



**NAMIBIA UNIVERSITY
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY**

Faculty of Commerce, Human Sciences and Education

Department of Communication and Languages

**Exploring liberation war atrocities in postcolonial autobiographies of
Ndeikwila's *Agony of Truth* and Angula's *SWAPO Captive***

**A THESIS PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ENGLISH AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS AT THE
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By

Shingereshu Sevelinus Shingereshu

215014936

Supervisor: Prof. Max Mhene

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Abstract

This thesis explored the brutal atrocities committed by various actors during the war of liberation struggle in Namibia. This study explored the representation of the liberation war atrocities in the postcolonial autobiographies of Ndeikwila's *Agony of Truth* (2014) and Angula's *SWAPO Captive* (2018). Both texts serve as poignant narratives that illuminate the personal and collective traumas experienced during the struggle for independence in Namibia. Through a critical analysis of these autobiographies, the study examined how the two authors confront the brutal realities of war which include betrayal, violence, and the moral complexities faced by freedom fighters. Ndeikwila's *Agony of Truth* delves into the psychological and emotional toll of warfare, thereby portraying the internal struggles of individuals caught in the crossfire of conflict that promised liberation yet delivered suffering. In contrast, Angula's *SWAPO Captive* recounts experiences of captivity and disillusionment with the liberation movement, thus highlighting the sacrifices made by individuals in pursuit of a broader social and political goal. By situating these autobiographies within the framework of postcolonial theory, this research underscores the significance of personal narratives in understanding historical injustices and fostering a deeper appreciation for the narratives of those who lived through these critical periods. Ultimately, the study aimed to reveal how these works contribute to a more nuanced understanding of postcolonial identity and the lingering effects of colonial violence on the contemporary African society.

Declaration of original work

I, **Shingereshu Sevelinus Shingereshu**, hereby declare that the work contained in the thesis, entitled '*Exploring liberation war atrocities in postcolonial autobiographies of Ndeikwila's Agony of TRUTH and Angula's SWAPO CAPTIVE*' are my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university or other higher education institution for the award of a degree.

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Date: ***31 October 2024***

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Dedication

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Abbreviations/Acronyms

SWAPO:	South West Africa People's Organisation
SWANU:	South West Africa National Union
SYL:	SWAPO Youth League
OPO:	Owamboland People's Organisation
OAU:	Organisation of African Union
UN:	United Nation
OPC:	Owamboland People's Congress
CANU:	Caprivi African National Union
UNHCR:	United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees
CCN:	Council of Churches in Namibia
UNITA:	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
CTU:	Contextual Theology Unit
NANSO:	Namibian National Students Organisation
NWV:	Namibian Women's Voice
SWC:	SWAPO Women's Council
UNTAG:	United Nations Transition Assistance Group
UDF:	United Democratic Front
WCC:	World Council of Churches
PLAN:	People's Liberation Army of Namibia
SWALA:	South West African Liberation Army
TRC:	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
KGB:	Committee for State Security (Soviet Union)

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the study. Sections 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5, 1.6 and 1.7 provide the background to the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, significance, delimitation and key terms of the study, respectively. Section 1.8 provides this thesis' chapter layout. This chapter is concluded in Section 1.9.

1.2. Background of the study

During the 1960s, most African countries gained independence except for Namibia. This situation forced Namibians to form the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) in 1964. SWAPO was mainly a Black African Nationalist movement led by Sam Nujoma. The agenda of SWAPO was around the belief that class struggle for independence and political and social freedom were needed to create historical change in Namibia (South African History Online, 2015). Melber (2005) has it that, Southern African societies bore the lasting effects of colonial history, in particular, the inherited structural legacies of the apartheid system.

The symbiotic relationship between literature and history is a complex and multifaceted one, with literature often serving as a medium for capturing the lived experiences and perceptions of those who have suffered the consequences of colonialism, oppression, and war. In the framework of post-colonial Africa, the autobiographical accounts of individuals who have witnessed and survived the horrors of liberation struggles and their aftermath have become an important means of bearing witness to the atrocities committed and the resilience of the human spirit (Onwuka et al., 2019).

Two such works are Ndeikwila's *Agony of Truth* and Angula's *SWAPO Captive*. The two autobiographies provide poignant and harrowing accounts of the experiences of individuals caught in the crossfire of the liberation wars that swept across Southern Africa in the 20th century. While the specific historical contexts and personal narratives presented in these works may differ, they share a common thread in their exploration of the profound and lasting impact of the violence, trauma, and loss that characterized these conflicts (Saunders, 2010). Klemperer's (2006) analysis of the discourse of the Third Reich, suggests that the language and imagery used to describe colonial violence and oppression often reflect a deeply ingrained sense of "brutal arrogance and contempt for people who are in any way different".

Ndeikwila and Angula's autobiographies focus on how thousands of Namibians suffered and some lost their lives during this struggle, both at the hands of the South African colonial regime and at the hands of their own "comrades". However, the majority of Namibians have been kept in the dark about the atrocities that were committed by Namibians against fellow Namibians in exile. Those Namibians who remained inside the country during the liberation struggle are most disadvantaged, as they never saw, sensed, experienced or knew what exactly happened among fellow Namibians in exile.

To date, talking openly about Namibia's dark history of the Lubango dungeon has remained taboo and, therefore, this study sought to unravel Ndeikwila's experiences before and after the liberation struggle. In the same vein, Angula's *Swapo Captive* echoes the same sentiments as those of Ndeikwila in the sense that his autobiography focuses on terrifying stories of betrayal and torture by his comrades, which culminated in imprisonment in the Omalambo - the hidden pits in Lubango, Angola, into which he, along with many others, were cast and left to die. *SWAPO Captive* threads together personal narrative and national history, including childhood impressions that hint at a racially segregated existence, and the rising tensions sparked by the apartheid regime's rule over South West Africa. This background paves the way for how the present researcher analysed the atrocities portrayed in the two autobiographies of Ndeikwila and Angula.

1.3. Problem statement

The uprising of SWAPO against the South African colonial rule in the 1960s was an extension and repudiation of what was created at the Berlin West Africa Conference of 1884 to 1885. Craven (2015) has it that the obvious drive of the Conference was to 'manage' the ongoing process of colonisation in Africa (the 'Scramble for Africa' as it was said by the Times columnist) to avoid the outbreak of armed conflict between rival colonial powers.

The struggle for independence in many African countries was an uphill battle. These struggles had many atrocities committed by the colonisers and comrades in arms. According to the World Peace Foundation (2015), they reported that the 1950s was largely characterised by state repression of suspected nationalist members using arbitrary imprisonment and physical abuse in Africa. They further said that when revolts took place on coffee plantations against forced labour and inhumane working conditions in Angola, it left thousands of innocent

people dead. In pursuit of independence and self-governance, nationalist movements adapted guerrilla warfare (an unconventional method of fighting, to combat the enemy) in which the army of different colonial regimes and security forces waged a counter-insurgency campaign against various armed groups on the continent. In the process, atrocities happened and these were committed by all forces involved in the conflict. In 1959, the South African regime instructed its police force to open fire on the protesters of old location in Windhoek, there, 11 people were brutally killed and 44 others were injured. Amongst those who were killed was a woman by the name of Kakurukaze Mungunda.

The last face of the liberation struggle waged by SWAPO was long, hard and bitter to many gallant sons and daughters of the soil who bravely took up arms to bring an end to the colonial occupation of Namibia one way or the other. *Agony of Truth* and Angula's *SWAPO Captive* present a critical inquiry into the experiences and narratives of individuals who were impacted by the conflict and struggle for independence of Namibia. In exile, comrades within SWAPO accused one another of being spies or being power hungry by challenging the leadership of Sam Nujoma and PLAN commanders, individuals who were accused were arrested, tortured to confess to the crime while others were killed after torturing.

The present study aimed to analyse the portrayal of these atrocities within the context of personal memoirs by examining the socio-political implications, historical accuracy, and subjective perspectives as they are embedded within these narratives. By delving into the lived experiences as documented in the selected autobiographies, this research sought to contribute towards a deeper understanding of the complexities surrounding liberation movements and the aftermath of colonial rule in the respective regions.

1.4. Research objectives

The main objective of the study was to interrogate, from a literary perspective, the conception of liberation war atrocities in the postcolonial autobiographies of Ndeikwila's *Agony of Truth* and Angula's *SWAPO Captive* and the internal crises of the two characters in the selected text as they negotiated their way through colonialism as outlined in the two selected postcolonial autobiographies. The study attempted to meet the following specific objectives, namely to:

1. identify various forms of oppression as portrayed in the two autobiographies;

2. examine the terrifying stories of betrayal and torture in the two autobiographies; and
3. analyse the effects of atrocities in the two autobiographies.

1.5. The significance of the research

As stated in the background of this study, this research is significant as it brings to light what transpired during and after the war of liberation in Namibia. This is important because it delves into the resistance waged by all ethnic groups found in Namibia against colonialism and the aftermath as well as the effects of colonialism on the people of Namibia which led to the formation of SWAPO. This research is going to benefit upcoming scholars and the future generation of Namibia who will be interested in studying what happened during colonialism and the period of the liberation struggle to free Namibia. The study can help the colonised societies rediscover themselves, particularly the young generation in Namibia. The study can also benefit some scholars in Namibia and abroad to evaluate literary texts based on liberation movements and various atrocities committed during and after liberation.

1.6. The delimitation of the research

Although many autobiographies talk about colonial and postcolonial atrocities and are written by Namibian writers, this research is limited to two autobiographies: Ndeikwila's *Agony of Truth* and Angula's *SWAPO Captive*. However, the study was not limited to these two books in the literature review as parallels were drawn from other sources about atrocities to have authentic examples to justify what is limited to the two autobiographies in this research.

1.7. Limitations of the research

The postcolonial theory's theoretical framework placed restrictions on the study and prevented it from addressing certain facets of postcolonial development like orientalism. The amount of data that could be effectively analysed was too grand, and the scope of the investigation was constrained. Furthermore, observations and conclusions about the research set objectives were influenced by past information and the personal experience of the narrator of the autobiographies.

1.8. Definition of key technical terms

Atrocities: This points to acts of extreme cruelty and brutal actions typically involving violence or bodily injury, and shockingly bad and ferocious deeds. This also refers to mass cruelty and acts aiming to destroy a particular group of people (Kotilainen, 2020).

Liberation struggle: Amílcar (1969) defines liberation struggle as the rejection by a people of the negation of their historical process, the regaining of their historical personality, and the return to history through the destruction of imperialist domination.

Imperialism: This refers to the authority assumed by a state over another territory (Boehmer, 1995), expressed in pomp, power, cultural symbolism and military force. Edward Said argues that imperialism involves “the practice, the theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory” Said further says that colonialism refers to the “implanting of settlements on a distant territory”.

Post-colonialism is a set of theories in philosophy and various approaches to literary analysis that are concerned with literature written in English in countries that were or still are colonies of other countries (Ashcroft et al., 2004).

Colonialism: Colonialism is the subjugation of the local, indigenous population, exploitation of the land for resources for profit and the settlement on the territory by those who impose the English language upon the indigenous population.

1.9. Thesis outline

There are six chapters in this thesis. Chapter One introduces the study and its objectives. Chapter Two reviews related literature, and acts as a launch pad for this study. Postcolonial theory, which is the theoretical framework on which this research is grounded, is also discussed in Chapter Two. The research methodology employed in this study follows in Chapter Three. An intense analysis and interpretation of the *Agony of TRUTH* (2014 and extended edition) and *SWAPO CAPTIVE* (2018) are done in Chapter Four. Chapter Five summarises the research, provides recommendations and concludes the study. Finally, a reference list of all works cited in this thesis is attached.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. Introduction

The review is based on the works of different scholars who have taken an interest in studying and analysing the development of colonial resistance from within the country and exile, looking at how Namibian people fought to liberate Namibia from the colonial regime and the atrocities they faced both inside and outside of Namibia during the colonial period. Various scholars have hearkened different narratives of the liberation war and their aftermath. These narratives are intriguing, thus there is a need to set the record straight by dedicating special research to it, to answer some specific questions that linger in the minds of many Namibians. Before that, it is important to have a look at what other scholars have said about the topic at hand. The review is based on the following objectives: To identify various forms of oppression as portrayed in the two autobiographies; examine the terrifying stories of betrayal and torture in the two autobiographies, and lastly, to analyse the effects of atrocities in the two autobiographies.

2.2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.2.1 Identifying various forms of oppression as portrayed in the two autobiographies

The concept of liberation war atrocities in Namibia revolves around the violent and often brutal acts committed during the struggle for independence from colonial rule. Namibia, formerly known as South West Africa, was subjected to German colonisation in the late 19th century and early 20th century and subsequently South African rule under the League of Nations mandate after World War 1 (Reinhart, 2015).

Mark (2000) in answering the sentimental question of “Why Is the Twentieth Century the Century of Genocide” articulated that German colonisation started from 1884 to 1915, initiating colonisation which birthed several atrocities. The most hilarious one was the Herero and Nama genocide of 1904-1908, where the German forces systematically exterminated a large portion of the two ethnic groups. Thereafter, another colonial regime took over from 1915 to 1990 under the brutal regime of South Africa’s white minority rule. The Afrikaners of South Africa imposed their racial apartheid policies which exacerbated racial segregation and discrimination leading to significant social and economic disparities. The formation of the South West People’s Organisation (SWAPO) which became the primary liberation movement fighting for independence intensified the suffering of Namibians. The armed wing of SWAPO,

the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) engaged in guerrilla warfare against the South African colonial regime.

The conflict between South African forces and PLAN fighters which is known as the Namibian War of Independence from 1966 to 1989 was marked with numerous human rights violations which included extra-judicial killings, torture and displacement of civilians by both the South African military and SWAPO's armed wing. Atrocities of human rights violations by South African Forces were in the sense that their troops were responsible for the massacres, as well as the arbitrary detention and torture of suspected SWAPO members and sympathisers. The Cassinga massacre of 1978 where hundreds of Namibian refugees were killed is a notable example. On the other side, SWAPO had its hands dirty after suffering from internal repression. There were allegations of abuses within SWAPO camps including the detention, torture and execution of suspected spies or dissenters which were documented.

Tonkin (1995) notes that the war resulted in the significant loss of life, psychological trauma and displacement of people. The exact number of casualties remains disputed, but the impact on the civilian population was profound. Ultimately, Namibia gained independence on March 21, 1990, following UN-supervised transition. However, the legacy of the liberation war and its atrocities continues to shape Namibian society, politics and collective memory.

Muzengua (2023) has it that at the heart of any functioning democracy lies the fundamental principle that the power to govern emanates from the consent and will of the people. A government that deviates from this principle and becomes detached from the needs and aspirations of its citizens inevitably breeds corruption and oppression. When faced with such circumstances, the people have historically risen as a collective force to challenge the status quo.

The first kind of oppression suffered by the African masses across the continent is labour exploitation. Ocheni and Nwankwo (2012) have it that the African economy before colonisation came to our shore, was a primitive type of economy which was based on the barter system. Since one of the objectives of colonialism was to find a market for the European manufactured goods and raw materials for their industries, there was a need for an organic linkage between the African economy and market with that of the international system controlled and directed by the colonisers. The two scholars further wrote that the

direct control of the African economy and political administration made colonialism possible because Africa was compelled or forced to accept the international division of labour which assigned her the compulsory role of production of agricultural raw materials which was required by the industries in Europe.

This assignment encompassed the practice of racial discrimination. Post-transition (1998-1999) put it that race and racial discrimination have been dominant themes in the history of workplace relations in South Africa. This discrimination has manifested itself in various forms and operated at different levels. Some were more subtle while others were crude. Among these are the following: Occupational discrimination which is the colour bar; Discrimination in wage rates; Discriminatory benefits and conditions of employment; Labour legislation; Discriminatory access to education and training; Other labour market regulations, e.g. pass laws and exclusion of women.

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (2018) points out that during the colonial rule by Germany (1884-1915) and through much of South Africa's rule (1915-1990), Africans were forced into segregated environments, workers from Northern Namibia were only allowed to work in colonial towns such as Windhoek, Swakopmund, Walvis Bay, Tsumeb, Luderitz, etc, only if they had a contract with a particular employer. Such contracts were for a specific duration (usually 6-12 months), and workers were not allowed to choose their workplace. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung further notes that Namibian contract workers could not take their families with them and had to endure highly exploitative working conditions. Hubbard and Solomon (1994) state that gender dynamics were profoundly affected by the system of migrant labour, which was imposed by the colonial administration in 1925, primarily to ensure a supply of cheap labour in the country's mines. A range of influx control laws ensured that workers' families remained in rural "native reserves", which became in effect dumping grounds for women, children, the aged and the sick. The result of migrant labour was an increased workload for women, who had to assume the tasks traditionally performed by men in addition to their usual productive and reproductive duties. Likuwa and Shiweda (2017) allude that the native commissioner played a major role in the marginalisation of women as he insisted that the parents should refuse the marriage of their daughters to 'youngsters' who have not yet gone on contract work. As such, to some men, contract labour migration became a ritual act of transformation into maturity in preparation for marriage. It was, therefore, hardly surprising

that there was anger amongst migrant workers over their treatment, leading them to become a central component of Namibia's anti-colonial resistance and forming the backbone of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) during the party's formative years.

Post-transition reports further on to say that those forms of discrimination fitted in with the state's dual labour market policy, which comprised a primary and a secondary sector where the primary sector concerned regulations that had to do with the employment of white workers who enjoyed a privileged status in the labour market. The secondary sector, on the other hand, comprised black workers and sought to regulate their employment in a way which curtailed their rights and freedoms. Therefore, racial discrimination in the workplace should be seen in the context of discriminatory labour market policies which evolved from the earliest days of South Africa's industrialisation. It should also be understood within the context of racial discrimination and apartheid in the broader society, where black South Africans, Africans and women in particular, were accorded second-class status.

The report articulates further that the origins of workplace discrimination can be attributed to the interests of three groups during South Africa's industrial development, namely, employers, white workers and the state. Furthermore, it is important to note that all these interests and the forms of discrimination they advocated were founded on notions of white superiority and black inferiority which can be traced back to the earliest days of colonialism. It is these notions which have been used to justify forms of discrimination against black workers in the workplace. But the meaning of such notions cannot be understood in isolation from the interests of employers, white workers and the state.

Thomas (2019) writes that from the late 1950s, the South African colonial regime ratcheted up its crackdown on pro-independence activists, who were agitating for self-rule in the then South West Africa now Namibia. Nujoma, being one of the anti-apartheid activists through the movement that he co-founded, the Owamboland People's Organisation (OPO), suffered greatly at the hands of the colonial authorities. Thomas points out that after Nujoma's leading role in the Old Location mass protest of December 10, 1959, which ended in a tragedy, he became a marked man. He was in and out of jail in Windhoek for his political activism until he decided to escape into exile.

World Peace Foundation (2015) shares a similar report that the 1950s were largely characterised by state repression of suspected nationalist members using arbitrary imprisonment and physical abuse. This happened in the neighbouring country like Angola. They further report that when revolts took place on a coffee plantation against forced labour and inhumane working conditions, it left thousands of innocent people dead. In pursuit of independence and self-governance, nationalist movements adapted guerrilla warfare which is an unconventional method of fighting, to combating the enemy in which the army of different colonial regimes and security forces waged a counter-insurgency campaign against various armed groups on the continent, in the process, atrocities happened and were committed by all forces involved in the conflict, which is the colonial regime and fellow comrades in the struggle. The report further disclosed that in March 1961, after Angolan workers protested to demand better working conditions on labour plantations in the country's north, the Portuguese military responded by bombing the regions of Icolo e Bengo and the Baia de Cassange, destroying 17 villages and killing nearly 20,000 civilians. Portuguese soldiers also moved overland, reportedly killing thousands of civilians. Various sources place the total number of deaths during the first eight months of 1961 at 8,000, 25, 000 and 50,000, (World Peace Foundation, 2015).

In Namibia, minor offences were subjected to physical punishment by the regime. Jones (2018) writes that when people gathered in Oukwanyamaland, now known as Ohangwena region to witness a public punishment of offenders. They were shocked when they discovered that the targeted people for public corporal punishment were young women. Jones further notes that such was a new phenomenon in the history of Ovamboland, and scarcely anyone could recall women being subjected to public flogging. Jones reveals that the crime of the four women was because of joining the Swapo Youth League (SYL) which they helped in expanding on the St Mary's campus, thus bringing them to the attention of the colonial regime and the traditional authority, with the latter sentencing each of the women to six strokes of the *epokolo*, which is whips from palm tree brunch. Backer (2020) has it that from 1983 onwards, Namibian residents protested against the price of electricity and formed street committees in several towns; a popular revolt against poor living conditions and the oppression under apartheid colonialism was staged by the residents' association and

movement of workers, students and women, and significantly reflected in an emerging alternative.

Whittaker and Boesak (2017) attribute this to Kenneth Abrahams and write that their impression is that Abrahams had an entryism position to infuse the Namibian national liberation movement with democratic and socialist ideas, and this made sense in the context of low mass consciousness, but the conservative leadership would have none of any radicalism. The article further reports that it might be noted that Abrahams was suspended from SWAPO in 1964, reportedly after he had started enquiring about how funding was being used in the organisation. The suspension of this gallant son was the first of its kind which demonstrated that the SWAPO party was up to no good, rather it was a self-serving project which was ready to maintain the interests of Owambo people and leadership at any cost, especially the demand for loyalty to its leaders from minority groups in the country.

Nathaniel (2002) has it that inside Namibia, the drama at the United Nations inspired political action following scripts communicated by phone, telegraph and letter by the representatives of the Namibian people at the world forum in New York. Acting on Kerina's advice, the leaders of the Owambo People's Organisation (OPO) started by migrant workers in Cape Town, changed the name of their organisation to South West People's Organisation (SWAPO). Unfortunately, this would lead to rivalry that would deepen rather than lessen the distinction between Owambo and others in Namibian society, not least, the leaders of SWAPO would find it difficult to fully accept the equality of other members of the Namibian community in the party's decision-making.

According to the tribute article, Abrahams did not join SWAPO, but he was part and parcel of its founder and the brain behind its intellect as by then he was a Capetonian UCT medical school graduate. Abrahams, who had been influenced by the ideas of non-collaboration of the Unity Movement, was not only a leader of the Cape Peninsula Student Union but was also part of the formation of OPO, the drafting of the SWAPO constitution and ultimately played a significant role in changing SWAPO into a guerrilla movement (Whittaker & Boesak, 2017). Abrahams formed a team of SWAPO leadership in exile, as a Central Committee member in Dar es Salaam who discussed strategy for guerrilla warfare and the formation of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN).

Saunders (2018) writes that the SWAPO leadership would only work with those who accepted its leadership role in the Namibian liberation struggle. In 1964, one of SWAPO's leading intellectuals, Dr Kenneth Abrahams and his wife Ottilie Abrahams were expelled from the organisation. Part of their expulsion was for advocating that it (SWAPO) join a united front with SWANU, a sister movement from Namibia. They (SWAPO) told the Liberation Committee in April of that year that SWANLIF was doomed from the start because they claimed Sam Nujoma, the president of SWAPO, had decided, without the backing of the rest of the SWAPO executive, not to work with those who supported the broader grouping which was said to be too pro-China – at a time when the Sino–Soviet split was dividing the liberation movements of Southern Africa. Saunders (2018) further writes that the narrative of SWAPO's selfishness, in 1964, SWAPO's then vice-president, Louis Nelengani, agreed that SWAPO should not join SWANLIF, saying 'What do we want in this so-called front which we cannot get in SWAPO'? In June of that year another leading SWAPO official, Peter Nanyemba, told the Committee that SWAPO rejected a united front with SWANU for four reasons: SWANU did not believe in military action; SWANU had encouraged SWAPO members to resign and join SWANU when unity was under consideration; SWANU was not a national movement, but one 'composed of individuals who paraded around outside of the country as nationalists and intellectuals; and were SWANU to adopt a military programme, it would only be to get 'money from the OAU, not to liberate South West Africa'. SWANU's leadership and membership were mainly Hereros, and it was bedevilled by internal factional and personal disputes.

After winning the tussle of recognition and support from the OAU and UN against SWANU, SWAPO's president began to be ruthless, with the support from Julius Nyerere, the President of Tanzania, and Kenneth Kaunda, the then president of Zambia against their critic. Leys and Saul (1994) assert this newfound power by saying that the 1960s also saw the consolidation of Nujoma and his closest associates in positions of virtually unassailable pre-eminence within SWAPO itself, the imprimatur of exclusivity bestowed by first the OAU, and later the UN, undoubtedly contributing to this development. The article further explains that once established as SWAPO President, Nujoma found himself elevated to membership in the League of African Presidents, and this in turn encouraged him to expect, even demand, the deference and largely unquestioned loyalty that his fellow presidents, such as Nyerere and Kaunda, received. This recognition came with its own pros and cons.

