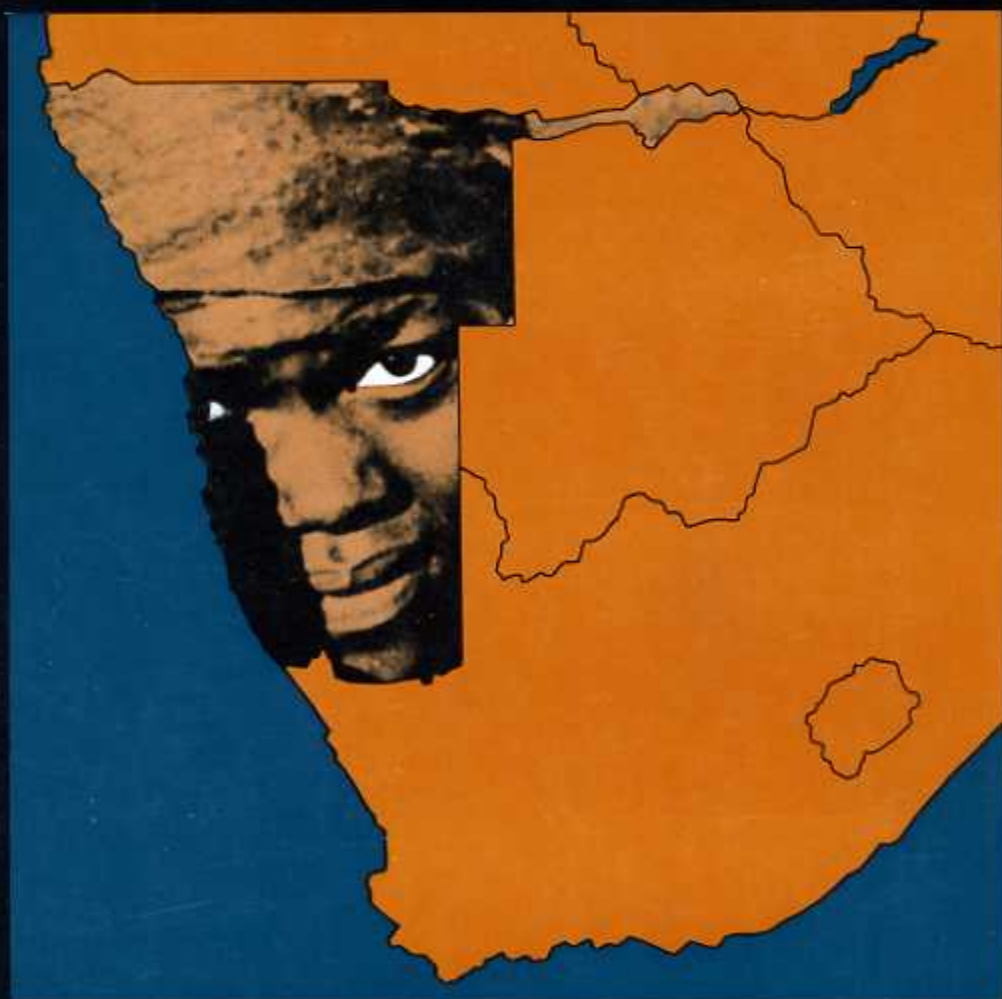


NAM 3.3.4

Namibia:

Marion O'Callaghan

the effects
of apartheid
on culture
and education



unesco

**Namibia: the effects of
apartheid on culture and education**

Uniform with this volume:

**Southern Rhodesia: the Effects of a Conquest
Society on Education, Culture and Information**

Namibia:

the effects of apartheid on culture and education

by Marion O'Callaghan

unesco

Published in 1977 by the United Nations
Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization,
7 Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris
Printed by Imprimerie des Presses Universitaires de France, Vendôme

ISBN 92-3-101476-5
French edn.: 92-3-201476-9

© Unesco 1977
Printed in France

Preface

The legal background to the South African colonial occupation of Namibia (South West Africa) is well known. Less known are the effects of South African rule within the territory. This is not surprising, since material on Namibia is difficult to obtain. There is no university in the country; there are few African graduates; and even white researchers have done little work there. In any case, it is normal that interest should be focused on the strictly political and legal aspects of the relationship between the Republic of South Africa and Namibia. The status of Namibia has been the subject of decisions by the International Court of Justice and the United Nations, and it is the only country in the world that is the direct concern—at least on paper—of the United Nations.

This book does not attempt to analyse the juridical history of Namibia. That has been done elsewhere. What is attempted here is an analysis of education and culture in Namibia as major social institutions operated by a colonial government (the Republic of South Africa) which claims to have found the answer to conflict in a policy of white supremacy, i.e. apartheid or 'separate development'.

Researchers in race relations should read this book together with the others that make up this Unesco series on southern Africa: *Apartheid: its Effects on Education, Science, Culture and Information* (Unesco, 2nd revised edition, 1972); *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: the End of an Era* (Unesco, 1974); and *Southern Rhodesia: the Effects of a Conquest Society on Education, Culture and Information* (Unesco, 1977).

Unesco hopes that this book will add to the corpus of knowledge of Namibia and of the mechanics of racist societies. The opinions expressed are, however, those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of Unesco.

Contents

Preface	5
Introduction	9
Part I The historical background	
1 Conquest	15
2 The Mandate	22
3 United Nations action	28
Part II Political and economic incorporation	
4 Political and economic incorporation	49
Part III Education	
5 Education to 1962	95
6 Education from 1962 to 1975	116
Part IV Culture	
7 Culture in Namibia	159
Conclusions	167

Introduction

Namibia is one of the few remaining colonies in the world. It is not by chance that this is so, for Namibia belongs to that group of settler societies comprised of Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa and constituting the white-ruled south of the continent of Africa. In all three, there were bloody wars of conquest: the so-called Zulu wars of South Africa, the Shona-Ndebele uprising in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and the revolt of the Hereros against German rule in Namibia. These wars were fought not simply against a colonial administration but also against the implantation of white settlers. The Africans lost, and the settlers proceeded not only to bloody reprisals but also to the confiscation of lands and cattle, a ruthless assault on the former so-called tribal system and a reorganization of the country into white rulers and African subjects.

However, it would be simplistic to see the situation of the present white-ruled countries as simply a continuation of the situation in the late nineteenth century. Certainly, that period did leave its mark on the relationship between the two major groups, Africans and Europeans, as well as mould the relationship between both these groups and intermediate groups such as the Coloureds; but more relevant to the present situation is the whole elaboration of the economy in southern Africa, which depends for its high profits on cheap mobile African labour and on the system of reserves (the Bantustans), the gradual agricultural deterioration of which drives African labour towards white farms and industries. The reserves, therefore, must be maintained, because the existing economy in southern Africa requires not their liquidation but their retention: not only are they the large-scale reserve of labour needed for the South African economy, not only can workers be 'returned' without the additional cost of supporting them if they are ill or old, but they exist 'outside' white South Africa. This permits a higher rate of exploitation than if the reserves were part of the Republic—or of white Rhodesia—since they must themselves increasingly pay for such services as medicine, housing, education and social facilities. The quotation marks around 'outside' are justified, for the Bantustans are an integral part of the white economy and only fictionally outside it. If these Bantustans are to survive as

semi-subsistence areas around white, highly capitalized zones, they can do so only with the active co-operation of the political leadership of these areas. Here South Africa uses one of the old principles of colonialization: indirect rule, i.e. rule through the chiefs with as little disturbance of 'native' customs as is compatible with capitalist penetration. In fact, this return to tradition and customary tribal leadership represents a deliberate effort by the South African Government. It is not 'Lugardism'.^{1*} Not only are certain traditions selected by white authorities and reinforced, but 'tribes', their boundaries and a hierarchical pattern of leadership are fabricated to facilitate South African control today—and to ensure that 'independence' completes the pattern of political and economic domination while ridding South Africa of the cost of administration and services. Traditions are thus used to ensure that neither a competing African modern political élite emerges to threaten the pattern of South African control, nor that class conflict, even within the restricted areas of the Bantustans, should threaten the over-all 'success' of South Africa's economic stability.

Namibia is a colony of the Republic. It is therefore not surprising that, since South African racial policies extend to Namibia, Africans there find themselves disadvantaged even by comparison with Africans within South Africa. There are several reasons for this. There has been little attempt to encourage manufacturing industries in Namibia, and there are therefore fewer business pressures to develop an internal African consumer market. There is no Parliament in Namibia and therefore no political discussions with an Opposition, not even with the muted Opposition such as exists legally within the Republic. There are no active white students' unions—in fact, there are no rebellious students at all, since the universities are all in the Republic and Namibians are scattered among these. The only opposition that the Republic might take notice of is the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) within and outside the country, and world opinion as expressed primarily at the United Nations. But neither of these has so far been able to oblige South Africa to do more than recognize that Namibia should be independent—on South African terms; and these, at least at the time of writing, do not go contrary to South Africa's Bantustan policy and its historical attitude to Namibia.

But here let us turn to the history of the relationship between Namibia and South Africa.

Had the Big Powers played their cards differently at the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919, the South West Africa dispute might never have arisen.

After defeating the German forces near Tsumeb in 1915, General Louis Botha would probably have annexed the territory, but for a restraint in international law which prohibits annexation of conquered territory before the cessation of hostilities.²

The notion of *extension* to South West Africa seems to imply that 'apartheid' or 'separate development' is something of the nature of a doctrine or ideology, such as Communism or Hitlerism or the like. . . . In truth the policy is nothing of

* Superior figure references are to notes, grouped at the end of each chapter.

the kind. . . . It is applied precisely because of being considered the best means of pursuing commonly shared ideals of justice for all, human rights and the self-determination of peoples, on a basis of equal human dignity. Its similarity in approach to general policy applied in South Africa is due to the similarity of the problems involved.³

With this last sentence we agree. Apartheid in Namibia is not only due to the simple extension of dogma or ideology. It is principally due to a type of social structure which we have called that of a 'conquest' society. To this we would add a qualification: a conquest society accompanied by a high degree of capital investment. It is this 'similarity of the problems involved' as between Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa that is the most important factor in the 'similarity in approach to general policy'.

But this type of society precludes 'commonly shared ideals', whether of justice or of culture.

Indeed, it is a society fashioned to ensure that there are no 'commonly shared ideals'. Nor can there be either human rights or self-determination. Human rights cannot be guaranteed since the conquered people must be kept subjugated. In times of contestation, this is likely to be by openly repressive methods, such as are at present being applied in all three countries. In times of little contestation, subjugation is assured by more subtle methods which always include the control of ideas and selective access to economic and technological control.

There is no possibility of 'self-determination', the free choice of which can be made only within a social context of equality of the distribution of power between the 'peoples' concerned. Political and economic power are, however, both held by the dominant group which, in the conquest societies of southern Africa, is also a racial group: the whites.

However, we should like, here in the Introduction, to dispel one myth that is often consciously or subconsciously held about racist societies. Neither blacks nor whites constitute a monolithic, unstratified segment. Social stratification within these groups exists—or, if one wishes to use another terminology, class and class factions exist. What 'race' in a conquest society achieves is a particular type of class alliance. This occurs *within* the dominant group, excluding the equivalent classes in the dominated group.

There is also an important difference from industrial class societies as regards the class which holds political power and the relationship between that class and the class which holds ultimate economic power. In conquest societies it is not the white bourgeoisie which holds political power. This is exercised mainly through the white *petite bourgeoisie*, the rural landowners in alliance with the white working class and increasingly in alliance with the 'chiefs' of the older precapitalist society. These last, however, hold only delegated power, although efforts are being made to convert them into a modern middle class and into more effective intermediaries between whites and the majority of blacks.

The conquest societies in southern Africa thus present complex social

organizations, the analysis of which is crucial both to an understanding of the present situation and to the development of sociological theory. We hope that this book will add to the corpus of knowledge that is so urgently needed.

Notes

1. Sir Colin Coote, in his preface to *The Case for South West Africa*, compiled by Anthony Lejeune (London, Tom Stacey, 1971), stated: 'The system is, indeed, more Lugardism than apartheid—i.e. indirect rule with meticulous respect for the tribal traditions—except for the tradition of tribal warfare.' We argue that this statement, besides being a facile description of Lugard's policy, is not true.
2. 'Desert deadlock', *Financial Mail*, Special Survey, 2 March 1973.
3. Republic of South Africa, Department of Foreign Affairs, *South West Africa Survey 1967*, pp. 48–9, Pretoria and Cape Town, Government Printer.

Part I

The historical background

1 Conquest

The interest of South Africa in Namibia goes back to the seventeenth century, when European traders and explorers made incursions into the territory. At this date, there was no systematic attempt at settlement; however, the groups who lived there could hardly have failed to be disturbed by events further south. In 1652 the Dutch East India Company under the command of Jan van Riebeeck had installed itself at the Cape of Good Hope. At first this settlement served only as a port for provisioning the Company's ships on their way to the Far East. However, the Company needed cattle for meat, and since the San and the Khoi had large herds of cattle they inevitably came into conflict with the Dutch. The stealing of cattle led to disputes and to uprisings by the Khoi. The better-armed Dutch won the series of wars and confiscated lands and cattle, and settlement on a permanent basis began. In 1670, only eighteen years after the establishment of the small Dutch colony on the Cape, the Cape Governor dispatched the *Grundel* to explore the semi-arid coast of South West Africa. The *Grundel*, under the command of G. R. Muijis, left Table Bay in March with a cargo of articles for barter, some gifts, and a commission which included purchasing, bartering or otherwise obtaining slaves. The expedition ended in a skirmish, the crew covering their retreat with musket fire. In January 1677 the *Bode* also set sail from Table Bay, and its visit ended in the same way: the crew were beaten off and forced to retire.

In 1688 the Governor himself, Simon van der Steel, set off to find the magic copper mountain which rumour had it existed to the north, but he seems to have got no further than Little Namaqualand in the region of Springbok, Okiep and Nababiep.

In 1738 Willem van Wyk, a farmer from the Cape Colony, visited the Transgariiep in southern Namibia, followed by Jacobus Coetzee in 1760. By 1760 the Dutch, led by Jan Coetzee, had crossed the Orange River. In 1761 a scientific expedition of 17 whites, 68 Hottentot servants and 15 ox wagons, led by Hendrik Hop, was sent by the Governor, Ryk Tulbagh, to explore the area north of the Orange River. That this expedition was not simple curiosity can be discerned by

the care with which the whites were chosen. They included Brink, a cartographer, van Stolberg, a botanist, Rykvoet, an expert on minerals, a linguist and an ethnologist. They were forced by drought to return after nine months, but during their stay they mapped out a large part of southern Namibia and collected information on its inhabitants and its plant and animal life.

By 1779 the Xhosa, who lived in the area of Orange River, had been defeated and the Dutch had pushed their empire as far north as the Fish River.

The Portuguese were also interested in Africa, and were extending their influence over the coastal region of Angola. This was a rich source of ivory and slaves and the site of major trading centres, which carried on internal long-distance exchange and bought increasing amounts of goods from Arab traders with whom the Portuguese were in conflict. Interest, however, centred mainly on the coastal regions where there were rich deposits of guano and possibilities for fishing. As early as 1484 the Portuguese navigator Diogo Cão had landed on the coast. He was followed in 1534 by Gaspar Vagos. In 1786 the British ship *Nautilus* explored the coast, anchoring at Angra Pequena. In 1793 the *Meermin* was dispatched from the Cape to proclaim Dutch sovereignty over the coastal regions and offshore islands: Angra Pequena, Halifax Island and Walvis Bay.

In 1795 the British came on the scene, taking over the administration of the Cape. This pressure from European traders and colonizers, plus internal changes in the economy, led to the consolidation of tribes into wider organizations (e.g. the Zulu), the weakening of centralized kingdoms (e.g. the Shona empire of Mwana Mutapa), and an increase in tribal conflict as areas of new African settlement shrank, trading relationships within Africa were disrupted and new European goods demanded new methods of exchange. The trader, therefore, entering what is now Namibia, not only brought with him goods which he could exchange for local items but also began the absorption of Namibia into the European economy. Otherwise Namibia remained unconquered, protected for a while by the Namib desert on the coast, by the Kunene and Orange Rivers and by the Kalahari Desert to the east.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, there was an increase in the number of traders, following on missionary installations which, in turn, came after the consolidation of British control at the Cape. By 1802 the London Missionary Society had already set up stations along the Orange River, and in 1807 two mission stations were established north of the river at Warmbad and Blydeverwacht. After 1811 the London Missionary Society turned its activities over to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the Wesleyans, in turn, transferred their rights to the Rhenish Missionary Society. Throughout this period traders and explorers accompanied or came after the missionaries.

The missionary reports aroused interest at the Cape and in Europe. Their activities, however, concerned only southern Namibia. Explorers—Sir James Alexander (1836), Sir Francis Galton and Charles John Anderson (1851), James Chapman (1855), and others—had visited the northern region, but the really important developments were taking place along the coast. As early as 1842 the rich guano deposits were being exploited. In the 1860s a company (De Pass, Spence and Company) started a fishing and fish-oil industry. By 1878

Britain had annexed Walvis Bay, still the only important port, which by 1884 had come under the administration of the Cape. By this time, however, the Germans had come on the scene. In 1883 F. A. E. Lüderitz purchased through an agent (Heinrich Vogelsang) the bay of Angra Pequena from the Nama chief, together with a strip of land around it (an area of approximately 215 square miles), in return for 2,000 marks and a few old muskets. The British ship *Boodicea* was sent to protect the interests of the British companies, while Germany dispatched the *Nautilus* to protect its newly acquired territory. After some diplomatic exchanges, on 16 July 1884 the Cape Parliament voted unanimously to annex the area as far as the boundary which marked the limit of the Portuguese occupation. By that time, however, the German flag had been hoisted at Angra Pequena, which had been renamed Lüderitzbucht. This was followed by the setting up of a German protectorate over the coastal regions from the Orange River north up to Cape Frio (September 1884), but excluding Walvis Bay. Namaland was also declared a protectorate (October). In the following year, German influence extended over the Namas, the Basters and the Hereros.

The Anglo-German Agreement of July 1890 defined the boundaries of German-occupied South West Africa, giving free access to the Zambezi by means of the Caprivi Zipfel, a corridor twenty miles wide. A treaty had been signed with the Portuguese in 1886 delimiting Angola and South West Africa. Technically, most of the treaties signed between the German authorities and the local chiefs were treaties of protection, but while the Africans considered these as treaties between equally sovereign peoples, international law of the nineteenth century permitted the acquisition of full sovereignty by occupation of a European Power over lands inhabited by indigenous peoples. The rationale behind this was taken from Westlake in the Report of the Rehoboth Commission:

That civilized States should assume sovereignty over new but not uninhabited countries, on a system which they arrange among themselves without reference to the natives, can only be justified by the necessity of a government where whites and natives meet, and by the inability of the latter to supply a government adequate to the white men's needs or to their own protection. Accordingly, the modern tendency of thought is to place the original acquisition of title to sovereignty squarely on this basis, and so to furnish the doctrine of effective occupation with a new and solid support.¹

There was thus a good case in contemporary international law, based as it partly was on the elaboration of European colonial interests and the legal justification of European expansion, for Germany to claim full sovereignty over South West Africa. For a quarter of a century before the German occupation German missionaries had issued complaints about their treatment by the 'natives' and had reported inter-tribal wars. At the same period the same types of complaint were being issued about Zimbabwe, and the missionaries there were eventually 'rescued' by the intervention of the British South Africa Company. The carving up of Africa between European countries was as much a factor in the

scramble for external markets as a factor in internal European rivalry. However, at first the German policy was not so much open repression as to bring about the slow disintegration of the relatively self-sufficient tribal communities as new consumer habits spread, a money economy was introduced and Africans were able to find work on white farms and in the nucleus of white industry. The building of a railway not only opened up parts of the countryside but also needed labour. German courts were set up which undermined the authority of the chiefs—and worse, as the settler community grew, Africans and Europeans came into conflict over land and particularly over the unequal trading practices and credit schemes by which Africans found that their lands and cattle were ceded to whites. In 1904 the Hereros revolted. Settlers' farms and livestock were destroyed and the flow of African labour to the remaining white farms was disrupted. It should be added that while the settlers were surprised by the Africans' attack, it is difficult not to have the impression that, in Namibia as in similar circumstances in Southern Rhodesia, an African revolt was welcomed as providing an excuse for the large-scale confiscation of lands after conquest. Certainly, Paul Rohrbach, one of the German policy makers, had stated:

The decision to colonize in South West Africa could, after all, mean nothing else but this, namely that the native tribes would have to give up their lands on which they had previously grazed their stock, in order that the white man might have the land for the grazing of his stock.²

Settler and German authorities at first disagreed on how to handle the crisis. Governor Leutwin tried to negotiate a settlement with the chiefs but was forced to withdraw the offer because of the settler lobby in Berlin. General von Trotha was appointed commander-in-chief of the colonial forces. It was not by chance that von Trotha had been chosen. He had a distinguished military record. He had put down the Wahete uprising and had been General Officer-in-Command of a brigade during the 'Boxer' rising. He was therefore familiar with colonial wars. In August 1904 the Hereros were defeated and von Trotha issued the now famous extermination order:

... The Herero people must depart from the country. If they do not, I shall force them to it, with large cannons. Within the German boundaries every Herero, whether found armed or unarmed, with or without cattle, will be shot. I shall not accept any more women and children. I shall drive them back to their people, otherwise I shall order shots to be fired at them. These are my words to the Herero people.³

It is estimated that, when an armistice was declared in December 1905, only 16,000 Hereros remained out of a population, before the revolt, of between 60,000 and 80,000.

The Namas also revolted against German occupation, and they were defeated in 1907. An estimated population of 15,000 to 20,000 Namas in 1892 was down to 9,800 in 1911.

The Damara population also mysteriously declined. In the post-war period the

white population had, however, increased more than threefold, from about 4,000 to 15,000.

Death came not only on the battlefield but also in the prison labour camps, eventually managed by Rhenish missionaries. Yet there was little outcry in Europe. Until hostilities broke out in 1914, British public opinion was primarily concerned by Belgian activities in the Congo. It is instructive to go back to the debate between Germans and settlers between the period following the end of the Herero and Nama revolts and the beginning of the First World War. J. P. van S. Bruwer, writing from an outspokenly South African point of view, describes the new economy:

Vast areas of land previously claimed by Herero, Oorlams and Nama were expropriated after their rebellions and an active settlement policy was pursued. Settlers arrived in great numbers from Germany, and many soldiers who had served in the Schutztruppe took up farming when their period of duty had expired. The country was surveyed and farms granted on easy terms of payment. Money for purchase was advanced by the Land Bank supported by the German Government, and facilities for water boring were made available. Stock farming developed at an increasing rate, and in 1909 the Government commenced the establishment of cattle, horse and sheep breeding centres at places like Nauchas and Neudam.

It was during this period that South West Africa's 'black diamonds', Karakul sheep, were introduced into the territory. A certain Paul Albert Thorer of Germany, associated with a fur-processing concern in Leipzig, had imported Karakul sheep from Bokhara between 1903 and 1906.⁴

Ranch farming, including the raising of Karakul sheep, required both a vast acreage and an African labour force. In 1900 the mining industry, which until then had failed, was relaunched. The Otavi Minen and Eisenbahn Gesellschaft began mining for copper. In 1907 diamonds were found at Lüderitzbucht. The German Government and the settlers agreed to a series of native decrees between 1906 and 1908, framed to ensure the availability of African labour. The missions objected, preferring to concentrate Africans in areas where conversion could proceed. In this they came into conflict with the settlers, who wanted the amalgamation of the 'natives' into a single working class. There was, in fact, a serious shortage of labour. It was difficult to compel Africans to work—they preferred either to wander out of reach of white society or to provide occasional labour to white farms situated near to 'tribal' lands. Moreover, the South African gold mines were already recruiting Namibian labour, sometimes through the chiefs. There was also some fear that African nationalism had not been extinguished in spite of defeat and that Christian baptism merely provided Africans with a meeting-place on Sundays for reasons not altogether connected with Christianity.

