



**VALEDICTORY STATEMENT BY COMRADE SAM
NUJOMA, PRESIDENT OF THE SWAPO PARTY AT
THE HISTORIC 4TH SWAPO PARTY CONGRESS IN A
FREE AND INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA**

**27 - 30 NOVEMBER 2007
WINDHOEK**

Comrade Hifikepunye Pohamba, President of the Republic of Namibia and Vice President of the SWAPO-Party,
Comrade Ngarikutuke Tjiriange, Secretary General of the SWAPO-Party,
Comrade John Pandeni, Deputy Secretary General of the SWAPO-Party,
Comrade Members of the Central Committee of the SWAPO Party;
Comrade Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the SWAPO Party;
Comrade Members of the Regional and District Leadership of the SWAPO Party;
Comrade Executive Members of the SWAPO Party Wings; Comrade Members of the National Union of Namibian Workers;
Comrades:

My term of Office comes to an end at the conclusion of this historic Congress, after serving 47 years as President of the SWAPO Party. I want to sincerely thank you all for the collective leadership, solidarity, comradeship and unity of purpose and action through which we stood together and led the Party to victory against the minority white colonial apartheid regime of South Africa, including the past 17 years of nation building.

SWAPO Party was formed on 19th April 1960 with a clear purpose of liberating our Motherland from colonial occupation and oppression. It drew inspiration from our forebearers such as Captain Hendrik Witbooi, Jacob Marenga, Chief Kahimemwa Nguvauva, Chief Samuel Maharero, Chief Nehale Lja Mpingana, Chief Mandume ja Ndemufayo, Abraham Morris, Simon Kooper, Chief lipumbu ja Tshilongo and others who fought the war of resistance against German colonialism and South African apartheid colonial occupation. They stood firm for the protection and defence of the motherland from European colonial invaders. Their mandate was taken over by Chief Hosea Kutako, Chief Samuel Witbooi and Reverend Theofelus Hamutumbangela who used the weapon of petitioning the United Nations (UN) to place the then Southwest Africa under the UN Trusteeship System with the clear purpose of assisting the Namibian people towards self-determination and independence.

The white minority colonial apartheid regime of South Africa perpetuated colonial oppression against our people. It imposed apartheid policies such as separate development, Bantustans, Bantu education and the so-called South West Africa Labour Association (SWALA) under which the indigenous Namibian workers were recruited as cheap contract labourers. It was in response to the systematic colonization of our country, that we formed the Ovamboland Peoples' Organization (OPO) in 1959 to fight against colonial exploitation.

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OPO was instrumental, together with Chief Hosea Kutako's Herero Council, in organizing the national protest against the forceful removal of our people from the Old Location to the present day Katutura.

On that fateful day, 10 December 1959, the minority white colonial troops of South Africa brutally killed more than 12 innocent Namibians, including Kakurukaze Mungunda in cold blood and wounded 50 others. The Old Location Massacre signaled the turning point in the history of our National Liberation Struggle. In the following year, on 19 April 1960, we formed SWAPO as a Liberation Movement in order to fight for our genuine freedom and independence. SWAPO mobilized under its banner and drew together various progressive forces in Namibia such as the workers, youth, churches under the Council of Churches in Namibia and peasants and became the embodiment of their aspirations for freedom. SWAPO decided that political mobilization, as well as diplomatic and military efforts should be pursued concurrently. Therefore, a three pronged strategy was adopted, namely mass political mobilization inside Namibia, diplomatic offensive to isolate the minority white apartheid regime at the international level and armed liberation struggle..

Inside the country, mass political mobilization was intensified. Following the Tanga Consultative Conference in 1970, the National Union of Namibian Workers was established to mobilize the workers in order to paralyze the colonial economy. The SWAPO Party Youth League was also established to mobilize the youth of Namibia in order to participate actively in the national liberation struggle. Vibrant and fearless SWAPO Party Youth leaders such as Jerry Ekandjo, Joseph Kasheha, Martin Kapewasha and others demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the illegal apartheid colonial regime of South Africa from Namibia.