The pros include that the SWAPO membership began to increase in exile and Namibians mainly from Owamboland began to flee the country and join SWAPO in exile with the hopes and aspirations of a brighter and better environment to study, express their voice and participate in the war as well as ideological contribution of how things should be handled. Nathaniel (2017) in his book, *A Journey to Exile*, expressed his experience. In 1974, he became the first democratically elected President of the SWAPO Youth League (SYL) at the Youth Congress held at Oniipa. The same year he went into exile to join the Namibian liberation struggle in Zambia. Williams (2020) articulates the matter by saying that from June 1974 to August 1975, 4,000 - 6,000 people fled from Namibia through Angola to Zambia to join the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) at its headquarters there. In turn, SWAPO's Zambian membership expanded from several hundred to several thousand in little over a year.

The cons were that, like many other Namibians, they were disappointed to find that the SWAPO leadership in exile was undemocratic, corrupt and in disarray. Nathaniel further said that they challenged such situations which they found in Zambia, but the SWAPO leadership's response was undemocratic, as a result, Sam Nujoma ordered the Zambian army to arrest them for no valid reasons. Williams (2020) elaborates on how the situation escalated in Zambia as SWAPO sought to manage these and other changes to its circumstances in Zambia. Tensions emerged within the liberation movement. By the middle of 1976, the Zambian army had arrested 1,000 to 2,000 members of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), at SWAPO's request. This crisis is nicknamed as 'The Shipanga Crisis' by SWAPO leadership, to cover up on the real issue, which was the demand for democracy and accountability of the people. Leys and Saul (1994) have it that on a closer examination of the crisis, Shipanga himself shrank to the role of a relatively marginal player in the drama that then unfolded. Instead, at centre stage, one finds the demand, springing directly from the movement's rank and file, for the realisation of more democratic procedures and for a far greater measure both of leadership accountability and of membership participation within SWAPO. It was a demand that the SWAPO leadership was, in the end, most loath to countenance, much less to meet. Shangula (2002) adds that the crisis in Zambia was partly caused by the generational gap, petty jealousies and was leaning on a full-scale power struggle within the liberational movement. Clearly, the "old guard" had their own agenda and intended to 'dismantle' the

young people, fresh from Namibia, through undemocratic means which eventually culminated in detention, killings and disappearance.

2.2.2 Examining the terrifying stories of betrayal and torture in the two autobiographies

Betrayal, torture and terrifying stories were part of the price that Africans paid in the process of liberating the continent of Africa from colonialism. Mutepaire (2023) states that Zimbabwe's liberation struggle was a historic and heroic movement that ended the colonial rule of the white minority and ushered in a new era of independence and democracy. However, the road to freedom was not smooth and easy, indicating the oppression they faced. The road was paved with blood, sweat, tears, and sacrifices. Mutepaire further proffers that many people lost their lives, their loved ones, their homes, and their dignity in the fight for liberation. Some of the atrocities that were committed during the war were never revealed to the public, although they had a lasting impact on the survivors and their families.

Mutepaire (2023) further writes that when the guerrillas went to their village two days later, they heard rumours about his encounter with the Rhodesian soldiers from some jealous girls who wanted to get back at him for rejecting their advances. They reported that he was a friend of the army and that they had asked him to report the presence of the guerrillas. They also accused him of using magic to produce good crops in a drought year. They said 'I was a sell-out who deserved to die'. These accusations angered and shocked the guerrillas who came to their village. They did not bother investigating the truth or listening to his side of the story: "They decided to punish me and my family in front of the whole village".

Winston Churchill once said that history is written by the victors. Therefore, Namibia's history is no different, and as such many stories have been left untold. Keshii Nathanael's personal narrative from his autobiography is a darker story than many uplifting accounts of emancipation from colonisation. It is a story of intrigue and deception, of wholly unexpected alliances, and the brutal power of politics. His book provides an invaluable first-hand account for researchers and readers interested in the political history of Southern Africa. Keshii Pelao Nathanael was a founder of the Swapo Youth League and struggled for the liberation of Namibia before being forced into exile in Sweden (Martial Publishing, 2017). Shangula (2002) added that; "This account is spellbinding". You will be held enthralled, not only by the narration of events but also by the bravery and courage of the author and those around him.

The story took place during the birth and early development of the Swapo Youth League and it was factually correct and chronologically accurate. He further wrote that “This book adds a new dimension to understanding the early history of Swapo Youth League (SYL) during the liberation struggle in Namibia”.

Martial Publishing (2017) write that; While Keshii was schooling at Kuisebmond, he got to know so many seamen and fish factory workers in Walvis Bay, who inspired him and his friends to mobilise and organise workers to participate in a general strike that broke out in 1971-72. In 1972 he and other youth formed the Swapo Youth League (SYL) which played a significant role in the rebirth of SWAPO. This was after the Ongulumbashe attack and the crackdown of SWAPO in 1966, therefore, their activities had agitated the apartheid regime that later started to arrest, imprison and deport the active members of SYL, himself included.

In 1974, he became the first elected President of SYL at the Youth Congress held at Oniipa. The same year he went into exile to join the Namibian liberation struggle in Zambia. Like many other Namibians, he was disappointed to find that SWAPO leadership in exile was undemocratic, corrupt and in disarray. Their response to this unfortunate situation turned out to be a challenge to the SWAPO leadership and as a result, Sam Nujoma ordered the Zambian army to arrest many of them. The Zambian Supreme Court declared them not guilty. However, on the day of the ruling, Sam Nujoma, Kenneth Kaunda and Julius Nyerere had already negotiated a deal to illegally export 11 of them to Tanzanian prisons, where they spent more than two years. While there, they learnt that SWAPO had sentenced all of them to death by firing squad. In Tabora, Uyuwi prison, Keshii was one of the two who were isolated on death row where prison guards forced them to spend 30 minutes every day observing the gallows. Under those circumstances, they succeeded in smuggling out letters to Amnesty International, the Red Cross, the UN and BBC, requesting assistance for their release. On 25 May 1978, they were all released and he was granted asylum in Sweden.

Guchu (2014) furthers the argument by stating that SWAPO is just like South Africa's ANC, ZANU and ZAPU of Zimbabwe, FRELIMO in Mozambique and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, all have ugly hidden secrets of unexplained deaths, disappearances, unjustified imprisonment, accusations and implosions caused by tribalism. Guchu further states that Mozambicans still need answers to the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane in a

1969 bomb in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Zimbabweans are still seeking the truth behind Herbert Chitepo's assassination in Lusaka in 1975, while South Africans may be questioning the veracity that Ruth First was assassinated by the apartheid regime. Perhaps Ndeikwila's agonising truth is an attempt to refute accusations that he was a South African spy. In writing the book, he tries to set the record straight, explaining why he went into exile. He explains why he chose to train as a clergyman, abandoning the struggle. It's also the agonising truth about his return to Namibia in 1978, years before the end of the struggle for the liberation of the country; and how he was perceived as a South African spy (pp. 85-86). Ndeikwila says that his house in Katutura was close to Jeremia Nambinga's and rumours started spreading about him being a spy.

As a way of fighting back, Ndeikwila says: "It was in the midst of these false rumours and ignorance-driven hostility that we named our firstborn son Ingashukika (It-Has-To-Come-An End). We named our daughter Hangana, implying that Namibians in order to rid themselves of the yoke of apartheid South Africa." If this is the agonising truth, then Ndeikwila had to explain himself to the nation so that the generations to come would understand why he became what he is now. But as far as the honest truth on the most mysterious liberation war events that beg for disclosure, Ndeikwila's book does not even scratch the surface because much of what he says is public knowledge. It's known that blacks were mistreated under the apartheid South African regime – grew up in a segregated area, never had access to educational facilities; and were driven to liberate the country. Of course, the information about liberation war leadership living in luxury while the majority of those who gave their lives to the cause lived in abject poverty is not entirely new. In any case, a number of liberation war leaders amassed the wealth they are enjoying today during the liberation struggle when they converted donor funds meant for ordinary people for their personal use. It's also a known fact that the majority of the liberation war leadership in the region never set foot on the war front although most of them delight in showing off their well-ironed combat fatigues.

To further the argument, Guchu (2014) raised poignant questions towards the author and his book, the following is mind-boggling and needs serious reflection as he says that: The part of the book where the agonising truth was expected to have been told is from pages 21 to 39. That section deals with what came to be known as the Caprivians' Revolt, Sam Nujoma's return to Namibia in 1966, The 'Castro Case', and detentions in Dar es Salaam. Guchu says,

But there is no agony there either. The mystery as to why Nujoma managed to fly in and out of the country when the South African regime was arresting and detaining SWAPO members still remains just that – a mystery. The part of the book about Leonard Nangolo Philemon aka Castro who was suspected of selling out Plan fighters, dwells on hearsay. In early 1966, the book says, Castro, part of a group of 10 Plan fighters, left for Namibia from Kongwa. The group was intercepted by South African police in the Kavango. The cadres were airlifted to South Africa, except Castro who surfaced in Lusaka later carrying large sums of Rands. “Allegedly, he handed the greater part of the money over to the SWAPO office in Lusaka and kept the rest to enjoy himself in the Kanyama location (p. 28).” Although Castro was later arrested and died in detention in Kenya, the truth of what exactly happened will remain unknown. Did he sell out his comrades to the South Africans or did somebody else? If he worked with other people, who are they? Ndeikwila writes that Castro told the Tanzanian government that he was not alone. “Onde ya lombwela iinima ayihe kutya hangaye awike, otu li naakuluntu (I told them everything and that it was not I alone, I was together with the seniors). If the Tanzanian government is honest, you will find some senior SWAPO leaders in prison.” The sad truth is that Castro died with that secret about who, within SWAPO, worked with him against the struggle, thus leading to the 1966 Omugulu-Gombashe attack where three guerrillas died and earned others lengthy prison terms at Robben Island. For the most part, the book brushes over issues, mentioning events as the author heard from sources but it appears there is no effort to verify the assertions.

In conclusion, Guchu believes that from page 52, Ndeikwila’s narrative was based mostly on second-hand information since he was writing about events that happened in Zambia and Tanzania while he was in Kenya. Guchu further posits that the use of words such as ‘learned’, ‘according to clearer information’, ‘informed’ and ‘apparently’ does not bring forth any agonising truth. It appears the book is a self-cleansing ritual for Ndeikwila, who, among others, was instrumental in the formation of the Namibia National Students Organisation and ‘Breaking the Wall of Silence’, a pressure group that sought closure on detentions, deaths and disappearances in exile.

Wietersheim (2019) in the foreword to *Agony of Truth* by Ndeikwila, contradicted Guchu’s narrative and explained that Ndeikwila’s work and effort were truth in its totality, which was about pain, suffering and agony. Such is one of the reasons the book sold very fast and the

other is the content, the message that the book carries, which is the suffering, pain and agony of Namibians who were in exile from the hands of their fellow comrade. For this extended edition, Ndeikwila added three more chapters. Von Wietershein saw that as a deliberate move by the author with a clear intention of revealing more truth about certain Namibian narratives that were either based on misinformation, ignorance or avoidance of truth for the benefit of certain individuals.

Diescho (2014) acknowledged this by saying that there are many books written about and on Namibia, past and present, yet very few, if any, are honest and personal accounts of the long and arduous journey that many people have undertaken. This journey as the musical troupe Ndilimani would put it, has been long, meandering and many times ended in a *cul de sac*. Writing the book and telling the shocking revelation which put bare some of the questionable actions of the well-celebrated Namibian leaders was something the author was aware of and ready to handle as it had the potential of causing pain and uncertainty. The author was looking at changing the mindset of anyone who would read the book on how they view and perceive the Namibian history. Von Wietershein claims that in the end, a new and honest approach to Namibian history as well as the present would in the end lead to healing and national harmony.

Guchu (2014) writes that it appears that the search for the truth about what happened during the liberation struggles in southern Africa will not be known for a while longer. He vents his disappointment by saying that it is becoming apparent with every book written by cadres who took part in the struggles; witnessed the events of the war; or were told about the ugly things that happened during the wars of liberation in the region. It's not only Samson Ndeikwila's recently launched autobiography, 'The Agony of Truth,' that does not dig deeper into the trenches for the honest truth, but almost every other book that was written by liberation war stalwarts in either South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola, they all adopt the same style and approach of self-exonerating from all the wrongdoing and rumours, in the end, they self-glorify.

Diescho (2014) wrote that Ndeikwila's book allows Namibians who were not part of the exile to experience life in the trenches of the liberation struggle in a foreign land, to get a sense of the myriads of contradictions of the struggle. Mutepaire (2023) elaborated that the freedom

fighters, who were known as guerrillas or comrades were trained in political education and military skills. They were expected to uphold the principles and values of the struggle, such as discipline, loyalty, solidarity, courage, and sacrifice. Unfortunately, not all freedom fighters adhered to those principles and values. He wrote that some had power and authority over the civilians or people who lived in the operational areas. They violated their human rights and dignity by subjecting them to various forms of atrocities. These atrocities included intimidation, brutal coercion, sexual abuse of both married women and single mothers and girls, false accusations of witchcraft or sell-out, torture, and killing.

Asheeke (n. d.) commented on Angula's autobiography, that it was stark and compelling, a piece in the mosaic depicting the long and successful battle against apartheid. Inside the country, Angula faced a minimal challenge from both the colonial regime and traditional leader against his political activity, but the situation was different in exile. Metsola (2019) wrote that when Oiva went back to Angola to continue his stint as a political instructor of Swapo's military wing, People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), he was accused of being an apartheid spy and a traitor and he became a victim of a series of a purge within the organisation: "Each time I denied the false charges, my body absorbed a gauntlet of blows and kicks. I was lashed with sticks, like knives cutting through meat, until I was soaked in blood. I screamed, screamed and screamed, but they would not stop. To silence my screams, rags were stuffed into my mouth" (p. 103). This torture was an everyday event during his four-and-a-half years in the Omalambo, the hidden pits in Lubango, Angola.

Williams (2009) wrote that the purpose and intention of SWAPO was simple, to look after the interests of the Ovambo people, as the movement's first two names suggested, Ovamboland People's Congress (OPC). Thereafter, it shifted to Ovambo People's Organisation (OPO) before the name went into a final transition to SWAPO, to have access to the unlimited free resources from OAU and UN to fill the pocket of its top leadership as they were developing into the new elite. Saunders (2018) elaborates on this point further in his journal, the SWAPO leadership would only work with those who accepted its leadership role in the Namibian liberation struggle. In 1964 one of SWAPO's leading intellectuals, Dr Kenneth Abrahams and his wife Otilie Abrahams were expelled from the organisation, in part for advocating that it join a united front with SWANU. They told the Liberation Committee in April of that year that SWANLIF was doomed from the start because, they claimed, Sam Nujoma, the president of

SWAPO, had decided, without the backing of the rest of the SWAPO executive, not to work with those who supported the broader grouping which was said to be too pro-China – at a time when the Sino–Soviet split was dividing the liberation movements of southern Africa. SWANU's alignment with the People's Republic of China would alienate it from South Africa's ANC which, like SWAPO, became a firm member of the Soviet camp.

By standing behind their policy of only working with those who accept its leadership, working with those who will take up a position of being a follower and accepting everything that the SWAPO leadership must do and offer without question and expressing their views. Caprivi African National Union CANU, fell victim to the SWAPO deception, they merged without a clear understanding of what they were walking into, without declaring each movement's interest by putting them in black and white. For the leadership of SWAPO, this was a political play to strengthen its legitimacy and claim over Namibia. Saunders (2018) asserted the points here; The announcement in November 1964 that it had merged with the newly formed Caprivi African National Union (CANU) was cited as evidence that SWAPO did not only represent Oshivambo-speakers, as was often alleged by its critics. A recent analysis of the Namibian liberation struggle argues that the merger with CANU demonstrated to the OAU, the UN and the entire international community that SWAPO was the only mature and serious political organisation representing all Namibians, regardless of their ethnic and regional backgrounds. Further evidence of this seemed to come a decade later in October 1976, when several major Nama-speaking groups in southern Namibia declared their support for SWAPO.

The marriage between the two movements, CANU and SWAPO fell apart in the early 80s after the leadership of CANU came to realise that they were manipulated into joining SWAPO for the interest of SWAPO alone not that of theirs. Saunders (2018), The SWAPO-CANU alliance fell apart in 1980, in part due to the claim by CANU that SWAPO discriminated against non-Oshivambo-speakers. Because their eyes were set on self-interest, to amass as much profit as they could, SWAPO agreed to any condition which could bring in money for the top leadership to continue to enjoy the lifestyle which the white man had been enjoying ever since. Without any practical workable plan in place, SWAPO agreed to the use of violence, to wage war against their enemy inside Namibia, without any consideration for Namibians and the displacement of innocent people such a war would bring. The position which learned leaders of SWANU pondered on and then opted for a diplomatic route instead of violence that will as

well kill their own people inside the country. The main reason for this was that the Committee proposed to all movements the use of force, including the use of violence, should be employed by the liberation movements to achieve the desired goal, the end of colonial rule. With such an opportunity, SWAPO jumped on it. In 1964, SWAPO presented to the Committee a plan to wage an armed struggle against South African rule of Namibia.

Saunders (2009) in a paper titled, “Namibian Solidarity: British Support for Namibian Independence”, is revelatory in a very different sense, and it is a major event in southern African studies. The paper has been clear for more than 20 years, in which it stipulated that exile leaders of the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress participated in and concealed the practice of human rights abuses in ANC prison camps in exile in Angola and other countries. Saunders, however, provided proof that Vigne, as a former leader of the South African Liberal Party, publicly shielded senior leaders of SWAPO from truthful accusations concerning crimes committed in exile under their authority, and further: supported fallacious allegations by SWAPO that a huge range of its victims were spies, or “agents”, of the South African apartheid regime.

Trewhela (2012) writes that Saunders’s research shows that at the time of writing the article “SWAPO of Namibia: A Movement in Exile”, [1] published in January 1987, and quoted at the head of his article, Vigne had a truthful plea from relatives of members of SWAPO who had been murdered, or tortured and imprisoned, in a political purge conducted by SWAPO leaders in its camps in southern Angola. Through his research, Saunders provided a missing link that helps explain one of the abiding mysteries of southern African history of the past 40 years: how it came to pass that the Christian churches in Britain, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Germany and other countries, as well as the United Nations and other organisations, in addition to governments, failed to register outrage, or at least concern, in response to appeals for help by the families of SWAPO’s victims, backed up by truthful reports of ongoing atrocities

2.2.3 Analysing the effects of atrocities in the two autobiographies.

The hostile life of Namibian people began in 1884, the time the imperialist government of Germany took up South-West Africa now Namibia as its colony. Swartbooi (2019) said that Germany’s expropriation of land, livestock and other goods at the beginning of Germany’s colonisation of what was then known as German South-West Africa instantaneously

established structural inequality. With immediate dispossession came immediate poverty on the side of the colonised, as well as an immediate increase in wealth on the side of the colonisers. This means that the colonisers took properties belonging to Namibians by force without compensation or proper compensation to enrich themselves. Muundjua (2019) went into detail to establish the beginning of oppression and how it affected Namibian society from there on. He stated that the first contact between Germans, Ovaherero and Nama occurred through missionaries, followed by many other colonial agents. He further narrates by stating that; those various actors substantially damaged Ovaherero's and Nama's socio-economic life through fraudulent trading practices, trade agreements and land deals, even before the official colonisation started. It is worth mentioning that the two tribes were the first people to resist the encroachment of the imperialist government without a knowledge of the Berlin conference which divided the continent amongst the European states. Zimmerer (2019) wrote that during the final decades of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, Africans in general and Namibians in particular, lost everything that was theirs. Solid, arbitrary boundaries were drawn up, which in several instances, divided ethnic groups between countries. Africans lost their sovereignty, geopolitical territoriality and statehood. Europeans then began to control African men and women, giving them European names like Festus, Alfons, Barnabas, Reinhart, Erika, Esther, etc.

Before the end of WW1, the Imperialist Germans carried out the first-ever genocide of the 19th century in which they killed the Ovaherero and Nama people. Geiseb (2019) explains that it should be common knowledge by now that this genocide decimated the Nama and Ovaherero populations at the time: up to 80 per cent of the Ovaherero, more than half of the Nama and a significant percentage of the Damara and San were killed during the 1904-1908 war. Some of the immediate consequences of the genocide included the expulsion of native populations from communally owned lands, mass killings and massacres, appropriation of livestock through confiscation without compensation and the forbidding of livestock ownership, and appropriation of land for settlers. Additional consequences included forced labour, rape of native girls and women, taking of human remains to Germany for so-called "racial science" research, and confinement in concentration camps.

World Health Organisation (n.d.) reported on the negative impact of the legacies of colonialism on the enjoyment of human rights, they said that the weight of colonialism was

still being carried on today, and they wrote that it most predominantly in the Global South, where political independence and decolonization have not been matched by sustainable development and the full enjoyment of human rights, including the right to development and socioeconomic rights. While many former colonies have gained independence since the establishment of the United Nations, the process of decolonisation remains incomplete,” the UN Deputy High Commissioner for Human Rights Nada Al-Nashif told the panel. Al-Nashif underlined that it was only with strong political leadership, honest dialogue and comprehensive responses that the long-lasting impact of the legacies of colonialism and its links to contemporary forms of racism and racial discrimination could be addressed.

There is an intrinsic link between colonialism and contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and intolerance faced by Africans, people of African descent, people of Asian descent and indigenous peoples. The report, presented to the 54th session of the Human Rights Council is a summary of a panel discussion held in September 2022.

When South Africa took over after defeating the Imperialist government of Germany, they continued to abuse and oppress the natives by removing them from their ancestral land and dumping them into unproductive land, if they complained, they were killed with no remorse. Quinn (2017) proffers that in December of 1959, Nujoma participated in organising the protest, a forced removal of native Namibians from the old location to Katutura that would fall under apartheid policy. This resistance ended up with twelve unarmed people dead and amongst the twelve was Ana Kakurukaze Mungunda the only woman.

The South African apartheid laws of 1948 which further prevented black Namibians from political rights and restrictions of social and economic freedoms which included freedom of movement further subjugated Namibians. Jones (2018) gave some account of how people who used to take part in political activities used to be punished publicly, including women. Based on the court documents and oral histories conducted in Namibia, his article examined the corporal punishment of women in Ovamboland during the period of South African colonial occupation. Jones’ article centred on the 1973 event of the flogging of four female political activists in the South-West Africa People’s Organisation (SWAPO), further on, his article places the public beating of women in the broader context of histories of spousal abuse in the region. In this way, the article argues that the public flogging of women in Ovamboland demonstrated

the extent to which the liberation struggles empowered women to enter spaces previously defined as masculine, thus underscoring the potential for women's liberation through the anti-colonial upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s.

As the political situation was getting worse within the country, most Namibians began to flee the country in big numbers to join the leadership of SWAPO in Zambia and Tanzania. Upon their arrival in exile, the masses were greeted by similar situations to the one they left home, no freedom of speech or right to express different views, those who pushed for democracy were arrested, and tortured and some were killed by SWAPO leaders with the help of Zambian soldiers.

Williams (2020) puts this in context that after completing military training, those soldiers who were stationed at the front, where the Zambian government, then embroiled in detente negotiations with South Africa, sought to restrict SWAPO's military operations from Zambian soil. For that period, the newly trained soldiers experienced acute shortages of guns, medicine and food, and they became increasingly vocal in their pleas to hold a SWAPO party congress at which conditions at the front and other matters pertaining to the armed struggle could be discussed. The article further on and said that several prominent SWAPO officials also joined the call for a party congress at that time, above all, it was SWAPO Secretary of Information, Andreas Shipanga who was fearless and bold to speak in support of the PLAN fighters.

Despite the pressure they mounted, SWAPO President Sam Nujoma and his closest allies refused to convene one and requested the Zambian government's assistance to manage the conflict. As a result, the Zambian Army disarmed those soldiers who called for the congress and detained them at Mboroma, where food was withheld for days at a time and where they were targeted in a mass shooting, which killed four and wounded 13. This situation forced about 200 Namibians to resign from SWAPO and the liberation struggle and apply for refugee status. As Williams articulated in his article, at least 200 Namibians chose to leave SWAPO and, in early June 1977, the Zambian army transported them to Meheba, a UNHCR camp located outside Solwezi, near the border of Zambia and Zaire. Most of them eventually left Meheba for the Copperbelt and Lusaka, where they pursued further studies and sought to support themselves and their local families.

