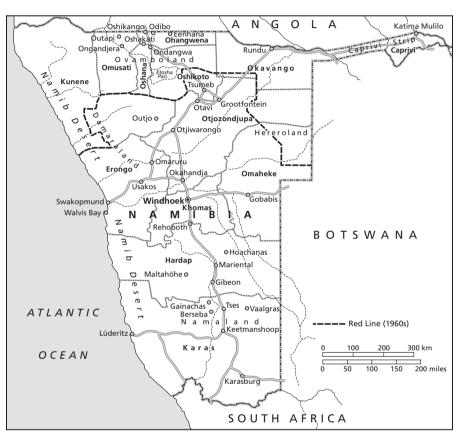




MAP 1. Southern Africa.

xvii





MAP 2. Namibia.

xviii