The struggle between the settlers and the German Government was not over the maintenance of the segregated society that had come into being with settlement and had been strengthened through conquest. It was rather, as in other settler countries, over the degree of independence over local affairs (and

therefore over Africans) which the settlers were to be permitted to have. For the metropolitan Government another national war was to be avoided at all costs and some durable social structure had to be put in place which, while guaranteeing the continuation of German rule, afforded enough protection from abuse for the Africans not to revolt again. The settlers wanted more vigorous methods of subjugation that would force more Africans into the labour market and give the individual settler greater control over 'his' Africans. In a 1912 lecture farmer Rust argued for communal life on a white farm: here, the white farmer would be patriarch, with his rule over the Africans settled there partly assured by an African structure headed by elders and by massive government coercion to prevent Africans from leaving the farm and white employment.⁵ By 1913 the land situation for Africans had already become a serious problem, and by 1917 Africans had occupied all land promised to them at that time.

In 1915, however, German rule over South West Africa was terminated and the area was occupied by the South African forces. At first the Military Governor and Chief Civil Secretary ruled, subject to the orders of the Minister of Defence in South Africa, and after 28 October 1915 an Administrator, who was eventually empowered

... on behalf of the Government of the Union of South Africa, subject to any instructions of that Government which he may from time to time receive from the Prime Minister of the Union, to take all such measures and by Proclamation in the Official Gazette of the Protectorate to make such laws, and otherwise to issue therein such regulations and orders, and enforce the same, as the said Administrator may deem necessary for the peace, order and good government of the Protectorate while it remains in military occupation by the Defence Forces of the said Union. (Proclamation of 27 November 1918)

Before the outbreak of the First World War there was no clear British attitude to German South West Africa. There had been some fear of a German-Afrikaner alliance, particularly as some Afrikaners had settled in South West Africa. There was also a belief among the liberals in Britain at the time that a joint British-German colonial venture in Africa would lead to cooperation between the two countries and thus decrease the risk of conflict in Europe. Indeed, the purpose of much of the attack by British parliamentarians against Portuguese and Belgian colonialism was not to establish independent African countries but rather to bring about the replacement of these weak (and therefore brutal) colonisers by the British and the Germans. It was only after 1914 that any mention was made of German atrocities, and then increasingly for the purpose of extending British control from the Cape to the boundaries with Angola. Indeed, it was only during the period of South African military occupation in the interim between German rule and the Mandate System that a European Commission was placed in Ovamboland, with another near the Angola border—the Germans had concentrated on the southern part of the country. South Africa had strong domestic reasons for wishing to see the end of German rule in South West Africa. Within the Union there were fears of a German-Afrikaner conspiracy. Everything, including the construction of railways in

South West Africa, was seen as a plot to destroy the Union. There was also an incipient dispute over Walvis Bay. Whatever the fear of a German-Afrikaner alliance, Dutch and British South Africans cooperated in the conquest of German South West Africa and for a while turned their attention to German East Africa.

Jan Christiaan Smuts, in particular, looked forward to a partial fulfilment of Cecil Rhodes' dream: a vigorous southern Africa, encompassing much of central Africa, in which Briton and Boer would cooperate to build a vast settler-ruled empire that would stretch from the Cape to Cairo.

Notes

1. Quoted here from John Dugard (ed.), *The South West Africa/Namibia Dispute*, pp. 21-2, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, University of California Press, 1973.
2. Quoted from Zedekia Ngavirue, in Ronald Segal and Ruth First (eds.), *South West Africa: Travesty of Trust*, p. 180, London, Deutsch, 1967.
3. Quoted from Dugard, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
4. J. P. van S. Bruwer, *South West Africa: the Disputed Land*, p. 77, Cape Town, Nasionale Boekhandel, 1966.
5. Helmut Bley, 'Genesis from Conquest to Mandate', in Segal and First, *South West Africa: Travesty of Trust*, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 and 48.

2

The Mandate

Smuts had prepared a memorandum, *The League of Nations: a Practical Suggestion*, in which he made a distinction between the 'European' and 'Asiatic' peoples and those in the German colonies in the Pacific and Africa. The former were to be given the right to choose their type of government, but

. . . the German colonies in the Pacific and Africa are inhabited by barbarians, who not only cannot possibly govern themselves, but to whom it would be impracticable to apply any ideas of political self-determination in the European sense. They might be consulted as to whether they want their German masters back, but the result would be so much a foregone conclusion that the consultation would be quite superfluous.

What Smuts hoped for was annexation. Dugard reports that, during the negotiations at the Peace Council:

The British Empire delegates convened and Smuts reported that he and Lord Robert Cecil (the British delegate charged with the League of Nations question) had agreed to class the problem under three heads:

(1) German colonies with a British Dominion next door. In these cases there should be annexation. For many reasons it was impossible to make a Dominion into a Mandatory. (2) German colonies in central Africa. These were to be distinguished from the first class by the circumstance that the world as a whole was not interested in them. They were cases for a Mandatory, but on the basis that the Mandatory should be a Power with sovereign rights subject, however, to restrictions in relation to arms, liquor, etc., and the open door. Great Britain and France should be the Mandatories in central Africa, and should bear any expense involved.¹

President Wilson of the United States of America was, however, firmly against any idea of territorial aggrandizement at the end of the First World War. A deadlock was averted when a compromise was reached whereby South West Africa and the Pacific islands would also become Mandates but would be

administered as 'integral patrons' of the Mandatory Powers. General Botha (who, with Smuts, represented South Africa) accepted the position, being optimistically certain that the 'League of Nations would consist mostly of the same people there that day, who understood the position and who would not make it impossible for the Mandatory to govern the country'. The idea that African States would join the successor to the League of Nations—the United Nations—was too absurd a thought to have passed through Botha's mind.

On 7 May 1919 South Africa was designated the Mandatory Power in South West Africa.

The Mandate System was embodied in Article 22 of the League Covenant:

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the Mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the Territory, its economic conditions, and other similar circumstances.

Other peoples, especially those of central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the Territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

There are territories, such as South West Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can best be administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

The actual terms of the Mandate for South West Africa included the following:

Article 2

The Mandatory shall have full power of administration and legislation over the Territory subject to the present Mandate as an integral portion of the Union of South Africa, and may apply the laws of the Union of South Africa to the Territory subject to such local modifications as circumstances may require.

The Mandatory shall promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the Territory subject to the present Mandate.

Article 3

The Mandatory shall see that the slave trade is prohibited and that no forced labour is permitted, except for essential public works and services, and then only for adequate remuneration.

The Mandatory shall also see that the traffic in arms and ammunition is controlled in accordance with principles analogous to those laid down in the Convention relating to the control of the arms traffic signed on 10 September 1919, or in any Convention amending the same.

The supply of intoxicating spirits and beverages to the natives shall be prohibited.

Article 4

The military training of the natives, otherwise than for purposes of internal police and the local defence of the Territory, shall be prohibited. Furthermore, no military or naval base shall be established or fortifications erected in the Territory.

Article 5

Subject to the provisions of any local law for the maintenance of public order and public morals, the Mandatory shall ensure in the Territory freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, and shall allow all missionaries, nationals of any State Member of the League of Nations, to enter into, travel and reside in the Territory for the purpose of prosecuting their calling.

Article 6

The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council, containing full information with regard to the Territory, and indicating the measures taken to carry out the obligations assumed under Articles 2, 3, 4 and 5.

Article 7

The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of the present Mandate.

The Mandatory agrees that, if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another Member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the Mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The present Declaration shall be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations. Certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all Powers Signatories of the Treaty of Peace with Germany.

Made at Geneva on the 17th day of December, 1920.

What was the South African interpretation of the Mandate, particularly as far as human rights were concerned? In 1960 proceedings were begun before the International Court of Justice. In the Rejoinder filed by the Government

of South Africa regarding the 'South West Africa Cases' (Ethiopia and Liberia v. South Africa), the Governor of South Africa stated:²

. . . Respondent is as mindful as any other State of the objectives regarding underdeveloped peoples as set out in the Charter of the United Nations—in contrast to interpretations and applications later sought to be given to the Charter by some States for the purposes of an emotional 'anti-colonialism' campaign. Respondent has already drawn attention to certain aspects of the undermentioned provisions of the Charter, and would again like to stress the following in regard to them:

Article 73a, whereby members administering non-self-governing territories undertake to ensure the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples concerned, their just treatment and their protection against abuses, is qualified by the words: 'with due respect for the culturc of the peoples concerned'.

Article 73b, setting out the undertakings 'to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions', qualifies all this by the words: 'according to the particular circumstances of each Territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement'. The concept 'peoples' (plural) of 'each Territory' (singular) is of special interest.

Article 76b, setting out some of the basic objectives of the Trusteeship System as being 'to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence', proceeds to state the qualification: '. . . as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each Territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned. . . '. Again, the expression 'each Territory and its peoples' is specially notable.

Due application of the above principles and objectives to the problems posed by the circumstances of South West Africa, has led Respondent to shape its policies in such a manner as to make provision, as far as practicable, for each of the major ethnic groups to achieve an increasing measure of self-government and to develop towards self-determination in a political and territorial entity of its own. Only thus, in Respondent's view, and through reasonable subsequent cooperation between the entities, especially in the economic sphere, can self-determination, 'the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned' and 'development to the utmost' become meaningful realities 'according to the particular circumstances of [the] Territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement'.

The policy (or aggregate of detailed aspects of practices and policies) designed to promote the objectives set out in the previous paragraph, can for convenience be called by the descriptive name of separate development. This is the name also employed for a similar, though not identical, policy approach to similar problems in the Republic of South Africa itself regarding future relationships between a multiplicity of population groups. Alternative descriptive expressions that have been employed are 'Harmonious Multi-Community Development' and 'Live and Let Live'.

South Africa therefore interpreted the Charter of the United Nations as being not only compatible with apartheid but also as *requiring* it. 'Peoples' was here

given a tribal connotation. The Government also underlined the similarity between social relations in Namibia and those in the Republic.

More important in the South African argument were the references to remarks by Smuts, made in 1917:³

. . . although in this regard nothing can be taken as axiomatic we have gained a great deal of experience in our history, and there is now shaping in South Africa a policy which is becoming expressed in our institutions which may have very far-reaching effects in the future civilization of the African continent . . . a practice has grown up . . . of creating parallel institutions—giving the natives their own separate institutions on parallel lines with institutions for whites. It may be that on those parallel lines we may yet be able to solve a problem which may otherwise be insoluble.

. . . you will have in the long run large areas cultivated by blacks and governed by blacks, where they will look after themselves in all their forms of living and development, while in the rest of the country you will have your white communities, which will govern themselves separately according to the accepted European principles. The natives will, of course, be free to go and to work in the white areas, but as far as possible the administration of white and black areas will be separated, and such that each will be satisfied and developed according to its own proper lines.

As far as South Africa was concerned, therefore, the Mandatory System had as its intention the differentiation of groups which was embodied in apartheid. Certainly, after the System had been adopted there was no feeling inside South Africa, and little feeling outside it, that racial discrimination could not continue, although somehow Mandatory rule was also to be in the interest of the 'natives' of the Mandated Territory.

In its submission to the International Court of Justice at The Hague in 1963 South Africa could quote the Mandates Commission of 1924 in stating that the Commission was

of the opinion that the soundness of the views which have prompted the Administration to adopt a system of segregation of natives in reserves will become increasingly apparent if there is no doubt that, in the future, the Administration will have at its disposal sufficient fertile land for the growing needs of the population and that the reserves will be enlarged in proportion to the progressive increase in the population.

The Mandates Commission was, at least at first, more inclined to consider events in South West Africa as a carry-over from former German colonization. After the Bondelzwart insurrection of 1922, the Commission showed some disquiet about the situation within the Territory (although it showed little regarding South African rule). As time went on, the Commission became irritated at problems of land tenure, forced labour, suppression of slavery, the liquor traffic, the development of education and public health. The Commission inquired into the reasons for the exceptionally high mortality of native labour in the diamond mines and for unrest among the Xhosas. There was also some

dissatisfaction about the proportion of the receipts from customs, railway and harbour systems—by this time incorporated into the South African Services—that were credited to Namibia. Moreover, there was a growing uneasiness over the reserves policy, and the Commission expressed grave concern regarding the policy of compelling missionaries to be propagandists of loyalty to Union policies and of the native's duty to labour, and regarding the assumption that Africans existed chiefly for the purpose of providing labour for whites.

The ambiguity of terminology also raised some problems. While most international lawyers claimed that sovereignty did not pass to the Mandated Power, South African lawyers maintained that it did. The Mandates Commission, meeting in July 1927, made a difference between 'full powers of administration' and 'sovereignty'. The then Union Government, however, was of the opinion that sovereignty over South West Africa resided in the Government of South Africa.

Although following the installation of the Mandates System no active steps were taken politically to integrate South West Africa into the Republic, the dreams of annexation had not disappeared.

Notes

1. Dugard, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–2. 'Head (3)' does not concern Africa.
2. Quoted in *Counter-Memorial Filed by the Government of the Republic of South Africa*, Vol. IV, 1963.
3. *Ibid.*

3

United Nations action

When the Charter of the United Nations was being drafted at the San Francisco Conference in 1945, South Africa presented her case for the incorporation of South West Africa into South Africa. The principal reasoning behind the case was as follows:

For twenty-five years, the Union of South Africa has governed and administered the Territory as an integral part of its own territory and has promoted to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants.

It is geographically and strategically a part of the Union of South Africa, and in World War I a rebellion in the Union was fomented from it, and an attack launched against the Union.

It is in large measure economically dependent upon the Union, whose railways serve it and from which it draws the great bulk of its supplies.

Its dependent native peoples spring from the same ethnological stem as the great mass of the native peoples of the Union.

In view of contiguity and similarity in composition of the native peoples of South West Africa the native policy followed in South West Africa must always be aligned with that of the Union, three-fifths of the population of which is native.

There is no prospect of the Territory ever existing as a separate State, and the ultimate objective of the Mandatory principle is therefore impossible of achievement.¹

The Charter of the United Nations made provision for an International Trusteeship System which, it was expected, would replace the old Mandatory System of the League of Nations. This system, outlined in Chapter XII of the Charter, provided, among other things, that:

Article 76

The basic objectives of the Trusteeship System, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article 1 of the present Charter, shall be:

- a. to further international peace and security;
- b. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each Territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each Trusteeship agreement;
- c. to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and
- d. to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

Article 77

1. The Trusteeship System shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of Trusteeship agreements:
 - a. territories now held under mandate;
 - b. territories which may be detached from enemy States as a result of the Second World War; and
 - c. territories voluntarily placed under the system by States responsible for their administration.
2. It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the Trusteeship System and upon what terms.

Article 83

1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the Trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council.
2. The basic objectives set forth in Article 76 shall be applicable to the people of each strategic area.
3. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the Trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the Trusteeship System relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas.²

In addition, Chapter XIII established the Trusteeship Council.

The Declaration regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories (Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter) strengthened the terms of Chapter XII. It stated:

Article 73

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to

promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

a. to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;

b. to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each Territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;

c. to further international peace and security;

d. to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to cooperate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and

e. to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.³

South Africa's reaction to this was ambiguous; as we have seen, the aim of the Union Government was incorporation, not independence. In 1946 the South African Government consulted the white population of Namibia, through their elected representatives in the Legislative Assembly, as to their attitude towards incorporation. Africans were consulted only through the tribal leaders—themselves paid officials of the Government. The South African Government presented its report to the Fourth Committee of the United Nations. This communication explains the consultations which took place:

The European section of the population of South West Africa has repeatedly given expression to its wish that the Mandate over the Territory be terminated and that the Territory be incorporated in the Union of South Africa. This desire has been expressed in the Press, in public utterances by representative leaders, and in two resolutions unanimously adopted by the Legislative Assembly of South West Africa. The first of these resolutions, adopted on 14 May 1943, was in the following terms:

‘That this House respectfully requests His Honour the Administrator forthwith to urge upon the Government of the Union of South Africa that the time has arrived for the termination of its Mandate over the Territories of South West Africa, and that it is the earnest desire of the inhabitants of this Territory that upon such termination of the Mandate, the Territory of South West Africa be formally annexed to and incorporated in the Union of South Africa upon such terms as to financial relations and political representation as may be mutually agreed upon between the Government of the Union of South Africa and representatives nominated by this House.’

On 8 May 1946, the Legislative Assembly unanimously adopted a similar

resolution, the Chairman directing that his vote also be recorded in favour of the resolution.

The consultation of the non-Europeans necessarily presented certain difficulties, as it was essential that they should clearly understand the implications of the question at issue and that their differing tribal customs should be observed. It was therefore decided to entrust consultation to officials who had the necessary experience in native affairs and who enjoyed the confidence of the non-Europeans. Moreover, having regard to native custom and susceptibilities, it was arranged to consult the different tribes as units and not as individuals.

The officials specially selected were the Native Commissioners and certain Magistrates (who are also local Native Commissioners), who were instructed to emphasize the fact that the natives are a free people and therefore have the right to express their views without fear. It was also arranged that, in so far as tribal considerations permitted, similar terms should be employed in both the address and in the different memorials to be submitted for signature.⁴

Given the form of consultation, the reply from the tribal leaders was:

. . . Our people have been happy and have prospered under the rule of the Government of the Union of South Africa and [. . .] we should like that Government to continue to rule us;

. . . we do not wish any other Government or people to rule us; and

. . . we would like our country to become part of the Union of South Africa.⁵

The Hereros voted against, and certain 'tribes' were not consulted at all.

On 14 December 1946 the United Nations General Assembly, in resolution 65(I), rejected the South African case for incorporation and recommended:

that the Mandated Territory of South West Africa be placed under the International Trusteeship System and invites the Government of the Union of South Africa to propose for the consideration of the General Assembly a Trusteeship agreement for the aforesaid Territory.

The Union Government suspended incorporation, but refused the recommendation that Namibia be placed under the Trusteeship System. They decided to administer the Territory in the spirit of the Mandate of the League of Nations, although reports on the administration of Namibia would be submitted to the United Nations for information. This decision, however, was revoked in 1949—the year after the Nationalist Government came to power. Furthermore, the South West Africa Affairs Amendment Act, No. 23 of 1949, provided that South West Africa should have six elected representatives in the Union House of Assembly and four in the Senate. The Act also stipulated that elected members as well as Senate members would be of European descent. The South West Africa Legislature remained incompetent to make any Ordinance on Native Affairs except in cases where the consent of the Governor-General had been obtained.

In December 1949 the United Nations General Assembly, through resolution 338(IV), decided to clarify the legal status of South West Africa by

asking for an Advisory Opinion from the International Court of Justice at The Hague. It decided:

to submit the following questions to the International Court of Justice with a request for an Advisory Opinion which shall be transmitted to the General Assembly before its fifth regular session, if possible:

‘What is the international status of the Territory of South West Africa and what are the international obligations of the Union of South Africa arising therefrom, in particular:

(a) Does the Union of South Africa continue to have international obligations under the Mandate for South West Africa and, if so, what are those obligations?

(b) Are the provisions of Chapter XII of the Charter applicable and, if so, in what manner, to the Territory of South West Africa?

(c) Has the Union of South Africa the competence to modify the international status of the Territory of South West Africa, or, in the event of a negative reply, where does competence rest to determine and modify the international status of the Territory?’⁸

The Court’s Opinion was handed down on 11 July 1950 in the following terms:

On the basis of these considerations, the Court concludes that competence to determine and modify the international status of South West Africa rests with the Union of South Africa acting with the consent of the United Nations.

For these reasons,

The Court is of opinion,

On the General Question:

unanimously,

that South West Africa is a Territory under the international Mandate assumed by the Union of South Africa on 17 December 1920;

On Question (a):

by twelve votes to two,

that the Union of South Africa continues to have the international obligations stated in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in the Mandate for South West Africa as well as the obligation to transmit petitions from the inhabitants of that Territory, the supervisory functions to be exercised by the United Nations, to which the annual reports and the petitions are to be submitted, and the reference to the Permanent Court of International Justice to be replaced by a reference to the International Court of Justice, in accordance with Article 7 of the Mandate and Article 37 of the Statute of the Court;

On Question (b):

unanimously,

that the provisions of Chapter XII of the Charter are applicable to the Territory of South West Africa in the sense that they provide a means by which the Territory may be brought under the Trusteeship System;

and by eight votes to six,

that the provisions of Chapter XII of the Charter do not impose on the Union of South Africa a legal obligation to place the Territory under the Trusteeship System;

On Question (c):

unanimously,

that the Union of South Africa acting alone has not the competence to modify the international status of the Territory of South West Africa, and that the competence to determine and modify the international status of the Territory rests with the Union of South Africa acting with the consent of the United Nations.⁷

The Reply of the General Assembly to the Court's Advisory Opinion was embodied in Trusteeship Resolution 449B(V), which reiterated the request that the Territory of South West Africa be placed under the International Trusteeship System. South Africa, however, refused to comply. Instead, South Africa suggested that she conclude a new agreement, not with the United Nations but with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers of the First World War—the United Kingdom, France and the United States of America. This was rejected by the Trusteeship Committee.

In 1953 a permanent Committee on South West Africa was established by resolution 749A(VIII).

What did South Africa consider as its obligations towards South West Africa under the United Nations Charter to which, after all, it was a signatory? In 1963, in its Counter-Memorial submitted to the International Court, South Africa stated it thus:

For the present Respondent merely wishes to emphasize that in the task of achieving the objectives of the Mandate in the difficult circumstances existing in South West Africa, a fair and just solution in the political sphere, for everybody concerned, is obviously the matter of overriding importance. Educational and economic policies, especially in a Territory with such a diversity of population groups as South West Africa, cannot be determined *in vacuo*, but must necessarily be in accord with the policy found to be desirable in regard to the political future of the various peoples—the determinative factor being whether the objective is an integrated community, within the framework of a single territorial unit, or differentiated development of the various groups towards separate self-determination for each. The same considerations as for Education and the Economic Aspect apply to policy (especially aspects in serious controversy in this case) pertaining to Security of the Person, Rights of Residence and Freedom of Movement.

. . . Respondent, for the above reasons, deals first and foremost with the subject of Government and Citizenship. Because of Respondent's conviction that separate development is in this crucial sphere essential for promotion to the utmost of the well-being and progress of the peoples of South West Africa, it follows naturally that it has correlated its policies in the other respects mentioned with the basic objectives and requirements of separate development—failure to have done so would indeed have constituted a dereliction of duty on its part.

. . . Respondent stated that it contemplated an evolutionary growth of the

traditional institutions of the various groups in a manner which would permit each group to develop towards self-determination, without, in the process, preventing self-determination by others. It was also pointed out that the success of Bantu authorities in South Africa had suggested that a similar system might fruitfully be applied in the Territory, and that this matter formed part of the topics then under consideration by the Odendaal Commission.⁸

The disagreements between South Africa and the majority at the United Nations continued. In 1956 the General Assembly asked the International Court at The Hague for another Advisory Opinion—this time on the legality of operating oral hearings to petitions. This had not been permitted by the Mandates Commission; but, faced with the refusal of the Government of South Africa to submit reports to the Trusteeship Council, there was nothing that the Committee on South West Africa could do but attempt to compile its own documents on Namibia.

In 1956 the Court upheld the General Assembly's request for oral hearings.

In 1957 resolution 1143(XII) of the General Assembly established a Good Offices Committee on South West Africa, consisting of the United Kingdom, the United States and a third Member to be nominated by the President of the twelfth session of the General Assembly, 'to discuss with the Governor of the Union of South Africa a basis for an agreement which would continue to accord to the Territory of South West Africa an international status'.