The mistreatment of Namibians in Zambia was the tip of an Ice bag, contemplating the real atrocities which were bound to happen in Angola. When the spy drama came into the picture, SWAPO was already hardcore and used to power abuse, and torturing and killing its own comrades was a normal thing in its security apparatus. The events in Angola were inhuman and brutal, which made SWAPO have a dark cloud hanging over their head called Lubango Dungeon which kept on haunting them, making them feel ashamed of their own past and not wanting to talk about it after independence. During that period, it is reported that almost 700 detainees who were Namibian PLAN fighters went missing without any trace. John et al. (2003) wrote in their article that, Pauline Dempers who was herself detained and tortured by SWAPO in one of its notorious detention camps in Lubango, as she was accused of being a South African spy, a charge she vehemently denied spoke and challenged the SWAPO leadership to provide the whereabouts of the 700 Namibians, is said to have disappeared while in their hands during the liberation war. The article further quotes Justus Garoeb of UDF, an ally of the PUM, who said that many Namibians were killed in the fighting or died from illness, accidents, suicide and other causes.

We are also mature enough to know and to accept that given the war situation that prevailed those days and human nature, for the good or for the worst, a great number of our children died at the hands of our own SWAPO security people charged with various crimes they might have committed. Some died in detention under unhealthy conditions and a shortage of nutritious food and/or unbecoming foodstuffs. Young girls were alleged to have been raped and died for lack of professional medical treatment. Others are alleged to have been literally beaten to death and some were reported not to have returned to detention after allegedly being taken away by the security people for interrogation. They just vanished into thin air, (John et al, 2003).

Metsola (2010) accounted that the first major crisis in SWAPO occurred in the mid-1970s after the influx of thousands of young Namibians into exile, many of them student activists and secondary school students. This strained the capacities of the movement in exile and led to a challenge to its established leadership (Leys and Saul, 1994; Saul and Leys, 1995). However, the leaders of the first generation of exiles soon forcefully quelled the demands and were able to maintain their grip on power until independence and beyond, taking key positions in the new government. Another major crisis started in the early 1980s and lasted until the

repatriation of exiles in 1989–90. Hundreds, if not thousands, of exiled Namibians, were arrested and kept in dugout dungeons in Angola in a purge of suspected infiltrators from the movement by an increasingly powerful security wing. Many were tortured and killed. This created an atmosphere of fear throughout the movement. Arrests disproportionately targeted the well-educated and those not from Ovamboland.

The mistreatment of fellow comrades in exile created division within the black population who were supposed to work together as a team. Trehwela (2012) writes that letters from Erica Beukes, in Windhoek, written in 1985 on behalf of relatives of SWAPO's victims, were indeed received and filed by the NSC in London. Erica Beukes's brother, Walter Thiro, was one of the many who died in SWAPO's Gulags in southern Angola. She herself, and a colleague, Attie Beukes, not a relative, were then sacked from their positions in Windhoek as employees of the Council of Churches in Namibia several months later, as a direct consequence of their having sent these appeals to the NSC and other bodies, especially to churches.

While a report from the World Council of Churches effectively endorsed the reign of terror, the parents received a critical boost from an unimpeachable source. Amnesty International's International Report for 1987 referred to human rights abuses in the SWAPO camps in Angola. This vindicated their efforts and dealt a blow to their critics. The confessing churches that courageously confronted the evils of apartheid were thus non-confessing and timid in their dealings with SWAPO. Solidarity organizations, driven by liberal guilt, were similarly ineffectual; their fixation on the evils of apartheid blinded them to the terror within SWAPO (Steenkamp, 1995).

2.3. Theoretical Framework

Cindera et al. (2017) explain that postcolonialism is used to refer to "a critical analysis of history, culture, literature and method of communication that is particularly correlated to the former colonies of England, Spain, France and other European imperial powers" (p. 171). Further, Cindera et al. (2017) and Sawant (2012) posit that postcolonialism revolves around the effects of colonialism on cultures and societies. The major proponents of the postcolonial theory include Homi K. Bhabha, Edward Said and Frantz Fanon, among others. Postcolonial theory revolves around the concept of the "other." Tyson (2015) notes that the concept of othering implies that those in power view themselves as being superior, civilised and the focus

of the world and a true reflection of mankind. Tyson, however, contests the above notion and opines that the colonised are usually marginalised as the other. Furthermore, it can be noted that postcolonial theory is not only centred around otherness but also tracing the patterns of hegemony and resistance in literary texts as it is part of this research.

Postcolonial theory was used in this research to understand the historical context of Namibia's colonial past, particularly focusing on the impact of German and South African colonisation of the country. The theory guided the analysis of how colonial legacies continue to shape Namibian society and culture in modern-day Namibia. In addition, postcolonial theory will play a role in understanding the intersections of race, class, gender and other forms of identity in Namibian autobiographies when analysing how these intersecting identities shape individuals' experiences of colonialism and post-coloniality. The researcher compared Namibian postcolonial texts with those from other postcolonial contexts to identify common themes, challenges and strategies of resistance and resilience in postcolonial storytelling.

2.4 Research Gap

After perusing 30 scholarly articles on the research topic, the researcher came to realise that there is a gap in knowledge regarding the link between colonialism and the internal crisis of SWAPO during their time in exile. Hence, the researcher seeks to explain how colonialism and its effect influenced the behaviour, conduct and treatment of Namibians towards one another and SWAPO leadership towards each other. Most of the researchers focused on what transpired and how the crisis happened without linking colonialism to the status core, how the minds of Namibians were corrupted and altered from the Ubuntu spirit to the European types of living style, the Western civilisation which intertwined and dominated the African people to abandon their culture and the way they treated each other prior to the colonial period.

2.5 Chapter summary

This chapter started by giving a review of related literature organised according to thematic contexts as raised in the select article, such as atrocities and, the psychological and emotional toll of warfare, portraying the internal struggles of individuals caught in the crossfire of conflict that promised liberation yet delivers suffering. All these themes were defined and

discussed from different scholars' perspectives. The researcher defined the kind of theoretical framework the study was going to adopt, which specifically used the postcolonial theory as it critically analysed the history, culture, literature and method of communication that is particularly correlated to the former colonies of England, Spain, France and other European imperial powers. It posits that postcolonialism revolves around the effects of colonialism on cultures and societies. The major proponents of the postcolonial theory include Homi K. Bhabha, Edward Said and Frantz Fanon, among others. Lastly, the chapter discussed the identified research gap from the perused articles of various scholars. It was discovered that previous scholars were unable to link the effects of colonialism to the attitude and behavioural change of Namibian people in the way and matter they treated each other.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology and theoretical framework used in the study. The methodology attends to the process of analysing the two selected texts: *Agony of Truth* (2019) by Samson Ndeikwila, and *SWAPO Captive* (2018) by Oiva Angula. The study applied the postcolonial theory of literature as its theoretical framework to guide the study. The chapter discusses the methodology used in the study, which led to the findings and conclusion of the study. It also underlines the ethical considerations as a set of ethical principles that guide research conduct and practice.

3.2. Research paradigm

This study followed a tradition of metatheory. Metatheory implies an exploration of the theoretical lenses that provide direction for the study in a particular area of study. Metatheory helps us to look at the assumptions and implications of certain theories and also helps shape our thinking in coming up with more sophisticated ways of describing and explaining phenomena (Franzel, 2014). In this research, Metatheory was used to provide a critical lens through which to understand the complex interplay of power dynamics, representation, and identity construction within the selected postcolonial autobiographies. Analysing *Agony of Truth* and *SWAPO Captive* involved investigating how power relations between the colonisers and the colonised are reflected in the narrative and how these power dynamics influence the representation of self and other. The metatheory paradigm prompts an examination of how identities are constructed and represented in postcolonial autobiographies. It involves questioning how the author's identity is shaped by broader socio-political contexts, and how these identities are portrayed in relation to dominant discourses of race, class, gender and nationality. In analysing historical contexts like the two autobiographies, multiple perspectives are needed, as this does not only consider the author's perspective but also the perspective of other characters, communities and historical contexts that are represented in the text to produce balanced data.

3.3. Research approach

This study used a qualitative desktop research approach to analyse the two selected Namibian autobiographies. Crossman (2020) defines qualitative research as a kind of research wherein non-numeric data are collected, and such data are elucidated for meaning to help understand social life. Moreover, Kumar (2011) states that qualitative research is mainly aimed at understanding, explaining, exploring, discovering and clarifying situations, “feelings, perceptions, attitudes, values, beliefs and experiences of a group of people” (p. 103). This study applies the techniques of a qualitative approach to analyse the two autobiographies. The study, being a desktop one, has no human subjects involved as respondents. The two selected autobiographies are being analysed from a postcolonial perspective to provide descriptive data. It is important to elaborate further on the qualitative research approach. Qualitative research, according to Berg and Haward (2012), is about meanings, concepts, definitions, metaphors, images and descriptions of things (Daniel, 2016). The above definition, as Daniel notes, reveals that qualitative research consists of all the necessary instruments that can evoke remembering. He continues to state that the approach of qualitative research considers human thought and behaviour within social contexts and includes a wide range of phenomena to understand and value them. Additionally, Rahman (2017) argues that qualitative research is not statistical but it includes many realities. This study is a well-crafted interpretation of the two postcolonial autobiographies. Therefore, a research approach like qualitative research provides a platform to explore the postcolonial realities presented in the autobiographies without any limitations. Citing Flick (2014), Rahman adds that qualitative research is concerned with the analysis of subjective meaning by gathering non-standardised data and interpreting texts and images instead of numbers and statistics. Flick also argues that the advantage held by qualitative approach is the holistic understanding towards human experience in certain settings. It was, therefore, relevant to incorporate this approach in this study because it allowed for a detailed interpretation of the autobiographies which have been written by authors who expressed their views from their experience of colonialism.

3.4. Research design

Research design, according to Kothari (2004), refers to how conditions for the collection and analysis of data are arranged in line with the research purpose. Vosloo (2014, p. 316) posits that the research design is “the functional plan in which certain research methods and procedures are linked together to acquire a reliable and valid body of data for empirically grounded analyses, conclusions and theory formulation”. The methods and procedures are determined by the research problem. The research design outlines the process of research followed by the researcher right from the research question up to the analysis and interpretation of data. In other words, the research’s blueprint is the research design, which ensures that all research operations function smoothly.

This study employed descriptive phenomenology as its research design. The main goal of phenomenology is to arrive at a description of the nature of a particular phenomenon (Creswell, 2013). To comment further on phenomenology as a research design, Gill (2020) notes that Edmund Husserl is the founder of phenomenological philosophy, and his work includes descriptive phenomenological methodologies which look at the description of experiences. Gill further asserts that in qualitative research, phenomenology is not just a philosophical movement, but it is also a family of qualitative research methods. The researcher chooses to apply descriptive phenomenology and must read the text to point out and come up with units of meaning and then integrate and combine these units of meaning into a coherent statement of the phenomenon’s structure which is equal to its essence (Giorgi, 1985, cited in Gill, 2020). As for this research, the units of meaning are the content that narrates the internal crises of the characters in the selected autobiography.

3.5. Text selection criteria

The two selected books were chosen amongst other autobiographies that deal with the postcolonial experience in Namibia based on their recurring themes which focus more on the internal crises and challenges faced by the characters in the two autobiographies. They also address the research topic and its objectives, where the issues of division, mistreatment, suspected spies, tribal division, and losing of comrades while in combat are focused. The two autobiographies were selected because they have more content that fits the research topic and its objectives which the researcher wanted to explore and find answers to, focusing

mainly on the two characters, Samson Ndeikwila and Oiva Angula. Lastly, availability and cost-effectiveness were key in selecting the two autobiographies.

3.7. Research procedures

A qualitative research study solely aims at producing human experience-grounded knowledge (Kiger & Varpio, 2020). In the quest of attaining knowledge, the focal point of the probes is the relation between theory and data, and between data collection and analysis (Flick, 2017). The prominent nature of a research study is then its embodiment in a symbolic in-depth study (data collection), deciphering a gathered body of information (interpreting), and theoretical knowledge in relation to hypotheses or objectives or research questions (analysing of data). Creswell (2014) has identified five approaches to gathering-analysing-decoding data or extracting knowledge in a qualitative research study, which are: narrative, phenomenology, ground theory, ethnography and case studies.

It is the narrative approach that piqued the interest of this study, especially considering that “human knowledge and personal identities are being continually constructed and revised” (Moen, 2006, p. 60). This study attempted to attend to the particular nuances and aspects of the data prescribed by the postcolonial theory (Flick, 2017). It utilised a thematic approach as a research procedure, illuminating the process of social construction, and combined thematic analyses of a range of data, which enabled tracing how a particular representation develops in society (Joffe, 2012). It was the set objectives that enabled the researcher to create and structure inferring categories (subheadings) evident in the patterns and themes found by the close reading of the selected texts (Thomas, 2003; Thornberg & Charmaz, 2012; Flick, 2017).

Preceding the texts’ analysis and interpretation is a brief summary of each individual autobiography. The study used characters’ experiences construed as excerpts and scenarios from the texts and retained this extracted evidence under the specific subheadings. This study was conducted as a qualitative research study on the selected two narratives which are representative of the body works from the African postcolonial literature spectrum. Thus, as a desktop study, the researcher conducted the study by analysing the characters, contents, themes and conversations in the two historical autobiographical works and applied them to the assumption of the postcolonial theory. The researcher compared the presented evidence

by the two autobiographies to draw conclusions and tender recommendations for future research studies.

3.8. Research instrument

Research instruments are tools used to collect, measure and analyse data related to a person's research interests. This study is a desktop study; therefore, data was collected through a critical reading of the two autobiographies, *Agony of Truth* (2014) and *SWAPO Captive* (2018). The researcher highlighted the content of interest in the books by considering the postcolonial theory of literature and in line with the objectives of the study. Additionally, the interpretation of the texts was done using Frantz Fanon's works, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) and *Black Skin White Masks* (1952). In that manner, the researcher was able to determine the relevant themes to form the analysis and come up with informed findings and conclusions.

3.9. Data analysis

Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data (Schurink et al., 2011, p. 397). In a qualitative research method, data analysis is a non-numerical analysis and interpretation of observations for the purpose of discovering underlying meanings and patterns of relationships as explained by (Babbie, 2007, p. 378).

In line with the objectives of the study and the theoretical framework, relevant data was analysed using the emerging themes. The researcher went through the specific chapters of the two autobiographies to answer the research questions of the study. The raw data from the autobiographies was organised and interpreted from a literary basis and in line with the selected theoretical framework of the study, which is the postcolonial theory of literature.

Therefore, the researcher chose to analyse the data in three steps as alluded to by Schurink et al. (2011, pp. 202-418). The first step is the preparation and organisation of the data. The second step is the reduction of the data and the third step is visualising, representing and displaying the data. In this study, these three steps were met in this way: in the first step, the researcher organised the data, and read and re-read the texts several times to be familiar with it. The second step is the reduction of the data as the researcher identified the outstanding themes, repeated ideas and language that were categorised. This was done for

the phenomenon to go beyond reporting towards interpretation, and lastly to identify themes and sub-themes.

3.10. Ethical considerations

The researcher declares that he conducted the research in compliance with the professional code(s) of ethics and guidelines for ethically responsible research relevant to the field of study as specified in the 'Framework policy for the assurance and promotion of Ethically accountable research at the Namibia University of Science and Technology'. Even though the research poses minimal or low ethical risks, the researcher strove to acknowledge by referencing any information to was used in this research.

3.11. Chapter summary

This chapter attended to the research methodology by engaging the research design, procedure, paradigm, approach, instrument and analysis, ethical considerations and the ascribed theoretical framework. The researcher identified the postcolonial theory as the theoretical framework of the study. Postcolonialism refers to a critical analysis of history, culture, literature and methods of communication that is particularly correlated to the former colonies of England, Spain, France and other European imperial powers. Postcolonialism revolves around the effects of colonialism on cultures and societies. The postcolonial theory was defined and traced as this theory has been redeveloped. The key assumption of the theory has been addressed and finally, its application in this study and the critics of the theory were brought forth.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings and an analysis which articulates and exposes the level of abuse, torture and mental effects which Namibians went through at the hands of a white colonial government, their own brothers and comrades who were in the colonial regime as well as in SWAPO. It reveals the toxic atmosphere of colonialism and colonial society. The chapter draws insights from the literature review chapter of this research and relies on qualitative research methods as discussed in the previous chapters. In all sections of this chapter, the researcher analyses the texts in order of the year of publication, starting with the earliest published. This means that in all sections, Samson Ndeikwila (2014) comes first, followed by Oiva Angola (2018). The researcher used the 2019 extended edition of Ndeikwila's book.

This chapter starts with the synopsis of the *Agony of TRUTH* and then that of *SWAPO CAPTIVE*. Thereafter, the chapter starts with its first objective, which is identifying various forms of oppression which Namibian people were subjected to by the colonialists as well as by following Namibians as narrated by the two authors in their autobiographies. This is followed by the second objective which examines the terrifying stories of betrayal and torture in the two autobiographies and then the analyses of the effects of atrocities in the two autobiographies. The chapter concludes with a discussion and chapter summary.

4. 1.1. Synopsis of the text *Agony of Truth*

The book *Agony of TRUTH* was set and written to carry the narrative of Namibia's historiography of the colonial past. The narrator, who is Samson Ndeikwila starts the narrative by describing the geographical location of his birthplace, where he was born and raised, the former Ovamboland, at the village of Okapanda in the traditional jurisdiction of Ombalantu in the present-day Omusati region. At the start, Ndeikwila did not do much but distinguish himself in traits of identifying himself to the reader, who he was and where he comes from, and his family tree from both sides of his parents. He established the beginning of Christianity in his family and how he became a Christian himself. In the process of identifying himself, he also explains the value of African culture through the name of a person, how teaching used to take place in the African setup, in which he wrote that, "traditionally, there was no formal training for children on how to perform different duties inside and outside the homestead.

“We learned by imitating and participating”. The role and responsibilities of a man or a boy child as well as the responsibility of a woman or a girl child are also explained. As the character grew in age and understanding, he began to appreciate and love education and had an understanding of the social economic dynamics of the country, where elder men used to travel to the southern side of the country for contract work in the mines and farms. He knew about the bad and good white employers who were either Afrikaners or Germans.

Because he was in love with education, he excelled in all aspects of his academic journey from the start. Ndeikwila completed his primary education at Nakayale boys’ school and he was sent to Ongwediva boys’ school which doubled as a teacher training centre. While there, he wanted more than what Ongwediva Boys and Teacher Training College was offering at the time. Ndeikwila wanted more than that, he wanted a University education, but then it was not offered to black students in the country. His quest for more knowledge led him to connive with his classmate to flee the country for exile, in pursuit of a better education overseas or in South Africa. At the end of their examination, in 1965, Ndeikwila and his five friends left the former Ovamboland into exile through the Nkurenkuru to Rundu route and then to Botswana. Thereafter, he crossed into Zambia and stayed there for a while attending Nkumbi International College before deciding to go for military training at Kongwa in Tanzania. The atmosphere at Kongwa military camp demoralised them as they found the camp in a deep crisis among the PLAN trainees, the majority were very low on morale with poor physical shape as a result of neglect from the political leadership.

Thereafter, the autobiography focused on the internal crisis within the leadership structure of SWAPO, starting from the Kongwa military training where members of the CANU felt isolated and not properly welcomed in SWAPO, and the arrest of fellow comrades started to pop up from the left and right. The return of Sam Nuyoma to Namibia and then to Zambia aligned itself with the attacks of the first group which infiltrated the country and was stationed at Omugulu gwombashe. The narrator dwelt on the situation which got him and his comrade arrested which was linked to the internal crisis within the structure and their intention to change the status quo through their memorandum and ultimately resigning from SWAPO altogether. Throughout the internal crisis and betrayal, one of the top SWAPO leaders Nangolo Fillemon known as Castro was arrested and detained for 15 years without trial for his involvement in different allegations.

After the narrator was released from prison, he relocated to Kenya under the status of a refugee. In Kenya, the narrator focused on his personal life of education, Christianity, helping other Namibians who needed help and his exposure to civil organisation which he served while at the theological school and the time that he graduated. While in Kenya, Ndeikwila gave a detailed narrative of the second wave of the SWAPO internal crisis in Zambia which was named the “Shipanga rebellion” and the arrest of most of the SWAPO Youth League (SYL) members. There was the arrest of some founding members of SWAPO, the likes of Dr Kenneth Abrahams and his wife Otilie and Andreas Shipanga. In this part, the autobiography dwells on the effects of the Cold War on the United States of America USA and the Soviet Union of Russia, the liberation movement was caught in the crossfire and got confused about which side should they align themselves with. SWAPO, Zambia and UNITA were sympathetic to the USA in their fight against Soviet communists in Southern Africa. The association of Namibians living in Kenya welcomed two former PLAN fighters who escaped from detention. After narrating the ordeal situation in Zambia, the association wrote an appeal letter addressing it to SWAPO headquarters in Windhoek, the UN council for Namibia in New York and the All-African Conference of Churches in Nairobi. Within a short period of time, after the letter was sent to those organisations, hundreds of Namibians who were detained secretly at various places in Zambia were reportedly in the media as released from their incarceration.

The book explores the circumstances which led to the Cassinga massacre and the different versions of propaganda within the leadership structure of SWAPO, trying to find the person to blame for the attack on Cassinga. Within a short time, Andreas Shipanga’s name came out as one such person despite his being in Dodoma prison in Tanzania at the time of the attack. Before the massacre, Ndeikwila gave the narrative on the development of the UN Security Council Resolutions which organised the free and fair election in the country. These activities and developments came up with Resolution 385 which gave Ndeikwila some sense of hope for a free and independent Namibia as various actors and players like the Western contact group with whom South Africa was trading with recognised the resolution which negotiated for a peaceful settlement of the independence of Namibia. These arrangements, despite the setbacks of the Cassinga Massacre, went ahead without delay. Such developments persuaded Ndeikwila to prepare himself and return to Namibia despite the dangers and risks which lured

him from both sides. The South African government and SWAPO sympathised with the country.

In the year 1978, Ndeikwila and Haikali returned to Namibia. Upon their arrival, they went straight to the office of SWAPO-D to be briefed about the situation in the country as well as the programme of the organisation. He soon noticed that the organisation had a weak leadership structure and he resigned from it to focus on other pressing matters like forging a strong bond with his family and getting a wife to marry. After settling down, he put his theology qualification to use by joining the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN). While with the CCN, he came up with the Contextual Theology Unity (CTU) and he was appointed as its moderator. Through that organisation, he helped students to form the Namibia National Students Organisation (NANSO) in 1984 at Dobra. After Ndeikwila got NANSO up and running, he then helped Namibian women to organise themselves by forming Namibia Women's Voice (NWV) and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) in 1985. The two organisations did not live long before they were disbanded due to pressure and jealousy from the SWAPO Women's Council (SWC). Nevertheless, Ndeikwila took it upon himself to groom and empower some youth with education by sending them to attend seminars and conferences within the country and overseas to equip them with an understanding of the political affairs of their country and beyond.

As the book progresses, the narrator sheds some light on notable events that happened before Independence. He sheds light on the Gobabis bomb blast which led to the arrest of a few people including three women. One of the women was the widow of the deceased senior headman Lisias Shau Aluuma. He narrates his contribution to setting them free. Ndeikwila then travelled abroad to Geneva on a course of ecumenism. While there he came across Dr Ernest Ngarikutuke Tjiriange who accused him by telling his colleague Reverend Ishmael Goagoseb that he should be careful, as Ndeikwila was a South African spy. From thereafter, Ndeikwila proceeded to go to Norway and then to Finland where he reunited with his former colleagues whom he was arrested with and those who ran away after their arrest.

After his return, Ndeikwila focused on helping the parents committee organise themselves into a pressure group to force the church leadership and other organisations to speak out against the spy drama within the SWAPO camp and demanded the release of their relatives

who were rotting in the dungeons of Lubangu and other underground prisons. After that episode, the book dives into the account of events and occurrences in the build-up to Namibia's free and fair elections, narrating the role different stakeholders played before the election, organisations like the NUNW, NANSO, UNTAG, UN and some political organisations like SWANU, UDF and NUDO. Towards the election, these political parties were busy mobilising their members to take part in the election. After Independence, Ndeikwila went to Zambia to study, and the studies were sponsored by WCC. Coming back from a yearlong study, Ndeikwila began to involve himself in different pressure groups which were critical to the activities of SWAPO in exile. In the process, the Breaking the Wall of Silence group was formed and it was on the neck of Sam Nujoma to account for the torture and disappearance of many ex-detainees. Such kind of pressure forced the SWAPO leadership to take a stand and defend themselves against the accusations which were levelled against them. In that chapter, Ndeikwila details the experiences of some of the survivors of the dungeon and the different types of torturing methods used to force a false confession.