In adhering to SWAPO's clarion call, the workers turned their work places into battle grounds, leading to the successful 1971 general strike. Other anticolonial forces such as progressive churches and students joined the struggle. In the same year, Bishop Leonard Auala of the Owambo-Kavango Evangelical Lutheran Church and Rev. Paulus Gowaseb of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of South West Africa wrote a letter of protest to John Vorster, the then Prime Minister of the minority white apartheid colonial regime of South Africa, condemning the evil system of apartheid.

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On the diplomatic front, SWAPO successfully mobilized the international community through the UN, Organization of African Unity (OAU) the forerunner of AU, the Frontline States and Nigeria as well as the Non-Aligned Movement to isolate the apartheid regime. In 1971, UN General Assembly recognized SWAPO, as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people and declared the presence of South Africa in Namibia illegal. SWAPO gained friends and allies from all parts of the world which rendered political, diplomatic and material support.

The Namibian people will remain forever indebted to the selfless support and solidarity from anti-apartheid movement, Namibia support group and other anti-colonial organizations such as the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), the Polisario Front and progressive nations such as Tanzania, Zambia, Angola, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Cuba, China, Egypt, Algeria, Congo Brazzaville and the rest of the international community that supported SWAPO during the difficult years of our national liberation struggle. We, thus, have a duty to extend the same support to various nations battling to establish peace and stability in their countries. We should therefore continue to work together with all peace loving nations of the world through the UN and other multilateral agencies to promote the maintenance of world peace and security and ensure that human kind will live in peace without the threat of war.

On the military front, brave and heroic combatants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) carried out successful military operations against the racist colonial troops of South African apartheid regime inside Namibia, inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy. The racist troops of South Africa were finally defeated at the historic Battle of Cuito Cuanavale by the combined forces of Angolan national army-FAPLA, Cuban Internationalist Forces and SWAPO PLAN Combatants, leading to the South African apartheid regime signing the ceasefire agreement with SWAPO and accepting the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 that paved the way for the genuine independence of Namibia.

I, therefore, pay tribute and respect to the tested and outstanding PLAN commanders, political commissars and combatants who executed their heroic duties with exceptional dedication and profound sense of mission in liberating their motherland from apartheid colonial occupation. Some died during the Old Location Massacre in 1959, while others died in the Battle of Omugulu-Gwombashe and at other battles with the enemy or in foreign lands. Among them are Commanders Tobias Hainyeko, Peter Eneas Nanyemba, Jason Hamutenya Ndadi Wanehepo, Greenwell Matongo, Hanganee Katjipuka Kavezeri, Helao Nafidi, Wilbard Tashiya Nakada, David Mbango, Isack Shikongo Pondo, John Hamukoto, Augustus Nghaamwa

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McNamara, Jonas Haiduwa, Penny Hashoongo, Peter Manyuka Mbereshu, Brendan Simbwaye and others. Their exemplary deeds will continue to serve, as a permanent source of inspiration in our second phase of the struggle for economic independence. Their blood waters our freedom.

I also pay homage to many other departed Comrades who contributed greatly to our country's freedom and independence. After independence, they played a crucial role in Namibia's nation-building and economic reconstruction. I remember our departed comrades such as Anton Libowski, Immanuel Shifidi Moses Garoeb, Peter Mweshihange, Israel Patric Iyambo Lungada, Axel Johannes, Johny ya Otto, Eliaser Tuhadeleni Kaxumba ka Ndola, Dimo Hamaambo, David Meroro, Getrude Kandanga Hilukilua, Maxton Joseph Mutongolume, Mose Tjitendero, David Uushona, Richard Kapelwa Kabajani, to mention but a few.

Comrades,

As we all know, the achievement of freedom and independence of our country was only a critical point of departure but not the destination. Political freedom will remain meaningless unless it is accompanied by genuine economic independence. Therefore, at independence, the SWAPO Party Government decided to tackle the challenges that faced the nation, namely, uniting the nation that has been divided along tribal and ethnic lines as well as to tackle the scourge of poverty, diseases, ignorance and under-development. We immediately embarked upon educational reform and economic reconstruction, building and expansion of physical infrastructures and provision of basic public services and other amenities to our people.