The Government of South Africa was not, however, prepared to enter into an agreement with the United Nations on Namibia. It repeated its willingness to enter into an agreement only with the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States, as the three remaining Principal Allied and Associated Powers. An alternative which could also be acceptable to South Africa was the partitioning of the Territory, part to be annexed by the Union, and the rest (and the least viable part) to be placed under United Nations' supervision. The General Assembly, in resolution 1243(XIII) of 1958, decided not to accept partition or the annexation of any part of the Territory. The deadlock remained. In 1957 the General Assembly adopted resolution 1060(XI):

The General Assembly,

Having regard to the provisions of the Mandate for South West Africa, the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions of the General Assembly in regard to South West Africa,

Noting that its resolutions endorsing and accepting the Advisory Opinion of 11 July 1950 of the International Court of Justice and urging the Union of South Africa to place the Territory of South West Africa under Trusteeship have been of no avail,

1. *Requests* the Committee on South West Africa to study the following question:

'What legal action is open to the organs of the United Nations, or to the Members of the United Nations, or to the former Members of the League of Nations, acting either individually or jointly, to ensure that the Union of South Africa fulfils the obligations assumed by it under the Mandate, pending the placing of the Territory of South West Africa under the International Trusteeship System?'

2. *Further requests* the Committee on South West Africa to submit to the General Assembly at its twelfth session a special report containing conclusions and recommendations on the question.⁹

The Committee's recommendation was that legal proceedings be initiated by former Members of the League of Nations. In June 1960, at the Second Conference of Independent African States, held at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and Liberia announced that, as former Member States of the League of Nations, they intended instituting legal proceedings against South Africa over South West Africa. In 1960 resolution 1565(XV) of the General Assembly stated in part that the Assembly:

1. *Notes with approval* the observations of the Committee on South West Africa concerning the administration of the Territory as set out in the Committee's report to the General Assembly at its fifteenth session, and finds that the Government of the Union of South Africa has failed and refused to carry out its obligations under the Mandate for the Territory of South West Africa;

2. *Concludes* that the dispute which has arisen between Ethiopia, Liberia and other Member States on the one hand, and the Union of South Africa on the other, relating to the interpretation and application of the Mandate has not been and cannot be settled by negotiation;

3. *Notes* that Ethiopia and Liberia, on 4 November 1960, filed concurrent applications in the International Court of Justice instituting contentious proceedings against the Union of South Africa;

4. *Commends* the Governments of Ethiopia and Liberia upon their initiative in submitting such dispute to the International Court of Justice for adjudication and declaration in a contentious proceeding in accordance with Article 7 of the Mandate.¹⁰

On 14 December 1960 the General Assembly adopted resolution 1514(XV): the *Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples*. This landmark in the struggle against colonial rule declares that:

1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

3. Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence.

4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected.

5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to

transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

6. Any attempt at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

7. All States shall observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the present Declaration on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of all States, and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity.

In 1961 the General Assembly adopted a further resolution—resolution 1596(XV):

Recalling its resolution 1568(XV) of 18 December 1960 inviting the Committee on South West Africa to go to South West Africa immediately, inter alia, to investigate the situation prevailing in the Territory,

Noting with deep regret, from the preliminary report of the Committee on South West Africa called for under the said resolution, that the Government of the Union of South Africa refuses to co-operate with the United Nations by facilitating the mission of the Committee on South West Africa,

Convinced that it is both the right and the duty of the United Nations to discharge fully and effectively its obligations with respect to the proper implementation, under its supervision, of the Mandate for South West Africa conferred upon His Britannic Majesty, to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa,

Noting with grave concern the continuing deterioration in the situation in South West Africa resulting from the continued application, in violation of the letter and spirit of the Mandate, of tyrannical policies and practices, such as apartheid, of the administration of the Union of South Africa in South West Africa,

Reiterating its concern that this situation constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security,

1. *Recognizes and supports* the passionate yearning of the people of South West Africa for freedom and the exercise of national independence and sovereignty;

2. *Rejects* the position taken by the Government of the Union of South Africa in refusing to cooperate with the United Nations in the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1568(XV) as well as other resolutions concerning South West Africa;

3. *Deplores* the attempts at the assimilation of the Mandated Territory of South West Africa, culminating in the so-called referendum held on 5 October 1960, as totally unacceptable, having no moral or legal basis and being repugnant to the letter and spirit of the Mandate;

4. *Considers* that the full and effective discharge of the tasks assigned to the Committee on South West Africa in paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 1568(XV) is essential to the protection of the lives and property of

the inhabitants of South West Africa, to the amelioration of the prevailing conditions in South West Africa, the continuance of which is likely to endanger international peace and security, and to the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of South West Africa in complete freedom and of their right of accession to national sovereignty and independence with the least delay;

7. *Decides* to call the attention of the Security Council to the situation in respect of South West Africa which, if allowed to continue, will in the General Assembly's view endanger international peace and security, and to the present resolution, the full implementation of which is necessary to bring that situation to a speedy end;

8. *Takes note with grave concern* of reports of the terrorization of, and armed action against, the indigenous inhabitants, and calls upon the Government of the Union of South Africa to desist from such acts.¹¹

This resolution was followed in December 1962 by resolution 1803(XVII) on permanent sovereignty over natural resources, and on 20 November 1963 by the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (General Assembly resolution 1904(XVIII)), which stated, in Articles 5 and 6:

Article 5

An end shall be put without delay to governmental and other public policies of racial segregation and especially policies of apartheid, as well as all forms of racial discrimination and separation resulting from such policies.

Article 6

No discrimination by reason of race, colour or ethnic origin shall be admitted in the enjoyment by any person of political and citizenship rights in his country, in particular the right to participate in elections through universal and equal suffrage and to take part in the government. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

These three resolutions and declarations together made up a body of international norms incompatible both with South African 'sovereignty' over Namibia and with the policy of apartheid. Indeed, apartheid had been specifically condemned in Article 5 of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

The specialized agencies of the United Nations had also endorsed international declarations and conventions which implicitly condemned South Africa. Unesco had issued a series of statements on race (1950 and 1951) and had launched a programme designed to published widely the scientific facts on race and racism. South Africa withdrew from Unesco in 1955, precisely because of Unesco's race programme. On 14 December 1960 Unesco adopted at its General Conference the Convention against Discrimination in Education.

Resolution 1702(XVI) of the General Assembly, adopted on 19 December 1961, had reflected the new mood of impatience with colonial and racist policies. Recalling its resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December 1960, the Declaration

on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it went on:

Considering that the Government of South Africa has persistently failed in its international obligations in administering the Territory of South West Africa on behalf of the international community,

Reaffirming that it is the right and duty of the United Nations to discharge fully its obligations towards the international Territory of South West Africa,

Convinced that the implementation of resolution 1514(XV) and the discharge of the responsibility of the United Nations under the Charter towards the international community and the people of South West Africa require the taking of immediate steps by the United Nations,

1. *Solemnly proclaims* the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to independence and national sovereignty;

2. *Decides* to establish a United Nations Special Committee for South West Africa, consisting of representatives of seven Member States nominated by the President of the General Assembly, whose task will be to achieve, in consultation with the Mandatory Power, the following objectives:

(a) A visit to the Territory of South West Africa before 1 May 1962;

(b) The evacuation from the Territory of all military forces of the Republic of South Africa;

(c) The release of all political prisoners without distinction as to party or race;

(d) The repeal of all laws or regulations confining the indigenous inhabitants in reserves and denying them all freedom of movement, expression and association, and of all other laws and regulations which establish and maintain the intolerable system of apartheid;

(e) Preparations for general elections to the Legislative Assembly, based on universal adult suffrage, to be held as soon as possible under the supervision and control of the United Nations;

(f) Advice and assistance to the Government resulting from the general elections, with a view to preparing the Territory for full independence;

(g) Co-ordination of the economic and social assistance with which the specialized agencies will provide the people in order to promote their moral and material welfare;

(h) The return to the Territory of indigenous inhabitants without risk of imprisonment, detention or punishment of any kind because of their political activities in or outside the Territory.

South Africa, while refusing to invite the whole Committee on South West Africa, agreed to a visit by the Chairman and Vice-Chairman, who reported back that they had come to the conclusion that the administration of the Mandated Territory by the South African Government was pervaded by the application of apartheid, resulting not only in Africans being racially segregated, discriminated against and deprived of all basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, but also in the complete subordination of their paramount interests to those of a small minority of Europeans; that the policies and methods, as well as the objectives, followed by the South African Government in its administration

of the Mandated Territory continued to be in contradiction with the principles and purposes of the Mandate, the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; that the South African Government was not developing the Territory and its people for self-government or independence; and that the African population desired that the United Nations assume direct administration of the Territory and thus take all preparatory steps for the granting of freedom to the indigenous population as soon as possible.

In its report to the General Assembly the Special Committee concluded:

The situation in the Mandated Territory has continued to be dominated by the policy of apartheid, which has been intensified and made more systematic in recent years. Under this discrimination policy, certain inadequate areas are reserved as the homesteads of the indigenous groups. Outside those areas, the country is regarded as belonging to the white population and the presence of indigenous inhabitants is considered to be temporary and as not giving grounds for political or related rights. The entry of indigenous inhabitants into the area outside the reserves, in particular into urban areas, and their continued residence there, are regulated by a pass system. In town, they live in segregated townships and locations and except for a few minor activities in those townships or locations, have no economic possibilities other than wage labour.¹²

By resolution 1654(XVI) of 27 November 1961, the General Assembly had set up a Special Committee to Examine the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Under resolution 1702(XVI) of the General Assembly a United Nations Special Committee for South West Africa was established which could, among other things, obtain the evacuation of military forces of the Republic of South Africa from the Territory, have political prisoners released, repeal apartheid laws, and prepare for general elections based on universal suffrage and held under the supervision and control of the United Nations. The Territory was to be prepared for full independence. All States were urged to:

(a) Refrain forthwith from supplying in any manner or form any arms or military equipment to South Africa;

(b) Refrain also from supplying in any manner or form any petroleum or petroleum products to South Africa.

Resolution 1705(XVI) established a special educational and training programme for indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa. It also invited the United Nations specialized agencies to offer all possible assistance, facilities and resources to Namibians.

In the meantime, Ethiopia and Liberia were going ahead with their submissions of the South West Africa Cases to the International Court of Justice at The Hague, claiming, *inter alia*, that:

The Union has failed to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and social progress of the inhabitants of the Territory: its failure to do so is a violation of Article 2 of the Mandate and Article 22 of the Covenant; and that

the Union has the duty forthwith to take all practicable action to fulfil its duties under such Articles.

The Union, in administering the Territory, has practised apartheid, i.e. has distinguished as to race, colour, national or tribal origin in establishing the rights and duties of the inhabitants of the Territory; that such practice is in violation of Article 2 of the Mandate and Article 22 of the Covenant; and that the Union has the duty forthwith to cease the practice of apartheid in the Territory.

The Union, in administering the Territory, has adopted and applied legislation, regulations, proclamations, and administrative decrees which are by their terms and in their application, arbitrary, unreasonable, unjust and detrimental to human dignity; that the foregoing actions by the Union violate Article 2 of the Mandate and Article 22 of the Covenant; and that the Union has the duty forthwith to repeal and not to apply such legislation, regulations, proclamations, and administrative decrees.

The Union has adopted and applied legislation, administrative regulations, and official actions which suppress the rights and liberties of inhabitants of the Territory essential to their orderly evolution toward self-government, the right to which is implicit in the Covenant of the League of Nations, the terms of the Mandate, and currently accepted international standards, as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights; that the foregoing actions by the Union violate Article 2 of the Mandate and Article 22 of the Covenant; and that the Union has the duty forthwith to cease and desist from any action which thwarts the orderly development of self-government in the Territory.

The Union has exercised powers of administration and legislation over the Territory inconsistent with the international status of the Territory; that the foregoing action by the Union is in violation of Article 2 of the Mandate and Article 22 of the Covenant; that the Union has the duty to refrain from acts of administration and legislation which are inconsistent with the international status of the Territory.¹³

On 11 September 1962 the South African Government set up the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs under the chairmanship of F. H. Odendaal. This Committee had as its terms of reference:

(i) Having regard to what has already been planned and put into practice, to enquire thoroughly into further promoting the material and moral welfare and the social progress of the inhabitants of South West Africa, and more particularly its non-white inhabitants, and to submit a report with recommendations on a comprehensive five-year plan for the accelerated development of the various non-white groups of South West Africa, inside as well as outside their own territories, and for the further development and building up of such native territories in South West Africa.

(ii) With a view to this investigation, the attention of the Commission is particularly directed to the task of ascertaining—while fully taking into consideration the background, traditions and habits of the native inhabitants—how further provision should be made for their social and economic advancement, effective health services, suitable education and training, sufficient opportunities for employment, proper agricultural, industrial and mining development in

respect of their territories, and for the best form of participation by the natives in the administration and management of their own interests. The Commission is empowered to investigate any other matter which in its opinion may be of importance in this connection, including the financial implications and the manner in which any appropriation of funds should take place.

(iii) And in order that the Commission may be better able to carry out this commission, it is granted full power and authority to interrogate at its discretion all persons who in its opinion are able to furnish information on the subjects mentioned in its terms of reference or on matters relating thereto; to obtain, inspect and make extracts from all books, documents, papers and registers of the Government or of the Administration of South West Africa which in its opinion contain information on the said subjects; and to conduct investigations into the subject of this enquiry in any other authorized manner.¹⁴

The Odendaal Report, as it came to be called, added a new urgency to the need for international action. We shall go into certain aspects of the report later on, but at this stage we shall mention only that part of it which was concerned with the carrying out of the Mandate:

From available data it is clear that the Government of South Africa, even from the time when the Territory was under military government, accepted full responsibility for the control, government and administration of South West Africa. This responsibility was ratified by the Treaty of Peace and South West Africa Mandate Act of 1919, as passed by the Parliament of the Union of South Africa, and still continues. The Commission has taken note of the Government's standpoint that, although it no longer regards the original Mandate as still existing as such, it will continue to administer the Territory in the *spirit* of the original Mandate.

From this it clearly follows that the implementation of the Government's responsibility in connection with the control, government and administration of South West Africa must still always be determined by two basic principles as contained in Article 2 of the original Mandate, viz.:

'Full power of administration and legislation over the Territory as an integral portion of South Africa with the power to apply the laws of South Africa in the Territory, subject to such local modifications as circumstances may require.

The promotion to the utmost of the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the Territory.'

The Commission therefore accepts that as far as the Government is concerned, these two basic principles are still *decisive* in its control, government and administration of South West Africa.

It is clear to the Commission from the existing Acts and Proclamations as applicable to the Territory that neither during the period of Military Rule from 1915 to 1920 nor thereafter has the Government of South Africa, by legislation or otherwise, in any way abolished, diminished or derogated from its full powers of administration and legislation over the Territory, which powers vested and still vest in it. This fact was moreover emphasized in the South West Africa Affairs Amendment Act of 1949. The Government did from time to time delegate certain powers vested in it to its representatives for the practical carrying out of the control, government and administration of the Territory, but always with the full retention of its final authority.¹⁵

And, further:

Having regard to the fairly generally accepted approach, as also envisaged in the Mandate, that underdeveloped communities must eventually be given self-determination and that therefore greater governing powers must be given to the local non-white groups, and also having regard to the wish expressed by the said groups to rule themselves in their own areas, the Commission after careful consideration came to the conclusion that one mixed central authority for the whole Territory would not further the proper aims of self-determination for each population group. . . . The Commission is therefore of the opinion that one central authority, with all groups represented therein, must be ruled out and that as far as practicable a homeland must be created for each population group, in which it alone would have residential, political and language rights to the exclusion of other population groups, so that each group would be able to develop towards self-determination without any group dominating or being dominated by another.¹⁶

The Odendaal Report therefore recommended a Bantustan policy for Namibia and went on to argue that this was compatible with the terms of the Mandate.

The Reply of the Governments of Ethiopia and Liberia to the Counter-Memoranda presented by the South African Government argued that it was precisely this apartheid policy which was unacceptable:

One of the 'main features' of the Odendaal Commission Report concerns the rationale of a policy pursuant to which the status, rights, duties, opportunities and burdens of inhabitants of the Territory are officially allotted upon the basis of the 'population group' to which each inhabitant belongs, or in which he is classified. The arguments and findings of the Odendaal Commission in this regard, accordingly, are instructive as showing the premises which underlie Respondent's policy of apartheid, or separate development, and which account for the stringent and pervasive application of that policy in all aspects of the lives of the inhabitants.¹⁷

However, before the Court could decide on the substance of the case, South Africa raised a preliminary objection as to the jurisdiction of the Court. The Court judged by eight votes to seven that it did have jurisdiction. Four years later, in July 1966, the Court reversed its position; after having listened to witnesses and having had before it hundreds of pages of submissions, it decided that Ethiopia and Liberia could not be considered to have established any legal right or interest appertaining to them in the subject matter of their claims, and that accordingly, by the casting vote of the President (the other votes being equally divided), it decided to reject the claims of Ethiopia and Liberia.

The Court's decision had three major results. First, it added some respectability to South African views of the Mandate, and served to boost South African morale. Second, and more important, it confirmed the views of SWAPO that confrontation with South Africa was now inescapable. Third, it threw the question back to the United Nations, where the Afro-Asian group, disillusioned with the very composition of the International Court of Justice, became more insistent in its demands for international action.

On 27 October 1966, by 114 votes to 2 (Portugal, South Africa) and with 3 abstentions (France, Malawi, United Kingdom), the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145(XXI). This resolution, after reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to freedom and independence, recalling the Advisory Opinions of the International Court of Justice in July 1950, June 1955 and June 1956 and the Judgement of 1962 and, expressing its concern at the situation in the Mandated Territory following the Judgement of 18 July 1966, went on:

Declares that South Africa has failed to fulfil its obligations in respect of the administration of the Mandated Territory and to ensure the moral and material well-being and security of the indigenous inhabitants of South West Africa and has, in fact, disavowed the Mandate;

Decides that the Mandate conferred upon His Britannic Majesty to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa is therefore terminated, that South Africa has no other right to administer the Territory, and that henceforth South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

The matter was next referred to the Security Council, which on 20 March 1969 adopted resolution 264(1969) by thirteen votes to nil with two abstentions (France, United Kingdom). This resolution, taking note of the relevant General Assembly resolutions, went on to state that the Security Council

Recognizes that the United Nations General Assembly terminated the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia and assumed direct responsibility for the Territory until its independence;

Considers that the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia is illegal and contrary to the principles of the Charter and the previous decisions of the United Nations and is detrimental to the interests of the population of the Territory and those of the international community;

Calls upon the Government of South Africa to withdraw immediately its administration from the Territory;

Declares that the actions of the Government of South Africa designed to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia through the establishment of Bantustans are contrary to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations;

Declares that the Government of South Africa has no right to enact the 'South West Africa Affairs Bill', as such an enactment would be a violation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.¹⁸

Security Council resolution 269(1969) went further, stating that it

Decides that the continued occupation of the Territory of Namibia by the South African authorities constitutes an aggressive encroachment on the authority of the United Nations, a violation of the territorial integrity and a denial of the political sovereignty of the people of Namibia;

Recognizes the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Namibia against the illegal presence of the South African authorities in the Territory;

Calls upon the Government of South Africa to withdraw its administration from the Territory immediately and in any case before 4 October 1969;

Decides that in the event of failure on the part of the Government of South Africa to comply with the provisions of the preceding paragraph of the present resolution, the Security Council will meet immediately to determine upon effective measures in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the relevant chapters of the Charter of the United Nations;

Calls upon all States to refrain from all dealings with the Government of South Africa purporting to act on behalf of the territory of Namibia;

Requests all States to increase their moral and material assistance to the people of Namibia in their struggle against foreign occupation;

Requests the Secretary-General to follow closely the implementation of the present resolution and to report to the Security Council as soon as possible.¹⁹

South Africa's reply was along the lines of her former petition. According to the Republic of South Africa, the United Nations did not have the right to be the supervisory Powers of the League of Nations and could not, in any case, terminate unilaterally South Africa's administration of South West Africa.

The Security Council resolutions increased in number. Resolution 276(1970) called upon all States, particularly those having economic and other interests in Namibia, to refrain from any dealings with the Government of South Africa which were in contradiction with the continued presence of the South African authorities in Namibia. Resolution 283(1970) requested all States to refrain from any relations, diplomatic or consular, with South Africa which implied recognizing her authority over Namibia. Resolution 284(1970) decided to submit, in accordance with Article 96, paragraph 1 of the Charter of the United Nations, the question as to what were the legal consequences for States of the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia, notwithstanding Security Council resolution 276(1970).

South Africa raised a number of preliminary questions, among them that of the impartiality of some members of the Court. She also objected to the validity of resolution 284(1970) of the Security Council on the grounds that two permanent members of the Security Council had abstained on the voting.

Moreover, South Africa claimed that the Court was likely to be submitted to political pressure. The South African Government, however, suggested a plebiscite on whether or not Namibians would prefer to be ruled by the United Nations or by South Africa. This plebiscite was to be supervised jointly by the International Court and the Republic of South Africa. However, the detailed arrangements, including the membership and terms of reference of any committee appointed by the Court, were to be approved by the South African Government.

On 21 June 1971 the International Court handed down its Opinion on Namibia. It decided by thirteen votes to two that, the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia being illegal, South Africa was under obligation to withdraw its administration from Namibia immediately and thus to put an end to its occupation of the Territory; and by eleven votes to four it decided that States Members of the United Nations were under obligation to recognize the

illegality of South Africa's presence in Namibia and to refrain from any acts implying recognition of the legality of, or leading support or assistance to, such presence and administration.

Resolution 301(1971) of the Security Council, adopted on 20 October 1971, accepted the Court's Advisory Opinion by thirteen votes to nil with two abstentions, and went on to declare that 'franchises, rights, titles or contracts relating to Namibia granted to individuals or companies by South Africa after the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2145(XXI) are not subject to protection or espousal by their States against claims of a future lawful Government of Namibia'.

In February 1972 the Security Council held a Special Meeting at Addis Ababa and adopted two resolutions on Namibia. Resolution 309(1972) invited the Secretary-General, in consultation and close cooperation with a group of the Security Council, composed of the representatives of Argentina, Somalia and Yugoslavia, to continue his contacts with all parties concerned, with a view to establishing the necessary conditions so as to enable the people of Namibia, freely and with strict regard to the principles of human equality, to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

To implement this resolution the Secretary-General of the United Nations went to South Africa shortly afterwards, had discussions with the South African Government and met some Namibians. In August the Security Council extended the mandate of the Secretary-General and a Special Representative, Dr. A. M. Escher (Switzerland), was dispatched to South Africa and to Namibia in the hope of negotiating an end to the deadlock between the United Nations and South Africa over the question of independence for Namibia. As discussions went on, it became obvious that the positions were irreconcilable. South Africa was committed to the apartheid policy; the United Nations wished to end this policy. On 27 November 1973 Dahomey, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta and Zambia submitted a draft resolution to the General Assembly in which they considered 'that the contacts between the Secretary-General and the Government of South Africa under the terms of Security Council resolution 323(1972) should be terminated, as being detrimental to the interests of the Namibian people'.

The Council of Namibia had already expressed the same opinion in June 1973. In December 1973, when the Security Council met to discuss the Secretary-General's report, it reached the same conclusions. In 1974 Sean MacBride, an Irishman who had been closely associated with human rights issues for many years and was the son of John MacBride, who had fought with the Afrikaners in the British-Boer war, was elected by the General Assembly as United Nations High Commissioner for Namibia. The argument continued. General Assembly resolution 3295(XXIX) of 13 December 1974 reaffirmed that the people of Namibia must be enabled to attain self-determination and independence with a united Namibia, and strongly condemned South Africa for its persistent refusal to withdraw from Namibia and for its efforts to consolidate its

illegal occupation by intensified repression and by the imposition of its policies of apartheid and the fragmentation of the Territory into 'Bantustans', in total disregard of the wishes of the people of Namibia, the decisions of the wishes of the people of Namibia, the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations and the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971.

General Assembly resolution 3399(XXX) again emphasized that the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia should be preserved. As we shall see, South Africa's Bantustan policy was both the key to apartheid and the major obstacle to finding a solution to the Namibian problem.