The book pays special attention to the contribution of three prominent figures who chose to die for the truth rather than repeating a false confession in front of a camera. The three were Kleopas Kamushinga, Tshuutheni Tshithigona and Gerhard Tjozongoro. The author then looked at the list of missing persons, the year and place where they came from, their region and the name of the prison where they were kept until they disappeared. Ndeikwila took turns to critic Nujoma's autobiography, picking up areas of discrepancy and falsification. The author took time to honour one of the forgotten heroes in the name of Clemense Kapuuu by narrating all his contributions and his efforts in liberating Namibia. In the same vein, he also gave a glimpse of the life of Tauno Hatuikulipi, how he ended up in the dungeon and was killed by his comrade after running very fast in the ranks and file of SWAPO. Before the issue of the Oshakati Bomb carnage, Ndeikwila details and explains the situation of Omugulu-gwombashe, how the first trained PLAN combatants entered Namibia and were stationed at the village of Omugulu-gwombashe, and how the attack of 26 August 1966 happened.

The author concludes his historiography with the Oshakati Bank Bomb Carnage. Here he emphasises the narrative of what happened and how people from the former Ovamboland were ignorant of the truth even after it was revealed that the perpetrator was not the South African colonial regime but one of their own, a Namibian, a SWAPO agent based on the book

which was written by Judge O' Linn in which Sheehama was reported as confessing to the crime. Because former victims and relatives of those who perished continued to direct their anger to the wrong persons, Ndeikwila took it upon himself to communicate to the church leaders and all the local radio stations through an open letter to educate them of what really happened and what was the way forward in the process of hosting their commemoration event to remember all those who died and got injured on that fateful day.

4.1.2. Synopsis of the text *SWAPO Captive*

SWAPO Captive, Oiva Angula's historiography begins by focusing on the role the author's biological father played and the contribution he gave towards the process of liberating Namibia from the colonial bandage. His father is hailed as one of the founding members of the South West Africa National Union (SWANU), Namibia's oldest political party. Werner Henry Mamugwe is said to be one of the pioneers of the black nationalists in the native land who challenged the South African rules by organising demonstrators to resist colonial policies. As the text explores the political background of the narrator's father, the author dives into his maternal background, a brief of the place where he was born, how he was raised, and he talks about his grandmother and life in Tsumeb, his uncle, aunty and his own mother who was a nurse in Grootfontein. The author mentions his maternal grandfather once, whom he describes as "a person of natural pleasantness" who was a cattle farmer before his passing on in 1967.

From there on, the text continues to narrate the nationalist activities of the narrator's father within and outside the country during the hostility of colonial subjugation. Amongst the highly notable achievements of Werner as a nationalist fighter within the country is being the organiser who provided leadership during the famous old location massacre of 1959. Prior to that, Werner played a role in convincing Van Loggerenberg, the chief of pass office to give Ya Toivo a temporary pass to spend a night in the black township of Windhoek after he was deported from Cape Town before he proceeded to Ovamboland the next day. In 1962, Mr Werner was banned from entering Namibia for his nationalist activities in Botswana. Such forced him to go into exile in Zambia and proceeded to Israel where he got a scholarship to go study. Instead, he decided to join the Israeli military training. Thereafter, he attempted to come back to Namibia and he was arrested, and taken to Robben Island in 1966. At Robben

Island, he met his fellow countrymen, the likes of Herman Ya Toivo, John Ya Otto, Jason Matumbulwa and Nathaniel Maxwilili who were part of the SWAPO leadership. On the side of SWANU, Werner found Mr Hitjevi Veii who was the deputy president and Kuaima Riruako of NUDO. After a short stay at Robben Island, Mr Werner and Mr Riruako were released and they went back to Zambia. While in Zambia, Werner relocated to Tanzania and stayed in Dar es Salaam. He moved to Uganda to study but dropped out shortly after due to political tension in Idi Amin's government. He then moved to Kenya where he stayed until 1977, the year he returned to Namibia.

The author begins with his own life experience in Namibia at the end of his father's narrative which he concluded with his death on 25 May 1998. Oiva was born and raised in Tsumeb. He started his Sub A at Reinisch Indigenous Community School now known today as Opawa Junior Secondary School. The narrator explicitly describes Tsumeb, how it came into being because of the mine, the different people who were in the town, the environment in which he grew up, the things that used to make him happy and sad as a child in Tsumeb until the time when he gained consciousness as he was growing into a young man. Martin Luthe Higher School was the epitome of nationalism in 1975, and Oiva was admitted there for his secondary school. The school shaped his black consciousness and political activism as he took part in forming the SWAPO Youth League and the Namibia Black Student Organisation (NABSO). With the help of other students, they started the boycott of the national examination in 1976 in protest against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools as well as to support their fellow students in South Africa who were killed in Soweto for rejecting Afrikaans.

After a short stay at MLH, Oiva was expelled from the school, and he began his political journey by forming the SWAPO Youth League branch in Tsumeb, mobilising and organising political gatherings. Eventually, he moved to Windhoek as an activist working with the SWAPO Youth League secretary who was a member of the National Executive of the SWAPO central committee member, Mr Nashilongo Israel Taapopi. While in Windhoek, Oiva was involved in different nationalist activities, to the extent that he travelled to Gobabis and Otjombide in the Omaheke region where they clashed with Chief Tjingaete of the Ovambanderu clan. At a rally in Ovamboland, the meeting was disrupted by the tribal police and South African Defence Forces who beat up the gathering with sjamboks while the police used tear gas. The riot

injured a lot of people who were there including Angula himself. In Windhoek, tribal tensions between Ovambo-speaking and Herero started which led to the death and injuries of people from both sides. The assassination of Paramount Chief Clemens Kapuuo ignited fresh infighting among the black communities.

In 1978, the apartheid government intensified their repression of all nationalist movements and targeted the SWAPO activists in the country. The regime banned any political gatherings and they began to arrest all the activists as they were marked as troublemakers. This situation forced Oiva to flee into exile. When he informed his father of the idea, he was advised to remain in the country but his mother suggested otherwise. With the blessings from his mother, Oiva left Namibia through the Namibia and Angola border with the help of different actors who helped him and his friend to cross the border under the shadow of the night. Only when he arrived in Angola did he realise the seriousness of war and its effects after passing through the town of Ondjiva on their way to Lubango. The road surface was horrendously potholed and pitted with bomb crates, and the broken tar had been cut into knife-like ridges by tank tracks. Also, he saw blitzed troop carriers and tanks, relics of a great battle fought against the SADF in 1974. At Xangongo, he saw a ten-year-old girl who had been crippled in a rocket blast that killed both her parents and a middle-aged man who had lost his two limbs in combat for the MPLA. A few days in Angola, they received the news about the attack on Cassinga camp in which 800 Namibians were killed while the other 200 SWAPO members who were captured alive were taken to Oshakati for torture and interrogation. The preconceived idea about life in Angola that Oiva had begun to crumble as he observed the brutal reality of war. After reaching Lubango, he was transferred to Tobias Hainyeko Training Centre for basic military training which he welcomed with an open heart.

As the military training went on, the narrator began to sense the rigid atmosphere and life within SWAPO camps, their authoritarian flare and their political dogma coupled with its propaganda antics which was the lifestyle and order of doing things in the rank and file of SWAPO leadership including PLAN leaders. People lived in fear of being accused as the enemy or being spies of the Boers. Such a situation did not sit well with the author but he had no option but to adapt to his new environment. In a short period of time, he was selected to go to school in Europe's Bulgaria, a communist state, and he was excited by the news. After his return from Europe, he was accused of being a spy and he was arrested with six other

instructors for a period of one month before he was exonerated by the team which came to investigate the matter from the Defence Headquarters (DHQ) under the leadership of Commissar Hatuikulipi.

The author narrated how the South African Defence Force intensified their operational attacks on SWAPO camps, leading to territorial gains in Angola which caught SWAPO and PLAN leaders off-guard, forcing them into an unplanned reaction to counterfight the well-equipped SADF. In the process, SWAPO lost a lot of PLAN fighters including their top Military leaders, the likes of Peter Nanyemba, Helao Nafidi, Augustinus Nghaamwa and others. The defeat on the battlefield sent a shock wave of paranoia and delusion in the thinking of SWAPO leadership including its PLAN leaders who suspected everyone of being a spy and informer of the SADF. They could not accept that their defeat was caused by the tactical superiority of their opponents and because they lacked strategic planning from their end in engaging the enemy. They thought otherwise, and they began to turn against their own comrades including the narrator himself. He was arrested for the second time and things were very bad from there onwards.

The narrator elaborates on how he was arrested and taken to the screening base, the centre where the security service used to make their life-and-death decisions over their fellow comrades who were suspected of being South African spies. Oiva was taken there and his endless suffering began when Kauaya punched him in the mouth causing a serious cut to his upper lips which led to profuse bleeding. The narrator was repeatedly tortured to the point of nearly dying before he decided to play along with his tormentors in order to survive by telling a false confession that he was a South African spy. Thereafter, he was taken to Etale (swamp) dungeon pit which was harsher than other dungeons. It was crowded with other prisoners, they were commissars and PLAN combatants who were accused and branded as spies. While there, he came to be reunited with some of his former schoolmates from Martin Luther Higher School such as Bobby Khamo. The narrator was not only beaten to confess if he was a spy but he was also forced to implicate some of his friends who were members of the SYL and schoolmates at MLH. A list of names used to be read to him to identify other spies from the list, and failure to comply meant that the torture would begin and go on and on. One of the persons he was beaten to implicate was Kakune Kandjavera. In order to save his own life and upon the counselling of his fellow dungeon inmates, he gave in and at the same time,

he came to save Kakune from further torture by confessing on his behalf that they were trained together as spies.

Angula further alludes that some of his fellow dungeon inmates died due to lack of medical attention or negligence when they got sick of malaria or other illnesses caused by a lack of a healthy balanced diet and poor living conditions with no hygiene. In 1986, fear of death became the order of the year as dungeon inmates were dying one after the other while the other prisoners looked on helplessly. Sometimes, they would be appointed to go and bury their fellow inmates in a shallow and unmarked grave. The world church leaders were aware of the situation at the Lubango Dungeons but they kept silent. Sometimes, the church leaders sent their delegates to investigate but they were outplayed by SWAPO leadership by not taking them to those secret dungeons.

Oiva's historiography has the character of a Cinderella story, as it has a happy ending. After all the ordeals which the narrator had to go through from the beginning, in the end, he got his freedom back, both from the dungeon and the colonial regime which occupied Namibia. It was a happy ending even though he left behind some of his comrades who were still detained and those who perished and got buried in shallow and unmarked graves. Angula was fortunate that he came back home to an understanding family who welcomed him wholeheartedly without antagonising and rejecting him. His parents understood the political dynamics of the time compared to other ex-detainees who were disowned by their parents due to the stigma labelled against them as traitors and sell-outs of the struggle.

4.2. Identifying various forms of oppression as portrayed in the two autobiographies

This first part of the research section deals with identifying various forms of oppression which Namibian people were subjected to by the colonialists as well as by fellow Namibians as narrated by the two authors in their autobiographies. The two autobiographies are historic in their setup, where they express their personal experience of colonialism, which encompass oppression, physical and psychological torture, injustice from the draconian laws of apartheid and the issue of infiltration, the spy drama within the ranks and file of PLAN combatants and SWAPO as a movement during their time in exile. The narrators of the two autobiographies were subjected to inhuman treatment. All this happened because the African continent was

and is part and parcel of the global village and it was tasked with responsibility, a part to play in contributing towards building the global village. Ocheni and Nwankwo (2012) state that the African states had a vital role in the international world economy. The continent was the dominant source of raw materials and a major consumer of European manufactured products. Such was the result of prolonged years of colonial dominance, exploitation and imperialism.

The first kind of oppression experienced by Namibian people based on the narrative of Ndeikwila's text, *Agony of Truth* came when there was a sense of clash between the Western religion, Christianity, against the African ethos and customs. The African tradition and culture began to suffer stagnation and deprivations of growth in favour of the Christian creeds. Sepota (1998) was correct when he argued that "from one country to another, Christianity and western culture have been eroding African culture to such extent that most Africans today find themselves on the horns of dilemma". In the text, Ndeikwila's father was subjected to emotional torture as he was isolated, and silenced as he was excommunicated and abandoned in the cold, away from a community organisation which gave his life a meaningful purpose by being a member of it. The Lutheran Church of Nakayale started the act of silencing or being silent on issues that needed a voice. It happened to Ndeikwila's father because of his decision to marry someone who was not a member of the church and, to make it worse, not baptised.

My father was baptised in the Lutheran Church as a grown-up boy and named himself Tobias. My mother, however, was not baptised at the time of their traditional marriage. This led to my father's excommunication from the Lutheran Church at Nakayale, because marrying an unbaptised woman in accordance with the local tradition was not acceptable to the church. On the Sunday of his excommunication, my father was made to sit outside the church building, while the bell was being rung slowly and rhythmically. Inside the church building, the congregation was singing a mournful excommunication hymn. However, my mother eventually also got baptised and named herself Emilia. My father's membership of the Church was restored and he became as active as before. For many years he served as secretary and bookkeeper of the Nakayale Lutheran Church Congregation. (Ndeikwila, 2019, p. 3)

Ndeikwila indirectly elaborated on how Christianity played a role in oppressing Namibians in their own land. Bourdillon (1960, P. 269) explains that although the task of missionaries was to evangelise the people, Christianity was unnecessarily turned into an ideology which was used to lay the ground for white domination. Religion was used to legitimise, sustain and even

promote political oppression. Nkomazana and Setume (2019) are in support when they wrote that the Western missionaries believed that traditional religious beliefs and practices were inferior, and together with the traditional customs, had to be done away with before the acceptance of Christianity. Ndeikwila's father suffered emotional torture as he was humiliated in front of others by letting him sit outside the church building, completely rejected while his congregation sang a mourning hymn for him as if he were dead. This psychological mistreatment forced Ndeikwila's mother to convert to Christianity by being baptised and eventually abandoning anything African. The use of Christianity to oppress Africans is one of the various forms that the colonial masters deployed to assert their authority over the natives. Religion and its leadership were and still, a powerful member of our society and the global space. One such demonstration of their power is when they took the South African regime to court and won the case at the peak of the liberation war, forcing the regime government to release 36 PLAN fighters who were captured and detained after the Cassinga massacre.

Through the CCN, Bishop Kleopas Dumeni of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia, Archbishop Boniface Haushiku of the Roman Catholic Church and Bishop James Kauluma of the Anglican Diocese of Namibia engaged the service of the law firm Lowretz & Bone to bring a civil court application before the court, together with the relatives of the detainees in question. Respondents were the South African Ministry of Defence, the Minister of Justice and the South African Administrator-General in Namibia. (Ndeikwila, 2019, p. 110).

The power within the church and church leaders forced political actors of different backgrounds to seek close association with the church and its leaders. In the end, the political leaders manipulated the church through hook or crook and weaponize it, turning them to work in their favour or advantage. *Agony of Truth* further discloses how SWAPO used the congregation of the ELCIN Church and their leaders in Namibia to collaborate with it by being tight-lipped on the physical and emotional abuse of power which SWAPO leaders were doing in exile on their fellow Namibians.

From Finland, Reverend Salatiel Ailonga wrote a letter to his Church (ELCIN) leadership, explaining the worsening situation of Namibians who had started killing fellow Namibians in Zambia. Reverend Ailonga pleaded with ELCIN to intervene so that no more life will be lost. The letter was written 24 May 1977, addressed to Bishop Leonard Auala. Copies of this letter were also sent to the ELCIN in Windhoek and the LWF in Geneva. Apparently, the ELCIN leadership at Oniipa kept this urgent letter to

itself; it was not taken for discussion at any church gathering. Another unpleasant piece of information we received in Nairobi was that, when the ELCIN delegation, led by Bishop Leornard Auala, visited the Namibian refugee camp at Nyango camp in Zambia and conducted a worship church service there, a choir made a big show by rendering several chorus songs. The ELCIN delegation was tour-guided by SWAPO officials who made sure that the refugees could not speak freely with the visitors. However, it was said after the service, one choir member hurriedly manages to whisper into Bishop Leonard Auala's ear "We are prisoners!". (Ndeikwila, 2019, pp, 71-72)

The ELCIN church was at the centre of oppressing Namibians with its act of seeing nothing hearing nothing, and being silent while Namibians were being brutalised by their fellow Namibians in exile. Even after some of their members and senior members of the church wrote to them informing them of such, the leadership looked the other side and kept quiet. The act of ignorance or being silent while you have the power to alter the status quo is a clear method of oppressing an individual psychologically. Regenmorter (2011) states that only hurried parents who believe that silence is golden, he explains that silence can be beautiful, but it can also be ugly. Silence can wreak more havoc than words can ever match. Silence can cut sharper than a knife and pierce the heart more keenly than an arrow. Frederick (dd) asserts that silence denies the person the needed communication and support as it causes cognitive dissonance. It also betrays the person's trust which can cause anxiety and depression, as the victim will think that it's their fault. The above quote from *Agony of Truth* informs this research on how the church oppressed Namibians with its silent act on pressing matters which needed its voice and action to bring about an end to some atrocities suffered by innocent Namibians. Reverend Salatiel Ailonga communicated to the church leadership, that one of the choir members took the risk of her life to inform Bishop Auala, but that sacrifice fell on deaf ears, causing more damage to the victims who were hoping for assistance. With all cutting-edge evidence at the disposal of the church, they opted to lie to the masses of Namibian people that everything was well with the leadership of SWAPO and the people under its care in exile.

Apparently, Bishop Auala's delegation did not convey this crucial information either, namely that there were Namibian prisoners in exile, to the congregation inside Namibia. What the congregations were told was that the ELCIN had followed its members into exile and that they were doing very well and sent warm greetings back home. (Ndeikwila, 2019, p. 72)

The church and its congregation inflicted more pain leading to the loss of life of many Namibians during the liberation struggle, when decisions of life and death are needed, any delays will result in great damage which rested on the shoulders of the church leaders, where their noble action could have saved many Namibian lives. Attie Beukes and Erica Beukes were among the people who suffered from the silence and isolation type of oppression within the borders of Namibian land. This treatment was done to them by their fellow Namibians, ordinary and church leaders. It all began when the two decided to lead the Parents Committee campaigning against the detention, disappearance and killing of their sons and relatives by fellow Namibians in exile. The author of the text was complicit in being silent at the time when his voice was needed, Ndeikwila deliberately kept quiet to protect himself from the repercussions of what was coming afterwards. "I observed a situation where some Namibians avoided being seen with Attie and Erica and talking to them" (Ndeikwila, 2019, p. 117). With all his education, experience and the importance of what the Parent Committee were fighting for, Ndeikwila held back to watch from a distance.

The course I attended in Geneva emphasized that Christian discipleship in practice demands standing up against all forms of injustice, including violation of human rights, regardless of who the perpetrator or victim is. With this teaching in mind, the courage of my fellow Christians in the Parent Committee placed me in a serious dilemma. On one hand, I knew that what they stood for was justifiable and that I should support them publicly. On the other hand, I knew that SWAPO would link up with Namibian church leaders to publicly discredit the Parent Committee. It was thus clear to me that the Parents Committee's cause would meet strong obstacles in the medium term. In view of my envisaged task ahead, namely helping to establish a strong pressure movement inside Namibia, I chose not to support the Committee publicly lest I jeopardise what I intended to achieve (Ndeikwila, 2019, p. 116).

Ndeikwila had no tangible or noble task which prevented him neither kept him away from doing the right thing. He claimed that he was busy establishing a pressure group which was never mentioned in the text throughout. The only pressure group which faced SWAPO was the Parent Committee. Ndeikwila confessed, regretting his action when he realised the damage his action caused to Namibians who needed help should he avail his support, little as it was. "As I was listening and watching. I felt guilty that I had not supported the Parent Committee publicly" (Ndeikwila, 2019, p. 119).

4.2.1 Restriction of movements

South West Africa (now Namibia), under the apartheid regime, had to endure the pass law which served as an internal passport system which was designed to racially segregate the population, restrict the movement of a group of individuals, and allocate low-wage migrant labour. Also known as the natives law, these laws severely restricted the movements of Black Namibians and other racial groups by confining them to designated areas (Greg, 1991).

The pass law policy of apartheid subjugated many Namibians, both young and old, the young Namibians suffered by enduring the Bantu education system, while the elders through a contract labour system. Kandumbu (2005) writes that the Bantu education was a component part of the apartheid policy that was designed to foster and inculcate a passive acceptance of racial inferiority amongst black people while accommodating the myth of white superiority. Apartheid is the ideological and legal basis for the inequalities in access to education and culture and interferes with scientific development and freedom of information (UNESCO, 1968, p. 15). The above is the basis on which Ndeikwila and five (5) of his fellow schoolmates decided to drop out of school at Ongwediva Boys' School in 1965 to sneak out of the country in exile in search of better education to fulfil their dreams of becoming educated individuals. Ndeikwila (2019) writes, "at school, Agriculture was one of my favourite subjects. My ambition in life was therefore to study and become a veterinary surgeon to improve livestock farming in Owambo" (p. 11).

Because of the restriction of movement without a permit or passport, Ndeikwila and his five mates had to take the risky and dangerous journey of walking from Owamboland to Kavangoland, walking at night to avoid detection. At some point in their journey, they came across a lion: "At one stage, it was still dark, a few meters away from us a lion was walking in the same direction parallel to our footpath for some distance. It started threatening us with its growling voice and flickering eyes" (Ndeikwila, 2019, p. 13).

Angula (2018) says that the pass law system was one of the most hateful tools used by the apartheid regime. He explains that the pass document was like a passport. It was a compulsory document which every black person had to carry around. If by any chance you leave/forget it at home, you are going to end up at the police station and can be jailed for such.

The Group Area Act of 1950 assigned each classified race - Bantu (Black African), White (descendants of the Dutch and other European settlers) and Coloured (of mixed race)- to different residential and business sections in urban areas. It was a policy aimed at keeping blacks away from urban centres. It stifled the growth and prosperity of the African majority, and the attendant contract labour system wrecked black families. (Angula, 2018, p. 18)

With a passbook, the regime controlled the movement of black people, they knew where you were going because it was them to give you permission to go where you wanted to go based on the provided valid reason, if the reason is not valid, you are not allowed to go. That simply means that black people were not given the freedom to travel and mingle even with their relatives who lived in different regions or towns. The apartheid government allowed people to move only for contract labour work, having a work permit and within the specific territory, black Namibians, both young and old felt like they were treated worse than animals, they felt as if they were caged in one place and their movement monitored like they were children. This way, they wanted to keep native Namibians away from each other, because if they were to meet constantly, they could discuss and share ideas about the unfair treatment that they were going through, and also to depopulate them in the township where whites were living. This restriction kept blacks far from the white residents and part of the town was demarcated as for whites only.

At night, the municipal policemen would rudely wake us up, looking for 'illegal aliens'- black with no 'official' permission to stay in Tsumeb. The night raid was known as *Klopjag*. This experience built in me a feeling of hatred for apartheid, which was declared a crime against humanity by the UN. With time, it became intolerable to live and grow up in a land of enormous wealth and striking poverty, divided along racial lines and made worse by a repressive political order. (Angula, 2018, p. 19)

The restriction of movement was reinforced by continuous patrol and raids to see to it that no illegal person was in town or had violated the pass law, they knew that black people would illegally move from one part of the country to another in the cover of the night. To discourage such activity from happening, the apartheid regime deployed various spies or police informers to tip them off if there was some suspicious activity taking place.

One day, when I came home from visiting friends and relatives, I found Kuku ruffled. Pulling a pipe from a leather pouch that had seen better days, she said, 'The police came here asking for you'

My mind raced desperately over what could be wrong, it was not long before a white van screeched to a halt at our house.

A white Special Branch officer was seated behind the steering wheel. Beside him was Nicky Gurirab, a black police informer.

'You are wanted at the police office,' said Gurirab.

'By whom and for what? I blurted out.

'The baas wants to ask your question about the school boycott' Gurirab said (Angula, 2018, p. 30).