Over the past seventeen years, the SWAPO Party Government has implemented various projects such as the development of physical and communication infrastructures, building of roads, hospitals and clinics, schools, provision of potable water, rural electrification and many others in all the thirteen regions of our country who have been long denied these basic services by the colonial white South African apartheid regime.

We have made good progress with the road construction projects forming part of the Trans-Caprivi and Trans-Kalahari Highways which are important routes between the Walvis Bay Harbour and Namibia's neighbouring landlocked countries such as Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Eastern DRC through the Ndola-Lumbumbashe-Walvis Bay Corridor.

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We have embarked upon the construction of the Northern Railway Extension Project from Tsumeb via Ondangwa to Oshikango to join the Angolan railway system in order to increase commercial trade between Namibia and Angola and the wider SADC region. I would like to express my profound thanks and gratitude to all Namibians from all corners of the country and all walks of life for volunteering to work on the railway and wish to urge all our people to continue to volunteer ourselves to work on projects that are being implemented in all the regions of our country and in so doing, complement our Government's development efforts.

Comrades,

The development and growth of Small and Medium Enterprises has the potential to enhance economic growth and development. We must continue to promote programmes which are aimed at building capacities and create conducive environment for the development of our Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs), as a means to create employment opportunities for our people. Efforts must be made to expand the existing opportunities created by the local financial institutions, including the Development Bank of Namibia to fund productive SME ventures. We must remove all bottlenecks and enhance efficiency in order to strengthen the growth of this important economic sector.

The manufacturing and adding-value to our natural resources must remain a priority in order to improve the competitiveness of our national economy globally. Our country is blessed with abundant natural resources. We must embark upon economic diversification so that we can produce finished goods for local consumption and export them to other countries.

Comrades,

Education and training remain critical to our youth who are the future leaders of our country. We must encourage them to study mathematics and science subjects so that we can produce our own agriculturalists, medical doctors, engineers, geologists, architects, marine biologists, economists, mathematicians and scientists who can contribute significantly to the realization of Vision 2030. We should continue reforming our educational system to ensure that it corresponds with the challenges that face our nation. Equally, the SWAPO Party Government must continue allocating adequate resources to the education sector and provide scholarships and bursaries to our youth who pursue studies at institutions of higher learning in order to complete their studies.

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As the saying goes, charity begins at home. Therefore, in order to succeed, all Namibians have a duty to encourage our children to study hard at school and take their education seriously. Our youth are increasingly losing focus on the future. They engage in negative behaviors and alcohol and drug abuse that destroy their lives. We must advise and encourage our youth to lead productive lives and contribute to the socio-economic development of our country. We must also promote, strengthen and diversify the National Youth Service programme in order to train more youth in technical skills and thereby create employment opportunities for themselves and their fellow citizens. Above all, the NYS is an important national instrument that can be used to inculcate the values of patriotism, hard-work, discipline and respect for cultural norms and values which are critical to nation building.

Comrades,

A nation can only be proud to be independent among other nations when it produces its own food. Therefore, with the view to enhance food security and self-sufficiency in our country, the SWAPO Party Government prioritized the development of agriculture. Since independence, various programmes were initiated in order to diversify and improve agricultural production. We have also initiated several projects under the Green Scheme along the Orange, Kunene, Okavango and Zambezi Rivers for crop production.

In addition, aquaculture projects and research centres have been established in various regions of our country. More scientific research must be carried out to enhance their productivity and thereby improve food self-sufficiency and enhance the standard of living of our people.

Comrades,

As you will no doubt agree with me, we still face many challenges in our nation building efforts. We must therefore remain united and focus our energies on the application of scientific research and appropriate technology for development, proper planning and timely implementation of our development plans and programmes. In this way, we will be able to achieve our strategic objectives, namely the eradication of poverty, disease, ignorance and under-development.

In order to succeed as a nation, we must mobilize all Namibians in general and all the members of the SWAPO Party in particular, to promote national unity, solidarity and patriotism. We should eradicate all negative tendencies of individualism, regionalism and tribalism because these are not only against the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia and of the SWAPO Party, but experience has taught us that these negative vices had destroyed nations.