Notes

1. Dugard, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–90.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 92–4.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 95–6.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 105–6.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 128–9.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 142–3.
8. Quoted in *Rejoinder Filed by the Government of the Republic of South Africa*, Vol. II, 1964, pp. 6 and 18.
9. Dugard, *op. cit.*, p. 211.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 221–2.
12. Quoted from International Court of Justice, *South West Africa Cases: Reply of the Governments of Ethiopia and Liberia*, pp. 7–8, June 1964.
13. Quoted from Dugard, *op. cit.*, p. 240.
14. *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962–1963*, RP 12/1964, p. 3.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
17. International Court of Justice, *South West Africa Cases: Reply of the Governments of Ethiopia and Liberia*, *op. cit.*
18. Dugard, *op. cit.*, p. 439.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 440–1.

Part II

Political and economic incorporation

4

Political and economic incorporation

Namibia is a Territory of about 824,269 square kilometres, or 318,261 square miles. As we have seen, the Northern sector was never under the direct control of the German authorities, who concentrated on the south.

The growth of the population between 1970 and 1974 is shown in Table 1. In 1974 whites made up 11.6 per cent of the population, Coloureds and Rehoboth Basters approximately 6 per cent and Africans approximately 82.4 per cent.

The population census of 6 May 1970 gave the breakdown into rural and urban

Table 1 Population growth between 1970 and 1974

Population group	Number		Percentage of total population	
	1970 ¹	1974 ²	1970	1974
Ovambos	352,640	396,000	46.3	46.5
Whites	90,583	99,000	11.9	11.6
Damaras	66,291	75,000	8.7	8.8
Hereros	50,589	56,000	6.6	6.6
Okavangos	49,512	56,000	6.5	6.6
Namas	32,935	37,000	4.3	4.3
Coloureds	28,512	32,000	3.7	3.8
East Caprivians	25,580	29,000	3.3	3.4
Bushmen	22,830	26,000	3.0	3.0
Rehoboth Basters	16,649	19,000	2.2	2.2
Kaokolanders	6,567	7,000	0.9	0.8
Tswanas	4,407	5,000	0.6	0.6
Other	15,089	15,000	2.0	1.8
TOTAL	762,184	852,000	100.0	100.0

1. Population Census of 6 May 1970.

2. Estimate.

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics. Taken from Republic of South Africa, Department of Foreign Affairs, *South West Africa Survey 1974*, Cape and Transvaal Printers Ltd., 1975.

Table 2 *Population distribution by urban and rural groups, 1970*

Population group	Total	Urban	Percentage	Rural	Percentage
Whites	90,658	67,099	74.013	23,559	25.987
Coloureds	28,275	20,176	71.356	8,099	28.644
Rehoboth Basters	16,474	7,560	45.890	8,914	54.110
Namas	32,853	9,949	30.283	22,904	69.717
Other Africans	578,068	81,234	14.053	496,834	85.947
TOTAL	746,328	186,018	24.924	560,310	75.076

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, *Population Census, South West Africa, 6 May 1970: Statistical News Release, No. 64*, Pretoria, Government Printer, 23 September 1971.

groups as reproduced in Table 2. This shows that whites were the most urbanized group, while only 14.053 per cent of Africans were living in towns. In most countries urban dwellers generally have greater access to those facilities which are readily available where there is a concentration of people, such as schools, hospitals, and so on. The inequalities in urbanization patterns in Namibia reflect the type of control and ownership within the economy. As in most countries, the urbanized sector represents the major concentration of capital, *finance and industry*. These are, however, white-owned, with the majority of the white population employed not only in the most heavily capitalized sector of the economy but also at the highest levels, as managerial, professional or skilled labour. Rural whites are likely not to be small farmers but to be involved in highly capitalized plantation-type agriculture. The low level of urbanization for Africans reflects the level and the degree of their entry into industry and large-scale commerce as well as into the tertiary sector. But, as we shall see, even this is not the result of the classical 'free' market. When dealing with rural Africans, it is a mistake to compare them with rural whites. Rural Africans are either an agricultural proletariat on large white-owned farms, or they are small peasant farmers, or they are in the semi-subsistence economy of the Bantustans or 'reserves'. The urbanization pattern is therefore not the same for whites as for Africans, nor does the designation 'rural' mean the same for the two groups. This is illustrated by the differing percentages of males and females, urban and rural, for Africans and whites respectively. Tables 3 to 8 give some indication of the percentages of men and women in urban and rural areas in both the Northern and the Southern sectors by population group. The proportion of women in rural areas is as high as 90 per cent for Africans, falling to 52 per cent for the 'in-between' category of the Rehoboth Basters, decreasing to 26.5 per cent for Coloureds and to 24.7 per cent for whites. There are 53,147 African men living in towns, as compared with only 28,087 women. This reflects a system under which single men migrate to the towns while the women are left behind in the semi-subsistence sector. This happens in nearly every developing country, but in Namibia it is intensified by the deliberate policy of contract labour, all-male compounds and the 'pass system'.

Table 3 Percentage of urban and rural population for men and women, 1970

Population group	Total		Urban				Rural			
	Men	Women	Men	Percentage of men	Women	Percentage of women	Men	Percentage of men	Women	Percentage of women
Whites	46,653	44,005	33,976	72.827	33,123	75.271	12,677	27.173	10,882	24.729
Coloureds	15,006	13,269	10,425	69.472	9,751	73.487	4,581	30.528	3,518	26.513
Rehoboth Basters	8,068	8,406	3,557	44.088	4,003	47.621	4,511	55.912	4,403	52.379
Namas	16,730	16,123	4,702	28.105	5,247	32.544	12,028	71.895	10,876	67.456
Other Africans	292,679	285,389	53,147	18.159	28,087	9.842	239,532	81.841	257,302	90.158

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Population Census, South West Africa, 6 May 1970, op. cit.

Table 4 *Africans: percentage of urban and rural population for men and women, 1970*

Population group	Total		Urban				Rural			
	Men	Women	Men	Percent- age of men	Women	Percent- age of women	Men	Percent- age of men	Women	Percent- age of women
Ovambos	172,052	170,403	25,744	14.963	6,009	3.526	146,308	85.037	164,394	96.474
Okavangos	24,345	25,232	1,666	6.843	490	1.942	22,679	93.157	24,742	98.058
East Caprivians	11,877	13,132	20	0.168	1	0.008	11,857	99.832	13,131	99.992
Kaokovelders	3,272	3,195	63	1.925	10	0.313	3,209	98.075	3,185	99.687
Damaras	31,763	33,210	12,551	39.515	14,184	42.710	19,212	60.485	19,026	57.290
Hereros	24,294	24,909	5,496	22.623	5,799	23.281	18,798	77.377	19,110	76.719
Bushmen	11,275	10,634	446	3.956	331	3.113	10,829	96.044	10,303	96.887
Tswanas	1,960	1,759	597	30.459	551	31.325	1,363	69.541	1,208	68.675
Others	11,841	2,915	6,564	55.435	712	24.425	5,277	44.565	2,203	75.575
Namas	16,730	16,123	4,702	28.105	5,247	32.544	12,028	71.895	10,876	67.456
TOTAL	309,409	301,512	57,849	18.700	33,334	11.056	251,560	81.303	268,178	88.944

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, *Population Census, South West Africa, 6 May 1970*, op. cit.

Table 5 Africans: population, urban and rural, 1970

Population group	Total population	Urban	Percentage	Rural	Percentage
Ovambos	342,455	31,753	9.272	310,702	90.728
Okavangos	49,577	2,156	4.349	47,421	95.651
East Caprivians	25,009	21	0.084	24,988	99.916
Kaokovelders	6,467	73	1.129	6,394	98.871
Damaras	64,973	26,735	41.148	38,238	58.852
Hereros	49,203	11,295	22.956	37,908	77.044
Bushmen	21,909	777	3.546	21,132	96.454
Tswanas	3,719	1,148	30.869	2,571	69.131
Others	14,756	7,276	49.309	7,480	50.691
Namas	32,853	9,949	30.283	22,904	69.717
TOTAL	610,921	91,183	14.925	519,738	85.075

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, *Population Census, South West Africa, 6 May 1970*, op. cit.

Table 6 Population distribution, Southern and Northern sectors, 1960

Population group	Southern sector		Northern sector		Total population	
	Number	Percentage of group	Number	Percentage of group	Number	Percentage of group
Bushmen	9,484	80.63	2,278	19.37	11,762	2.24
Damaras	44,044	99.30	309	00.70	44,353	8.43
Namas	34,606	99.42	200	00.58	34,806	6.62
Basters	11,257	100.00	—	—	11,257	2.14
Coloureds	12,699	99.93	9	00.07	12,708	2.42
Whites	73,464	100.00	—	—	73,464	13.97
Hereros	35,354	100.00	—	—	35,354	6.72
Kaokovelders	—	—	9,234	100.00	9,234	1.75
Ovambos	8,804 ¹	3.68	230,559 ²	96.32	239,363	45.50
Okavangos	169 ³	00.60	27,702 ⁴	99.40	27,871	5.30
East Caprivians	—	—	15,840	100.00	15,840	3.01
Tswanas and others	9,638 ⁵	96.46	354	3.54	9,992	1.90
TOTAL	239,519	45.54	286,485	54.46	526,004	100.00

1. Ovambos resident among other groups.

2. Includes 27,771 employees temporarily employed in Southern sector.

3. Okavangos resident among other groups.

4. Includes about 850 employees temporarily employed in Southern sector.

5. Includes 4,528 employees mostly from Angola.

Source: Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963, op. cit., p. 39.

Table 7 *Population distribution, urban, rural and home areas, 1960*

Population group	Southern sector						Northern home areas						Grand total	
	Urban areas	Percentage ¹	Rural areas	Percentage ¹	Home areas	Percentage ¹	Total	Sesfontein	Kaokoveld	Ovamboland	Okavango	East Caprivi		Total
Bushmen	190	2.00	8,156	86.00	1,138	12.00	9,484	—	—	878	1,400	—	2,278	11,762
Damaras	18,499	42.00	20,260	46.00	5,285	12.00	44,044	309	—	—	—	—	309	44,353
Namas	8,998	26.00	19,379	56.00	6,229	18.00	34,606	200	—	—	—	—	200	34,806
Basters	2,026	18.00	338	3.00	8,893	79.00	11,257	—	—	—	—	—	—	11,257
Coloureds	8,128	64.00	3,682	29.00	889	7.00	12,699	—	2	1	—	6	9	12,708
Whites	53,680	73.00	19,426	27.00	—	—	73,106	—	34	195	104	25	358	73,464
Hereros	9,192	26.00	10,606	30.00	15,556	44.00	35,354	—	—	—	—	—	—	35,354
Kaokovelders	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9,234	—	—	—	9,234	9,234
Ovambos	8,100	92.00	528	6.00	176	2.00	8,804	—	—	230,559	—	—	230,559	239,363
Okavangos	85	50.00	84	50.00	—	—	169	—	—	—	27,702	—	27,702	27,871
East Caprivians	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15,840	15,840	15,840
Tswanas and others	3,855	40.00	5,301	55.00	482	5.00	9,638	354	—	—	—	—	354	9,992
TOTAL	112,753	47.14	87,760	36.66	38,648	16.20	239,161	863	9,270	231,633	29,206	15,871	286,843	526,004

1. Percentages not vertically comparable.

Source: *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963*, op. cit., Table XIX, p. 41.

Table 8 Population distribution, Southern home areas, 1960¹

Home areas	Bushmen	Percentage ^a	Damaras	Percentage ^a	Namas	Percentage ^a	Basters, Coloureds	Percentage ^a	Hereros	Percentage ^a	Ovambos, Okavangos	Percentage ^a	Tswanas and others	Percentage ^a	Total
Aminuis	13	0.55	2	0.09	—	—	—	—	1,911	81.28	—	—	425	18.08	2,351
Berseba	—	—	397	16.49	1,410	58.55	262	10.88	327	13.58	12	0.50	—	—	2,408
Bondels	—	—	—	—	1,110	66.19	327	19.50	240	14.31	—	—	—	—	1,677
Epukiro	573	16.52	15	0.43	—	—	—	—	2,875	82.88	4	0.11	2	0.06	3,469
Fransfontein	—	—	494	60.91	150	18.50	—	—	90	11.10	77	9.49	—	—	811
Gibeon	—	—	110	17.80	350	56.63	82	13.27	76	12.30	—	—	—	—	618
Neuhof	—	—	32	29.63	66	61.11	5	4.63	5	4.63	—	—	—	—	108
Okombahe	1	0.06	1,564	95.60	20	1.22	20	1.22	9	0.55	20	1.23	2	0.12	1,636
Eastern	300	41.61	36	4.99	—	—	—	—	385	53.40	—	—	—	—	721
Otjohorongongo	—	—	33	1.73	1	0.05	—	—	1,840	96.18	39	2.04	—	—	1,913
Otjimbingwe	—	—	565	58.19	2	0.21	48	4.94	335	34.50	20	2.06	1	0.10	971
Otjituuo	170	9.01	24	1.27	17	0.90	50	2.65	1,620	85.85	6	0.32	—	—	1,887
Ovitoto	—	—	165	13.91	—	—	—	—	1,001	84.40	20	1.69	—	—	1,186
Soromas	—	—	—	—	104	94.54	2	1.82	2	1.82	2	1.82	—	—	110
Tses	—	—	143	11.66	428	34.91	45	3.67	600	48.94	3	0.25	7	0.57	1,226
Warmbad	—	—	—	—	443	79.96	110	19.86	—	—	1	0.18	—	—	554
Waterberg East	54	1.28	44	1.04	—	—	—	—	4,137	97.66	1	0.02	—	—	4,236
TOTAL	1,111	4.29	3,624	14.00	4,101	15.85	951	3.67	15,453	59.71	205	0.79	437	1.69	25,882

1. Numbers as given by Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Windhoek, *Annual Report, 1960*.

2. Percentages not comparable vertically.

Source: *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963*, op. cit., Table XX, p. 41.

Table 9 Gross domestic product by type of industrial activity, selected years between 1920 and 1956

Year	Primary industry			Secondary industry			Tertiary industry						Gross domestic product at factor cost (R millions)
	Agriculture and fishing (R'000)	Mining (R'000)	Total (R millions)	Manufacturing (R'000)	Private urban construction (R'000)	Total (R millions)	Private			Public			
							Transport and trade (R'000)	All other services (R'000)	Total (R millions)	General government (R'000)	Government enterprises (R'000)	Total (R millions)	
1920	1,674	7,572	9.2	330	50	0.4	1,646	808	2.4	778	86	0.8	13.0
1925	1,250	5,140	6.4	460	124	0.6	1,608	1,034	2.6	784	124	1.0	10.6
1930	514	4,286	4.8	564	170	0.8	1,592	1,440	3.0	1,052	200	1.2	9.8
1935	3,864	1,018	4.8	434	80	0.6	1,044	1,030	2.0	702	156	0.8	8.4
1940	5,062	434	5.4	498	66	0.6	1,706	1,492	3.2	956	186	1.2	10.4
1945	9,048	2,550	11.6	782	470	1.2	3,268	1,968	5.2	1,452	236	1.6	19.8
1950	19,682	17,304	37.0	1,502	1,896	3.4	8,370	4,386	12.8	3,202	746	4.0	57.0
1951	23,396	29,586	53.0	1,804	2,632	4.4	10,768	5,452	16.2	3,440	946	4.4	78.0
1952	24,208	32,570	56.8	2,920	2,650	5.6	12,588	6,340	19.0	4,202	1,160	5.4	86.6
1953	26,864	32,990	59.8	3,934	2,688	6.6	14,252	7,864	22.2	5,072	1,620	6.6	95.2
1954	30,060	34,516	64.6	4,984	2,468	7.4	15,596	8,714	24.4	5,958	1,648	7.6	104.0
1955	32,320	49,284	81.6	5,290	2,738	8.0	18,738	10,318	29.0	6,488	1,710	8.2	126.8
1956	32,818	62,662	95.4	6,736	2,658	9.4	19,528	10,846	30.4	7,164	2,110	9.2	144.6

Source: D. C. Krogh: 'The National Income and Expenditure of South West Africa (1920-1956)', *The South African Journal of Economics*, Vol. 28, No. 1, March 1960, p. 5.

Table 10 *Export trade, 1963-66*
(in thousands of Rand)

Product	Total exports				Exports to Republic of South Africa			
	1963	1964	1965	1966	1963	1964	1965	1966
<i>Agricultural products</i>								
Karakul pelts	16,053	13,747	14,027	15,875	—	—	—	—
Livestock	15,357	16,503	17,193	14,115	15,357	16,503	17,193	14,089
Livestock products	3,069	2,626	2,144	2,525	2,320	2,013	1,571	1,811
Other agricultural products	100	90	123	120	100	90	123	120
Subtotal	34,579	32,966	33,487	32,635	17,777	18,606	18,887	16,020
<i>Fishery products</i>								
Fish meal	11,400	13,900	19,700	22,400	2,280	2,780	3,940	4,480
Canned fish	5,800	10,000	13,600	14,000	1,160	2,000	2,720	2,800
Other fishery products	5,300	10,300	11,650	12,500	300	1,120	940	980
Subtotal	22,500	34,200	44,950	48,900	3,740	5,900	7,600	8,260
<i>Mineral products</i>								
Diamonds	43,907	60,256	70,311	85,014	43,907	60,256	70,311	85,014
Blister copper	8,092	13,953	15,034	19,242	—	—	—	—
Refined lead	48	7,109	14,812	12,287	—	1,300	1,900	2,100
Lead/copper/zinc concentrates	10,422	7,857	10,198	7,876	—	—	—	—
Other mineral products	2,612	4,171	4,781	3,339	—	—	—	1,288
Subtotal	65,081	93,346	115,136	127,758	43,907	61,556	72,211	88,402
TOTAL	122,160	160,512	193,573	209,293	65,424	86,062	98,698	112,682

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Foreign Affairs, *South West Africa Survey 1967*, op. cit., Table 29, p. 103. Figures compiled from various sources; according to the *Survey*, figures 'cannot in all respects be regarded as fully reliable' as official trade statistics do not differentiate between the Republic and South West Africa.

But first, let us look at the economy of Namibia. Table 9 gives a breakdown of the Namibian gross domestic product by primary, secondary and tertiary sector.

The economic structure displays four important characteristics.

1. *The large part played by the export of raw materials* (see Table 10). At the time of the Odendaal Report (1962–63), it was estimated that mining, agriculture and fisheries accounted for approximately 60 per cent of the gross domestic product. In 1973 the *Financial Mail* credited mining alone with 60 per cent of the gross domestic product.¹ In the same year mineral sales were calculated to amount to approximately R230 million, of which diamonds accounted for R147 million and base metals R83 million. Namibia is the world's first supplier of gem diamonds and an important source of vanadium, copper, lead, zinc, tin, cadmium and uranium. Manufacturing accounts for only 10 per cent of the gross domestic product. The economy has therefore been geared to exporting raw materials and to importing consumer products from abroad. This has had implications for the type of social stratification which has evolved. There was no incentive to build a large internal market for manufactured goods, and therefore no need to raise the level of African wages. Highly extractive industries need a relatively small percentage of skilled labour, which can be supplied either by importing South African and other foreign technical know-how or from the local white population.

2. *The structure of ownership.* The major mining, fishing, banking and industrial ventures are owned by foreign interests either in South Africa or in Western Europe and North America. Local white capital is mainly placed in the commercialized sector, in construction and in middle-level commerce. The mining industry gives us some idea of the degree of concentration in ownership. Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa Ltd (CDM) is a subsidiary of the De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd of South Africa—the largest diamond company in the world. In 1970 the total earnings of CDM amounted to R56.9 million, the pre-tax profit was R52.8 million, taxes paid to the South African Government amounted to R19 million, and net profits were R33.8 million. By 1973 total earnings were R159.9 million, pre-tax profits R156.5 million, taxes paid to the South African Government R59.9 million, and net profits R96.5 million. Dividends in ordinary shares had jumped from R23.9 million in 1970 to R30.2 million in 1973. In 1974—a bad year—pre-tax profits were nevertheless R113.3 million.² The following financial statement for 1974–75 gives some idea of the extent of the De Beers investments and profits.³

Item	Year ended 31 December	
	1975 (R)	1974 (R)
Issued capital of De Beers Company	24,834,000	21,821,000
Share premium and reserves ¹	918,847,000	822,247,000
Book value of listed investments ²	218,225,000	203,902,000

1. After deducting excess of cost of shares in subsidiary companies over book value of net assets at dates of acquisition.

2. In companies outside the diamond industry.

Item	Year ended 31 December	
	1975 (R)	1974 (R)
Market value of listed investments ¹	361,530,000	391,687,000
Book value of unlisted investments and loans ¹	173,380,000	149,416,000
Directors' valuation of unlisted investments and loans ¹	198,000,000	172,076,000
Net current assets	178,945,000	167,686,000
Diamonds on hand at cost	304,437,000	269,788,000
Profit after tax attributable to De Beers Company	220,677,000	201,314,000
Preference dividends	1,706,000	1,591,000
Net earnings attributable to deferred shares	218,971,000	199,723,000
Per share	0.61	0.56
Dividends	100,507,000	89,217,000
Per share	0.28	0.25

1. In companies outside the diamond industry.

In the case of the base metals sector, Tsumeb Corporation accounts for approximately 80 per cent of the production. In addition Tsumeb refines most of the exported refined lead and blister copper. The Corporation is controlled by American Metal Climax Inc and the Newmount Mining Corporation of the United States. State corporations in South Africa are also increasingly involved in mining in Namibia. ISCOR (the Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa) owns its own iron mine through its own subsidiary, Imcor Zinc (Pty), and its own zinc mine. Fisheries are concentrated in the South African enclave of

Table 11 Functional subdivision of the area of South West Africa

Subdivision	Area in Southern sector (sq. miles)	Area in Northern sector (sq. miles)	Total (sq. miles)	Percentage
Farms	158,653	—	158,653	49.85
Town and township areas	1,830	—	1,830	0.58
Native reserves	23,523	56,185	79,708	25.05
Game parks and reserves	4,672	18,222 ¹	22,984	7.19
Nature reserves	486	—	486	0.16
'Sperr' area	21,182	—	21,182	6.66
Government lands	9,694	23,391	33,085	10.37
Walvis Bay area ²	423	—	423	0.14
TOTAL	220,463	97,798	318,261	100.00

1. Excluding that part of the Kaokoveld included under native reserves.

2. Excluding township area.

Source: Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963, op. cit., Table XI, p. 29.

Table 12 *Agricultural products according to principal areas, 1962-65*

Product	Unit	Year ended June 30	Farms of whites	Native reserves within Southern sector	Rehoboth native territories	Northern native territories	Total for South West Africa
Maize reaped	Bags	1962	56,186	80	—	2,120	58,386
		1963	84,742	1,318	—	8,000	94,061
		1964	73,022	30	—	4,100	77,152
		1965	62,990	30	—	6,100	69,120
Wheat and other grain reaped ¹	Bags	1962	10,672	253	—	74,915	85,843
		1963	5,119	69	—	158,520	163,708
		1964	6,116	270	—	168,300	174,686
		1965	16,431	270	—	114,000	130,701
Wool shorn	lb.	1962	7,530,864	38,074	82,448	—	7,651,386
		1963	7,870,095	41,408	92,260	—	8,003,763
		1964	7,070,966	30,768	7,362	—	7,109,096
		1965	6,834,833	31,000	96,277	—	6,962,110
Hides sold	Number	1962	37,382	1,988	309	—	39,679
		1963	95,809	10,060	813	—	106,682
		1964	57,026	2,544	30	4,800	64,400
		1965	53,741	5,417	683	4,900	64,741
Skins (sheep and goats) sold	Number	1962	146,175	12,276	4,673	—	163,124
		1963	225,457	14,912	5,041	—	245,410
		1964	216,957	12,816	100	3,900	233,773
		1965	212,956	14,843	5,307	1,800	234,906

1. Figures in respect of northern native territories refer *principally* to millet; those in respect of other areas to wheat *only*.
 Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Foreign Affairs, *South West Africa Survey 1967*, op. cit., Table 7, p. 67.

Walvis Bay, as is the canning and processing associated with the fishing and lobster industry.