Angula was a small-time individual, a school-going child, people would not notice his movement, especially the police if it was not for the informers who were all over, as stated above Gurirab was a well-known informer to the extent of delivering the news to Angula while his boss was sited behind the steering wheel. Informers or spy networks did not only target ordinary natives like Gurirab, but even respected people in the black community were turned into informers. Chief Eliphas Tjingaete the leader of Ovambanderu tribe was one such informer who could go to the extent of telling lies to the apartheid authority about people leaving the country illegally. We could later discover that after speaking to us, the chief telephoned Captain Attie Nel of the Special Branch of the police at Gobabis, claiming that we wanted to cross the border illegally to Botswana.' When the group of three were taken to Otjimbinde to meet Chief Tjingaete, he retorted about the issue of pass laws for their movement, he said 'What are you doing in our land without our permission?' It was no longer the responsibility of the white South Africans who enforced the pass law but of black leadership themselves.

4.2.2. Lack of freedom and democracy

The democratic rights of Namibians were removed from them during the apartheid era. SAHO (2019) has it that South African apartheid laws were extended to Namibia from South Africa which prevented black Namibians from having any political rights as well as restricted them from social and economic freedoms. South Africa's rule over Namibia aimed to exploit the mineral resources of white South Africa. South Africa was not targeting mineral resources only but human capital as well, in which they exploited workers through a contract labour system. They had in place the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WENELA) which was located in Rundu in Kavangoland and the South West African Native Labour Association

(SWANLA) which was in Owamboland. The labour organisation helped in the physical abuse of Namibians. Bote (2017) explains that labour-hire is the practice of hiring out employees to clients by a labour broker. That practice has been a part of Namibia's history since the early 1900s in the form of the contract labour system. He further wrote that this form of employment was characterized by inhumanity and unfair labour practices. These employees were subjected to harsh working conditions, inhumane living conditions and influx control. Bote writes that the contract labour system continued until 1977, when it was abolished by the General Law Amendment Proclamation of 1977. It was during the 1990s that the hiring out of employees returned in the form of labour hire. It continued in this form without being regulated until it was banned in the Namibian Labour Act of 2007.

After escaping Owamboland, Ndeikwila and his team joined the WENELA labour organisation in Rundu, for them to exit the country peacefully, they have to pretend like young men who were waiting for recruitment. In the process, Ndeikwila had a first-hand experience of human right violation which use to take place during the recruitment process and the condition in the mines. Here is Ndeikwila's encounter with WENELA labour inspector Mr Markus Ihemba.

On the selection day, we went through the routine of an extremely dehumanising selection process that every Black prospective recruit had to undergo, when he wanted to work in the mine in South Africa. We were all ordered to assemble at one place and strip stark naked as we entered a specious hall without any furniture. Markus Ihemba and another 'health inspector,' dressed in long white coats, shouted at us to run around fast inside the hall for not less than fifteen minutes. Some people started coughing and vomiting and were shown the door to leave the hall. Next, we were ordered to jump high for less than fifteen minutes. One 'health inspector' used a long, small stick to inspect whether the tip of one's penis was emitting liquid, a sign of some venereal disease infection. Anyone whose penis released liquid was shown the way out of the hall. Lastly, we were all ordered to face the wall, open our legs wide and bend forward with our hands placed against the wall. The 'health inspectors' were then peeping and ascertaining that one's anus did not have any sores' which was also a sign of some disease. Anyone whose anus had sores was shown the way out of the hall (Ndeikwila, 2019, p. 16).

Whether it is health related activities or medical attention, privacy is of paramount importance in human life. To strip a group of people of different age groups, young and old in one hall and subject them to animal like inspection is psychological oppressing. Ndeikwila and his friends were very young, school going children, and yet they were mixed in the group of old people and they had forced them to see the private parts or the nakedness of older

men at their tender age which can result into psychological effect of both the young boys and the older men. An old person is likely to lose his self-esteem over a young person who has seen his naked body and who has seen him being embarrassed in front of people who are junior to him. The African customs that value its tradition and culture, it is a taboo for a child to see the nakedness of someone old enough to be his/her father.

Meanwhile, SWAPO, the nationalist movement adapted the autocratic leadership style to govern its members and fellow Namibians who were under its care in exile. The movement's first show of authoritarian and intolerable tendencies of oppressive nature was the arrest of Mutwa and Tongo who had a genuine case and wanted a solution from the leadership of SWAPO in Dar-es-Salaam. Based on the writing of Ndeikwila, the two were not any threat to the leadership and neither the movement as a whole.

At Kongwa, the Caprivian group felt that in SWAPO they were not accorded the welcome and respect they deserved. They gained the impression that they were treated as outsiders and started blaming themselves for dissolution of CANU. Tension started building between Caprivian Cadres and the camp commanders who were all Aawambo. I was informed that Mutwa and Tongo travelled to Dar-es-Salaam to communicate the grievances of their group to SWAPO leadership. As a response, SWAPO asked the Tanzanian government to arrest Mutwa and Tongo, accusing them of being the ring-leaders of what they called the 'Caprivi' Revolt' (Ndeikwila, 2019, p. 23).

Based on the above, one can tell that the SWAPO leadership lacked freedom of speech and self-expression. There was no democracy within the leadership of the party. Lack of freedom and democracy led to a catastrophic outcome in which PLAN combatants and party members were arrested left right and centre without being accorded the platform to be heard if the crime they were accused of was factual. Within SWAPO there were no trials or an opportunity to be heard if you were accused, and also there was no independent investigator to look into the plight of Namibians who were accused of heinous offences like being rebellious or revolting just like what Mutwa and Tongo were accused of. Based on the narrative, after they were accused, the two were arrested and thrown into jail without trial which is tantamount to inhumane treatment of fellow countrymen and women. Ndeikwila further elaborated that 'I had good friends amongst the Zambezian cadres who told me that they were bitter about the arbitrary arrest and imprisonment without trial of their leaders.'

It is said that the two leaders were kept in Keko prison for two years before they were joined by another group of eight Namibians and they were jailed for another two years before they were released and transported to Moshi. This all happened without being charged or finding them guilty of anything. They were just abused and mistreated as pleased by the top leadership within the SWAPO top echelon. Anyone who questioned or brought in a progressive suggestion of how things should be in the organisation, especially if that person was of a junior rank within the structures of the leadership, that person was dealt with accordingly. That person would be accused of being a rebel or a spy to justify whatever they would do to that person. In most cases, especially at the earliest moments of the movement while they were still in Tanzania, the SWAPO top leadership worked hand in hand with the Tanzanian army and government to oppress its own people. That is how Ndeikwila ended up being in detention because of thinking out aloud his ideas with the intention of helping the military wing of SWAPO by being innovative which would boost their morale as they trained and planned the war of liberation.

In Dar-es-Salaam, Lt Muchongo parked his military Land rover outside the SWAPO office, left us in the vehicle and took a copy of the memorandum into the office. However, Peter Nanyemba and Moses Garoeb refused to see us, alleging that we were rebels. No discussion took place between us and the political leadership. Instead, they asked the Tanzanian government to arrest us and signed for our detention, as we were informed later (Ndeikwila, 2019, pp. 36-37).

The lack of democracy and transparency within SWAPO resulted into a revolt. People felt the oppression and it is natural that when a people are subjugated, oppressed and mistreated, they will always revolt and fight back to free themselves or try by all means to change the status quo of their condition. The resistance that Namibians showed to the South African regime with their apartheid policy was the same that they showed to SWAPO in exile in trying to free themselves from the shackles and faces of oppression and dictatorship rule. A serious engagement and demand for democracy and transparency came about when a great number of SWAPO Youth league leadership and cadres went to join the mother body in exile right after they were elected into leadership positions inside Namibia. Ndeikwila puts forth the shenanigans which happened in Zambia for all to see as he narrated the details as follows:

Early in 1976, we in Nairobi learned of an open conflict among Namibians in Zambia. Those who had left the country in 1974, almost all of them youth, demanded a congress to be held in order to remedy the situation within the party, while those who

had been in exile longer, the “old guard”, resisted. We were informed that the first and last meeting was held in March 1975. (Ndeikwila, 2019, p. 56)

The above speaks about the yearning for democracy and inclusivity of the young generation into the leadership structure of the mother body of SWAPO which the “old guard” refused to entertain for fear of losing their positions. Their refusal is a signal of dictatorship and the authoritarian leadership of one-man rule by imposing leadership over the people against their will. The call for a congress was to elect new leadership and discuss issues of policy as a collective. The Oxford English Dictionary (2024) defines a congress as a formal meeting or assembly of delegates or representatives for the discussion or settlement of some question; specifically with regards to politics, involving envoys, deputies, or plenipotentiaries representing sovereign states, or of sovereigns themselves, for the settlement of international affairs. Also, it can be defined as an annual or periodical meeting or series of meetings of some association or society, or of persons engaged in special studies, such as Social Science Congress, Congress of Orientalists. That democratic process was denied by the top leadership of SWAPO from taking place in favour of autocratical process.

The youth realized that the term of office both of the Central Committee and Executive Committee had expired. Hence the youth’s demand for the party congress was overdue. In December 1975, the youth sent another letter to the Executive Committee, underlining their demand to hold the long overdue congress. All these activities culminated in the Youth League officials being barred from entering the SWAPO Office in the Liberation Centre. They had to operate from the Youth House at Libala instead. Not much later, the Youth Office was raided and cleared of everything by a group of people led by Maxton Joseph Mutongolume (Ndeikwila, 2019, p. 56).

As the pressure was mounting within the liberation movement from the side of the youth and a certain section of PLAN fighters, the top brass within SWAPO came to intensify their suppression and crackdown on those who wanted freedom and congress or just a platform to air their concern in the best interest of the liberation struggle, to the extent of raiding and vandalising the offices of the SPY leadership. Some senior members who were sympathetic with the youth were rounded up by the Zambian soldiers and thrown into the detention camp without trials. The senior SWAPO leaders were Andreas Shipanga, Salomon Mifima and Sakaia Shikomba who were arrested on the request of Sam Nujoma himself.

SWAPO Captive (2018) illustrates the thwarting and suffocation of democracy within Namibians who were in exile by the use of rigid, autocratic, propagandistic, idealistic, and

intolerant approaches by the leadership of SWAPO and PLAN commanders in Lubango and elsewhere. On that note, Angula articulates that the leadership demanded from its followers, fighters and recruits unquestionable loyalty to SWAPO and Sam Nujoma, and all their songs were supposed to glorify the movement and the Commander-in-Chief who was Sam Nujoma. “Fresh political thinking was not tolerated. Thinking for one self was deemed suspicious. Individual self-expression was taboo” (Angula, 2018, p. 59). In that manner, SWAPO became an authoritarian cartel and they were far worse than the apartheid regime which was governing Namibia as they (apartheid) at least allowed freedom of expression and could entertain different opinions and political views as long as one did not propagate violence. If one takes the narrative of Nashilongo when he engaged with Chief Tjingaete at Otjimbinde, it tells that the South Africans were more humane as they allowed political freedom to thrive, and the room for one to express himself/herself was availed to the black citizens as well. Nashilongo responded to Chief Tjingaete’s question of what they were doing in his territory by saying that “We came to conduct peaceful political work,’ SWAPO is not a banned organisation. The law allows us to do peaceful political work among all Namibians” (Angula, 2018, p. 35). When Nashilongo uttered those words, it was in the presences of Captain Attie Nel, the police officer from the Special Branch in Namibia stationed at Gobabis.

Namibians who were in exile, in countries like Zambia, Tanzania and Angola, under the care of their own black leaders, were not accorded that platform, neither the space to engage with their leaders in a robust debate of sharing ideas and points of view like how the apartheid government was conducting itself inside the country. Exile was supposed to be a safe haven for many black nationalists as they were amongst their own kind. They were supposed to create a conducive environment for comradeship, brotherhood and sisterhood to thrive, but the outcome was opposite to what many, especially those with a better educational background, those who understood the political climatic of the time found. When Angula went into exile, he had a clear understanding of what was at stake and his mind was prepared both philosophically and realistically. He explicitly expressed his wisdom by saying that;

Yet, I did not glorify war as sport. I believed that the armed struggle was a tactical necessity in the context of our political situation. I held onto the timeless words of Frantz Fanon in his 1963 work. *The Wretched of the Earth*; ‘At the level of individuals, violence is a cleansing force. It frees the natives from his inferiority complex and from

his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restore his self-respect. (Angula, 20218, p. 57)

Philosophically, Angula understood the assignment which was before him, simply because of his educational background and political consciousness. He was vastly exposed to the internal politics of Namibia before going into exile. Therefore, he had his vision and expectations of what exile should be and do to the liberation struggle. As much as he tried his best to adapt to the new reality, the reality on the ground was farfetched. This was expressed in the following words, “I adapted quickly to my new life and took each day as it came” (Angula, 2018, p. 58). That is how much effort he invested in the struggle to make things work but it was not going tough due to the absence a friendly atmosphere of freedom and inclusivity and collective decision making. He shared his frustration this way: “But Lubango was different from what I had expected. There was lack of recognition for individuals outside the rank and file” (Angula, 2018, pp. 58-59). The climate was very different and the way of doing things was different from what he knew before going into exile. In exile PLAN leaders respected the rank of a person more than his intellectual contribution.

He explained his view by saying that: “In my mind, the focus of the revolution was supposed to be more on cultivating the unbreakable loyalty to the struggle by ensuring that we fighters had high morale and knew why we were fighting’ (Angula, 2018, p. 59). Unfortunately, there was no room for fresh ideas, opinions and advice, in the end, all his well calculated problem-solving ideas could not be passed across to help the struggle. Alternatively, according to Angula’s observation, the SWAPO and PLAN commanders diverted their emphasis on enforcing rigid behaviours among combatants, reinforced by strict controls and authoritarian command structures. Angula further criticises them that;

Discipline and control measure were meant to bound recruits in fetters of steel in all they did and thought. Propaganda lessons were aimed at drumming into new arrivals a distorted view of the world, properly trimmed to suit the whims of those in commanding position. (Angula, 2018, p. 59)

Angula was a smart combatant. He read different philosophical books and he could tell every step which the commanders were taking and analysed it as in whose interest this or that action was served. A majority of the recruits were from the village where some of them were only cattle herders. They never went to school and could not tell that they were being

subjugated and turned into remote controlled beings to think and say what their commander wanted them to say and they did not have to use their own head and brain. Angula (2018) explains this in this way:

They wanted us to inhale dogma and slogans with every breath we drew. Recruits started to learn to like and to do only what they were allowed to like and do. It was the question of big brother's voice resounding in all the little brothers. In Lubango, difference of opinion was a crime. Conformity with the official stance was the price of life. (p. 59).

The exile life became unbearable and it began to wear Angula down mentally as it was hard to adapt to a lifestyle which was similar and worse than the one they were fighting against in Namibia. It began to affect him psychologically. Such a situation made him to say the following: "During my life in exile, I was confronted by a stern reality and mental battle between thought control and my standard of decency, conscience and dignity" (Angula, 2018, p. 59). The effects of the authoritarian leadership was felt by a lot of young PLAN fighters as they were psychologically tormented, threatened and abused in the process. Those who were in higher ranks and positions of authority began to abuse their power because there were no checks and balance. No one dared to ask them any question or challenge their decision as the fear of being labelled as a spy or enemy agent became the new normal in exile. To that effect, Angula (2018) puts forth his observation that because of a flawed leadership style, serious errors were made within the organisation. He as well noted that the democratic centralism was not fully practiced within SWAPO and such practice hindered the building of a truly revolutionary movement. He writes that ordinary PLAN fighters were treated like sheep that had to submit to the authority of the shepherd, with little to no right to question their lot. Such an environment produced authoritarianism which was neither earned nor fully supported by the masses of Namibians in exile. At some point, Angula tried to challenge the authoritarian structure, to break it down and bring in a little bit of free thinking and expression of thought to any topic under discussion, and to encourage an open engagement approach with the leadership. Such an attempt was thwarted with the strongest and serious warning which left him speechless and confused. Angula narrated the ordeal and how it unfolded as follows:

One day, we were listening to a political lecture on the Soviet Union and the liberation struggle in Africa, Asia and Latin America by a Soviet commissar known only by his Russian name, Oleg. The KGB man was full of praise for the 'selfless' support given by his government and party to liberation movement around the world.

'I do not understand this at all,' I interrupted. 'Why is the Soviet Union propping up the regime of King Hassan II at the expense of the Polisario comrade in Western Sahara? What has happened to your policy of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism with regard to the Sahrawi people?.....'

'Do not ever ask me those question. I am not a diplomat. I am a soldier,' Oleg said through an interpreter, he gazed at me with half-closed eyes and added: You hear me? You ever dare and I will report it to the DHQ. You must restrict yourself to the subject matter.

I was honestly puzzled and I laughed. That was the biggest mistake to laugh. The Soviet instructor reported the matter to the DHQ political department.

'I understand you asked question that angered the Soviet comrades,' the DHQ chief commissar stated when we met a week later. 'Be careful. They are sensitive to such question.'

'Yes, comrade commissar,' I said, hopelessly disappointed. I thought that I was that close to the truth.'

'But always better to be careful,' he counselled. (Angula, 2018, pp. 78-79)

As if the above was not enough, Angula made another deliberate attempt to break protocol and squeeze freedom of expression into the ranks and file of the movement, to speak his mind and give advice at the same time. That second attempt provoked the higher authority to pay him a special visit as his sleeping quarters and they threatened him. It was a show of strength, to tell him who is the boss and how far the commanders were willing to go to maintain the status quo and suppress any attempt of changing the *modus operandi*. Angula was told what would follow next if he will not stop with his attitude.

At the meeting, I spoke out on two issues that troubled me. The first was the habits of the senior staff to grab 'luxury' food items supplied to the centre, while the instructors where mostly left to fend for themselves. The other matter was the programme for political education of trainees. Only 30 per cent of the time allocated for SWAPO politics and Namibian history, while 70 per cent was reserved for Soviet history and geography. I found this unacceptable.

As a PLAN member, I was open and honest about issue. I believed that when something is wrong, I should say so. I soon learned to mind my own business when the camp commander, Lukas 'Fugu' Hangula, paid me an unusual visit one evening. 'I am told that you are trying to incite others,' he charged.

'Who, how?' I asked.

'Other instructors.'

I sat wordless on the far side of the dugout.

'What do you mean, comrade commander?' I finally managed to ask.

He opened his mouth, shaking his head. 'You must stop,' he said. 'The chief of staff did not like what you said at the meeting. You must stop.'

I looked at the commander and cracked up laughing. 'I was merely raising concerned shared by instructors!' I said.

'But it is none of your business. Who asked you to talk about theses?'

I was nonplussed. 'Yes, all right commander,' I said. 'But there is a general feeling of resentment....'

The camp commander paused and sank into thought. Then he said. 'I am here to warn you. You better shut up, or perhaps you want to join your friend Beni Petrus?'

'What about Beni, comrade commander?'

'You really want to know?' He voiced his reply in a hushed tone. Then he hurried out of my bunker with a 'Good night, commissar!'" (Angula, 2018, pp. 79-80)

The above demonstrates a clear cut dictatorship characters and the end result that happens if authoritarian is allowed to flourish in any establishment. It begins to make people hallucinate and lose trust in people that are supposed to be brother and sister in arms, including harmless comments or discussions, and it brings a sense of insecurity in an environment. Paranoia began to take the centre stage and play a major role in self-destruction.

4.3. Examining the terrifying stories of betrayal and torture in the two autobiographies

Reyes (n.d.) once said that the hardest lessons in life is letting go, whether it's guilt, anger, love, loss or betrayal. Reyes further proffers that change is never easy, therefore, people fight to hold on and they fight to let go, if you've been hurt until it breaks your soul into pieces, your perspective in life will definitely change, and no one and nothing in this world could ever hurt you again. It is equally true, for the saying that betrayal, torture and terrifying stories were part of the price that Africans paid in the process of liberating the continent of Africa from colonialism.

Colonialism and oppression of a people cannot take place successfully if the colonised or oppressed people are not aiding colonialists through betraying one another. Therefore, the case of the liberation struggle in Namibia was no different, as some Namibians collaborated with the coloniser voluntarily and knowingly while others did so unaware or against their will. The first case in which Namibians betrayed others unknowingly was the case in which a group of local black people in the Kavango region were organised to be on alert to help the colonial regime of South Africa to apprehend the second group of South West Africa Liberation Army

(SWALA). Ndeikwila (2019) expressed this concern this way, “the group eventually arrived in Kavango near Rundu on 23 March 1966. When they entered Rundu, the police and local askaris were put on full alert and police vans were driving up and down” (p, 250). Without the help of the local people who turned against their own and fellow black Namibians, the apartheid regime could not have managed to arrest the Liberation army simply because the population of White South African in Namibia was very less compared to the natives. It is impossible for them to control the entire borders of Namibia even the remote part from the densely populated places like town and villages. To affirm this perspective, the narrative of how incapable the white South African police was in terms of executing their duties to the best of their abilities due to lack of manpower because of being a minority group in the country. Ndeikwila paraphrased Shityuwete’s narrative from the book *Never Follow The Wolf* in which he explained how Shityuwete and Castro got away from the South African police who wanted to arrest them. The group of the liberation army got away from the officers and went to the extent of exchanging gun fire with the police. Below is the narrative.

Their group had indeed been involved in a skirmish with the police the previous day. They were stopped by the police who wanted to search their baggage. They agree to it, believing that they had nothing to incriminate them in their baggage.... their weapon was hidden in their clothes. They were wrong. Inside a briefcase police found a Political Lecture’ by Maxton Joseph. This gave them away and before the police could do anything Nghidipo and others scattered in different direction (Ndeikwila, 2019, p. 251).

These combatants could have succeeded in getting away from all the search and ambush of the white South Africans and they could have reached their destination to join their compatriots who were already in the country if it was not for the betrayal from their own fellow Namibians. The Namibians took sides to work with the apartheid regime, to help them set up various ambushes and night patrols for the reason of apprehending the Liberation army who were enroute to Owamboland. It is clear that the natives used their numerical advantages and the regime used that to their advantage as well because they knew that the South Africans were fewer in number. The whites manipulated the local people to be on their side and help them fight and kill their own brothers and sisters.

Shityuwete, Castro and Haufiku were travelling at night in the Uukwangali traditional area of present-day Kavango West, when they walked straight into an ambush of tribal police, armed with rifles, assegais and sticks. The three were rounded up and

questioned why they were travelling at night, although there was a new law prohibiting people from travelling at night. They were then taken to spend the homestead of the foreman. In the morning, fifty tribal policemen marched them to the homestead of the Hompa where they were body-searched. When guns were found on them, they were arrested until the South African police came with a van. The three were put in leg irons, handcuffed, thrown into the back of the vans and driven on the long and bumpy road to Rundu (Ndeikwila, 2019, p. 251).

With the help of the natives, an arrest was made with ease as the liberators were overpowered with numerical advantages, and even when they were matched to the homestead of the Hompa, the natives organised a great number of traditional police, a group of fifty (50) strong men to match their prisoners. From that point onwards, betrayal became the order of the day. The three comrades who were arrested were subjected to torture until they began to talk, disclosing the whereabouts of their other colleagues. Because David Hamunime and Jonas Shimwefeni were hiding at WENELA compound the time their other comrade were arrested, all of a sudden, they were arrested from their hiding place with ease. This tells us that the three liberation army officers who were arrested first in Nkurenkuru betrayed the others. The entire network of betrayal started in Uukwangali traditional jurisdiction and went all the way to Rundu, that is, based on the narrative of Ndeikwila. The first comrades who were arrested were put under a duress situation, where torturing was inflicted upon them to give their comrades up. They betrayed their colleagues by force as they were subjected to a condition of between life and death. Ndeikwila (2019) put it that “at the police station in Rundu they were questioned and subjected to electric shock. David Hamunime and Jonas Shimwefeni were also brought in from the WENELA compound,” (p. 21).

The attack on the first group which was based at Omugulu-Gwombashe was another result of betrayal from the comrades who were captured. They spilled all the secrets in order to save their own skin. The attack on Omugulu-Gwombashe happened after group two was captured and tortured. Without these guys, group could not have been attacked. All this was a result of betrayal. Ndeikwila did not disclose any literature to affirm this, but critical thinking will tell one as to why things happened the way they happened following a certain sequence and pattern. Ndeikwila (2019) says that on 29 March 1966, a police Dakota was sent to airlift the group of five to Pretoria in South Africa. SWALA’s second-in-command, Castro, was severely

assaulted in front of the others and dragged away by their captors. Castro later capitulated and was turned into a South African collaborator.

