

An important dimension to the discussion on the situation in Namibia, that is frequently ignored is the position ^{adopted by} of the people of South Africa themselves. ~~of the subject~~

This paper will set out to show that the continued ^{illegal} occupation of Namibia is condemned not only by the people of Namibia, ^{and} not only by the organised international community, but ^{also} by the people of the occupying power themselves, the people of South Africa.

1). Colonialism and Nation Formation in Southern Africa.

The process of nation-formation in southern Africa cannot be separated from the processes of national subjugation and ~~the process of~~ national resistance, both of which ^{have} assumed particular historical

forms which ~~have~~ directly influenced and
irreversibly determined the character of
state-formation ^{in the zone}. Whereas in the historical
conditions of emergent capitalism in Europe,
~~the struggle for national independence~~
the ethnic principle was used by the
nascent bourgeoisie as a means of
establishing their sovereignty over a
determined territory, ~~inhabited by an~~
~~existing nation~~ (in southern Africa the
internal evolution of ethnic groups
was savagely blocked by the imposition
of colonial power. The new nations of
today are therefore not the continuations
of the national groups of earlier
times; nor are they the creations
of colonialism - on the contrary,
colonialism always sought to keep

the people divided and to frustrate the growth of ~~occasional~~ national ^{identity} ~~consciousness~~.

The perpetuation of racism, tribalism and regionalism are examples of this. In

fact, the new nations form themselves in struggle against colonialism. ~~The~~ ^{the} struggle ~~is~~ ^{is} conducted ~~within~~ ^{within} the boundaries created by colonialism to ~~recover~~ ^{recover} their sovereignty, ~~each~~ ^{each} raised territory ~~emerging~~ ^{emerging} as a separate zone of struggle and

eventually becoming a separate state.

The nation ^{is} thus ^{not} ~~created~~ ^{not} ~~by~~ ^{not} ~~colonialism~~, but, struggle against colonialism ~~domination~~ ~~is~~ ~~conducted~~ ~~within~~ ~~the~~ ~~boundaries~~ ~~created~~ ~~by~~ ~~colonialism~~.

A special feature of colonialism in southern Africa was that at the beginning of this century ^{constitutional} power was transferred from the external metropole (Britain) to a settler minority living

within the boundaries of the colonised area to constitute the Union of South Africa. Since then, neighbouring territories have fought resolutely against incorporation into this race-supremacist state, first the territories of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland (as they are now called) and later the territory of Namibia (as it is now called). As far as the oppressed peoples of South Africa are concerned, they have always fought against attempts by the ~~white~~ ^{racist} rulers of their country to spread their hegemony over neighbouring countries, not only to protect neighbouring peoples from the ~~subjection~~ humiliation and exploitation of apartheid, but also in recognition of the ^(inalienable) rights of neighbouring people to independent nationhood. Thus, despite the great

cultural ties which unite the people of our zone, despite the common history of oppression and resistance, the people of South Africa have always stood resolutely for the total and ^{contiguous} unconditional independence of ~~(states,~~ ~~contiguous~~ for the recognition of the separate personalities of the different nations-in-formation, for the establishment of relations based on sovereignty and mutual respect.

These principles have been given political expression in the form of policy declarations by the ANC, ~~headed~~ founded in 1912 and now almost universally recognised as the organisation which speaks not only for the oppressed but for all democratic forces in South

Africa. The Freedom Charter, basic document
of the ANC adopted at the historic Congress
of the People in 1955, declares: ~~in its~~

1). Hard to say goodbye -
setbacks, blows: broken many -
interests. - serene-funny. -
practical.
Indestructible - destroyed.

2). One can see him -
short figure
' Nice figure of speech - we
all must die. Work to be done.
Camera.
Sing.

3). In his figure: one of trads. of struggle -
roots of tree of rev.
Rev. tree - suff., struggle
- One of roots.
Latvia. Com. - persecuted.
Czar - peasants: kill Jews.
Socialism answer.
Started organizing.
Workers of world.
Transformed himself.
- national aspirat.

4). Hit - hit back.
Banned. Photography.
Framed