With regard to agriculture, Table 11 shows how large a proportion of the land area is taken up by farms and African reserves. Table 12 illustrates the productivity of these reserves and white farms.

The estimate of the African population by the South African Government at 578,068 (Table 2) seems to be rather low. At the same time, 37.7 million hectares have been set aside for white farms, with a white population of 90,658. But, as we have seen, the white rural population represents a much smaller percentage of the total white population than does the African rural population of the total African population. Even if all the land owned by Africans were arable, Africans would still be at a disadvantage when compared with Europeans. It is conceivable that this could be changed with 'independence'. However, the structure of land ownership is in part maintained by the method of land allocation, i.e. by tribal or racial group. The much-discussed federal plan, which retains the principle of the allocation of land through the Bantustans, is therefore the political guarantee for the continuation of the pattern of land allocation and through it the mechanism by which the present economic structure can be maintained while at the same time permitting some transfer of political power. It is not by chance that A. H. du Plessis, leader of the white National Party in Namibia, could say of the 1975 Constitutional Conference at Turnhalle, Windhoek: 'We are trying to create a South West Africa where people's economic and social existence and their identity will not be threatened, and where links which are necessary will not be broken.'⁴ Indeed, 'identity', both racial and tribal, is the cultural mechanism through which the present economic structure in Namibia is maintained and through which the Republic of South Africa hopes it can be maintained in the future. The 'minority rights' which the Republic of South Africa suddenly champions imply the preservation of tribal affiliation as the basis for political incorporation, thus producing not only a weak centralized authority incapable of redistributing national wealth but also the racial and tribal basis of land ownership which is

Table 13 *Agriculture in selected African areas,
1 January 1972–31 March 1973*

Area	Extent of SABT land (ha)	Population of SABT area	Area of arable land available (ha)		Area of arable land cultivated (ha)	
			Dry land	Irrigated	Dry land	Irrigated
Bushmanland	1,805,000	12,000	80	3	—	—
Damaraland	4,799,021	15,000	86	44	31	44
Hereroland	5,899,680	22,000	1,000	—	800	—
Kaokoland	5,525,129	13,000	3,000	40	300	20
Other	863,350	11,500	40	1	40	1
TOTAL	18,892,180	73,500	4,206	88	1,171	65

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Bantu Administration and Development, *Report for the Period 1 January 1972–31 March 1973*, p. 24, Pretoria, Government Printer.

Table 14 *Crop production in selected African areas,
1 January 1972-31 March 1973*

Area	Wheat		Maize	
	Area (ha)	Yield (kg)	Area (ha)	Yield (kg)
<i>On dry land</i>				
Damaraland	—	—	—	—
Hereroland	—	—	800	180,000
Kaokoland	—	—	300	Own use
Bushmanland	—	—	—	—
Other	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	—	—	1,100	180,000
<i>Under irrigation</i>				
Damaraland	15	14,400	10	9,000
Hereroland	—	—	—	—
Kaokoland	2	1,440	25	1,530
Bushmanland	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	17	15,840	35	10,530

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Bantu Administration and Development, *Report for the Period 1 January 1972-31 March 1973*, op. cit., p. 24.

Table 15 *Livestock population in selected African areas,
1 January 1972-31 March 1973*

Area	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Pigs	Horses	Mules	Donkeys	Poultry
Damaraland	28,400	13,177	160,121	46	1,181	99	3,578	12,103
Bushmanland	98	—	131	—	—	—	—	—
Hereroland	137,422	10,671	53,470	—	5,310	182	4,134	16,000
Kaokoland	141,646	36,000	87,000	46	2,000	16	2,055	5,000
Other	60,007	7,286	61,757	—	2,071	331	2,755	4,913
TOTAL	376,663	67,134	352,479	92	10,562	628	12,722	23,616

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Bantu Administration and Development, *Report for the Period 1 January 1972-31 March 1973*, op. cit., pp. 24, 25.

Table 16 *Stock sales in selected African areas,
1 January 1972-31 March 1973*

Area	Number of sales	Large stock sold		Small stock sold		Total revenue from livestock sold (R)
		Number	Revenue (R)	Number	Revenue (R)	
Damaraland	16	4,093	254,106	3,018	35,561	289,661
Hereroland	35	21,469	1,313,002	20	192	1,313,194
Kaokoland	6	973	41,798	144	1,137	42,935
Other	13	6,253	335,767	54	711	356,478
TOTAL	70	32,788	1,964,673	3,236	37,601	2,002,268

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Bantu Administration and Development, *Report for the Period 1 January 1972-31 March 1973*, op. cit., pp. 24, 25.

itself important to the maintenance of present production relationships.

Some idea of the productivity in some African areas is illustrated by Tables 13 to 16.

Commercialized agriculture, in which local white capital is heavily concentrated, reached its peak in 1943 when it accounted for 57.5 per cent of the gross domestic product compared with 9 per cent for mining. (In 1920 mining had represented 58 per cent of the gross domestic product.) A number of factors contributed to the rise of agriculture and to the concentration of commercialized agriculture in local white hands. After the end of the First World War a vigorous settlement policy was introduced. Between 1920 and 1929, farms were allocated to 1,485 white settlers and the number of farmers increased by between 35 and 40 per cent. The stock population rose from 65,000 in 1930 to 1,053,000 in 1939. Between 1942 and 1945 the export value of Karakul pelts rose from R3,170,256 to R8.63 million per annum, averaging 56 per cent of the total exports.⁵ An idea of the extent of the expansion of commercialized agriculture can be gained from Table 17.

Table 17 *Expansion of commercialized agriculture, 1913-62*

Year	White population	Number of farms	Extent (ha)
1913	14,830	1,138	11,490,000
1920-22	An additional 4,844,626 ha allocated for white settlement in the first three years of the Mandate		
1935	31,800	3,255	25,467,628
1946	37,888	3,722	27,413,858
1955	49,930	5,050	37,868,124
1962	72,000	5,500 ¹	39,812,000 ¹

1. Approximate figure.

Source: Ronald Segal and Ruth First (eds.), *South West Africa: Travesty of Trust*, p. 248, London, Deutsch, 1967.

The success of the settlement policy and commercialized agriculture depended on the confiscation and redistribution of African lands, extensive farming and cheap African labour. Mining, however, called for high capital investment, access to markets outside South Africa and relatively modern technology. These requirements have increased. The *Financial Mail* estimated in 1973 that within the Rio Tinto area alone the uranium deposits required a capitalization of R110 million. In addition, the economic development of Namibia was, from the beginning of South African control, geared to making it South Africa's 'fifth' province and closely integrating its economy with that of South Africa. The South West African white settlers were only locally at the top of the social pyramid and had little to say in the structuring of the economy. They were therefore disadvantaged when compared with the 'absent paradigm' in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town. However, a good number of these settlers had emigrated from South Africa after the granting of the Mandate and benefited from the land schemes. By 1970 the share of agriculture had dropped to 16 per cent of total exports.⁶

3. *The concentration of industry, mining and finance in the south.* The modern exchange sector of Namibia is heavily concentrated in the south—the area of white settlement (diamond mining at Oranjemund, metal production at Tsumeb and Grootfontein, fisheries at Walvis Bay and Lüderitz and industry mainly in Windhoek and Walvis Bay). The entire north of the country is little developed, even in terms of the exploitation of mineral deposits.

4. *The racial factor.* African areas are undercapitalized. As late as 1963 the Odendaal Report could state that, outside the areas of white settlement, there existed only the ‘traditional subsistence economy’. There was no ‘artisan tradition’. Hereditary private land ownership was virtually unknown. The Report stated that the ‘dual economy has continued despite contact between the traditional economy and the modern developed economy, internal as well as external’.⁷ In fact, the term ‘dual economy’ here is misleading. The subsistence sector does not exist apart from the modern sector. It is thanks to the constant deterioration of the subsistence sector, the development of a money economy and the present disastrous effect of drought that Africans are concentrated on less land and that the modern sector has at its disposal a constant supply of labour cheap enough to permit the high profits associated with extractive primary production. It is the maintenance of a semi-subsistence sector that permits the reproduction of the present system of labour relationships, whilst its convergence with the racial factor ensures that an African middle class does not emerge and that ‘traditions’ and, more important, traditional leadership can be used as a conservative political force.

The integration of the Namibian economy into that of South Africa began after the First World War. Except for Karakul farming, the development of commercialized agriculture was wholly dependent on South Africa for the export of beef and dairy produce and partly dependent for the import of consumer goods. South Africa provided the capital investment for railways, air services, power and migration schemes, and the roads to enable the white minority to develop its export trade. The type of farming (ranching) and the low density of the white rural population increased dependence on an extensive transport infrastructure. During the ten years between 1955 and 1965 South Africa’s capital investment in the modernization of the railway system and in rolling stock amounted to R105 million. Losses on air services amounted to R2,153,822; South Africa made good these losses between their introduction in 1947 and 31 March 1963, as well as the accumulated excess of expenditures on police services. The pattern has intensified in recent years. During the years 1964/65 to 1969/70 the South African Government granted loans totalling R55,261,934 to the South West Africa Administration;⁸ these loans were written off, together with the accrued interest of R16,356,000, while the shortfall in the South West Africa account for 1973/74 was estimated to be around R23 million.⁹ All railways and rolling stock are at present owned by South Africa.¹⁰ South Africa Railways also operate the harbours at Lüderitz and Walvis Bay. The Kunene Dam scheme, although located in Angola under an agreement with the Portuguese authorities, is controlled by the South West Africa Water and Electricity Corporation, which

is itself owned by the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa. Virtually all agricultural equipment comes from South Africa, including fencing materials, piping, creosote wood, building materials, concentrated animal feeds, fertilizers, seed, insecticides, fungicides, herbicides, stock remedies, farm tools, machines and implements, vehicles, tractors, fuel and lubricants and spare parts. Given the small white population and the deliberate exclusion of Africans, skilled technological and scientific manpower must be imported from the Republic, for research and the control of territorial waters vital to the lucrative fishing industry. Equally important are the assistance of the South African army and the subsidies for the internal police force, without which white South West Africans could not have maintained their political control. In 1961-62 alone, expenditure was R782,657 in excess of the contribution of R382,000 made by South West Africa.¹¹

Some idea of the type of agricultural production in the exchange sector can be obtained from Table 18.

Table 18 *Estimated gross value of agricultural production, 1965*

Product	Rand	Percentage
<i>Animal husbandry</i>		
Cattle		
Beef	24,945,976	56.2
Breeding	215,166	0.5
Dairy products	2,041,200	4.6
Sheep		
Pelts	14,027,414	31.6
Breeding	33,117	0.1
Wool	1,079,727	2.4
Mutton	970,596	2.2
Hides and skins	376,631	0.8
Pigs	351,720	0.8
<i>Agriculture</i>		
Cash crops	230,001	0.5
<i>Horticulture</i>		
	120,000	0.3
TOTAL	44,391,548	100.0

Source: Cited in Republic of South Africa, Department of Foreign Affairs, *South West Africa Survey 1967*, op. cit., Table 2, p. 63. From C. P. A. Hanssen, 'The Agricultural Economy of South West Africa', *Agrekon*, Vol. 5, No. 4, October 1966, Table 8, Pretoria, Department of Agricultural Economics and Marketing.

The importance of South Africa as a market for agriculture is shown in Table 19.

By 1973 the gross domestic product was estimated at R615.6 million.¹² The *South West Africa Survey 1974* gives a good account of Namibia's dependence on the Republic. Of the total of 583,168 cattle, only 32,000 (5.5 per cent) were consumed locally; most of the rest were exported to South Africa. On the other hand, maize, concentrated stock feeds, high protein roughage, 'virtually all

Table 19 Livestock and dairy industries, 1961-66

Year	Livestock		Dairy industry		Butter- milk powder (lb)	Value of all dairy products (R)
	Cattle	Small stock	Creamery butter (lb)	Casein (lb)		
<i>Exported to the Republic of South Africa</i>						
1961	232,845	117,292	2,489,700	20,425	88,000	1,875,000
1962	170,121	68,358	2,174,810	14,960	337,500	751,000
1963	263,013	103,144	3,234,975	21,850	110,100	937,000
1964	255,969	150,735	2,455,550	93,279	196,600	899,700
1965	246,576	107,834	1,291,975	149,445	85,000	563,900
1966	*	*	1,572,075	139,610	119,200	735,200
<i>Processed or consumed in Territory</i>						
1961	64,247	59,823	2,382,932	—	45,875	1,315,000
1962	92,122	73,481	2,234,321	—	59,750	1,207,000
1963	99,184	76,980	2,460,031	2,550	44,624	1,583,000
1964	125,794	82,781	2,546,738	—	48,650	1,675,800
1965	130,430	84,714	2,557,350	2,805	37,200	1,947,800
1966	*	*	2,672,336	3,400	12,200	1,993,500

Figures not available.
Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Foreign Affairs, *South West Africa Survey 1967*, op. cit., Table 5, p. 65.

means of agricultural production' and expert services were being imported from the Republic.¹³

Geological and geophysical surveys were conducted by the Geological Survey Division of the Department of Mines. While in 1973 basic mineral sales amounted to R33 million, blister copper sales to R34.3 million and refined lead to R17 million, the Bantu Mining Corporation had spent R500,000 on surveys for quartz, and private companies R577,095 on surveys for minerals. In addition, R100,000 was being invested in tourmaline, quartz crystals and masonite surveys in Damaraland.¹⁴

Manufacturing, too, was on the increase, with the 1971/72 gross value of output standing at R78,964,000.¹⁵

None of this activity was owned or controlled by Africans, nor did they occupy high posts.

A closer look at the economic links between Namibia and South Africa reveals, however, that the 'assistance' to Namibia is neither disinterested nor intended to benefit Africans in Namibia. Walvis Bay, the major port, handled through South African Railways 1,265,159 tons in 1972/73.¹⁶ Electrical power, water, roads and harbours provide the infrastructure for the marketing of the mineral wealth owned in part by South Africa. The enormous South African subsidies for railways, water and hydroelectric power, harbours and roads had the effect of indirectly assisting, first, South African and foreign capital and, second, local white capital. In the words of the Odendaal Report, the railways furthered 'thereby indirectly . . . capital investment in the private sector'.¹⁷

The Commission was therefore of the opinion that the existing reserved non-white areas should be consolidated, expanded and connected with the homelands, in which the groups concerned could develop their own 'viable' economy. The Commission went on: 'The Commission cannot make many specific recommendations for the establishment of particular centres of development in the areas concerned. This task must be entrusted to existing specific bodies in the Republic of South Africa, notably certain sectors of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, the Bantu Investment Corporation and the Industrial Development Corporation. The Commission feels that every effort must be made in the first place to ensure greater participation of the indigenous non-white groups in animal husbandry, agriculture, forestry and mining. The refining of raw materials and the development of manufacturing at present apply mainly to the Southern white sector. At this stage the Northern areas will have to develop on the basis of their traditional agriculture and stock farming.'¹⁸ It would be a mistake to see South African concern as only being confined to the containment of the African economy. It also involved the direction of the white-controlled economic sector. Here the main thrust was to ensure that the growth of Namibian industry did not compete with or replace South African interests. In the absence of a sufficient accumulation of Namibian white capital, it was possible for the Namibian State to provide the capital required for mining or industry, to develop an internal market and to protect this from South African encroachment. The Odendaal Report recommended:

In summing up, it may be said that in the white modern sector the State should be very cautious in regard to active participation in specific industrial undertakings in which there is already sufficient interest in a country and where there is already strong competition between various companies. If such participation does take place, it should be on such a basis that participation by the State does not amount to subsidization of that particular industry. It should be on a well tried basis through the medium of public bodies such as the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa and the Fisheries Development Corporation, and in the non-white sector, the Bantu Investment Corporation. These companies were established to assist in financing private entrepreneurs, to examine every proposal on its economic merits, but not to provide an unduly large proportion of the necessary capital. They are also empowered to operate in South West Africa. . . . Instead of direct participation in competitive industry, the central Government should rather take active steps to create the favourable conditions under which industries can flourish and develop on private initiative.¹⁹

Besides the purely economic reasons for South Africa's 'assistance' to Namibia, there are military ones. An unfriendly government in Namibia might prove a threat to South African security or the country would no longer be a buffer State between South Africa and Angola. South African military strategy has been to support preferably colonial States on her borders or African States economically dependent on the Republic. It is therefore in the military interests of the Republic even to create an 'independent' Namibia, a client State integrated into the economy of the Republic, dependent on the Republic for capital investment and part of a trading area dominated by the Republic.

It should be noted that, while the implementation of this policy is feasible where Namibia is concerned, it is not confined to Namibia. Since the nineteenth century South African dreams, whether Boer or English-speaking, have been centred on the creation of a southern African region stretching as far north as Tanzania and including Angola and Mozambique to provide the raw materials and the labour for the white South African economy in the same way that the African reserves did within the Republic. What of the gains to white Namibians? As we have seen, they are not an independent bourgeoisie. They control little of the means of production; nor (as we shall mention in a later chapter) do they control the political apparatus of the Namibian State. They are dependent politically, economically and militarily on the Republic of South Africa. Nevertheless, they reap important benefits from links with South Africa and from the present structure of the economy. Farming interests are protected by the policy of the South African Government which, since the coming into power of the Nationalist Government in 1948, has been concerned with protecting and expanding the profits of farmers, many of whom are Afrikaners. In the case of Namibia, measures taken after the Mandate have included not only the allocation of land, the setting up of an infrastructure of immigration and power that made commercialized agriculture possible, a transportation system which permitted agricultural produce (particularly livestock) to be marketed, but also credit facilities which permitted capitalization, technological knowledge ranging from animal breeding to control of animal diseases and which, above all, guaranteed that cheap non-unionized African labour would be available to farmers. These factors, particularly in a country where drought was a continual problem and with a scattered white rural population, permitted relatively efficient farming and higher profits than could be expected under a different political and economic policy.

The hidden subsidies paid to white agriculture and South African and foreign-owned mining interests through the operation of the railways can be seen from Table 20.

Farmers, however, make up only approximately one-third of the white labour force. Whites also benefited from the artificial restriction of African competition in the establishment of middle-level commerce and in occupations in mining, fisheries, banking and, in fact, in the entire modern sector. The political and economic structure established by Pretoria and guaranteed by the South African presence permitted Namibian whites to capture and to maintain the place in the social structure which, in other pre-independent States, had been acceded to by a fraction of the local black population. It also permitted relatively small commerce to penetrate the reserves in the absence of African entrepreneurs and, above all, sufficient African capital. The scarcity of skilled manpower also necessitated a privileged access to education, to health care, to housing and to domestic servants that a more equal economic and social structure, given the type of economy, could normally support. The gap between the gross domestic product and the gross national product, while occurring in other countries and other contexts, is therefore acceptable, accompanied as it is by a grossly unequal division of the gross national product and a standard of living for whites second

Table 20 *Railways: passenger and goods traffic, 1962/1963–June 1970*

Financial year	Passenger journeys	Tonnage conveyed (tons)	Livestock conveyed	
			Large	Small
1962/1963	446,968	2,680,610	575,456	1,157,641
1963/1964	358,059	2,792,890	1,075,536	1,183,766
1964/1965	457,072	3,488,370	665,302	1,561,410
1965/1966	519,111	3,840,070	713,918	1,604,471
1966/1967	397,238	3,874,841	646,975	1,464,314
1967/1968	376,387	3,906,276	603,520	1,432,697
1968/1969	369,236	3,852,530	577,739	1,807,780
1969/1970	386,557	4,312,424	606,831	1,515,879
April–June 1970	97,764	1,069,543	278,759	424,536

Source: South African Railways and Harbours, quoted from International Court of Justice, *Pleadings, Oral Arguments, Documents—Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276(1970)*, Vol. I, *Request for Advisory Opinion, Documents, Written Statements*.

only to that of the Republic in the whole African continent, and higher than in most other countries.

In fact, measures to change the economy from its concentration on the export of raw materials to the development of the manufacturing sector or even to import substitution, as was done in the Republic, would threaten the privileged position of white Namibians since such measures would call for the accelerated development of African areas, a rise in African salaries and the access of Africans to middle-level occupations. The size of the white population is too small to permit this type of economic growth.

It is therefore not surprising that representatives of the white population, in putting their case, should support 'continued administration by South Africa of Namibia particularly in view of the economic development that they had brought to the Territory with the assistance of South Africa'.²⁰ It is not surprising either that we should find in their submission some of the key aspects of colonial ideology and white settler ideology. Peace had prevailed under German and South African rule but there remained a latent hostility among the 'non-white' groups. 'Should the present rule be removed, traditional fighting among ethnic groups would resume, security would vanish and, among other groups, the white minority, on which the economic life of the Territory depended, would be placed in a most dangerous position.'²¹ Economic stability as well as peace depended on the privileged position of whites, their economic dominance and their political superiority. As we have pointed out elsewhere, these are also crucial elements in the state ideology of both Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa.²²

Mr. de Wet, Commissioner-General for the Native Peoples of South West Africa, stated the South African policy. Not only were the peoples of Namibia not yet ready for independence, but South Africa was arriving 'at a balanced development of the peoples of the Territory as far as *responsible* government

Table 21 *Revenue collected, 1959/60–1969/70*
 (in thousands of Rand)

Year	Income tax	Mining	Customs and excise	Posts and telegraphs	Other ordinary revenue	Total ordinary revenue	Extra-ordinary revenue	Total revenue
1959/60	12,473.5	4,918.4	5,665.3	1,512.5	5,086.2	29,655.9	1,037.5	39,693.3
1960/61	13,525.5	5,276.5	5,946.7	1,707.8	5,398.5	31,855.0	1,231.3	33,086.4
1961/62	11,774.4	5,935.8	5,350.5	1,792.7	5,370.1	30,223.5	1,252.8	31,476.3
1962/63	15,378.4	5,455.8	5,762.1	1,902.2	5,860.8	34,359.3	1,762.0	36,121.2
1963/64	14,196.6	7,026.7	6,406.8	2,101.4	7,186.3	36,917.8	2,716.1	39,633.9
1964/65	21,801.1	9,650.2	7,641.0	2,534.9	7,331.3	48,958.5	5,057.1	54,015.6
1965/66	35,157.0	12,147.0	8,465.2	2,877.8	7,288.2	69,935.2	2,939.2	68,874.4
1966/67	40,614.0	14,623.7	9,242.9	3,208.5	8,532.6	76,221.7	3,167.7	79,389.4
1967/68	46,109.6	12,611.7	10,768.5	3,558.4	11,269.5	84,317.7	4,148.5	88,466.1
1968/69	43,688.0	12,787.4	12,082.5	3,943.8	12,503.0	85,004.7	3,943.6	88,948.3
1969/70	11,214.4	—	—	—	37,827.8	50,042.2	3,775.6	53,817.7

Source: G. M. E. Leistner, 'Public Finance in South West Africa, 1945/46 to 1969/70', *The South African Journal of Economics*, Vol. 40, No. 1, March 1972, Table 3, p. 27.

was concerned and in the fields of *economy* and *education*'²³ (our italics). 'It was to be borne in mind that [Namibia] was financially and economically linked to the Republic of South Africa, which had the technical knowledge and the financial means to pursue its development for the benefit of all its inhabitants.'²⁴

One factor underlying the imbalance in development within Namibia between the white-controlled sector and the African semi-subsistence economy is the operation of the fiscal policy. Namibia traditionally follows a conservative fiscal policy based on accumulated reserves. Table 21 gives details of the Territory's sources of revenue in the 1960s. Income tax became payable in the Territory only from 1942/43, when the amount collected was only R240,000. The total revenue of the Territory from 1920 to 1962 was R369,660,374, of which the sum of R180,043,200 was appropriated to the Territorial Development and Reserve Fund created in the mid-1940s.²⁵ Some idea of how this Fund was used can be gained from Table 22. Any moneys credited to the various accounts of the Fund (other than the Reserve Account) could be paid out merely on the authority of the Administrator. This ensured a certain degree of freedom from legislative control, and even after the merger with the Republic in 1969, the Fund remained free of parliamentary control.