The vaKwangali people have a notorious phrase that they always use in reference to betrayal. They say; “Esi asili ekunde, mekunde sakara” which literally translate as “whatever that eats the bean it’s within the bean itself”, which means that the destruction of a person, group or organisation comes from within - a stranger has no chance of knowing the business activities of someone that they hardly know. Ndeikwila’s narrative has all the evidence that seeks to explain the start of betrayal within the liberation movement of SWAPO and its affiliates. We can borrow from Iannarino (2022) in his statement about a fish, in which he said “a fish rots from the head down” and he explains that in addition to being a major contributing factor in an organisation's success, leadership is also the root cause of an organisation's failure and demise. This is true whether that organisation is a country, a company, or a political movement. Its success and demise rest on the shoulders of its leadership. The entire fiasco and misfortune activities which happened in Namibia upon the arrival of Group two (2) in the country has some questionable behaviours from SWAPO’s top leadership, which was Sam Nujoma.

At the beginning of 1966, SWAPO President Sam Nujoma came to Kongwa. In the hall, he informed PLAN trainees of his decision to return to Namibia. This unexpected announcement was dropped like a bombshell in the middle of the hall. Everyone was stunned and perplexed. Toivo Ashipala Niilenge was the first to ask Nujoma, “As Commander-in-Chief of PLAN, custodian of party secret, and taking into account that PLAN cadres have already been inside the country for a year and others are on their way, will your return to Namibia not going to compromise the armed liberation struggle?”

The second person to speak was Kaufulua Nepililo, also known as Walaula who emphasized that PLAN secrets would be revealed if Nujoma would be arrested and interrogated under torture. Thirdly, Junias Kanyeku asked Nujoma directly, “why are you going back to Namibia, while people inside the country are encouraged to come and join the liberation struggle abroad?” (Ndeikwila, 2019, p. 28).

Looking at what happened thereafter, it is clear that Nujoma betrayed the revolution for his own interest and gratification. The concern of the PLAN cadre was factual and genuine at the same time. It gave a clear direction of what transpired thereafter. At the end of it all, it never looked like Nujoma was coerced or tortured to reveal all their top secret to the enemy. Nepililo was worried because it was the norm at the time that if the apartheid South African

regime gets hold of a leader of any nationalist organisation or movement in Namibia, they were not going to allow you to walk free just like that. One such evidence was the arrest and death of Brendan Simbwaye the founding president of the Caprivi African National Union (CANU). Kangumu (2006) wrote that it is perhaps proper and fitting to reflect and celebrate the life of Brandan Kangongolo Simbwaye, a native of Namibia's Caprivi Region and in whose honour a prominent building in Windhoek is named, the Brendan Simbwaye Square. A prominent person of his time and probably the most charismatic leader to come out of the Caprivi Region, his life and promising political career was cut short by the brutal apartheid machinery. He was arrested in 1964, with two others, Alfred Tongo Nalishuwa and Vernet Maswahu, and kept in perpetual detention mostly isolated because he was branded as a political agitator until his well-orchestrated disappearance in 1972.

Sam Nujoma Foundation (2024) has it that in March 1966, in a bid to test South Africa's claims at the International Court of Justice at the Hague, that Namibians in exile were free to return, Nujoma, accompanied by President Hifikepunye Pohamba, chartered a plane to Windhoek. On arrival at the airport, they were arrested and deported to Zambia on 21st March 1966. At the time of Simbwaye's arrest in 1964, CANU was at its formation stage. There was no any membership card issued to its followers or sympathizers compared to SWAPO and its leadership that had a track record of organising a national strike and boycotts in the country. Therefore, its top leadership could not enter Namibian territory in 1966 without facing the consequence of arrest and detention from the apartheid regime. If they arrested and killed Brendan Simbwaye with lesser crimes, why were Sam Nujoma and Hifikepunye Pohamba not detained if not because they were collaborators of the apartheid regime?

Not much later the Kongwa trainees could hear over the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) radio that Nujoma had arrived in Windhoek on 20 March 1966. Shortly, thereafter, they heard over the same radio station that Nujoma had returned to Lusaka. From those days onwards, many PLAN trainees stopped participating in any military activities at Kongwa. In the first place, they could not understand the real purpose of Nujoma's return to Namibia. Secondly, they could not understand why the South African government did not arrest Nujoma when he arrived in Windhoek, because as the Commander-in-Chief of PLAN he was supposed to be their main enemy. Instead, they simply sent him back, while in 1964 they had arrested Brendan Simbwaye, the founding President of CANU, who was just a simple school teacher. The debate at Kongwa went so far that PLAN trainees began wondering why Nujoma was left free while Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the ANC were sentenced to long-term imprisonment on Robben Island. (Ndeikwila, pp. 28-29)

The above does not need a rocket scientist to understand neither to join the dots and get the answer. This was amongst the worst and painful betrayal in the history of betrayal, as it led to many SWAPO and PLAN leaders to be arrested, and others got killed in the process of surprise attacks. During the liberation struggle period, the apartheid regime would only leave you unharmed if you were on their side and giving them accurate and valuable information. Brendan Simbwaye was offered a post in the government in exchange of denouncing his political activities which he turned down. Kangumu (2006) proffers that “The Administration ascertains that I should get employment, and who can employ a politician?” (Simbwaye in a letter to Advocate Israel Goldblatt, dated July 18, 1966, reacting to an offer of employment by government, at a monthly rate of R18 if he denounced the struggle). The time that Sam Nujoma visited Namibia and allegedly got deported, Simbwaye was rotting in detention. What crime did Simbwaye commit which Nujoma was innocent of at that time? If the regime had an idea of bribing a nationalist leader with employment in July 1966, it means that they had successfully bribed one before which is none other than Nujoma who came and had a meeting with them three months earlier. It is not a surprise that after Nujoma’s visit to Namibia, a series of events happened, the apartheid regime was executing their military operations timely and on point.

While the debate was raging at Kongwa, SABC radio reported that the second PLAN group (Group 2) to enter Namibia from Kongwa was intercepted in Kavango by South African Police, assisted by village guards, and that apparently nine of the ten members were captured. The situation became even more complex when a few months thereafter SABC radio reported that the PLAN cadre (Group 1), who by that time has been inside the country for a year, experienced a surprised attack at Omugulu-Gombashe in Northwestern Namibia by a combined force of South African Police and paratroopers.

Two PLAN cadre were reportedly killed and nine taken captive, while other managed to run away. Six months after Nujoma’s quick visit to Namibia, Andimba Toivo ya Toivo was arrested and, together with thirty-six PLAN cadres, faced a prolonged trial in Pretoria, after which they were incarcerated on Robben Island. The majority of them were sentence to life imprisonment. (Ndeikwila, p. 29)

Although it was difficult to publicly point a finger at their Commander-in-Chief for betrayal, the PLAN cadre voiced their suspicions on Castro who was of a lower rank. It was an indirect way of telling the higher authority that the PLAN cadres were aware of what was going on

and they wanted it to come to an end as it was not in the best interests for Namibians who were inside the country and those who sacrificed their life to join the liberation struggle in exile. By so doing the PLAN cadres mounted the pressure on Castro to be answerable of all their questions, if possible, for him to mention those he worked with.

The strong suspicion among the remaining PLAN trainees at Kongwa was that some kind of betrayal was happening within the armed liberation struggle. Obviously, someone within the SWAPO leadership was used by the enemy to weaken PLAN. For this reason, they demanded that Castro should be brought from Zambia to Kongwa to explain the circumstances of the skirmishes at Omugulu-Gombashe in 1966, where South African troops had attacked the Group 1 PLAN cadres, Group 4 refuse to enter Namibia before the Castro Case was resolved. (Ndeikwila, 2018, p. 31)

In a military establishment, refusing a lawful command from a senior is regarded as rebellious and can be prosecuted. But because of betrayal, which was an open secret, the higher authority could not do anything to those PLAN fighters because they knew what the senior leaders were doing. Therefore, the PLAN cadres refused to enter Namibian territory until all rumours and doubts were clear, pinning all the blame on Castro. After Castro was summoned to Kongwa to explain what was happening, the PLAN trainees concluded that the liberation struggle was completely sold out to the highest bidder. Ndeikwila (2019) proffers that “some PLAN trainees even left the parade before Castro finished speaking, exclaiming that the Namibian armed struggle had been sold out” (p. 31). That is how painful it was to the PLAN cadre and trainees, after sacrificing their life and comfort only to be taken for granted and turned into a commodity that one can exchange for wealth and good life.

The first signs of betrayal in *SWAPO Captive* by Angula (2018) appeared when Angula was reported to the police by Gurirab, who was said to be a ‘black police informer’. The Mariem-Webster has it that an informer is one that informs against another person, specifically one who makes a practice especially for a financial reward of informing against others for violations of penal laws. Basically, Gurirab was in that space and business of selling out his fellow black brothers and sisters for a living, to be paid. Instead of keeping the secret of his fellow black Namibians who were doing everything possible to agitate the colonial administration, Gurirab was singing on top of his voice, by giving his own people away to the enemy for his own gain.

It was not long before the white police van screeched to a halt at our house. A white Special Branch officer was seated behind the steering wheel. Beside him was Nicky Gurirab, a black police informer.

'You are wanted at the police office,' said Gurirab.

'By whom and for what?' I blurted out.

'The *baas* want to ask you questions about the school boycott' Gurirab said (Angula, 2018, p. 30).

The above literally means that Gurirab was a South African spy working for the apartheid regime as their eyes and ears, keeping them informed about all the 'troublemakers' and the activities of nationalist as well as safe guarding the pass law to report any intruder in the black community. His work was of watching all the movements of everyone including students from the famous Martin Luther High School to the point of identifying individuals like Angula who was labelled as a person of interest and he had valuable information.

After Angula was taken for questioning, he too betrayed the struggle. At the police station, Angula confessed and turned his back on Rev. Kameeta by exposing him to the regime. That in itself is betrayal. As young as he was, he knew about the political situation which was in the country and how dangerous it could be if you implicated someone over unlawful activities like being the ring leader or persuading students to be violent. Angula had all the right to deny everything he was asked about by saying 'I do not know the message which Rev. Kameeta gave to other learners or student leaders as I am not a student leader of MLHS and I was not present when he had a meeting with LRC.' But, instead of protecting the leadership like Rev. Kameeta, Angula began to collaborate by being a witness of the regime. Below is the narrative:

At the police station, the Special Branch officer, wearing a light blue suit, introduced himself as Colonel Booy's. He was stoutly built-just like an Afrikaner cow, I thought.

'What is the reason of bringing me here?' I asked him.

'You are not here to ask question, you little troublemaker. You understand?' snapped Booy's.

'Yes, sir,' I agreed.

'I want you to cooperate by answering two questions. If you do that, I will let you go home.'

Booy's then pointed to the steel door and said menacingly, 'if you refuse to answer my questions, I will lock you up in there.'

I eyed the Afrikaner in surprise. 'What?'

'I want you to tell us who told you to boycott school,' he said. 'I know Rev. Kameeta was at your school. I want you to tell me what I already know. What was Rev. Kameeta doing at the school? What did he tell the students?'

I answer his question as well as I could – that we wanted to show solidarity with the students of Soweto and that the reverend had brought a letter addressed to us students.

‘What was the message in the letter?’ Booys asked.

‘They were asking us to join them in the fight against the common enemy.’

‘Who is the common enemy?’

‘The South African government and its system of Bantu Education,’ I said somewhat tactlessly. Booys cast me a sideways glance in disbelief, but did not pursue the matter further. I consent to writing everything down and I was allowed to leave the police station unharmed (Angula, 2018, pp. 30-31).

The apartheid regime would let go of someone who had proven him/herself beyond reasonable doubt that he was an assert that they could use and was not a threat to their governance. That is how Angula was allowed to move around in the country doing all the political activities without difficulty because he was already in the regime’s good book. In this case, Angula spilled the beans to save his own skin, to take himself from the danger as he was facing jail time. At the start of the interview, Booys showed him the holdings as the next place to go should he fail to cooperate. That psychologically forced Angula to work with the Boer to avoid the danger to his life.

4.3.1. Torture

Torture is regarded by international law as a war crime. It is not allowed to be used by anyone to any person as a form of punishment. Rodley (2024) explains that torture means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted by or at the instigation of a public official on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or confession, punishing him for an act he has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating him or other persons. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in or incidental to, lawful sanctions to the extent consistent with the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. Torture constitutes an aggravated and deliberate form of cruel, inhumane or degrading treatment or punishment. Aristotle and Sir Francis Bacon defended their position against those who advocated for torture as early as Roman times. The two argue that torture encourages its victims to lie because of the intolerable pain.

Ndeikwila’s autobiographies emphasise the issue of torture and how the apartheid regime and the nationalist leaders of SWAPO used torture to their advantages during the war of liberation struggle. This shows that Namibians were caught in the cross fire of the two

powerful forces who battled to the total control of the country and its people. To the side of the apartheid regime of South Africa, they subjected their prisoners of war to electrical shocks to extract information from them as it can be found in Ndeikwila's narrative. Ndeikwila (2019) writes that: "At the police station in Rundu they were questioned and subjected to electric shocks" (p. 21). Amongst other methods of torture, the white South African regime used electricity as a form of torturing their enemy. This method puts a human being between life and death, and in most cases, a human being will always choose life over death to the extent of defecting to be on the other side, to be a collaborator or an informer simply because of the unbearable pain that is subjected to that individual person.

As for SWAPO, they formulated all kinds of styles and types of torturing methods their minds could think off, which they used to inflict pain on their enemy or fellow comrades, as well as the PLAN cadres and commissars that they suspected to be spies or agents of the South African regime. Ndeikwila narrates the ordeal as follows:

The ex-detainees explained how all of them were coerced into making false confessions and how in this way they incriminated themselves and other innocent people as enemy agents. They said that all those who refused to submit to false confessions lost their lives. They also recounted how drunkenness, drugs use and negligence on the part of the interrogators pervaded the interrogation and torture sessions, leading to many deaths. Some ex-detainees cried bitterly and broken down when telling their stories and many of us shared their tears. They explained and sometimes demonstrated the different torture methods which were employed to extract false confession from them (Ndeikwila, 2018, p. 151).

As it is known that torture is the most gruesome practice among all other forms of punishment, if one is subjected to it, that person is as good as dead. The person tasked with the responsibility of torture gets all the power to do as pleased, thus ending up not following nor observing any human right neither sympathy to the suspect. Some of the interrogators were heavy drinkers and drug users if not abusers, and their interest with the suspects were not the natural truth but their version of truth. Those comrades under influence of all sorts of substances enjoyed watching and inflicting pain in another human being while they enjoyed the show of seeing him/her suffering. In this process, it is observed that the torturer is always at liberty to bring out all kinds of torture methods that he/she can think off to the extent of carrying out a torturing experiment on the body of the victim. During the SWAPO dungeons, the security apparatus who were responsible of interrogating and torturing their

enemy invented their own torturing mechanisms through physical experimentation. To mention some few types of torturing method as illustrated by Ndeikwila in his book *Agony of Truth*:

- *Beating*; Both male and female victims under interrogation were stripped naked and both their legs and arms were tied. They were then beaten with sticks and electrical wires until the torturers got tired or the victim fell unconscious.
- *Gasoline fuel* and other inflammable substances like hot-chilli, oilments and salt were applied to the fresh wounds after the beating and into the anus of the victim.
- *Petrol* was poured over the fresh wound of the torture or the victim's legs were stretched apart and petrol was poured into his or her anus.
- *Fire and Cigarette butts* were used to burn beards, cheeks, chest, legs, fingers and arms of some victims.
- *Kambulumbumba bow*; Strings of the musical instrument Kambulumbumba were tied around the head and turned to tighten their grip on the head of the victim, causing strange sound in the head.
- *Burying*; The victim was buried alive by slowly covering him or her with dry sand which penetrated the nose and mouth, suffocating the person and choking him or her into unconsciousness. This was repeated several times until the victim was totally exhausted and unable to move. Many people died through this method.
- *Testicles*; A string was tied to the testicles of the victim during interrogations and pulled time and again.
- *Hot water*; It was used to flush fresh wounds, an effective way of preventing the wounds from festering at least in the short term, and resulting in pronounced torture scars remaining forever.

The above are some few different types of inhuman and gruesome torturing style, methods and tactics which the SWAPO security agents used on their own comrades whom they suspected without factual evidence. Things like Kambulumbumba was something new. It is an unknown torturing method and it was a new torturing method which they invented during the period of Lubango dungeons and the spy drama of SWAPO. The above are horrible yet they remain a piece of Namibia's history, the ugly history which the perpetrators do not want to associate with and not ready talk about or allow anyone to discuss it in the open. Amupanda (2024) wrote on his Facebook page about the truth and said that; "Indeed, TRUTH is like CREAM in a glass of MILK. No matter the amount of MILK you pour in, the CREAM will always surface on the very top". Ndeikwila's narrative remains one which is bitter and uncomfortable to bring in the public domain or to discuss. Those who were responsible of these gruesome activities have tried their best level to cover their track and their past, and alter the narratives of what happened in exile. Here, the truth was and continues to be buried, but like what Amupanda said, the truth keeps on surfacing at the top, the cream is the truth, the lies the milk which they keep on pouring on top of the truth to hide it. But all these efforts

are not working out and people can still see the truth and embrace it with both hands as it emerges on top.

It is reasonable from the side of the SWAPO leadership to hate their historical past because it is a bad past that needs to be shaved in the darkest corner of history for the sake of peace and unity but those who were hurt did not get closure to heal since the ordeal which they went through was too traumatic and inhuman for one to do it to another human being, let alone a fellow country man doing it to another. The torturing chamber was somehow better to the male gender as the male body is built in such a way that it can withstand a certain level of pressure, torture and harsh conditions, unlike the female body. But in exile, the comrade had none of sympathy to the woman body as they subjected her to an equal torture as their male counterpart. Even worse to the extent of raping, sexual harassment of penetrating their sexual organs with bare hands and neglecting them when they were pregnant and needed help. Ndeikwila detailed some of these experiences in his autobiography this way:

Some female detainees were arrested while pregnant, and due to harsh and long interrogation sessions and the detention conditions, miscarriages occurred. There were also cases of sexual abuse of female detainees by the dungeon wardens and guards.

Female ex-detainees explain how they were accused of having been sent by the enemy to poison SWAPO leaders. They relate how their torturers, who were all men, used bare fingers to penetrate their private parts “looking for poisonous razorblades,” allegedly fitted therein by the enemy to cut and kill senior SWAPO leaders when having sex with these women.

A female ex-detainee shared her experience of how she was arrested in 1987 on arrival at the Karl Marx Reception Centre in the Lubango area. It happened that, when she left home, she had a small wound on her one foot. The wound got swollen after days of walking. During interrogation, she was stripped naked and both her arm and legs were tied together with a rope. She was asked to explain about the “communication device” which the enemy had hidden in the wound on her foot. She was confused and did not understand what they were talking about. One of the interrogators then pulled out a knife and cut open the swollen wound, looking for the “the enemy communication device”, causing her much bleeding and pain. She said she was crying and screaming for mercy but the man and his colleagues had no feelings for her as a human being (Ndeikwila, 2018, p. 148).

The torturing session was influenced by ignorance, hate, abuse of power and tribalism. That is so simple because a majority of the people who were targeted as being spies and suspected as being enemy agents were mostly those who were non Oshiwambo speaking group. Torturing a person upon his/her arrival in exile is an act of paranoia - a person who has lost

any sense of reasoning. It was easy to verify and if they were not sure enough, they could have stopped people from going into exile if there was a concern of the process being compromised and if they could not tell who is a spy and not a spy. That way could have saved many lives from unnecessary abuse, especially the issue of Namibians turning against each other. Martin von Luttichau was arrested upon his arrival in Zambia and taken to prison in Angola by Peter Nanyemba and Peter Tsheehama Tshirumbu. Luttichau's crime was being a non-Omuwambo speaking person, and those who drove him to Angola where he was arrested which easily reveals that the motive was more than being a suspect but because of being from a different ethnical background.

As far as torture is concerned, Oiva Angula was one of the victims of Lubango dungeon as he was arrested and tortured not once but twice. Angula narrates that the spy drama of Lubango was one of the driving forces which intensified the self-hate drive. It was aided by the constant loss at the battle front while SWAPO's enemy, the South African Defence Forces were gaining ground by pushing PLAN fighters from their Headquarters as they were inflicting heavy losses in the process. Angula writes that PLAN combatants were losing ground and equipment. They surrendered PLAN HQs like Xangongo, Ondjiva, Cahama, Chibemba and Mongua as they ran for their lives. From 1981 to 1983, the PLAN fighters lost five of their great military leaders like Peter Eneas Ndilimani Nanyemba, Isaac Pondoleni Shikongo, Helao 'Camilo' Nafidi, Augustinus McNamara Nghaamwa and Phillipus Shikoka Hainana. These setbacks were a result of military superiority in tactical planning and reconnaissance of the SADF over the ill-trained PLAN fighters. Angula (2018) has it that 'SWAPO's military action was dictated by the actions of the enemy and not by a sound grasp of the situation'. The leadership of PLAN were carried away by the whims of attaining overnight victory over their well-equipped enemy without putting forth proper planning and preparation. South Africa was precisely in its bombarding of PLAN headquarters one after the other which made the SWAPO leadership to think that they were compromised from within. They thought that South Africa was on the same level as them in terms of technology advancements and training.

The illusion of a quick military victory over South Africa fast dissipated. The bright dream of utopia contrasted against our setbacks on the battlefield bred a nightmare of paranoia. A manic fear developed that SWAPO was being undermined from within. Castles in the air became something terrifying real. A witch-hunt of monstrous proportions was about to begin. (Angula, 2018, p. 85)

Angula was first arrested in July 1980, after he and five other commissars were accused of being spies for the Boers by Ludwig Ndlovu. The first torture which was inflicted on Angula and his cohorts was a psychological one. They were lowered in the underground pits which were known as Omalambo, the pit was five metres deep and five by six metres across. The entire group of six accused were lowered into the pit by means of wooden sticks. They felt like being buried alive. At first, they were traumatised by such unexplained treatment from their comrades. Angula (2018) writes that: "All of us kept silent. I felt a distressing sensation that we were being buried alive. I was terrified by this unforeseen predicament." The above experience is torture in itself as it affects the mindset of a human being. That night, Angula could not sleep as he kept on feeling the throbbing inside his head which rose to a crescendo which kept on swaying him like a ship in the storm. As the torment probed on, Lawrence and his fellow security officer withheld food and water to the accused for two days, and they were not allowed to go out of the pit for a week. This forced them to defecate and urinate inside the pit. Such is one of the unspeakable and inhuman treatment - subjecting people to hazardous environments like mixing them with their own urine and faeces has the capacity of effecting the mindset of a human being. Whatever the condition and weather pattern, the underground condition is always humid, thereby incarcerating someone and keep them in a closed pit is physical and psychological torturing due to humid and the feeling of isolation.

Our unexplained caging and bewildering isolation from the rest of the comrades became more unendurable with each passing day. It felt as though we were fated to melt in this furnace, the sizzling blood creeping reluctantly through our starving bodies. We all suffered insomnia. (Angula, 2018, p. 72)

The inside of a pit is always hot with higher levels of humidity. As for this pit, the security officer used to use a piece of zinc to close it. Zinc is a good conductor of heat which made the temperature to raise inside the pit. According to Angula's narrative, their first arrest had few physical tortures except for Hans who was taken out of the pit and was away for three weeks. Upon his return, they observed signs of torture on his body where things like a bleak face and fresh wounds on his legs and back. It was not something big but the circumstances and conditions were an eye-opener of how serious the consequence can be if one is seriously caught or there is lack of evidence to exonerate you for the accused crime.

Angula's second arrest took place on 22 October 1984. He was accused of being a South African spy - the same crime which they exonerated him in 1980. This was without any evidence like he was arrested four years earlier. The latest arrest was different from the previous one as he was taken to a Screening Base for processing purposes to decide on the next course of action. When you are taken to the Screen Base, your fate is sealed. Therefore, all powers were invested in the hands of the security agents to make critical decisions for them to decide whether the accused lives on or dies. Angula (2018) writes that 'The screening Base was a major coordinating centre for SWAPO security services. Here, life-and-death decisions were made, sealing the fate of hundreds of Namibians.'

This means that all the activities that used to happen there were sanctioned by the top leadership and they were well-informed on its day-to-day torturing programmes. At the Screening Base, Angula was thrown in a certain filthy cell which had a stinking smell of sweat, urine, blood, vomit, and faeces to mention a few. He said that it was an isolated cell, the only sound around him was that of flies which hovered around as it was attracted to dirty and smell in the cell.

While Angula was adjusting to the condition of the cell, the real trouble began when he was taken to another underground room to meet face to face with senior security officers, Angula Kauaya and Zacharia Ndjafa Nakashole, who had prepared to do aggravated body harm as a bundle of freshly cut sticks used for beating was awaiting to be used in the corner. Angula narrated his first experience of torture in the hands of the two most senior security officers.