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They derail social progress and economic development. The hallmark of our national liberation struggle was to fight against racial discrimination, tribalism and apartheid. We must never and never again allow ourselves to be divided on the basis of regionalism, tribalism and ethnicity.

Equally, we should support efforts that are being made to accelerate the socioeconomic integration of the SADC region and the wider African continent through the African Union. We should promote commercial trade and investments among all African countries in order to accelerate economic development and reduction of poverty, diseases and ignorance.

Comrades,

I have been privileged to lead SWAPO from its formation. We faced difficult situations where decisions had to be made in order to succeed. The decision to go to war was not an easy one. But we also had no other alternative, as the minority white apartheid South African regime was oppressive. We chose to go to war to free ourselves from colonial oppression. We carried out the armed liberation struggle to its logical conclusion.

“I am stepping down as President of SWAPO Party with a full sense of fulfillment. I am proud to have worked with the entire leadership of SWAPO. Collectively, we have steered SWAPO through immense challenges, some of which might have seemed insurmountable. There were internal contradictions, most often driven by tribalistic, power hungry, unpatriotic and selfish individuals.”

In all these challenges, SWAPO persevered, survived and emerged even stronger. The current fall out of some individuals from SWAPO Party should be seen in that context. It has come and it will pass. I have confidence in SWAPO Party leadership and its rank and file. I have confidence too that they will continue to defend the Party from any challenge that faces it. I equally have trust and confidence in the people of Namibia who are the strength and backbone of the SWAPO Party.

We have not lost a sense of common purpose and direction. We are on course. We have a duty to carry out the mandate and lead the people of Namibia during the second phase of the struggle for economic independence.

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Comrades,

We should not be steered away by those that fall on the wayside and abandon the SWAPO Party. Our mandate to govern is derived from the trust and confidence the people of Namibia have in the SWAPO Party. We should implement the promises we have made to the people of Namibia, as outlined in the SWAPO Party Election Manifesto and Political Programme.

The successes that we have achieved were possible through the collective unity of purpose among the entire leadership and rank and file of the SWAPO Party, first as a liberation movement and today, as a ruling party in a free and independent Namibia. We went through thick and thin, however, through unity, comradeship and solidarity, we prevailed until final victory was achieved. We committed ourselves, our energies and resources to "Everything for the s t r u g g l e : A l l f o r t h e f i n a l v i c t o r y " That bound us together and faced the powerful enemy with vigor and determination. We owe it to the thousands of our heroes and heroines as well as to the brave sons and daughters of Namibia who shed their precious blood and paid the highest price by sacrificing their lives for us to attain genuine Freedom and Independence.

As leaders of the SWAPO Party, the party that is anchored on the glorious history of the struggle against colonialism, we should continue to promote unity and embrace common purpose to steer the Namibian nation towards genuine economic independence. This is our heritage that we should bequeath to the future generations of Namibians.

We must re-dedicate ourselves to the ideals of national unity and patriotism so that we can defend our hard-won Freedom and Independence. Although the enemy was defeated politically, he has not given up. History has taught us how the enemies of peace, freedom and social progress have caused division, political instability and economic sabotage in some sisterly countries on the African continent.

The enemy is embarking upon maneuvers and machinations in order to mislead and convert some of our fellow African compatriots and turn them against their own people in order to reverse the gains of our freedom and independence. These deceptive attempts are the main causes of chronic marginalization and under-development on the African continent.

As Namibians, and as Africans, we must therefore be on the full alert and remain vigilant against deceptive attempts by opportunists and unpatriotic elements that only serve the interests of their masters.

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The SWAPO Party of the 21st Century requires that as leaders, we should act with dedication and commitment; to always promote the interests of the Party and the national interests before our own. It is only through that manner that we will build a strong Party that continues to rule Namibia for ever. Let us stay on course.

The people of Namibia look at the SWAPO Party to provide leadership and direction. SWAPO has the capacity to deliver that and show the way forward. We owe it to those who sacrificed their precious lives for the liberation of this country. We owe it to succeeding generations who will carry on from where we shall leave. I pass the torch with the hope that SWAPO Party will continue to ensure unity, peace and tranquility, social justice, equal opportunity and prosperity for all Namibians.