Some idea of the relationship between revenue and expenditure and the percentage allocated to the Territorial Development and Reserve Fund can be seen in the budget figures for 1973/74 and 1974/75.²⁶

This money was used not only to finance capital expenditure within the Territory but also as loans to local authorities—or it was reinvested in the Republic in building societies and banks. By 1976/77 appropriations from the Territory Revenue Fund (into which the Territory's principal sources of revenue flow) to the Territorial Development and Reserve Fund had soared to R62 million. The *Windhoek Advertiser* commented: 'There is no hope that this money could even be spent in the current financial year unless there is a sudden and dramatic change in political development, necessitating massive infusion of capital.'²⁷

Thus, at the same time as there was a lack of money for educational expansion for Africans, a high proportion of revenue was being set aside for use at the exclusive will of the Administrator. These funds were being used mainly as a subsidy to the white areas or were being reinvested in the Republic of South Africa.

If Namibian whites are engaged in commercialized agriculture, African farmers produce relatively little for export. The reasons for this are many. There is little capital available to expand African agriculture and little access to the credit available to white farmers. Irrigation and transport schemes have been conceived of mainly in terms of marketing the surplus of white farms. African farmers are therefore more vulnerable to drought, unable to increase their yields per acre as much as white farmers, and less likely to have the infrastructure to permit large-scale marketing. African farmers have less access to the technological infrastructure available to white farmers in the form of agricultural know-how, and to Government-recruited cheap African labour. In addition, there is the very crucial problem of land. The semi-arid regions of much of

Table 22 Territorial Development and Reserve Fund: expenditure to be defrayed from the Fund, 1963-64

Details	Total appropriations to 31.3.63 (R)	Actual book balance 30.9.62 (R)	Estimated expenditure 1.10.1962-31.3.1963 (R)	Estimated balance available 1.4.1963 (R)	Appropriations 1963-64 (R)	Estimated expenditure 1963-64 (R)	Estimated balance 31.3.1964 (R)
1. Returned soldiers' account (grants, loans and other expenditure)	1,530,000	4,221	—	4,221	—	—	4,221
2. General social security account	960,000	534,979	200,000	334,979	—	—	334,979
3. Land settlement and development account	11,083,200	1,360,169	300,000	1,060,169	800,000	1,025,100	835,069
4. Government buildings account	35,310,000	6,448,088	2,263,742	4,184,346	—	4,000,000	184,346
5. Road construction account	37,530,000	4,942,991	3,797,765	1,145,226	6,500,000	7,645,226 ¹	—
6. Telecommunications, renewals and development account	13,730,040	3,730,040	2,044,031	1,719,009	300,000	2,019,009 ²	—
7. Local authorities and miscellaneous loans account	66,180,000	8,218,652	2,411,888	5,806,764	1,250,000	6,650,000	406,764
8. Reserve account	10,100,000	4,498,215	1,758,135	2,740,080	—	1,065,000	1,675,080
9. Water and veld conservation and reclamation	610,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
10. Native areas account	1,010,000	78,267	50,000	28,267	—	—	28,267
11. Water: general investigations, also assistance and sub-economic loans to municipalities	3,500,000	2,426,720	7,000	2,419,720	—	90,000	2,329,720
12. Capital contingencies account	11,000,000	5,313,467	1,020,000	4,293,467	—	2,720,000	1,573,467

1. Expenditure for 1963-64 is estimated by the Roads Branch at R8,440,000. Provision R7,645,226. Any shortfall will be provided for in the Additional Estimates for 1963-64.

2. Expenditure for 1963-64 is estimated by Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones at R2,645,800. Provision R2,019,009. Any shortfall will be provided for in the Additional Estimates for 1963-64.

Namibia are suited mostly to ranching or large-scale farming. Small, highly productive market gardening is difficult in many areas without intensive irrigation. In any case, successful market gardening requires either an internal market or expensive marketing procedures. The written Statement of South Africa to the International Court of Justice, in 1971, states quite clearly what is involved in commercial agriculture in Namibia. Due to the Territory's lack of rainfall and poor pasturage, the carrying capacity of farms is low. This entails extensive acreage, with considerable capital spent on the fencing of farms and their subdivision into camps. Water is crucial to the economics of cattle-raising, as is transport, since a high percentage of cattle is shipped on the hoof by rail to markets in South Africa. In 1971 field crops and horticultural products produced only 1.9 per cent of the aggregate value of all agricultural products.²⁸ A high standard of farm management was required to combat a harsh environment and marketing problems and to make farming pay under such conditions.²⁹

Africans, however, are doubly disadvantaged. First, not all the land they possess is arable land, nor can it be so converted without massive irrigation. Second, the amount of land allocated to African farmers is less than to whites. Holdings are therefore smaller and less economic. But besides this, the allotment of land is on a tribal basis. The land is first divided according to ethnic group, and within each group is reallocated by chiefs and headmen; they are, however, not the chiefs and headmen of pre-conquest African society but paid servants of the Government, who can be removed by that Government. Since they are primarily paid employees, they are no longer dependent for their status on the surplus accumulated and redistributed within the so-called tribe. The interests of the chiefs and headmen therefore coincide largely with those of the white authorities. They not only depend on these authorities for their wages, but the so-called traditionalism maintains them artificially at the apex of the African social ladder and prevents the emergence of an African middle class. The method of allotment according to tribal tradition precludes the emergence of an important African group of individual landowners. It also militates against the emergence of viable cooperatives. At the same time, pressure on the land leads to the deterioration of subsistence farming and labour is forced out into the white modern sector where wages can be kept low—not only through overtly repressive measures but, more important, through the impoverishment of the homelands. In fact, some cash crops have to be grown, since neither the relative self-sufficiency of pre-conquest days nor traditional exchange between tribes exist any longer. Both have been undermined (and, in the case of exchange, deliberately broken) by white settlement. Thus, the more heavily industrialized Southern sector currently no longer grows enough maize for its needs. It imports from South Africa, while the Northern sector is subject to recurring shortages. The combination of the deliberate maintenance of a semi-subsistence sector and the reconstruction of traditionalism through the chiefs is the mechanism by which the 'reserve army' of labour is maintained, while at the same time decreasing the possibility of unrest and establishing a highly capitalized and, for the whites, relatively liberal economic sector. It is the racial factor and the *use* of it which permits this system to be effectively exploited in Namibia, just as

it is in the Republic of South Africa or in Southern Rhodesia. This racial factor operates to maintain group closure at the level of the white population, to prevent the rise in Namibia of a white nationalism in opposition to the interests of the white-ruled Republic of South Africa, to produce and to reproduce the ideology under which 'development' is launched, to justify the confiscation of land, to permit a heightened extraction of surplus value from the African population and, through the traditional loyalty to chiefs, to attempt to ensure that the semi-subsistence sector remains and that an over-all nationalism among Africans does not emerge.

Therefore, not only are Africans increasingly exploited in terms of low wages, not only are many deliberately kept in what seems an anarchic part of the economic structure, but they are also forced to buy South African agricultural products.

Some idea of the land distribution may be gained from Table 23; the imbalance in holdings is shown in Table 24; and Table 25 gives some idea of the pressure on the land.

Table 23 Land distribution

Homeland	Area (ha)
Ovambo	5,607,200
Okavango	4,170,050
Kaokoland	4,898,219
Damaraland	4,799,021
Hereroland	5,899,680
East Caprivi	1,153,387
Tswanaland	155,400
Bushmanland	2,392,671
Rehobothland	1,386,029
Namaland	2,167,707
TOTAL	32,629,364

Source: FAO, Namibia, a Preliminary Note Towards a Country Development Brief, Food and Agriculture Sector Country Development Brief Series, p. 25, Rome, May 1975.

Table 24 Land holdings per head

Population group	ha
Rural white population	2,008
Total white population	531
Africans in reserves	68
Total non-white population	50

Source: FAO, Namibia, a Preliminary Note . . ., op. cit., p. 26.

Table 25 Population in the homelands, 1970¹

Population group	Total number	Number in homelands	Percentage	Number in designated homelands	Percentage
<i>Africans</i>					
Ovambos	342,455	292,210	85.328	290,421	84.806
Okavangos	49,577	47,605	96.223	47,530	95.871
East Caprivians	25,009	24,967	99.832	24,965	99.824
Kaokolanders	6,467	6,285	97.186	5,918	91.511
Damaras	64,973	7,736	11.906	7,303	11.240
Hereros	49,203	26,460	53.777	17,590	35.750
Bushmen	21,909	6,757	30.841	459	2.095
Tswanas	3,719	844	22.694	²	—
Others	14,756	4,342	29.425	²	—
<i>Coloureds</i>					
Coloureds	28,275	360	1.273	²	—
Rehoboth Basters	16,474	48	0.291	²	—
Namas	32,853	266	0.810	²	—
<i>Whites</i>					
	90,658	2,399	2.646	²	—
TOTAL	746,328	420,279	56.313		

1. Information furnished only for seven homelands, excluding Tswanaland, Rehobothland and Namaland.

2. Particulars not given.

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, *Population Census, South West Africa, 6 May 1970*, op. cit.

Let us now look at Africans in the labour force of the white-controlled so-called 'modern' sector—so-called because we would argue that the present 'traditional' areas are not traditional at all but an integral part of the modern sector and a modern solution to the production of maximum profits at minimum labour cost.³⁰

Table 26 gives the occupational classification of Africans in Namibia in 1971. Only 3.751 per cent were classified as 'professional, semi-professional and technical' workers. And when we look at the figures more closely, we find that of the 1,987 persons in this category, 1,727 were teachers and 30 were clergymen. There were no professors or lecturers, no legal advisers, no judges, no authors, no journalists. . . . The imbalance between men and women should also be noted. Again, only 1.046 per cent were in clerical jobs, 1.429 were in sales and related work and 0.045 were artisans.

Table 27 gives the occupational classification of Coloureds and whites. It will be seen that 13.726 per cent of the whites were classified as being in the 'professional, semi-professional and technical' category and that less than one-third of them (1,192 persons) were teachers. A higher percentage of Coloureds are in the professional category (with 467 teachers out of 535) than is the case for Africans. The whites had 39 judges, magistrates, commissioners, etc., 11 advocates, 32 attorneys, notaries, etc., and 48 persons in other legal occupations. In

Table 26 Employment of Africans in Namibia, 1971¹

Occupation	Men	Women	Total	Percentage of total
Professional, semi-professional and technical	1,743	244	1,987	3.751
Comprising:				
Professor, lecturer, teacher at universities and training colleges	—	—	—	—
Teacher attached to nursery, primary and secondary schools and training institutions	1,684	43	1,727	—
Inspector of education	1	—	1	—
Librarian, archivist	—	—	—	—
Economist	—	—	—	—
Sociologist, social welfare worker	3	—	3	—
Psychologist, personnel psychologist	—	—	—	—
Clergyman, priest, missionary	30	—	30	—
Judge, magistrate, Bantu Affairs Commissioner	—	—	—	—
Advocate, legal adviser	—	—	—	—
Attorney, conveyancer, notary, articulated clerk, sworn appraiser	—	—	—	—
Other legal occupation, e.g. legal assistant, sheriff, etc.	1	—	—	—
Author, editor, journalist, reporter, copywriter, translator	—	—	—	—
Actor, musician, dancing teacher, singer, radio announcer	—	—	—	—
Artist, painter, sculptor, commercial artist, interior decorator, fashion designer	—	—	—	—
Managerial, executive, administrative	—	—	—	—
Clerical	530	24	554	1.046
Sales and related work	681	76	757	1.429
Actual mining and quarrying	7,265	2	7,267	13.717
Transportation, delivery and communications	2,884	24	2,908	5.489
Processing of metal, plastics, machine parts; operative in motor industry	1,141	—	1,141	2.154
Operator and semi-skilled worker in building and construction	1,778	—	1,778	3.356
Manufacturing of glass, cement, lime, brick, etc.	78	—	78	0.147
Processing of wood, furniture, etc.	150	—	150	0.283
Manufacturing of textiles (clothing, leather processing, shoes, washing, dry cleaning, etc.)	75	105	180	0.340
Manufacturing of food, drink, tobacco	4,038	65	4,103	7.745
Manufacturing of chemical and rubber products, soap, candles, oils, plastics, explosive, fertilizers, etc.	41	4	45	0.085
Printing process and manufacturing	24	—	24	0.045

1. Excluding domestics in private service and persons in agriculture and farming.

Occupation	Men	Women	Total	Percentage of total
Supervisors and other skilled and semi-skilled workers	2,592	7	2,599	4.906
Artisans and apprentices	24	—	24	0.045
Those in service capacities	3,310	1,057	4,367	8.243
Labourers	24,828	189	25,017	47.221
TOTAL	51,182	1,797	52,979	100.002

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, *Summary of the Result of Manpower Survey No. 9*, 30 April 1971.

Table 27 *Employment of Coloureds and whites in Namibia, 1971¹*

Occupation	Coloureds	Percentage of total	Whites	Percentage of total
Professional, semi-professional and technical	535	7.195	3,856	13.726
Comprising:				
Professor, lecturer, teacher at universities and training colleges	—	—	—	—
Teacher attached to nursery, primary and secondary schools and training institutions	467	6.280	1,192	4.243
Inspector of education	—	—	5	—
Librarian, archivist	—	—	—	—
Economist	—	—	—	—
Sociologist, social welfare worker	—	—	—	—
Psychologist, personnel psychologist	—	—	—	—
Clergyman, priest, missionary	15	0.202	155	0.552
Judge, magistrate, Bantu Affairs Commissioner	—	—	39	—
Advocate, legal adviser	—	—	11	—
Attorney, conveyancer, notary, articulated clerk, sworn appraiser	—	—	32	—
Other legal occupation, e.g. legal assistant, sheriff, etc.	—	—	48	—
Author, editor, journalist, reporter, copywriter, translator	—	—	4	—
Actor, musician, dancing teacher, singer, radio announcer	—	—	3	—
Artist, painter, sculptor, commercial artist, interior decorator, fashion designer	—	—	6	—
Managerial, executive, administrative	5	0.067	2,112	7.518
Clerical	384	5.164	7,114	25.324
Sales and related work	366	4.922	2,552	9.084
Actual mining and quarrying	53	0.713	841	2.994

1. Excluding domestics in private service and persons in agriculture and farming.

Occupation	Coloureds	Percentage of total	Whites	Percentage of total
Transportation, delivery and communications	437	5.877	1,941	6.909
Processing of metal, plastics, machine parts; operative in motor industry	124	1.668	256	0.911
Operator and semi-skilled worker in building and construction	423	5.689	786	2.798
Manufacturing of glass, cement, lime, bricks, etc.	30	0.403	6	0.021
Processing of wood, furniture, etc.	72	0.968	26	0.093
Manufacturing of textiles (clothing, leather processing, shoes, washing, dry cleaning, etc.)	102	1.372	30	0.107
Manufacturing of food, drink, tobacco	499	6.711	293	1.043
Manufacturing of chemical and rubber products, soap, candles, oils, plastics, explosives, fertilizers, etc.	19	0.256	11	0.039
Printing process and manufacturing	13	0.175	4	0.014
Supervisors and other skilled and semi-skilled workers	1,103	14.833	2,006	7.141
Artisans and apprentices	1,278	17.187	4,241	15.097
Those in service capacities	554	7.450	1,950	6.941
Labourers	1,439	19.352	67	0.239
TOTAL	7,436	100.241	28,092	99.999

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, *Summary of the Result of Manpower Survey No. 9*, op. cit.

Table 28 Industrial distribution of economically active population, 1951 and 1960

Industry	1951				1960			African Southern sector
	Africans, Southern sector	Percentage	Coloureds	Percentage	Whites	Percentage	Total labour force	
Agriculture	40,511	54.6	2,470	41.7	6,932	36.1	118,994	36,260
Mining	7,552	10.2	52	0.9	1,193	6.2	11,907	9,814
Manufacturing	2,349	3.2	570	9.6	1,401	7.3	6,737	4,271
Construction	3,419	4.6	687	11.6	1,473	7.7	12,369	7,975
Commerce	1,678	2.3	207	3.5	2,850	14.8	10,637	3,973
Transport and electricity	2,980	4.0	254	4.3	2,018	10.5	7,455	4,164
Services	14,288	19.3	1,300	22.0	3,035	15.8	24,337	15,426
Unspecified and unemployed	1,404	1.9	378	6.4	316	1.6	10,835	6,765
TOTAL	74,181	100.0	5,918	100.0	19,218	100.0	203,271	88,648

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Foreign Affairs, *South West Africa Survey 1967*, op. cit., p. 88.

other words, not only is the legal profession based on class, as it is in most societies, but it also has a racial base. Almost the entire administration of justice is in white hands. It is difficult not to see the legal process as being anything other than one of the ideological apparatuses of the Namibian State. Again, 25.324 per cent of whites were in clerical jobs, compared with 5.164 per cent of Coloureds and 1.046 per cent of Africans. The percentage of artisans and apprentices is 17.187 for Coloureds, 15.097 for whites and 0.045 for Africans. However, when we come to labourers, we find that 47.221 per cent of Africans are in this category, as against 19.352 per cent of Coloureds and only 0.239 per cent of whites. And this is not the whole story. The table excludes domestic service, which is carried out mainly by Africans (although there are some Coloureds). Above all, as we have seen, a high proportion of Africans are not in this sector at all, since the percentages relate only to those people who are actually employed.

The implications of this situation as regards the social structure are clear. The proletariat is predominantly African, and most Africans who enter employment are in this category. Even when they achieve middle-class status, it is mainly at the level of school teachers (where the majority are in primary school teaching and poorly trained, as we shall see) or as members of the clergy. Even if their wages were equal to those of whites (which they are not), the Africans are in the lowest-paid group of the middle-class sector. The implications for culture are equally clear, as we shall emphasize later. A few people in Namibia are classified as being in the artistic category, but none are Africans.

Table 28 shows the industrial distribution of the economically active population in 1951 and 1960. Later figures comparable with these are not available, but those in Table 29 do give an indication of the importance of African labour in every sector of the economy.

Percent- age	Northern sector	Percent- age	Total	Percent- age	Coloureds	Percent- age	Whites	Percent- age
40.9	73,379	93.3	109,639	65.5	2,847	33.1	6,508	23.8
11.1	221	0.3	10,035	6.0	176	2.0	1,696	6.2
4.8	148	0.2	4,419	2.6	515	6.0	1,803	6.6
9.0	221	0.3	8,196	4.9	1,417	16.5	2,756	10.1
4.5	168	0.2	4,141	2.5	597	6.9	5,899	21.6
4.7	50	0.2	4,214	2.5	134	1.6	3,107	11.4
17.4	1,706	2.2	17,132	10.2	2,156	25.0	5,049	18.5
7.6	2,803	3.6	9,568	5.7	766	8.8	501	1.8
00.0	78,696	100.0	167,344	100.0	8,608	100.0	27,319	100.0

Table 29

Industrial distribution of economically active population, 1971/72

Industry	Total Africans
Agriculture	203,219
Fishing	6,750
Mining	15,980
Manufacturing	9,684
Construction	11,170
Commerce	14,789
TOTAL	261,592

As we can see from Tables 30 to 34, Africans are not only relegated to the lowest category of labour in every situation but are paid less than whites. The widest differences are in clerical work and unskilled labour, where an average African male is paid approximately 29 per cent and 38 per cent respectively of the average white earnings. It should be noted (and we have underlined this point earlier) that Namibian society also discriminates against women. In teaching, white males earn an average of R706.45 for men, as against R386.02 for women; but in no category except teaching does the black male salary equal the white female salary, while the African female surpasses the white female salary only in the professional category.

Africans are also disadvantaged as regards average leave privileges and average sick leave privileges (Tables 33 and 34).

Thus, at no point and at no level does the African receive the same benefits as whites.

However, this is by no means the whole story. As we have stated before, Africans are increasingly compelled to enter the labour force—but they are not free to choose their own jobs, nor to negotiate their own wages. African labour is not the relatively free labour of a liberal class society but restricted, directed labour outside effective wage bargaining. We shall discuss this in detail later in this chapter. Here we should like to analyse its economic effect.

The United Nations General Assembly has characterized the labour policies of the Republic of South Africa as being akin to slavery. Namibian Africans, the bulk of the African labour force and plantation workers, are neither bought nor sold as were plantation slaves. They do, however, belong to the category of 'unfree' labour which also includes plantation slavery and indentured contract labour. This type of labour force permits a rapid accumulation of capital, a relatively low level of mechanization in certain sections of industry and—more important for white-ruled southern Africa—the rapid establishment of a highly industrialized sector by the partial use of primitive (booty) capital accumulation. We have seen how this works through the maintenance of a semi-subsistence sector and the ideological use of race and identity. We shall now look at the production relations which are part of this system.

White labour in Namibia is 'free'. In other words, whites are free to change

Table 30 Average cash earnings, according to sex, work classification and population group, 1975 (in Rand)

Category	White/ male	White/ female	Brown/ male	Percent- age of salary of white/ male	Brown/ female	Percent- age of salary of white/ female	African/ male	Percent- age of salary of white/ male	African/ female	Percent- age of salary of white/ female
Unskilled	224.82	200.58	97.62	43.421	71.84	35.816	77.80	34.605	72.90	36.345
Semi-skilled	321.08	249.65	177.85	55.391	129.26	51.776	120.45	37.514	89.42	35.818
Skilled	440.78	275.70	275.20	62.435	213.69	77.508	171.97	39.015	140.63	51.008
Technical	511.22	—	289.50	56.629	—	—	240.90	47.123	—	—
Professional	803.14	633.00	520.29	64.782	532.16	84.070	462.79	57.623	677.92	107.096
Clerical/ administrative	657.09	368.68	262.71	39.981	207.46	56.271	166.46	25.333	193.03	52.357
Teaching	554.15	380.46	432.55	78.056	336.34	88.404	376.28	67.902	349.96	91.983
Nursing/ trained	329.71	428.10	234.02	70.978	311.88	72.852	183.71	55.719	249.83	58.358
Nursing/ untrained	244.66	236.35	131.88	53.903	122.83	51.970	115.79	47.327	91.92	38.891

Source: Republic of South Africa, *Constitutional Conference of South West Africa, Staatskundige Beraad 1975*, p. 62, Lansdowne Cape, Citadel Press, 1976.

Table 31 Average value of fringe benefits, according to sex, work classification and population group, 1975 (in Rand)

Category	White/ male	White/ female	Brown/ male	Percent- age of white/ male	Brown/ female	Percent- age of white/ female	African/ male	Percent- age of white/ male	African/ female	Percent- age of white/ female
Unskilled	131.80	5.56	45.50	34.522	8.39	150.900	59.02	44.780	13.26	238.489
Semi-skilled	99.09	38.72	47.67	48.108	34.90	90.134	58.81	59.350	18.79	48.528
Skilled	109.27	41.63	42.79	39.160	57.31	137.665	58.40	53.446	6.55	15.734
Technical	93.82	—	45.68	48.689	—	—	52.03	55.457	—	—
Professional	104.62	112.90	55.16	52.724	127.46	112.896	67.94	64.940	73.49	65.093
Clerical/ administrative	92.17	14.49	39.90	43.290	15.11	104.279	54.08	58.674	20.41	140.856
Teaching	152.30	5.56	44.67	29.330	1.87	33.633	50.54	33.185	1.87	33.633
Nursing/ trained	207.28	207.28	225.26	108.674	225.26	108.674	225.26	108.674	225.26	108.674
Nursing/ untrained	219.12	219.12	221.56	101.114	221.56	101.114	221.56	101.114	221.56	101.114

Source: Republic of South Africa, *Constitutional Conference of South West Africa, Staatkundige Beraad 1975*, op. cit., p. 62.