'Why am I here?' I asked

'The party decided to arrest you because you are a spy, a traitor to your people.'

Kauaya repeated what he had said earlier. He did not provide a specific act of wrongdoing, nor did he present me with evidence to support his claim that I was a South African spy.

'You thought we would not get you,' Nakashole said.

'I told you that you are wrong,' I said.

Kauaya punched me in the mouth, driving me back against the wall. He wore a heavy ring on his right hand. I screeched and clapped my hands to my mouth. Blood poured through my fingers. The ring has torn my upper lip and open and ripped my gum line.

'That is what you ask for,' said Nakashole.....

For thirty minutes, they pushed me, pummelled me, ripped at my clothes, hit me with sticks and rifles butts. My body flopped like a rag doll (Angula, 2018, p. 97).

To be labelled and accused of being a sell-out, and then the people repeat the lie, it assassinates one's character and reputation, and it tarnishes one's integrity and it pains more than physical assault. Frederickson (2018) concurs with the above narrative by saying that it is so because words are not only powerful - they are impactful, and if employed inappropriately, they can become crippling emotional weapons. Frederickson further expresses that a physical punch to the nose hurts like heck, but over time the pain decreases and the black eyes fade away. But words are as hurtful, if not more hurtful than physical punches. Frederickson continues by saying that words strike the soul, hurt like heck, and often incite or increase our pain. They remain in our unconscious, if not our conscious, memory forever. Persistently applied, they have the ability to distort a person's sense of self, even their sense of reality. They can leave indelible, psychologically disfiguring scars.

Angula and other accused were subjected to both inappropriate words and bodily harm which only stopped when the torturer got tired or when the victim faints or become unconscious from their merciless beating. As it was narrated by Angula on his first baptism at Screen Base, when they finished beating him, he flopped to the ground like a rag doll. He was powerless to stand on his two feet. At that point, Angula thought that his tormenters were done with him, but to his surprise, what he experienced for half an hour was the start of the longest and endless brutality, inflicting both physical and emotional pain. Nakashole and Kauaya were starting with their ruthlessness.

'You will shit today,' Kauaya threatened.

'Just let me alone. I am not a traitor,' I said breathing out slowly through my teeth. Nakashole booted me in the stomach, knocking me off my feet. My wrists were then tied and I was hoisted off the floor until my toes barely touched the ground. I screamed like a rabbit in a snare. 'Shut up,' Nakashole said, and kicked me in the ribs.

I dropped to the ground. My heart pounded with anxiety. Kauaya then gave me a pen and sheets of paper to write down my life history, including 'all your enemy activities.' (Angula, 2018, p. 98)

When he was given a pen and a sheet of paper, Angula welcomed the gesture with excitement. He thought that it was an opportunity to rest from the torture since it emphasises writing his life story which he thought should take some couple of days to complete. 'I agreed to write, hoping to get a bit of rest from their blows.' Such an arrangement invited sleepless nights and day where he was continuously harassed by the guard who invigilated him. They

kept on coming to see if he was done writing and at the same time calling him a traitor. In the evening, after taking the paper away from him, his legs and arms were tied behind his back and he was completely a prisoner of war and was treated as such. The deadly evening silent at the Screening Base was broken by a howling of another man on the torturing chamber. Angula said that such made him to realise that Kauaya and Nakashole were busy with a new victim on their beating session that evening. He further narrates that the shouting and agonised wailing and cursing became a frightening staccato. Angula concluded that when you listen to someone who is going through torture, such experience hurts the most, far worse than when you are subjected to the torture itself. William Damtara William who was known as Kangarashe had several nights of anguish where intolerance, brutality and indifference inflicted on him made Angula to think about his own life, and he contemplated on certain frightening questions. Those questions tormented him further, almost equal to the physical and psychological torture which they were going through.

When Angula was not under physical and emotional torture, he was on a self-psychological breakdown after going through his own retrospection by trying to understand how things had turned around, and asking himself questions that had no answer, he pondered on the following: 'What had I done wrong? Would they torture me again? Was I to die here?' All those questions made him to be sleepless at night.

As the night advanced, I felt angry that I was alone in an empty cell. I was overwhelmed with grief and could not sleep. I did not know why I should be treated as an enemy. I finally fell asleep, my hands and legs still tied behind me with a rope. As I lay like a dog in the cell, I realised that I was no longer a free man (Angula, 2018, p. 99).

Regardless of his circumstances, Angula thought that Kangarashe was tortured more than he was dealt with. Therefore, all his attention was at the Screening Base listening to the brutality that was on going. He went to the extent of noting down the interval which Kauaya and Nakashole took at each break before another torture resumed, which was not more than five minutes. It was clear through Angula's writing and description of what Kangarashe was going through as he said that the muffled sound of Kangarashe who was the victim of that night, his screaming echoed a melancholic melody through the night. This means that Kangarashe was tortured differently and he suffered throughout the night compared to the beating which Angula received which lasted an hour. Kangarashe is said to have had a night of anguish, which

made Angola to even pray for him for his tormenters to spare his life. The arrest and torturing in Lubango were tribally motivated. If you were an Oshiwambo speaker, you would be tortured differently from a non-Oshiwambo speaking person. And most of the Oshiwambo speakers who were subjected to arrest and torture were those they termed *mbwitis*, those who came from Tsumeb, Windhoek and the coastal towns. If one reads *SWAPO Captive*, one would discover that Angola was born and raised in Tsumeb and he was not a full-blooded Wambo man as his father was a Herero speaking man. As for Kangarashe, his place of origin was his downfall. It spoke more than his word of mouth as he was from Lüderitz, South of Namibia. Angola (2018) writes:

‘I have no enemy connections,’ I said. ‘You eembwiti cannot be trusted. You are all enemy infiltrators!’ Kauaya yelled angrily, using the term that referred to Oshiwambo tribesmen living outside the traditional tribal area (p. 100).

Before Angola was discriminated by calling him a *mbwiti*, he was further beaten and demanded for him to give his real-life story as what he wrote earlier was dismissed as lies. Kauaya denounced any comradeship that ever existed between the rest of PLAN fighters and all the accused personnel.

‘That’s my story comrade,’ I said, with a glimmer of a smile. Kauaya grabbed me by the neck and swung me around. ‘Do not dare call us comrade, you traitor!’ He lunged at me and planted his fist in my solar plexus. I dropped like a sack. I groaned; my face lined with pain. I looked at Kauaya with scorn. (Angola, 2018, pp. 100-101)

The above dialogue between Angola and Kauaya discloses a deep level of division and hatred amongst the SWAPO and PLAN fighters. This division and hate fuelled the rage of how they were conducting their torturing sessions. It was based on who are you and where you come from and based on the person’s background. After the altercation, the two left Angola with a promise that they were coming back for him, therefore, he was going to be in problem that evening. True to their words, at around 8 p. m, the guard came to fetch him for another session of torturing, but this time around, it was far worse than the other two experiences. Angola said that he was made to undress and they dealt with him severely: “They ordered me to undress. I was stripped naked, tied with ropes and blindfolded. Then came the knifing pain as the sticks cut into my flesh for almost thirty minutes” (Angola, 2018, p. 102). The naked experience was not only as it was, but he felt like he was stripped of his human rights as well,

because he was tied and blindfolded. He could not see anything and his naked body was left at the mercy of the tormentor to do as pleased.

Angula narrates that when he was taken to a secret underground torturing chamber, it marked the beginning of what he imagined of how hell would be like. That evening, Angula was accused of being the BOSS agent. In order to show him little mercy, his tormentor had to smoke *karikoko*, a filter-less cigarette and drunk *kanjome* which was a home-brew spirit of Mwila and Ngangela tribes to energise their mindset to do evil work. He said that every time that he denied the name of BOSS agent, his body absorbed a gauntlet of blows and kicks. If not so, he was lashed with sticks which pained like a knife cutting through his flesh until he was soaked in blood. Angula (2018) said that “I screamed, screamed and screamed, but they would not stop. To silence my screams, rags were stuffed in my mouth.” No amount of torture made Angula to implicate himself over a disgraceful act which he was accused of, even after the guard tied his wrist and uncle together and hosted him to hang on the horizontal poles where a stick was inserted in the ring which was formed by his legs and hands which inflicted intolerable pain. As Angula (2018) narrates, ‘I screamed for them to untie me.’ He said such method of torture lasted for almost two hours. His entire body stung where there were cuts, the pain was intensified by salty water which they threw at him. Angula said that he was flogged the whole night until his skin tore from his body. Angula changed his mind set to give his torturer what they wanted to hear after he was taken to cemetery. He saw freshly dug pits and he knew that he was about to be killed. He was told by Kauaya, ‘If we cannot beat it out of you, maybe we can shoot it out.’ At this point, Angula gave up to save his life and he began to play along by implicating himself that he was spy.

4.4. Analysing the effects of atrocities in the two autobiographies

Atrocities made Namibians to abandon their family and loved ones as well as their beautiful homes to run to foreign countries for their own safety as harassment, torture and killings were getting out of control. Many Namibian youths left the country for better education while the elders left Namibia to join the liberation struggle while others had to go for better employment opportunities.

Ndekwila and five other boys from Ongwediva Senior Boys School left Namibia in search of better education abroad. Their decision was in retaliation against the colonial education

policy which was in existence since the beginning of colonialism in Namibia, that is before the apartheid policy came into effect to enforce the Bantu education system. Ndeikwila (2019) writes that: "As it was not easy to realise our dreams inside Namibia, we finally came to a common decision to leave the country for a proper education abroad" (p. 11). The educational crisis for black people in Namibia started with the arrival of the German missionary societies right after other missionaries arrived, such as the Wesleyans, Rhenish and the Catholic who had worked in the Namibian territory. During the period of German occupation (between 1884 and 1915), attempts were made to organise education for white children with the opening of the German Realschule in Windhoek (1909). By 1913, twenty schools for whites (Germans and others) were made available all over the territory. School attendance for all white children within a distance of four kilometres from a school was made compulsory (Tjitendero, 1984, p. 3; Amukugo, 1993, p. 45). With regards to education for the black population, the German mission was not interested in other educational objectives, apart from reading the Bible. The South West Africa Survey (1967, p. 109) and Geingob (1968, p. 213) express similar sentiments, stating that most of the mission schools, including German schools, were established with the aim of enabling blacks to study Bible reading and to write their own names. Apart from reading the Bible, the aims of the Germans were different when they introduced education for black Namibians. The aim was to promote the "horse and rider" relationship between blacks and whites (Tjitendero, 1984, 7). All the missionary societies had almost the same attitude towards education in Namibia. The German administration ended during World War 1, after South African forces annexed Namibia in 1915.

Tjitendero (1984) furthers this narrative by saying that when South Africa took over from the German missionaries, it introduced its own education system. The aim of the South African government was to promote the policy of segregation and, later, apartheid that was intended to minimise threats to white "supremacy" both in South Africa and Namibia. They then introduced the Bantu education act which prevented black people from furthering their education at institutions of higher learning. Furthermore, Tjitendero asserts that the policy of apartheid was articulated by the nationalists in their election manifesto in 1947 as follows: in general terms, their policy envisaged segregating the most important ethnic groups and sub-groups in their own areas, where every group would be enabled to develop into a self-sufficient unit. They endorsed the general principle of territorial segregation between the

"Bantu" and the whites (Tjitendero, 1984, p. 7). In addition, Bantu Education was a "component part of the apartheid policy that was designed to foster and to inculcate a passive acceptance of racial inferiority among black people, while accommodating the myth of white superiority. Apartheid is the ideological and legal basis for the inequalities in access to education and to culture, and interferes with scientific development and freedom of information" (UNESCO, 1968, p. 15).

Bauer (2024) puts it correctly that non-white students were barred from attending open universities by the Extension of University Education Act (1959). The Bantu Education Act was replaced by the Education and Training Act of 1979. Mandatory segregation in education ended with the passage of the South African Schools Act in 1996, but decades of substandard education and barriers to entrance to historically white schools had left the majority of Black South Africans far behind in educational achievements by the beginning of the 21st century.

Tashiya aspired to become a medical doctor. Good at mimicking people, he used to demonstrate how he would wear a stethoscope around his neck, attending to patients. A great thinker, Shikongo admired people who designed and those who erected multi-storey buildings, highways and bridges. His aim was to one day become a civil engineer. As it was not easy to realise our dreams inside Namibia, we finally came to the common decision to leave the country for proper education abroad (Ndeikwila, 2019, p. 11).

The above explicitly explains what forced Ndeikwila and his group into exile and how difficult life was inside Namibia even for school going boys or girls. Black Namibian students were confined to the Bantu education which Kandumbu remarks 'was designed to foster and to inculcate a passive acceptance of racial inferiority amongst black people.' Bauer (2024) has it that Bantu education was designed to train the black children to be good for manual labour and menial jobs that the apartheid government deemed suitable for those of their race, and it was explicitly intended to inculcate the idea that Black people were to accept being subservient to white South Africans. To become a surgeon, it requires one to register at an institution of higher learning like a university or college which was lacking in Namibia at the time due to the apartheid policy. This matter forced Namibian youths to abandon their parents to go into foreign countries. Others joined the liberation struggle in the process, hoping that the leadership of SWAPO would send them to school. But true to that fact, SWAPO was helping to send the majority of Namibian youths to go and study in Europe or

other African countries which were independence at the time. As can be seen here, Maxton was advising Ndeikwila and his group who wanted to challenge the leadership to instead go and study if they were not interested in fighting or not happy with the leadership of SWAPO. Ndeikwila (2018) remarks, "The Tanzanian government does not hesitate to arrest people. Better go and study in Kenya, like other Namibians have done" (p. 36).

As for Angola, he left the country due to the unfavourable political climate within Namibia. The Administrator General enacted a law which made life difficult for Angola and other nationalist leaders who were deemed as instigators and a danger to society to be detained for an indefinite custody with no recourse to a court of law. This law targeted mostly SWAPO members to bring their political activities to a halt by arresting them left, right and centre. Angola (2018) explains how the situation started to get worse: "He went on to tell us that the administrator-general was that day making public a law that gave the police sweeping powers to arrest all those deemed a danger to public order" (p. 43). As Angola and his fellow comrades were contemplating on the new development that was about to happen, a radio announcer broke the news to the public about the new proclamation from the administrator-general, Justice Marthinus Steyn. The administrator general said that the new proclamation was to prevent political violence and intimidation. Angola dismissed the law as it was simply a measure of intimidation and repression tactics directed towards the Namibian liberation movement.

Barely two weeks after the announcement of that law, 100 SWAPO members across Namibia were languishing behind bars after being arrested by the police. Some notable leaders who were arrested include Beni Petrus who was the SWAPO Youth League (SYL) deputy secretary, while Nashilongo who was the SYL Central Committee member escaped into Angola a week earlier. During that period, Angola and his other comrades who were very young at the time kept on getting threats and intimidation from the officer in charge, Captain Jasper Kofie. Angola (20218) writes that, "Time is running out for you young SWAPO members. We are coming for you and I will get you all behind bars" (p. 44). Such a level of harassment convinced Angola that it was time to put a stop to the South African regime through armed struggle as political dialogue was not helping anything. Angola gave a well detailed context to his decision for leaving the country into exile.

After the assassination of Paramount Chief Kapuuo on 27 March 1978, a crescendo of dangerous and increasingly dramatic events signalled that it was finally time for me to go into exile. South Africa's jackboot of occupation was becoming unbearable. Political repression was acute. Liberation activists were harassed, put on trial or imprisoned. Mass detentions in the military conflict areas in the north of the country were common, as was torture of political activists. The desperation of the colonial regime in the face of anti-colonial resistance explained the intensity of its repressive tactics, massive military build-up, as well as incessant aggression against Angola and Zambia, countries that were providing SWAPO with bases outside Namibia.

I was disenchanted with the situation and did not know how to survive the apartheid lash. Many young people were fleeing to join either SWANU or SWAPO in exile. Some left because they were hounded by the colonial authorities and feared for their lives. But many went into exile gracefully, their flight glorified as an expression of opposition to white colonial occupation. Real freedom was beckoning Namibians, but our shouts of '*A luta continua, a victoria e certa!*' at rallies were becoming mere platitudes. One thought buzzed in my head: I have to leave and study or train as a guerrilla fighter to dislodge the colonial administration from my native soil. (Angula, 2018, pp. 45-46)

The oppressive and inhuman apartheid policy on education for black children opened another fresh war front against the apartheid regime, and it was spearheaded by students and school-going children. A great number of learners boycotted school, others dropped out of school to go into exile to join SWAPO. Students fearlessly resisted the Bantu Education which dehumanised and oppressed them in their own country. Angula (2018) wrote that the Bantu education policy of apartheid came into existence in 1953. The apartheid government passed the Act when they were establishing a black education department in the Department of Native Affairs. Angula further narrates that the department designed a curriculum that suited the 'nature and requirements of the Black people.' The above policy was written by Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd who was by then the Minister of Native Affairs before he became the Prime Minister of the white-ruled South Africa.

In that legislation, Verwoerd stated that "Natives must be taught from an early age that equality with Europeans is not for them" (Angula, 2018, p. 26) This policy made it categorically clear that black people were not to receive an education that would lead them to aspire to positions they would not be allowed to hold in society. Therefore, the black child is to receive education designed to provide them with skills to serve their own people in the homeland or to work as labourers under whites. In order to achieve that goal, the education for black people had to be sabotaged by giving it little financial support, black teachers were paid peanuts to demoralise them and make the profession unattractive, and schools in the black community had few libraries and laboratories. Some schools never had any library or

laboratory, scarcity of textbooks and overcrowded classrooms were among the conditions which black students went through.

The conditions in which black students lived forced them to leave the country for better living conditions in exile. However, the majority remained in the country to face the colonial system. They stood their ground to fight the Bantu education to the ground by confronting the well-armed apartheid regime face to face. This confrontation led to the loss of life. Angula narrates that Bantu education was introduced in 1953, but until 1976, South African and Namibian students stood up to bring an end to its evil practice at the cost of their own lives. The boycott and uprising of learners in 1976 were triggered by elevating Afrikaans to the status of the medium of instruction at all-black schools. Angula (2018) said that students in Soweto, South Africa, started boycotting classes in May 1976, joining demonstrations and singing 'Morena boloka Sechaba sa heso' (God save our nation) and chanting 'Down with Afrikaans', 'Amandla! And 'power' (p. 26). That boycott continued from May to 16 June 1976 which was a blood bath day. The fight against apartheid spread all over South Africa until it reached Namibia. Schools like Martin Luther High, Petrus Ganeb Secondary School at Uis, Cornelius Goreseb Secondary in Khorixas and Okakarara High School joined the boycott which was started by MLH.

After the strikes and in later years, students at MLH secretly left the country and joined SWAPO in exile. Amongst them were Solomon Goliath, Gerson Gurirab, Chris Ndivanga, Bobby Khumalo, Michael//Hoebe, Gerhard Tjozongoro, Joseph Kheibeb, Shalipo Licia Shuumba, Willen Ngapurue, Capro Ngapurue, Vicky Festus and Joel Gariseb. Apart from Joseph Kheibeb, all of them would later be sent to the Lubango camps as so-called enemy spies. The students who remained behind vowed not to return to school until another curriculum was in place. (Angula, 2018, pp. 29-30)

While in South Africa, the riot went on the whole year of 1976, at the end of it, Angula narrated that over 1000 learners were killed. This uprising and riot made international news.

4.4.1. Death disabilities and rejection

The liberation struggle was an all-out war which left a lot of pain and misery in its wake. People died from various causes during the liberation war, death came from the battlefield, and others died from torture after being captured by the enemy as prisoners of war or killed by fellow comrades after being suspected of being agents of the enemy. In the wake of all that, it left a lot of Namibians divided along tribal lines; women became widows while children became orphans as their parents were killed by the colonial regime while in prison.

or in the street during their patrol or went in exile and never returned from the battlefield of exile.

The United Nations Children's Fund (1996) expressed the same sentiment by saying that armed conflicts have a devastating effect in which they can leave the entire society and millions of children disabled, homeless, orphaned or separated from their parents. One such devastating incident was the Cassinga Massacre which gave Ndeikwila a sleepless night due to its gruesome mass killing of innocent Namibians.

Early in May 1978, I went to the nearby community hall to watch the evening news on the national Voice of Kenya (VOK) television channel. As usual, the hall was filled to capacity with people, and there was much noise. The very first news item showed an image of mass grave. Suddenly there was a complete silence in the hall. When the presenter started reading the news relating to the mass grave and reported that South African soldier has attacked a camp inhabitant by Namibians in Southern Angola, loud screams were heard in the hall. I could not believe that all those dead bodies were truly those of my fellow Namibians. Unable to contain my emotions, I left the hall and went straight to bed. But the image of the mass grave kept me awake, as I was agonizing about the future of our country and people. (Ndeikwila, 2019, p. 75)

It is in the nature of atrocity wherever it strikes, far or nearby, and it has the same effects and the power to evoke emotional damage through emotional distress to anyone who will be in contact with the news, let alone someone who witnessed a human being killed or tortured, the memory stays with them forever. People who were in the hall were complete strangers to Namibia, but upon seeing dead bodies all over, they all went silent. They were in a state of shock and they had to shout in disbelief.

While Ndeikwila himself, being a Namibian, was unable to contain his emotions, he had to excuse himself to go and sleep, even though it was not enough. Fernando et al. (2010) have it in their research finding that survivors of war may experience indirect effects of exposure to violence on posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression because violent conflict will always disrupt the lives and social support networks that individuals need to survive and cope with stress. They further went on to say that daily stressors such as poverty and limited access to education and social support may partially mediate the relation of violence exposure to mental health. War may result in a host of daily stressors, which in turn negatively impact mental health. In a nutshell, war destroys people's homes, livelihoods, families, and

communities, as well as a society's economy and infrastructure. In the end, it increases poverty and isolates people from social services such as clean water, medical care, and education. The social-ecological model of child development proposes that disruptions in these aspects of the environment put children at higher risks of poor mental health outcomes including PTSD and depression (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Thus, living through a genocide like Rwanda or a massacre like Cassinga may not only result in an increased risk of poor mental health directly but may also result in secondary adversities that may mediate the association between genocide events and psychological difficulties (Bolton, 2001b; Saltzman et al., 2003).

After the war, those who were accused by SWAPO leadership as South African spy experienced a state of harassment, rejection, isolation, threats to their life and stigmatisation by their family and society in general. Sometimes these abuses were extended towards their family and relatives thereby causing more deaths. Most of the ex-detainees suffered from the economic embargo of unemployment and the deliberate act of not promoting them at work in an independent Namibia by the SWAPO-led government. Ndeikwila narrates the experience of one ex-detainee, the ordeal that he went through in a free country, and the effects of being labelled as a spy.

Ndeikwila (2019), according to one survivor from Ondonga district who had spent over two years in the dungeons, her mother said with a tearful eye, "They say that you are *epuli* and that they will do anything to our homestead if we continue keeping you here. See where you can go. May God protect you!" (p. 162).

The mother of this particular ex-detainee completely rejected her son because of the external pressure from the community, not only pressure but the threat of harming everyone in the family. In this situation, the ex-detainee suffered from a lack of identity and direction, conflict-filled relationships, negative automatic thoughts and avoidance. Ndeikwila further reveals that at Luderitz, a nurse refused to treat a patient because of the allegation surrounding that particular individual being suspected as a spy. By so doing, that person passed on without getting the necessary medical care which she/he needed to recover from the pain from which he was suffering.

The situation in Luderitz was about a patient who was the daughter of an accused person. She was a nurse at a local clinic and she had to flee for her own safety because of insults and open

threats to her life simply because they had heard that her father was arrested and tortured to death for being a South African spy. Members of SWAPO in the vicinity organised themselves to extend the harassment to anyone who was a relative of the accused person and make their lives a living hell.