Remember, a united people, striving to achieve common good for all members in the society, will always emerge victorious.”

SWAPO-United!
SWAPO-Victorious!
Now-Hard Work!

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RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE 4th SWAPO PARTY CONGRESS

The SWAPO Party has the mandate to lead our country towards victory in the second phase of the struggle for economic independence and achieve prosperity and sustainable socio-economic development. Therefore, I would like to recommend to the SWAPO Party Congress the following policy initiatives for consideration and implementation by the SWAPO Party Government:

1. Development of Agriculture and Aquaculture:

The Third National Development Plan (NDP3) and Vision 2030 prioritized the development of agriculture to enhance food self-sufficiency in the country. Therefore, the SWAPO Party Government must accelerate agricultural production through intensive research and diversification. The identified projects under the Green Scheme along the Okavango, Orange and Zambezi Rivers must fully be implemented to enhance their productivity and create employment opportunities.

The development of aquaculture must be accelerated, especially along the coastal areas and in various parts of our country. This must be complemented with the cultivation of seaweeds and mushroom production at our coastal towns such as Luderitz, Walvis Bay and Henties Bay.

2. Desalination Project

Water is life. The SWAPO Party Government must embark upon strategies that are aimed at sustainable and coordinated management, protection and utilization of water resources. Namibia is a dry country, but endowed with abundant sea water of the Atlantic Ocean. We should therefore embark upon development of scientific research capacity on desalination of sea water along our coast so that we can produce adequate water for domestic use and also for irrigation for agriculture, particularly in the Namib Desert.

3. Glass Factory

Namibia has all the natural resources such as silicone in various parts of the country as well as sand along the Namib Desert, which can be used for the manufacturing of glass ware. The SWAPO Party Government must promote research efforts that are aimed at the manufacturing of glass for the development of the glass and related industries in order to enhance the competitiveness of the national economy.

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4. Value addition initiatives

Namibia is endowed with abundant minerals such as copper, gold, zinc, tin and lead. These minerals must be enhanced for the economic benefits of the country. Smelters must be built around where these minerals are mined and manufacturing industries must be developed to transform them into finished products for local consumption and export them to other countries. By so doing, Namibia will be able to improve the performance of her economy and alleviate poverty and under-development.

5. Power Generation

Adequate energy resources underpin the industrialization of any economy. Therefore, efforts must be made to ensure that the viable energy proposals such as the Kudu Gas project and the hydro-electric energy projects are implemented, as a matter of urgency. Continuous scientific research must be conducted to explore the development of other energy resources such as wind farming and solar energy to enhance energy self-sufficiency in the country.

Namibia has abundant uranium which is also a rich energy resource. Scientific studies must be carried out to develop uranium energy generation plant to enhance the energy capacity in the country.

6. Development of Road and Port Infrastructures

The development of roads and ports infrastructures must continue to receive the attention of the SWAPO Party Government in order to link all small and major town centres in the country. Improved road networks smoothen transport and movement of goods and passengers, especially from mines and manufacturing points to the market centres. The most important of all the road network projects is the building of the port at Agra Fria. I wish to commend His Excellency, Comrade Hifikepunye Pohamba, President of the Republic of Namibia for commissioning the Rundu-Elundu road which is part of the wider Trans-Caprivi Highway through Nkurenkuru-Okongo-Eenhana-Onuno through Omafo-Ongenga-Okalongo-Outapi-Tsandi-Okahao-Omakange-Opuwo to the envisaged port of Agra Fria on our north-western coast where a new Harbour will be built. More resources should be allocated to ensure the speedy realization of this important national road network.

The Cape Fria Harbour will serve, as an important link between Namibia, in particular and the wider SADC region and to the outside world in general, thus, improving commercial trade between Southern Africa and Europe, North America as well as Latin America.

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7. Diversification of NYS Programmes

The NYS is an important organ to enhance the development of the youth, as future leaders of our country. Therefore, the SWAPO Party Government should diversify NYS programmes in all areas of economic development such as aquaculture, crop production under the Green Scheme and manufacturing ventures throughout the 13 regions.

In order to succeed all youth programmes in various parts of the country should be consolidated to enhance their efficiency and productivity.

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