Table 32 *Average total earnings,¹ according to sex, work classification and population group, 1975 (in Rand)*

Category	White/ male	White/ female	Brown/ male	Percent- age of male/ white/	Brown/ female	Percent- age of white/ female	African/ male	Percent- age of white/ male	African/ female	Percent- age of white/ female
Unskilled	356.62	206.14	143.12	40.132	80.23	38.920	136.82	38.366	86.16	41.797
Semi-skilled	420.17	288.35	225.52	53.674	164.16	56.931	179.26	42.664	108.21	37.527
Skilled	550.05	317.33	317.99	57.811	271.00	85.400	230.37	41.882	147.18	46.381
Technical	605.04	—	335.18	55.398	—	—	292.93	48.415	—	—
Professional	907.76	745.90	575.45	63.392	659.62	88.433	530.73	58.466	751.41	100.739
Clerical/ administrative	749.26	383.17	302.61	40.388	222.57	58.086	220.54	29.434	213.44	55.704
Teaching	706.45	386.02	477.22	67.552	338.21	87.615	426.82	60.418	351.83	91.143
Nursing/ trained	536.99	635.38	459.28	85.529	537.14	84.538	408.97	76.160	475.09	74.773
Nursing/ untrained	463.78	455.47	353.44	76.209	344.39	75.612	337.35	72.739	313.48	68.826

1. Total earnings comprise cash earnings and value of fringe benefits, but do not include leave privileges.

Source: Republic of South Africa, *Constitutional Conference of South West Africa, Staatskundige Beraad 1975*, op. cit., 62.

Table 33 Average vacation leave privileges, according to sex, work classification and population group, 1975

Category	White/ male	White/ female	Brown/ male	Percent- age of white/ male	Brown/ female	Percent- age of white/ female	African/ male	Percent- age of white/ male	African/ female	Percent- age of white/ female
Unskilled	28	30	21.5	76.786	28	93.333	18.4	65.714	19.5	65.000
Semi-skilled	30.1	24.2	20.8	69.103	24.3	100.413	17.2	57.143	22.2	91.736
Skilled	30	27.1	18.6	62.000	20	73.801	13.5	45.000	30	110.701
Technical	32	—	23.3	72.813	—	—	24.7	77.188	—	—
Professional	42.7	30	26	60.890	30	100	26	60.890	30	100
Clerical/ administrative	29.8	30.9	20.7	69.463	22.1	71.521	17.1	57.383	20.2	65.372
Teaching	97.4	89.9	99	101.643	99	110.122	99	101.643	99	110.122
Nursing/ trained	48	48	48	100	48	100	48	100	48	100
Nursing/ untrained	30	30	30	100	30	100	30	100	30	100

Source: Republic of South Africa, *Constitutional Conference of South West Africa, Staatskundige Beraad 1975*, op. cit., p. 62.

Table 34 *Average sick leave privileges, according to sex, work classification and population group, 1975*

Category	White/ male	White/ female	Brown/ male	Percent- age of white/ male	Brown/ female	Percent- age of white/ female	African/ male	Percent- age of white/ male	African/ female	Percent- age of white/ female
Unskilled	42	60	18.9	45.000	24.5	40.833	22	52.381	15.4	25.667
Semi-skilled	41.1	31.8	17.3	42.092	19.8	62.264	45.6	110.949	20.3	63.836
Skilled	43.1	40.5	15.2	35.267	52.8	130.370	39.7	92.111	60	148.148
Technical	48.7	—	26.6	53.799	—	—	55.7	114.374	—	—
Professional	72.7	60	37.5	51.582	60	100.00	37.5	51.582	60	100.00
Clerical/ administrative	44.4	39.1	20.9	47.072	28.6	73.146	38.7	87.162	23.9	61.125
Teaching	39.9	36.9	22	55.138	22	59.621	33	82.707	33	89.431
Nursing/ trained	60	60	60	100.00	60	100.00	60	100.00	60	100.00
Nursing/ untrained	60	60	60	100.00	60	100.00	60	100.00	60	100.00

Source: Republic of South Africa, *Constitutional Conference of South West Africa, Staatskundige Beraad 1975*, op. cit., p. 62.

jobs, to bargain for higher wages or to leave their employers. Their rights are those accorded to the majority of citizens in a liberal class society. On the continent of Africa their standard of living—and the propaganda of the Republic of South Africa continually repeats this—is second only to that of the Republic. There is a rapid social mobility, particularly from semi-skilled work to middle-class status. They have ready access to education, medical facilities and modern housing and they sustain a high level of consumption. However, their position is maintained by the operation of two labour markets: a ‘free’ one for whites and an ‘unfree’ one for blacks. This ‘unfree’ market is first operated through the contract system. This is a system of migratory labour used extensively both in the Republic of South Africa and in Namibia.

Some idea of the extent of the use of contract labour is gained from the following figures for 1971. The total African labour force of South West Africa was estimated at 50,000. Of these, 43,000 were contract workers, distributed as follows: farming, 10,900; domestic service, 2,700; mining, 12,800; fishing, 3,000; and government services, commerce and industry, 14,000.²¹

The importance of contract labour to the economy of South and South West Africa can be gathered from the number of Africans employed under the system. It is estimated that, out of a total African labour force of some 5 million in South and South West Africa, at least 1.5 million are migrant workers, with one-third of these from neighbouring African countries whose economies have been linked to that of the Republic of South Africa and two-thirds from the reserves. This illustrates our contention that the reserves are the sources of cheap labour. To this it should be added that the reserves are the source of the army of labour for industry not only within the Republic and Namibia but also for the neighbouring countries. During colonial rule the economies of Mozambique, Angola and Lesotho were in fact integrated into that of the Republic, thus creating, although on a smaller scale, the same conditions as obtained within the Republic and in Namibia.

Contract labour in southern Africa goes back to the end of the nineteenth century, when the Chamber of Mines founded two recruiting companies to supply black African labour for the mines. In 1925—only a few years after the establishment of the Mandate—two recruiting organizations were formed in Namibia. However, having several competing recruiting organizations was not the most efficient way of channelling the would-be workers. This situation was rationalized with the establishment of the South West African Native Labour Association (SWANLA) in 1943. This date coincided with the expansion of white commercialized agriculture and the need for African labour on white farms. Since farm labour is the lowest-paid form of labour both in the Republic and in Namibia, the establishment of SWANLA ensured that no competition for labour could arise between the mines and industry, on the one hand, and agricultural interests, on the other. It also ensured that the same would be true between the mainly South African or foreign-owned enterprises and the local white agricultural sector, thus maintaining the cohesiveness of the white group. Until recently, employers could recruit contract labour only through SWANLA, which was the only channel through which Africans could sell their labour.

SWANLA therefore had a monopoly over the contract labour market. Contracts were limited to one year, after which Africans had to return to their reserves to renew their contracts. Breach of contract was a criminal offence, there were no stipulated working hours, and workers lived in compounds and were therefore largely cut off from external contacts.

In December 1971 a strike by Ovambos began in the labour compound of Katutura, near Windhoek. The strike spread and by mid-January several mines were at a standstill. Workers were immediately repatriated to the reserves, but SWANLA found it difficult to find new recruits.

A new contract labour system came into operation in 1972. SWANLA was replaced as the recruiting agency by the Bantustan authorities who were to provide employment bureaux for the recruitment of workers. This reorganization resulted from long discussions between the South West Africa Agricultural Union, the South African Railways, the Department of Posts and Telegraphs, the South West Africa Administration, the Department of Labour, the South West Africa Municipal Association, the Fish Factories Executive, Consolidated Diamond Mines, the Tsumeb Corporation, the South West Africa Company—that is, the very industries using contract labour. African workers were not consulted.

The new method of recruitment assured the continued flow of contract labour, removed disagreements over the operations of SWANLA, and gave the Bantustan tribal authorities a direct say in labour recruitment. This, in turn, permits them to use the access to jobs as a means of consolidating their internal political position and enables them to appropriate a fraction of the surplus value either through the use of funds for recruitment, through repatriated money or through corruption. Intermediaries in the political structure, they become intermediaries in the economic structure.

Both the old and the new contracts stipulated basic wage rates. The new one, however, made allowance for the payment of overtime. It also permitted unpaid home leave during the term of service and allowed African workers to enter into a new contract with the same or another employer when the original contract expired, instead of being compulsorily repatriated. Above all, the revised contract could be terminated by either party, and breach of contract would no longer be a criminal offence. Such were the gains obtained through the African strike action. However, in many respects the revised contract was similar to the old one. In some instances Africans are worse off under the new agreements. Under the old contract, it was the employer who paid the workers' passage from the reserves to the place of employment and back at the end of the period. Under the new contract, the employer is responsible only for the return journey. The cost of the journey to the place of employment is recoverable from the worker. Payment in kind is also reduced. This was always minimal, but the loss of it decreases the actual wage.

One of the reasons for which SWANLA was created was to prevent competition between employers for labour which could put up wages. With SWANLA's disappearance, business and agriculture, encouraged by the Namibian association, formed committees to ensure uniform wages. In commerce and trade a

committee was set up with representatives from the Chamber of Commerce, the Windhoek Municipality, the Afrikaanse Sake, the South African Railways, the Department of Posts and Telegraphs, the Master Builders' Association, and the civil engineering and hotel industries.³² The farmers opposed the new contract because it eliminated the clause which treated as a breach of contract and as a criminal offence any unilateral termination of employment by an African. The conditions of work on farms in Namibia, not only as regards wages and housing but also as shown by the physical ill-treatment of African labour, made agriculture the most vulnerable sector as far as the terms of the new contract were concerned. The farming industry formed a farm employers' association to handle the recruitment of workers, mainly Ovambos and Okavangos. The fact that the new contract permits workers to be employed by a group rather than by an individual employer facilitated this rise of employers' associations. It also decreased the possibility that workers could change jobs, notwithstanding the wording of the new contract.

Workers, as we have seen, are recruited from the reserves or Bantustans. They are mainly illiterate, and have no organization to represent them nor any access to legal advice. It is the staff of the employment bureaux who must explain to them the terms of the contract they sign—that is, precisely the persons involved in the contract system itself. Moreover, the Africans have little idea of what the cost of living will be outside the reserves, or about the various wage scales (where these exist). They are therefore at a disadvantage from the moment of their recruitment. After recruitment, the terms of their employment and what they can reasonably expect, even within the restrictions of unfree labour in Namibia, are imperfectly known. In addition, it would seem that deliberate misinformation is broadcast by Radio Ovambo on conditions of work for contract labour. To enhance their credibility, these broadcasts are given by Africans—monitored by white officials.³³ The nature of the reserves, deliberately isolated from all but Government-approved information, the official control of radio, the provision that whites can only enter the Bantustans if granted a permit—all these give the South African authorities not only the possibility of misleading potential workers but, more important, a control over the access to ideas. This control, tightly exercised in the reserves, is also present in the contract labour situation through the isolation of the compounds. Recruited workers live in compounds built to accommodate single men, and therefore they cannot have their wives and family with them. Housing conditions and food are bad, and compounds are built to house the maximum number of workers with the minimum living facilities. Often the compounds are fenced in and have limited recreational facilities. The compound system is therefore an important element of labour relations in Namibia. It is not simply a matter of housing, but one of the mechanisms by which production relations are produced and reproduced. Much has been written about the break-up of families that results from it; but this is not an isolated case of the denial of human rights. It is part of the whole economic structure of Namibia and of the Republic of South Africa, a structure in which a peculiar type of labour relations maintains the rapid growth of gross domestic product, permits a high standard of consumer expenditure for

whites and allows the accumulation of substantial profits. This is not to underestimate the real hardships suffered by African workers separated from their families, the effect on African family life and (often forgotten) the fact that farming in the semi-subsistence area is being increasingly undertaken by the women and the old people.

One point to be noted is that the Government and municipal authorities are directly involved in the use of contract labour. This includes nearly every sector, from transport to municipal projects. The contract system could not operate efficiently without the 'pass laws'. It is these which regulate the movement of Africans. Passes are not required from Africans within the reserves. However, if an African (except for those in a few restricted categories) leaves the reserve he must obtain and always carry with him a pass. This pass shows not only the African's name and date of birth but also his so-called tribe, the area he comes from, the name of the headman or chief, the name of the recruiting person or association, the place where recruited, changes in employment and his right thumb-print. An African cannot obtain a job without a pass, nor can he travel outside the reserves without one—he must produce it to be able to buy a railway ticket. An African may visit an urban area only with a pass *and* with the approval of the Bantu Administration Officer or municipality in that area. With this official permission he may visit an urban area for no more than 72 hours, unless he is officially working there. If he is not, he cannot look for work during those 72 hours unless there is an acute shortage of labour and unless a permit is obtained to seek employment. A 'work seeker' who refuses a job offered to him or for whom there is no work available is liable to be deported from the urban area. An African who loses his job must report to an employment bureau within 72 hours. On reaching the age of 16 an African urban resident must report for employment unless he can prove that he is a bona fide student. Africans who are unemployed or lose their employment or are considered no longer employable or are old may be 'endorsed out' and forced to return to the reserves.

The poverty on the reserves, the taxes which compel Africans to seek cash, the operations of the employment bureaux, the contract system and the pass laws all ensure that Africans are forced on to the labour market; that African labour is channelled to meet the needs of the white sector of the economy; that this occurs outside a competitive labour market; that bargaining for higher wages is difficult; and that African labour has virtually no rights. Labour costs are thus minimized while profits are maximized. As we shall see in the chapter on education, not only are profits made on the savings which would be extracted from enterprises in a classic capitalist society, but the financial burden of the State to provide health care, education, and so on, is shifted largely on to the impoverished Africans themselves.

The South African Government's reply to the United Nations' demand that Namibia be granted independence was the 1975 Constitutional Conference of South West Africa. This Conference was from the start arranged on an ethnic basis for the Africans and on a racial one for the Europeans. While the Africans were split into tribes in accordance with the Bantustan concept, the whites were to form a single separate group in spite of their ethnic differences and the history

of wars and conflict between Afrikaners and English-speaking and German Namibians. The so-called 'strengthening of minority identities' was therefore not consistently applied. Rather, there was a united, white dominant group and deliberately fractured, black dominated groups. It is therefore not surprising that the question of the relationship of land to commercial agriculture and to the ethnic basis of land ownership was never raised. The major nationalist movement (SWAPO) was not represented at the talks nor were the conditions proposed for SWAPO attendance accepted by the Government of the Republic. If the real question of land was not posed, what then of the question of labour?

The Constitutional Conference recommended that an 'identity document' be instituted for all inhabitants of South West Africa. However, on this document the 'population group' was to be indicated by means of a code. In short, the recommendations adopted on the abolition of the pass laws were inconclusive, although the Committee unanimously agreed on 'some form of control'. What is wished to abolish—and only after a study to be made by the South West Africa Administration—were 'those characteristics of the present system which cause offence or dissatisfaction'.³⁴ The reason given for the maintenance of control is particularly honest: 'If intending employees should be able to move freely and offer their labour where and when they like and for which compensation they want, absolute chaos on the labour front could follow within a relatively short time.'³⁵

Notes

1. 'Desert deadlock', *Financial Mail*, Special survey, 2 March 1973, op. cit.
2. Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa Ltd, *Annual Report for the Years 1971, 1972 and 1973*; idem, *Provincial Annual Financial Statement and Notice of Dividend*, 11 March 1975; *Financial Times*, London, 12 March 1975.
3. *Windhoek Advertiser*, 30 April 1976.
4. Quoted from De Beer Davide, *Namibia Briefing*, Utrecht, 16 August 1976, roneo.
5. *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962–1963*, op. cit.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 315.
8. Republic of South Africa, Department of Foreign Affairs, *South West Africa Survey 1974*, op. cit., p. 43.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962–63*, op. cit., p. 463.
12. Republic of South Africa, Department of Foreign Affairs, *South West Africa Survey 1974*, op. cit., p. 33.
13. Ibid., p. 34.
14. Ibid., p. 39.
15. Ibid., p. 40.
16. Ibid., p. 53.
17. *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962–1963*, op. cit., p. 467.
18. Ibid., p. 429.
19. Ibid., p. 433.
20. United Nations, *Report of the Secretary General on the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 319 (1972)*, doc. S/10832.
21. Ibid.

22. Marion O'Callaghan, *Southern Rhodesia: the Effects of a Conquest Society on Education, Culture and Information*, op. cit.
23. United Nations, *Report of the Secretary-General on the Implementation . . .*, op. cit.
24. Ibid.
25. *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963*, op. cit., p. 461.
26. *Windhoek Advertiser*, May 1973 and May 1974.
27. Ibid., 12 May 1976.
28. International Court of Justice, *Pleadings, Oral Arguments, Documents . . .*, op. cit., p. 773.
29. Ibid.
30. For a more detailed account of labour conditions in Namibia, see ILO, *Labour and Discrimination in Namibia*, Geneva, 1977.
31. John Kane-Berman, *Contract Labour in South West Africa*, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1972.
32. Idem, p. 9.
33. Idem, p. 26.
34. Republic of South Africa, *Constitutional Conference of South West Africa, Staatkundige Beraad 1975*, Lansdowne Cape, Citadel Press, 1976.
35. Ibid.

Part III

Education

5

Education to 1962

As in Rhodesia, education for Africans in Namibia began as an adjunct to missionary endeavours. Schools were established in order to supplement the work of Christianization, to give (at least at first) a rudimentary education to Catechists and, at least as important, to change cultural patterns that were considered to be pagan. In 1805 the first missionaries settled at Warmbad, north of the Orange River. The London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies worked among the Namas, Damaras and Hereros in the Southern sector of Namibia, transferring their work to the Rhenish Mission in 1842. In 1870, when the Basters settled at Rehoboth, the Rhenish Mission extended its work to cover Rehoboth. The Finnish Mission began work in Ovamboland in 1870, but would seem not to have started organized schools. In 1910 the Catholics opened a mission school in Okavango and, about 1920, the Seventh-Day Adventists set up a school in East Caprivi.

The pattern of missionary settlement—and education—was not entirely due to chance. In 1793 Dutch sovereignty had been proclaimed over Angra Pequena, Halifax Island and Walvis Bay. In 1795, when then Cape passed into British hands, British sovereignty was established over these areas and over the coast as far north as Angola. Interest in the areas north of the Orange River sharpened in the nineteenth century. Traders as well as missionaries trekked north. By the middle of the nineteenth century Namaland and Damaraland, although not conquered, were already being penetrated by explorers, traders and missionaries, while along the coast the rich guano deposits were being exploited. In 1878 Commander R. C. Dyer annexed the area around Walvis Bay in the name of Queen Victoria and it was incorporated in the Cape Colony by Act No. 35 of 1884. Between 1884 and 1885 the Germans had declared a protectorate over Lüderitzbucht, over the coastal area from the Orange River north to Cape Frio excluding Walvis Bay, over Namaland, over the Rehoboth Basters and over the Hereros.

The dates of the establishment of mission schools give a clear idea of changes in political control:

- 1805–42. London and Wesleyan Churches in Namaland and Damaraland.
 1842. Transfer of missionary work amongst the Namas, Hereros and Damaras to Rhenish Mission.
 1870. Rhenish Mission at Rehoboth. Finnish Mission in Ovamboland.
 1888. Catholic Church among the Namas.
 1910. Catholic Church in the Okavango.
 1920. Adventist Church in East Caprivi.
 1924. Catholic and Anglican Churches in Ovamboland.
 1926. Finnish Mission at Sesfontein.
 1936. Capuchin Fathers in East Caprivi.
 1959. Nederduitse Gereformeerde.

German rule and German settlement led to two separate systems of education, one for whites and one for Africans. The system of education for Africans was mainly focused on conversion and then on preparing Africans for semi-skilled employment. White schools attempted to reproduce the European system. It was not, however, until the Government of South Africa took over control of Namibia that an attempt was made to centralize and to rationalize the educational systems.

The German Government retained the right to inspect mission schools but would seem not to have exercised this right. One government school existed—at Windhoek where, in 1894, a European teacher was employed to teach German and arithmetic to African boys and housekeeping to African girls. In addition, courses in German and arithmetic were created in 1895 for those Africans who would be employed as unskilled labour by the German Government. Schools established by the missions concentrated on teaching religion. Other subjects taught varied according to the religion of the mission. The Rhenish Mission sometimes included reading and geography. But all missions included the practical subjects—carpentry and brickmaking for boys, domestic science for girls—that were essential for those who were to make up the labour force for the growing settler population. From 1902 onwards small subventions were accorded by the German Government to those schools which taught the German language satisfactorily. Otherwise, the schools were financed by the missions themselves.

About 1890 the Rhenish Mission opened a school at Okahandja and another at Keetmanshoop for Coloureds. In 1903 the Catholic Church also opened a school for Coloureds. Separate education was therefore being provided for Africans and for Coloureds.

White education was also separate. As early as 1876 the Rhenish Mission had opened a school for whites. This existed (with an interruption between 1891 and 1894) until 1901. In 1894 a white school was opened at Windhoek for the children of German settlers, but was closed down after four years. After 1900, however, the German colonial authorities set about establishing schools for the white community, particularly in the region around Windhoek. By 1904 there were six state schools for Europeans throughout the Territory. In 1906 the Catholic Church created a secondary school for European boys and another for European girls. At the end of the German occupation there were 17 primary

schools for whites, two government secondary schools and one Catholic secondary school for girls.

Measures were undertaken to ensure that education for whites was, as far as possible, compulsory. In 1906 white children living within four kilometres of a school were obliged to attend it. In 1911 the measure was extended to all white children although, in fact, the law was difficult to enforce due to the dispersed nature of the white population. Theoretically, white children, at least those within the four-kilometre radius, were supposed to attend school for eight years.

Afrikaners who had settled in Namibia were authorized to open their own private schools, but by 1902 they were sending their children to government schools. By the beginning of the twentieth century the basic structure of education in Namibia had been elaborated. There were schools for Africans which gave a rudimentary education and which were mainly run by the missions, schools for Coloureds, and schools for whites established principally by the Government and including secondary education. The pattern of financing had also been established. From 1909 onwards the German authorities accorded a subsidy of RM9,000 per year to schools for Africans, while RM329,600 was spent on white education for the year 1914–15 alone.¹

These arrangements remained in force until 1949, when full legislative powers for education were transferred to the Legislative Assembly under the final authority of the Government of South Africa.

One problem was the lack of uniformity, particularly with regard to mission schools for Africans. The Education Proclamation of 1921 had attempted to lay the basis for agreed principles of education for each group. Under the Proclamation both European and non-European education came under government control. The Government provided the necessary funds and left the management of non-European education to missionaries—provided that, if they accepted government financial grants, they would also conform to government regulations regarding the establishment, recognition, control, syllabuses and classification of schools, the employment of teachers and conditions of service and inspection. The missions were relieved to have some assured financing, whilst the Government hoped for cooperation from the missions. The terms for government acceptance of a school for Africans were that it had an average enrolment of 20 pupils and a teacher. Courses could be given in a school building, and teachers were accepted whether or not they were trained.

At the 1923 conference on African education held in Windhoek an attempt had been made to obtain a consensus on the content of African education between the various missions and the South African Government. The following missions were represented: Rhenish, Catholic, Methodist and Anglican. The Finnish Mission of Ovamboland was not represented. The language in which teaching was to be undertaken was discussed. The Rhenish Mission chose Afrikaans; the Catholics opted for English. Local languages could not be used because of the lack of reading material. It was agreed that the ordinary course for Africans would normally last for four years. Any additional classes

would have to be specially approved by the Inspector of Schools, his approval depending upon the ability of the teacher, the number of pupils and the accommodation available.

The Education Proclamation of 1926 brought only one essential change to the Proclamation of 1921, at least as far as African education was concerned. The provision of teaching aids by the Administration free of charge was withdrawn; instead, a 50 per cent discount on textbooks and stationery was provided for parents with meagre financial resources.

In fact, the Education Proclamation of 1921 was applicable only in the Police Zone and that of 1926 could not be enforced outside the Police Zone.² Even within the Police Zone, schools were not established in the reserves. The Government was prohibited by law from alienating land in the areas to which the Africans had retreated, and the missions were unwilling to open schools on land which they did not own. The decision eventually taken was that, if there was a desire for education in a reserve, the parents there would have to apply to the local council. If the council approved, it would recommend to the Administration that a school could be built. It would also recommend that the funds of the reserve be used for such a building. The parents would then, with the approval of the Administration, invite a mission to take charge of the school until such time as the Government was prepared to set up schools for Africans. Since most Africans on the reserves were Rhenish Mission converts, this mission eventually controlled the majority of schools established in this way. The Proclamation of 1926, while leaving African schools under mission control, provided for the establishment of government schools for Coloureds. It was not until 1934 that the Government decided, by Amendment Proclamation No. 10 of that year, to provide for the establishment of 'native government schools'.