Another ex-detainee shared the following experience: when, after spending some weeks in Windhoek, he went home to the Ohangwena Region, the news of his arrival at the village spread quickly. Villagers, including some former PLAN members, converged at his parents' homestead, chanting SWAPO freedom songs. His father was a man of good understanding and he handled the situation carefully. The ex-detainee was given a room where to sleep but he was very alarmed. In the middle of the night, he heard noises of people entering the room. He quickly moved out of the bed and hid himself behind the wardrobe. A former PLAN member, holding a knife in his hand, was groping all over the bed but realise that nobody was there. He then whispers to his companion: *Oshipuli kashi li mo omu; ashike otashi tale* ("the traitor is not here, but he will see"). The ex-detainee left his home the following morning to return to Windhoek. He did not follow the usual footpath to the main road but went through the bushes. Some villagers who organised themselves to beat him tried to follow him but could not. (Ndeikwila, 2019, pp. 162-163)

Liberation struggle itself destroyed a lot of family, after the war, rejection and denial of family members continue because of the political division. Parents were fond of rejecting their children simply because of pressure from the society and the community where they lived in without standing their ground and defend their family from external attacks. In this regard, some parents were straightforward to their children, telling them how they felt about the situation at hand, for one of theirs to be labelled as a spy. By so doing, some families would tell one of theirs, the accused individual not to come home again, like the situation which happened in Ondonga district where the mother directly rejected her son for the sake of peace in the community as villagers threatened to harm the entire family. In other respects, some parents deliberately collaborated to give their accused family members or children to those who wanted to do harm to them as a way of restoring peace for the rest of the family. The situation in Ohangwena is one key example in which the father sold his son away to the former PLAN members without the son knowing it. To him, he thought that his father handled the situation carefully while he had a secret agreement with the PLAN fighters on how to deal with his son. By the look of it, the father was the one who informed the enemy about his son as to where to get him during the night. If he was innocent, he could have been on high alert as well and he could have beefed up security at his house upon seeing the imminent threat

to his family and house to make sure that should those former PLAN fighters and their associates return, they will not get entry to the house or they will find them on guard and defend their house from attack. It is completely not true that his son saw the imminent threat to his life yet his father and the rest of the family members did not see it coming. If it was not for his own consciousness to be on alert the entire night, they could have killed him in his sleep.

Angula (2018) writes that the 1950s were turbulent years as nationalist groups were springing up left, right and centre to challenge South African rules. This bravery did not go far before it met a ruthless suppression and attack on the people. The attack is known as the Old Location massacre by the Police in which thirteen (13) people were killed and fifty-four (54) others were wounded when the colonial administration decided to forcefully move the residents of the Old Location eight kilometres to the north of the city. The effect of apartheid on the livelihood of Namibians began to show its ugly head in the 1970s. Black Namibians adapted to the idea of homelands, where each tribe was encouraged and forced to live separately and away from another, while in police zones, different ethnic groups were also separated by creating tribal locations like Damara, Awambo and Herero locations. This division brewed hatred at least amongst the Ovaherero and Awambo-speaking Namibians who lived in Windhoek and other homelands which were specifically designated for a certain ethnic group.

The first demonstration of this self-hate or black-on-black hate was revealed by Chief Eliphas Tjingaete of the Ovambanderu tribe when he confronted Nashilongo, Joseph Kavenanuua and Oiva Angula and treated them as if they were foreigners. Angula (2018) writes, "What are you doing in our land without permission?" Chief Tjingaete furthered his rant, "This land is under my tribal authority... You would not expect anyone to enter your house and move around without your permission" (p. 35). Because the three were not from Omaheke, they were regarded as outsiders and they were referred to as the other. The utterance of the Chief is informed by the outcomes of prolonged colonialism. Fanon (1965) proffers that a black man cannot be a normal being after going through different forms of abuse and mistreatment. Those experiences have a traumatic effect which keeps on tempering with the attitude and conduct of the black man. Chief Tjingaete was suffering from mental slavery, as it is invisible to the naked eye but it requires a certain level of thinking and understanding to unearth it. Due to tension emanating from tribal-related hate, Ovaherero and Ovawambo descended

into tribal fights. Angula (2018) writes that “on 28 February 1978, violence erupted in Katutura. It all started in the early morning hours when three Katutura Single Quarters (KSQ) residents were attacked with knives near a bus station on their way to work. The KSQ residents, who were predominantly Oshiwambo-speaking, organised a manhunt for the attackers and Katutura was thrown into turmoil. With the above narrative, Angula could as well not tell the source of the fight but all that we know is that members from Ovaherero area attacked three Oshiwambo-speaking men who were en route to work. Lacking the cause of the fight from Angula’s narrative strengthens the belief that the fiasco was ignited by tribal tensions which led to the death of two people while fourteen got injured and four of that number were in critical condition.

Angula (2018) writes that the next day, the trouble flared anew, and on the 5th of March another three people were brutally murdered. In one case, after the victim’s head was buttered with a club, his throat was slit from ear to ear. Two cars were gutted by fire, and the house of an Oshiwambo-speaking family situated in the so-called Herero section was torched. By 7 March, the bloodletting had claimed eleven lives, with about eight people injured, while in Okakarara, three Oshiwambo-speaking people were killed (p. 40). The tribal infight which was masterminded by the colonial regime with their apartheid system of divide and conquer went on until it claimed the life of a prominent leader of the Ovaherero-speaking people, paramount chief Klemence Kapuuu who was killed in cold blood by an unknown assailant. Angula (2018) put it well, “In the late afternoon of a cloudy day in Katutura, Clemence Kapuuu, the revered Paramount Chief of the Ovaherero was gunned down at his general dealer’s shop in P.A. de Wet Road.’ That assassination was blamed on SWAPO under the leadership of Awambo-speaking people. After that assassination, tensions quickly erupted in the township which led to five more people losing their lives and many being injured.

Looking at this narrative and the interval of the infight, it tells that there was an external force behind the continuation of the infight. Every time that the fights began to come to an end, something major would happen to spark it to a fresh start. One example is the death of Chief Kapuuu on 27 March, after the infighting. Things came to an end on 15 April 1978 when another attack happened. Here, Angula was as well caught in between, as he sympathised with the Oshiwambo-speaking Namibians and then the Otjiherero-speaking Namibians despite the fact that he was a hybrid of the two tribes. This is clear in Angula’s narrative as he

specifies the death that was incurred by Awambo but says nothing about the death on the Ovaherero side apart from the one for the Paramount Chief Klemence Kapuuu, of which he instead says was killed by the other faction in the tribal tension - he turned around to use SWAPO instead.

War brings total and immense destruction to infrastructure, property, development, the soul and the human body and changes the characters of the people. Angola only came to realise this after he crossed the Namibian border to Angola. At Shitumba base which they used to call the Socialist Camp, being one of the many bases for the PLAN fighters, Angola was greeted by something strange. Angola (2018) narrates that when they arrived at that base, the reception was genial and warm. Some people there spoke his language but they acted differently. Their behaviour made him think twice about his decision to venture into the struggle and he utters that “my journey has called me out into a juggle wilderness” (p. 50). Angola felt like he was lost because what he thought and heard about exile life was quite the opposite of what he got on the ground. The reality made him go through a mental breakdown at that moment. Angola (2018) writes “I searched my heart; in the still quiet of these moments, time stopped. I suddenly felt alone and aware of being in a strange and distant land disconnected from everyone and anything familiar” (p. 50).

Angola came to see the effects of atrocities in Angola as it was the battleground for different forces. The bloody battle was fought there as the South African Army conducted its destabilising military campaign against Angola while pursuing SWAPO fighters: “Those battles inflicted heavy casualties on both sides. I later learned that SADF had carried out one of their deadliest attacks yet in Angola on 4 May, just two days after my arrival at the Socialist Camp. This operation, code-named Reindeer, targeted a SWAPO camp at Cassinga, a sleepy mining village on a tributary of the Cubango River, some 250 kilometres inside Angola from the Namibian border” (Angola, 2018, pp. 51-52). In his narrative, Angola says that Operation Reindeer started with an air strike at 8 a.m., after that, the SADF dropped a composite of the battalion which was drawn from the parachute unit of 44 Brigade. The SWAPO camp, like Vietnam was attacked by mechanised units. Angola (2018) that “On that day, over 800 Namibians - both civilian and combatants - were murdered in cold blood. At least 200 SWAPO members were captured and taken to the Oshakati military base, where many were tortured during interrogation” (p. 52).

The river gradient is gentle at this point and the largest bridge across the Cunene had once stood here, but it was now destroyed. Civil war made road transport dangerous in this part of the country. The road surface was horrendously potholed and pitted with bomb craters, and the broken tar had been cut into knife-like ridges by tank tracks. Our convoy moved at a walking pace, the truck creaking and groaning over the savage potholes. Blitzed troop carriers and tanks, relics of a great battle fought against the SADF in 1974 were strewn along the verges, a constant reminder of the war. (Angula, 2018, p. 53)

The above narrative speaks of the infrastructure damage suffered by Angola in the name of putting an end to colonialism and its evil activities in Namibia and Angola herself. It made life very difficult, let alone movement and road transportation as it was described by Angula. Damage to buildings and properties alone can bring nightmares and psychological trauma by looking at them. Angula (2018) described the aftermath of war at the Xangongo settlement in the following manner; “the country was a wreck. Statues from its colonial past have been felled. Buildings were pockmarked with bullet holes, and the windows shattered. Some structures were in ruins, and shops and banks were looted and burned down (p. 53). Angula further narrates that even the people themselves were physically and psychologically tormented by the strife of struggling to survive in the total desperation caused by the unending state of conflict. When he spoke to some of the PLAN fighters like Reinhold Aupa Shippanga and Abraham Apere Gabriel, he came to notice that many families in that part of the country had been torn apart. Angula (2018) writes, “I saw a ten-year-old girl who had been crippled in a rocket blast which killed her parents and a middle-aged man who had lost two limbs in combat for the IMPLA”. The brutal reality of atrocity traumatised Angula and he confessed by saying, “The preconceived idea I had of life in Angola began to crumble as I observed the brutal reality of war, which still clings to my memory.”

4.5 Discussion

The following narrative is the opinion of the researcher based on his views and understanding of the two characters, Samson Ndeikwila and Oiva Angula based on their autobiographies. Firstly, the discussion puts forth the importance and value of the content from the two texts, thereafter, the researcher evaluates the position of the two characters on the question of

patriotism to Namibia and the liberation struggle, and lastly, the discussion looks at people's perception of the two autobiographies.

Winston Churchill once said that history is written by the victor, and Namibia's history is no different because many stories were left out of the history book and remained untold by those who ruled the country. At first, it was the Germans who conquered Namibia from 1884 to 1915. Thereafter, the South African regime took over and championed their interest, at the same time justifying it to the global world as they were in charge and had all the resources at their disposal to do so. SWAPO was no different, and after independence, they too presented to the world what they wanted the world to see and know. Questionable as it was, it was shaved on the throat of the people. The most interesting narrative from the two texts was the dark history of life in exile and the spy drama. When it comes to the ordeal of the German and white South African regime, it was public knowledge to everyone, young and old, the young generations were told and continue to be told by their parents who were there or as they heard it from those who were present at the time when atrocity happened to bear witness. As for the liberation struggle, SWAPO came back from exile with conflicting narratives of tribalism, mistreatment of fellow comrades, accusations of sellouts, and being a collaborator of the Boers by being a spy. Talk of that nature continued to find space in our public domain rightly after independence as family members began to look for their loved ones who voluntarily joined the liberation struggle to free Namibia. Also, it's worth noting that rumours about the Shipanga rebellion, the spy drama and the random arrest of new recruits or Namibians upon their arrival in Zambia or Angola without concrete evidence or fair trial of the accused persons. Such developments of human rights violations reached Namibia and her people. Brave parents like Attie Beukes, Eric Beukes and others organised themselves to protest against the SWAPO leadership to release their children and relatives even though they were not aware of who was detained, who was not and who was killed in the process of interrogation. They knew that the situation was very bad and they began to advocate for the release of all the suspects. In some other parts of the country, they heard the news that SWAPO had arrested a great number of enemy agents within their rank and file and they said nothing.

After the country gained independence, the leadership of the two camps, the South African apartheid regime and SWAPO failed to set up a reconciliation commission to help the country and its people heal by bringing peace, forgiveness and unity amongst them through a peaceful

dialogue by uncovering the truth about human rights violations that had occurred during the period of apartheid and the liberation struggle. While Namibia struggled to bring the two factions together, South Africa successfully had their TRC and this is what Tutu (1995) said; The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was born of a spirit of public participation, as the new government solicited the opinions of South Africans and the international community regarding the issue of granting amnesty as well as the issue of accountability in respect to past violations and reparations for victims. Civil society, including human rights lawyers, the religious community, and victims, formed a coalition of more than 50 organisations that participated in a public dialogue on the merits of a truth commission. This consultative process lasted a year and culminated in the legislation, the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34 of 1995 (the Act), that established the TRC.

That dialogue helped to defuse the tension and animosity between those perceived as victims and perpetrators of the human rights violation. In Namibia, this platform was never there, the victims, those who were accused, the SWAPO leadership and its members and the South African Boers, all kept quiet after the war. The silence exacerbated the curiosity of those Namibians who were inside the country as they wanted to hear what exactly happened in exile. They wanted to hear if the South African regime accepted their wrongdoing with the apartheid policy, but nothing came of it. This stalemate on open dialogue about exile spy drama makes the two autobiographies an important piece of history which seeks to try and reveal the hidden and untold history of the Namibian people. It might not carry the total truth but at least, they have given the people who were inside Namibia a glimpse of what happened in Tanzania, Zambia and lastly in Angola in the Lubango dungeons.

On the question of patriotism, Ndeikwila and a team of his classmates went into exile for their own personal interests. They went to further their education as they wanted to go to institutions of higher learning like universities and colleges to become engineers and doctors to mention a few. The circumstances in exile forced them to join the struggle to liberate Namibia, but not wholeheartedly into becoming a PLAN fighter. At Kongwa military training, Ndeikwila's mind and attention were on the shortcomings of the struggle not really committed to adapting to the new environment and pursuing the struggle instead of asking questions and complaining about every little error. While in Tanzania, Angula was advised

that if they were not happy with the leadership of SWAPO and PLAN, they should go to Kenya and study like how others have done. Ndeikwila refused to listen to that wisdom and he continued to challenge the higher authorities until he was dealt with.

When Angula left the country, he made it clear, that he had two options, to go into exile and join the PLAN fighters, to become a guerrilla for SWAPO while waiting for the opportunity to go and study, if the opportunity would not present itself, he would be fine to be an ordinary PLAN fighter. Nevertheless, his first priority was school while other things were a second option. When Angula was selected to go to Europe to study, he was very excited, as can be seen in his narrative. Angula (2018) writes, "On arrival at the camp office, the CoS informed me that the party had decided to send me to study in Europe. To Europe! I almost choked with excitement." Angula was arrested twice in exile, his first arrest was supposed to serve as an eye-opener, which was supposed to give him a clear picture of what was happening behind closed doors in exile. Even after the exoneration of his first arrest, he was still monitored, just like he explained himself in this manner, "From that time onwards, I knew that we would be under constant surveillance by security agents. I also knew that they could re-arrest us at any given moment, on any pretext. I felt their eyes on me everywhere I went" (Angula, 2018, p. 77). The above was warning enough for someone to look for a safe place, even to think about returning to Namibia, just like the Mboroma situation in Ndeikwila's autobiography. Ndeikwila narrated that 200 PLAN fighters who were accused of being rebels and later acquitted felt that they were no longer safe in SWAPO so they sought protection elsewhere like being in the care of the UNHCR. But as for Angula, he did not attempt to prevent further harassment and torture of his body, but he stayed put and continued to do business as usual. Instead of being careful in Lubango, Angula behaved recklessly. He had the audacity to question the decision of higher authority knowing very well that it was not allowed. One such incident was against the Soviet Commissar by the name of Oleg who was a member of the KGB which is *Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnsti*, which translates to State Security Committee. Angula carelessly provoked this man with his political rhetoric and after he was warned to stop, he went on to make fun of the Soviet instructor by laughing. As if that was not enough, Angula again made some unpleasant comments by complaining about the behaviours of senior staff. He accused them of grabbing luxury food items supplied to the centre, while the instructor had to take the leftovers. The camp commander came to warn

him again, as usual, but he took it for granted to the extent of laughing at the camp commander, which is a sign of disrespect to seniors. This forced the camp commander to remind him of the consequence of his attitude, and where he mentioned Beni Petrus, Angula again pretended not to know what the camp commander meant. He acted like he was a new arrival of exile while he was an old member. His behaviour made the camp commander and the security officer question his loyalty to the struggle.

Agony of Truth and *SWAPO Captive* were not written and published in the same year. It was *Agony of Truth* which first hit the shelf in 2014, thereafter, its extended edition came in 2019. *SWAPO Captive* by Oiva Angula was published in 2018, and there is no extended edition of that book. Ndeikwila's book was met with mixed feelings. Some people applauded his work, people such as Joseph Diescho and Erika von Wietersheim, while others criticised it - people like Guchu and others. Those who spoke highly of the book and its author like Erika Von Wietersheim praised Ndeikwila for his work and effort. She references the manner in which people reacted towards the book and the contents it carried. This is the extended edition of which the first publication sold very fast where it was only a few people who got the opportunity to lay their hands on the copies. That record convinced Von Wietersheim to conclude that readers have an eye and test for anything that tells truth in its totality, especially when it involves pain, suffering and agony. Such is one of the reasons the book sold very fast and the other is the content. The message which the book carries is the pain and agony which Namibians who were in exile suffered at the hands of SWAPO leadership.

Diescho (2014) reassured everyone that Ndeikwila's book is an important brick in the construction of the story of Namibia. He reasoned by saying that such is so because one of the serious gaps in Africa's historiography is the absence of personal narratives, told honestly without fear or favour, which depict the experiences of people as they happened. He further on and said that the book fulfils that role, and he also encouraged the Namibian and African people to see the need to tell their stories while they are alive.

Guchu (2018) criticised Ndeikwila saying that the book should not be praised or celebrated as it did not address the truth in its totality, thus saying that it appeared that the search for the truth about what happened during the liberation struggles in southern Africa will not be

known for a while longer. He vented his disappointment by saying that it is becoming apparent with every book written by cadres who took part in the struggles; witnessed the events of war; or were told about the ugly things that happened during the wars of liberation in the region. It's not only Samson Ndeikwila's recently launched autobiography, *The Agony of Truth*, that does not dig deeper into the trenches for the honest truth, but almost every other book written by liberation war stalwarts in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola.

Angula's book was published in 2018, thus far it's yet to have a critical review from scholars nor a known negative criticism from the general public. One person who had something to say was Asheeke, but she had everything good to say about the autobiography. She said that the autobiography was stark and compelling, a piece in the mosaic depicting the long and successful battle against apartheid. Between the two autobiographies, Angula's book has the edge cutting elements within it and it cuts deep as it unravels the sensitive and painful emotion of the past, which in a nutshell, looks like it was too early to have a book of this nature in the public space as it has the ability to incite violence. Everyone who has read the book was somehow shocked and speechless. Overall, there is a positive reception from the general public, those who have read it keep on recommending the book to others, and that is how the researcher came to select the book as part of his research tool. Those who have seen the book and read the title of the book from the cover page showed a great interest in the book, some went to the extent of requesting the book.

4.6. Chapter summary

The chapter analysed the data that was obtained from the two personal autobiographies in which the analysis addressed each autobiography individually. It is a post-colonial literature that studies humanity and its behaviours to better grasp colonialism and its effect on both sides of the coin, the colonised and the coloniser. The analysis was based on three objectives, the first one looked at identifying various forms of oppression which Namibia and her people experienced from both the colonial forces and Namibians themselves as portrayed in the two autobiographies. Thereafter, the researcher examined the terrifying stories of betrayal and torture in the two autobiographies, while the last objective analysed the effects of atrocities in the two autobiographies. In each of the analyses, the researcher brought forth the data

from *Agony of Truth*, Ndeikwila's autobiography and then the findings from *SWAPO Captive* by Oiva Angula.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This is the last chapter of this study. It serves as a presentation of the finding's summary, conclusion and recommendations. The study was based on the research topic: Exploring liberation war atrocities in postcolonial autobiographies of Ndeikwila's *Agony of Truth* and Angula's *SWAPO Captive*. The analysis responded to the following study objective, namely to;

1. identify various forms of oppression as portrayed in the two autobiographies,
2. examine the terrifying stories of betrayal and torture in the two autobiographies, and
3. analyse the effects of atrocities in the two autobiographies

5.2. Summary of the findings

5.2.1. Objective one: To identify various forms of oppression as portrayed in the two autobiographies

Firstly, the African continent in which Namibia is found went through different phases of colonialism starting with Christianity which neutralised the resistance of African people against the invaders by subjecting them to the European religious system. Religion destroyed the African culture through excommunicating, divide and conquer tactics. Bourdillon (1960, p. 269) explains that although the task of missionaries was to evangelise the people, Christianity was unnecessarily turned into an ideology which was used to lay the ground for white domination. Religion was used to legitimise, sustain and even promote political oppression. Nkomazana and Setume (2019) further write that the Western missionaries believed that traditional religious beliefs and practices were inferior, and together with the traditional customs, had to be done away with before the acceptance of Christianity. The second phase of oppression came in the form of restriction of movement with the introduction of the apartheid policy of passing laws. Greg (1991) writes that South West Africa (now Namibia), under the apartheid regime had to endure the pass laws which served as an internal passport system which was designed to racially segregate the population, restrict the movement of a group or individuals, and allocate low-wage migrant labour. Also known as the natives' law, these laws severely restricted the movements of Black Namibians and other racial groups by confining them to designated areas. The pass law policy of apartheid

subjugated many Namibians, both young and old. The young Namibians suffered by enduring the Bantu education system, while the elders suffered through the contract labour system. It is worth noting that Namibians lost their freedom to choose, move and of expression. They were stripped of their democratic rights during the apartheid era. SAHO (2019) has it that South African apartheid laws were extended to Namibia from South Africa which prevented black Namibians from having any political rights, as well as restricted from social and economic freedoms. South Africa's rule over Namibia aimed to exploit the mineral resources of white South Africa. South Africa was not targeting mineral resources only but human capital as well, in which they exploited workers through a contract labour system.

5.2. 2. Objective Two: To examine the terrifying stories of betrayal and torture in the two autobiographies.

The second objective brought forth the ordeal which Namibian people went through during the colonial period, where the researcher looked at the issue of terrifying stories to which many people were subjected, and some had to choose between life and death. In a nutshell, many Namibians were forced to betray other Namibians under duress circumstances. Concrete facts were brought forth, which explicitly reveal that betrayal, torture and psychological torment were useful tools which aided colonialism and weakened the resistance against it. Many Namibians paid with their life in the process of resisting colonialism and oppression. It was also discovered that colonialism and oppression of a people cannot take place successfully if the colonised or oppressed people are not aiding colonialists by betraying one another. Therefore, the case of the liberation struggle in Namibia was no different, some Namibians collaborated with the coloniser voluntarily, and knowingly while others did so unaware or against their will.

5.2.3. Objective three: To analyse the effects of atrocities in the two autobiographies

The data which was unearthed in this objective speaks to the consequences of atrocities in human life, and the damage that atrocity does to an individual, a group of people or the entire community. As it's known, every damaging action has its own physical, emotional and psychological effect that a human being has to deal with thereafter. Therefore, the researcher has revealed the consequences which different actors went through and continue to go through in the aftermath of colonialism and the experience of the liberation struggle for the

total independence of Namibia. Every ordeal that a human being goes through in life, such ordeal has a negative effect on that person's well-being. The experienced pain often leaves in their wake a toxic combination of unresolved trauma, grievous injustice, physical dislocation, and political conflict that will continue to haunt an individual for a lifetime if he/she is not accorded with necessary medical help. Although there were a lot of effects that came with colonialism, the most notable one which was picked up by Ndeikwila was the displacement of Namibian people from their native land. While Angula emphasised the physical confrontation and mental breakdown of black people.

5.3. Recommendations

This study was limited to paying close attention to events of colonialism and the liberation struggle. The approach was aided by postcolonial theory which examined the activities of nationalist armed groups in Namibia which took up armed struggle to attain self-governance and independence from foreign rulers. The researcher focused on the consequence of the liberation struggle in which many Namibian people suffered and lost their lives while fighting to gain independence from the South African colonial regime under a liberation movement.

5.3.1. Objective one: Identify various forms of oppression as portrayed in the two autobiographies.

The researcher sees the need for future scholars to venture into a study, looking at objectives like political oppression, where individuals or a group of people face systemic discrimination or are punished for their political beliefs. For example, analyse the political climate described in both books and how it affected the lives of the characters.

5.3.2. Objective two: Examine the terrifying stories of betrayal and torture in the two autobiographies.

In the future, scholars should look at identifying recurring themes related to oppression, such as resilience, survival, or the quest for justice, and discuss how these themes are developed throughout the narratives of the two autobiographies.

5.3.3. Objective three: Analyse the effects of atrocities in the two autobiographies

Other scholars who will be interested in taking up a study on these two autobiographies can look at objectives like the personal impact of atrocities on the author or the narrators. There is a need to examine how atrocities which are described in autobiographies affect the authors on personal, emotional, and psychological levels. The keyguard is by looking at instances of trauma, anxiety, or PTSD and how they shape the authors' identities and beliefs.

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