One problem was teacher training. During the period of German occupation the Rhenish Mission had opened a training school for teachers and evangelists at Augustineum. This was closed during the war. When it reopened, the Administration bore the cost. The students were mainly male members of the chiefs' families, and instruction was given in Nama, Herero and Afrikaans, with Afrikaans being increasingly used. The Catholics established training schools at Doebra and at Tses. The school at Doebra was closed in 1937.

Subsequently various attempts were made to ensure that programmes elaborated by the Department of Education were introduced into mission schools, but with limited success. Only in 1952 was the Department able to impose a common syllabus on mission schools.

To understand the background to the situation, however, we must now turn to events in the Republic of South Africa.

In 1948 the Nationalist Party came into power, backed by the Afrikaners, although with some English-speaking South African support. The Afrikaners had first seen the British take over Cape Colony in 1806; they had opposed the abolition of slavery in 1834; and they had lost the Boer War of 1899-1902. Until the 1950s the Afrikaners were mainly farmers, small businessmen and white-collar workers and were most likely to enter into competition with Africans.

The Nationalist Party was consolidated around Afrikaner nationalism, itself heavily influenced by the fascist ideology of the 1930s as well as by the history of European-African and Boer-British conflict. In 1945, when the Nationalists were in opposition, one prominent member of the Nationalist Party declared in the House of Assembly:

As has been correctly stated here, education is the key to the creation of the proper relationship between Europeans and non-Europeans in South Africa. . . . Put native education on a sound basis and half the racial questions are solved. . . . I say that there should be reform of the whole educational system and it must be based on the culture and background and the whole life of the native himself in his tribe. . . . This whole [present] policy is also a danger for our own Western civilization.³

The Institute of Christian National Education for the powerful Afrikaner Cultural Organizations (FAK) gave a Christian and Calvinist theological justification for separate and different education: 'God had willed separate nations and peoples, giving each nation and people its special calling and tasks and gifts.'⁴ Indeed, if the fascism of the 1930s had influenced Afrikaner political thought, the complementarity of some European theologians had influenced Afrikaner religious thought. Together they produced the ideology for apartheid.

In 1949, shortly after the Nationalists came to power, a Commission on Native Education was appointed under the chairmanship of Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen. The Commission's terms of reference consisted in:

(a) The formulation of the principles and aims of education for natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitudes, and their needs under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration.

(b) The extent to which the existing primary, secondary and vocational education systems for natives and the training of native teachers should be modified in respect of the content and form of syllabuses in order to conform to the proposed principles and aims, and to prepare natives more effectively for their future occupations.

(c) The organization and administration of the various branches of native education.

(d) The basis on which such education should be financed.

(e) Such other aspects of native education as may be related to the preceding.

The Eiselen Commission reported in 1951. Its recommendations formed the basis of the system of African education that was followed by the Republic of South Africa and extended to Namibia after the adoption of the Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953.

In connection with African schools in South Africa the Eiselen Report found that:

(i) they are providing education for a relatively small proportion of a backward population;

(ii) the rate of elimination at an early stage is very high;

- (iii) the standards of achievement in the schools as measured by examination and achievement tests are low;
- (iv) the general orientation of the school work is too academic because, for those pupils who proceed beyond primary stage, an academic certificate promises a much more attractive economic future than anything else.⁵

They also considered that there were two fundamental weaknesses in the system:

On one hand, the administration of education is entrusted to the provincial administrations which, as far as the Bantu are concerned, are concerned with schools, and schools only. They are neither responsible for the social and economic factors outside the classroom nor are they able to plan and finance those reforms which are necessary to give meaning and purpose to the schools.

On the other hand, the local control of schools is not entrusted to a local government authority charged with studying and dealing with the whole gamut of local problems but is entrusted to religious bodies whose functions naturally do not include the management of affairs involving general local development.⁵

African education was therefore to be reserved for the provinces, although the provincial authorities maintained their contributions to white education. In future, African education was to be integrated into the Government's plans for African development as a separate part of South African society. Some recommendations of the Eiselen Report were to become of particular importance afterwards, both in South Africa and in Namibia—recommendations (c), (d) and (k):⁶

(c) The recommendation is therefore made that a Division of Bantu Affairs should be called into being, consisting of a Department of Bantu Administration, a Department of Bantu Technical Services, a Department of Bantu Education and a Bantu Development Authority; the latter body to be served by a Research Organization.

(d) In order to secure the active participation of the Bantu in the solution of local problems it is recommended that Bantu local authorities be set up in the reserves and in the urban areas. The intention is that these bodies should in course of time evolve into local government units charged with the administration of all local services, including education. Their funds would be drawn from local and national taxation.

(k) Concerning the financing of Bantu schools your Commission recommends the adoption of the following principles:

- (i) educational expenditure should be correlated with the development plan and attention given to the problem of using education to improve the economic situation;
- (ii) the responsibility for financing education must be shared by the State and the Bantu local authorities or communities;
- (iii) as the development plans take effect it is expected that Bantu local authorities will be able to shoulder a proportionately heavier share. In the earlier stages, however, the share of the State will be heavier and must be regarded as an investment or 'pump-priming' device.

Particular attention is drawn to recommendation (k) (iii). What was being recommended was the collection of additional money from already impoverished communities and a reduction in state aid.

The principle of the ideological content of education was given in the dissentient remarks by Professor A. H. Murray relating to certain paragraphs of the Eiselen Report:

- (i) the welfare and progress of a Bantu tribe can only follow on the integration of such a group as an actual patriotic community; . . .
- (iii) it is obvious that religious instruction, which has evidently up to now been given without closer aim in schools, must perform three tasks if it is to retain its place in a school system which, as is emphasized in this Report, strives towards connection with the economic reintegration of the community or tribe. It should further the corporative discipline of the school, it should provide religious inspiration; and it should be the source of the existence and practice of an ethical-religious basis for post-school life. . . . Less stress might be laid on the technical skill and training of the teaching personnel in the Bantu school at this stage and more on personality and devotion. This is an important matter.⁷

This was precisely what Christian National Education set out to do.

The Bantu Education Act was designed 'to provide for the transfer of the administration and control of Bantu education from the general provincial administrations to the Government of the Union and for matters incidental thereto'.

The Act provided: (a) that the control of African education should pass from the Provincial Government to the Union Government; (b) for the financing of Bantu community schools; and (c) for the establishment of government Bantu schools. Items (b) and (c) were not, however, independent of the Minister, who in the case of Bantu community schools could 'in his discretion, at any time suspend, reduce or withdraw any subsidy or assistance granted to any such school under this sector', and in the case of government Bantu schools, could 'at any time, whenever he considers it expedient to do so, close or disestablish any such government Bantu school, hostel, teachers' quarters, school clinic or other accessory to a government Bantu school'. No person was permitted to establish, conduct or maintain any African school or native school, other than a government Bantu school, unless that school conformed to the requirements for recognition. Registration would be refused if the Minister was satisfied 'that such school is not or will not be in the interests of the Bantu people or any sector of such people or that such school is or is likely to be detrimental to the physical, mental or moral welfare of the pupils or students who attend or may attend that school', and the Minister could cancel the registration of a Bantu school if he was satisfied, after consideration of a report by the Bantu Affairs Commission established under the Bantu Affairs Act, No. 35 of 1959, that such a school was not in the interests of the Bantu people or any sector of such people or that such a school was detrimental to the physical, mental or moral welfare of the pupils or students who attend that school.

Bantu community schools were to be managed by local African councils or boards; but

The Minister may at any time, whenever he considers it expedient to do so, disestablish any regional, local or domestic council, board or other body or school committee established under subsection (1) or (2) or withdraw the control and management of any Bantu community school from any regional, local or domestic council, board or other body to which such control and management have been entrusted in terms of subsection (1); provided that, before exercising his discretion under this subsection, the Minister shall cause an enquiry to be held at which the regional, local or domestic council, board or other body or school community concerned shall be entitled to be heard.⁸

The Minister was allowed to make regulations

(a) prescribing, subject to the laws governing the public service, the powers and duties of the Secretary and any other officer or employee of the Department in connection with the administration of Bantu education;

(b) prescribing the conditions of appointment and service, including the rights, duties and privileges, of teachers in government Bantu schools, Bantu community schools or Bantu schools to which a grant-in-aid is being made under Section Eight;

[Para. (b) amended by s.5(a) of Act No. 33 of 1959.]

(c) prescribing a code of discipline for teachers in government Bantu schools, Bantu community schools or Bantu schools to which a grant-in-aid is being made under Section Eight, the punishments which may be imposed for, and the procedure to be followed in connection with, any contravention of or failure to comply with the provisions of such code, and the circumstances in which the services of any such teacher may be terminated;

[Para. (c) amended by s.5(b) of Act No. 33 of 1959.]

(d) prescribing courses of training or instruction in government Bantu schools and Bantu community schools, and the fees, if any, payable in respect of such courses or any examination held by or under the supervision or control of the Department and empowering a specified officer or an officer appointed by or under the authority of the Minister to determine the syllabuses for such courses;

[Para. (e) amended by s.5(d) of Act No. 33 of 1959.]

(f) prescribing the conditions governing the establishment, control and maintenance of any hostel, school clinic, or other accessory to a government Bantu school;

(g) relating to the admission of pupils or students to, the control and treatment of pupils or students at, and the discharge of pupils or students from, any government Bantu school;

(h) providing for the medical examination of teachers, pupils or students in government Bantu schools, including the particulars to be contained in medical certificates;

(i) providing for the control of funds collected for any government Bantu school or Bantu community school;

[Para. (i) amended by s.5(e) of Act No. 33 of 1959.]

(j) providing for religious instruction in government Bantu schools;

(k) prescribing the circumstances in which the suspension or expulsion of any pupil or student from any government Bantu school may take place or any other punishment may be administered or imposed;

(l) prescribing the conditions under which Bantu community schools may be subsidized or assisted under Section Six;

(m) providing for the approval of State-aided native schools, under Section Eight, and prescribing the conditions under which grants-in-aid may be made;

(n) prescribing the requirements to which any Bantu school or native school shall conform for registration under Section Nine and the manner and form in which such school shall apply to be so registered and shall be so registered;

[Para. (n) substituted by s.4 of Act No. 55 of 1961.]

(n)bis providing for the exemption from registration of Bantu schools or native schools and the conditions of exemption;

[Para. (n)bis inserted by s.4 of Act No. 55 of 1961.]

(o) providing for the award of bursaries to Bantu pupils or students and prescribing the conditions under which such bursaries may be awarded;

(p) providing for the establishment of an advisory council or advisory councils for Bantu education and prescribing the constitution, duties, powers, privileges and functions of such a council, and the fees and allowances, if any, payable to any member of a council who is not in the full-time employment of the State;

[Para. (p) substituted by s.22 of Act No. 57 of 1975.]

(q) providing for the constitution, duties, powers, privileges and functions of regional, local or domestic councils, boards or other bodies or school committees established under Section Twelve, and prescribing the fees and allowances, if any, payable to the members of any such council, board or body who are not in the full-time employment of the State;

[Para. (q) amended by s.2(a) of Act No. 44 of 1954 and by s.5(f) of Act No. 33 of 1959 and substituted by s.4(1) of Act No. 44 of 1970.]

(r) providing, subject to the approval of the Minister of Finance, for the establishment and management of a pension or provident fund or scheme for teachers in government Bantu schools to be administered by the Commissioner of Pensions and prescribing the contributions to be made to such fund or scheme out of moneys appropriated by Parliament and by teachers;

(s) providing generally for any other matter relating to the establishment, maintenance, management and control of government Bantu schools or Bantu community schools or which the Minister may deem necessary or expedient to prescribe for achieving the purposes of this Act, the generality of the powers conferred by this paragraph not being limited by the provisions of the preceding paragraphs.

[Para. (s) amended by s.2(b) of Act No. 44 of 1954.]

Different regulations may be made in respect of different teachers, groups, classes or races of teachers, or different schools or areas.⁹

It is difficult to see what was left for the local African community to control. This Act, in item 15ter, specifically stated:

Application in South West Africa, and repeal of laws

(1) This Act and any amendment thereof shall also apply in the Territory of South West Africa, including the East Caprivi Zipfel.

(2) In such application Namas shall not be regarded as natives and any compound or derivative of the word 'Bantu' shall be construed as a corresponding compound or derivative of the word 'native'.

(3) Subject to the provisions of subsection (4), the Education Ordinance, 1962 (Ordinance No. 27 of 1962 of the Territory of South West Africa), and Proclamation No. 147 of 1939 of the Republic are hereby repealed in so far as they relate to native education.

(4) Any regulation made under the said Education Ordinance, 1962, and which immediately prior to the commencement of this section applied in respect of native education shall, in so far as it is not in conflict with the provisions of this Act, continue so to apply and shall, in so far as it so applies, be deemed to have been made under this Act for the Territory of South West Africa.

[S.15ter inserted by s.5 of Act No. 44 of 1970.]

This Act, which embodied most of the Eiselen proposals, is the basic Act under which Africans' education in Namibia (as in South Africa) is determined, although in the case of Namibia it was followed in 1958 by a Commission report which consolidated the principles of the 1953 Act.

The Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Non-European Education in South West Africa¹⁰ laid the basis for a specific educational policy for Namibia. Its terms of reference were:

(a) The formulation of an efficacious system of education which will serve the interests of the native and Coloured communities in South West Africa as two separate, independent racial groups, taking into consideration the historical development of each group, their respective distinctive characteristics and aptitudes, and their respective needs under the general, constantly changing social, economic and political conditions;

(b) the extent to which the Union systems of non-European education may serve as a basis for the formulation of education systems for the non-European communities in South West Africa;

(c) the extent to which primary and secondary vocational training, and the training of teachers for both groups separately, should be changed in respect of the content of the syllabuses to make the proposed systems of education as serviceable as possible to the two racial groups;

(d) the control over, and the administration and financing of, native and Coloured education in South West Africa;

(e) the desirability of instituting a scheme of feeding non-European children, having regard to the feasibility of administering and financing it;

(f) such other matters touching upon native and Coloured education connected with the above which may prove necessary for a thorough investigation into all the aspects of native and Coloured education;

(g) the financial implications of the proposed efficacious education system for the two racial groups.

In the main, therefore, the Commission's terms of reference fell into three categories which may be summarized as follows: (a) the formulation of an efficacious system of education for the 'natives' of South West Africa, i.e. the various Bantu groups, the Damaras, the Namas and the Bushmen; (b) the formulation of an efficacious system of education for the Coloureds of South West Africa; and (c) recommendations of the desirability of a school feeding scheme for the above racial groups.

In addition, there was the question of the degree to which the Union's systems of education for the corresponding racial groups might be applied in South West Africa.¹¹ Education for whites was not included in the terms of reference, which explicitly provide for racial separation.

In 1958 there were two systems of native education, one operating in the Police Zone and the other in the 'Northern native territories'. There were also three kinds of school: government schools, State-aided mission schools, and a few private schools. In the Northern native territories all the schools were mission schools, most of which were under the control of the Finnish Mission and the Catholic schools. Within the Police Zone there were government as well as mission schools. The private schools were a few junior schools of the Anglican and African Methodist Episcopal Churches which did not meet the minimum requirements for recognition by the Administration.

The Government was responsible in government schools for equipment and school requisites, teachers' salaries, books at reduced prices, and all costs including board and lodging at the Augustineum Teacher Training School. Control was vested in the Administrator, who delegated these powers to the Director of Education with respect to the erection and maintenance of schools and training schools; the determination of the highest and lowest classes in every school; the school subjects and courses; the admission of pupils; and staff matters. Expansion depended on the demand of the local community and the recommendation of the inspector.

In the case of mission schools in the Police Zone, control was vested in the missions. A manager was often appointed to run the schools; where this was done, the approval of the Director of Education was required.

There were few government schools beyond the Police Zone, and in Kaokoveld, Ovamboland and the Okavango native territory the missions received a subsidy from the Administration. Some government supervision was assured through an Organizer of Native Education, but he was not bound to submit school inspection reports to the Department of Education. He could draw up his own estimate and make on-the-spot decisions regarding staff.

Direct financial contributions from African communities came only from the Waterberg East and Aminuis reserves. In both cases the tribal council had

recommended a monthly levy of 1/- (one shilling) per head on all adult stock-owners to defray the running costs of the two hostels attached to schools in these reserves. No school fees were imposed. The syllabus in primary schools is of some interest. It included Bible history and ethics, hygiene, physical training, the home language, Afrikaans and English, drawing, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, and nature study, handicrafts, needlework and singing. Needlework included laundering and ironing for girls, taught from Substandard A onwards, which suggests that they were being trained for housework and domestic service. Bible history and ethics was an examination subject, with an oral examination to Standard II and a written examination afterwards; so was hygiene. However, arithmetic was not an examination subject.

In accordance with the policy of the Department of Native Affairs, no school hostels were permitted at African schools located in European areas. Hostels were constructed, where necessary, in the reserves and outside the Police Zone.

With regard to finance, the Commission of Enquiry concluded:

With the exception of two reserves within the Police Zone there is no direct levy for education and the native communities are not encouraged to make any contribution. This is educationally unsound and prevents the parents from developing a sense of responsibility towards the education of their children. If this state of affairs were to continue it is very probable that the costs will increase to such an extent that the Administration will find the burden difficult to bear.¹²

With regard to administration, the Commission reported:

Because native education is administered integrally with European and Coloured education, it inevitably falls short of coming into its own in every respect. Experience has shown repeatedly that the interests of the other groups are almost invariably given priority. In part this may be ascribed to the important role the missions have played in the control of native schools and to its reassuring effect upon the Department. For all that, this state of affairs is unsatisfactory since native education requires continual and specialized attention if it is to be steered in the right direction.¹³

The Commission then went on to state:

As there is . . . a striking similarity in the background of the South West Africa natives and that of the Bantu of the Union it would not be inopportune to describe here in broad outline what guiding principles are accepted in the Union in the matter of Bantu education. They are, *inter alia*:

(a) Education must be seen and understood in its largest perspective so that it can be organized not only to produce effective schools with a Christian character, but also to create sound social institutions which will harmonize with these schools.

(b) Education should be co-ordinated with a definite and thorough policy for the development of the Bantu communities.

(c) Increasing emphasis should be placed on the education of the broad masses of the native population to enable it to participate in the development of new social ways of life and institutions.

(d) Mindful of the great social need of education it is necessary that the limited funds available should be so administered and used that the good they do will be spread as widely as possible.

(e) Schools should be co-ordinated as soon as possible with the existing native social institutions and the parents' efforts should be enlisted so that they will have a share in the control of the school and its life.

(f) Functional reading matter in the native languages should be provided, and meanwhile, for at least the duration of the lower primary school course, the home language should be used as medium of instruction where it is practicable.

(g) The schools should make provision for the highest possible mental, moral and spiritual development of the Bantu individual.¹⁴

The Commission then went on to argue for a separate system of education for Africans. Education was to be geared to the needs of a particular racial group, resident in a particular area in a particular stage of development. The members of the Commission went on to ask what would be the most probable qualities, attitudes and skills demanded of the 'native' in thirty years' time, i.e. in 1988. They came up with a list in this order:

- (i) religious knowledge and good manners;
- (ii) literacy in his native language as a means of communication and of preserving pride in his national traditions;
- (iii) literacy in the official languages as a means of communications with the Europeans, as an aid in economic matters and in gaining knowledge of the outside world;
- (iv) knowledge of hygiene for the protection of health;
- (v) knowledge of technical skills;
- (vi) social patterns of behaviour and values which make one a good member of the community, a good parent and a useful citizen.¹⁵

It was these 'skills and aptitudes' which, they went on to say, 'serve to show that native education is entitled to a separate existence, just as, for instance, Chinese or even European education in South Africa is a distinct entity'.

The Commission then went on to discuss the various courses. The lower primary course, which was to extend over four years, was to be a complete course in itself, to enable the 'masses' (the Commission's word) to read and write in their mother tongue and to make elementary calculations. A knowledge of Afrikaans and English was to be given for its 'economic value', and 'furthermore, religious instruction should play its usual important role in order that the pupil may develop morally'.¹⁶

The Commission therefore recommended:

- (i) that at any place where the concentration of inhabitants justifies it, e.g. at the so-called 'posts' in the reserves, lower primary schools should be provided, even if most of them are only one-teacher schools; a minimum

enrolment of twenty pupils should justify the establishment of such a school in native areas;

- (ii) that the lower primary course in combined lower and higher primary schools be offered as a complete course with a view to literacy for the masses;
- (iii) that for the time being the aim should be to put at least 80 per cent of all children of school-going age through the lower primary course.

It may be expected that 70–80 per cent of the pupils in this type of school will not proceed beyond Standard II.¹⁶

Thus 80 per cent of all children of school-going age were to be catered for—20 per cent were to be left illiterate. And of the 80 per cent who *did* enter a lower primary school, 70–80 per cent were not expected to go beyond this course at all.

For higher primary education, the Commission recommended:

- (i) that at least one central higher primary school be provided in each of the seventeen reserves within the Police Zone where the children of the surrounding communities (posts) may be accommodated in some form of community hostel. . . . In some reserves, e.g. Aminuis and Waterberg East, this type of school already exists;
- (ii) that central higher primary schools should also be provided at suitable centres in Ovamboland with hostel accommodation for children from the surrounding communities. The existing so-called higher primary boys' and girls' schools should be classified and developed as ordinary higher primary schools;
- (iii) that, for the time being, only one higher primary school should be established in the vicinity of the centrally situated Runtu in the Okavango territory to provide for the needs of the whole territory;
- (iv) that higher primary schools should be established in urban locations according to the needs;
- (v) where there is a higher primary school there would usually also be a lower primary school. Where in such cases the numbers are small, it would have to be a combined lower and higher primary school. In cases where numbers justify it, however, the two schools should be separate; in the Windhoek location, for example, there could be two or more lower primary schools and perhaps only one higher primary school. Ethnic grouping would naturally have to be taken into account;
- (vi) higher primary schools in town locations should only receive day scholars, and no provision should be made for hostel facilities in these locations.¹⁷

We now come to secondary schools. Regarding junior secondary schools, the Commission states:

Because of the relatively small number of pupils who qualify for secondary training, only a few junior secondary schools would be justified:

- (i) within the Police Zone only one junior secondary school should be provided for each of the two language groups, Nama and Herero (i.e. the only two language groups). Suitable situations for these schools would be found in centrally situated reserves. As pupils would have to be accommodated in hostels these schools should not be in urban locations;

- (ii) as the enrolment will at first be very small it would perhaps be advisable to start off with secondary classes attached to one of the proposed higher primary schools;
- (iii) until such time as the proposed junior secondary schools meet the requirements fully, Nama and Herero Junior Certificate pupils could be enrolled at the existing Augustineum Teacher Training School;
- (iv) in Ovamboland a single junior secondary school may be provided for the Ndonga and Kuanyama language groups together. Subsequently, when numbers justify it, separate schools could be established for these groups. It should be noted that, although these languages show a slight affinity, they would have to be treated as separate languages. For the rest, Junior Certificate pupils could also be enrolled at the proposed teacher training school;
- (v) in the Okavango territory secondary classes could be attached to the proposed central higher primary school at Runtu, when the need arises. A fully fledged junior secondary school for this territory would not be justified for a considerable time to come;
- (vi) hostel facilities would be a necessity at all the proposed junior secondary schools.¹⁸

On senior secondary school training the Commission recommended:

- (i) that, for the time being, no fully fledged senior secondary school should be contemplated for any of the language groups;
- (ii) that Nama and Herero pupils for Standards IX and X be accepted at the Augustineum Teacher Training School;
- (iii) that Ndonga and Kuanyama pupils for this course should be accepted at the proposed Ovamboland Training School;
- (iv) that every effort should be made to appoint qualified European staff for this course. (We should point out that there will be no demand for such a course in the Okavango territory for at least a decade.)¹⁹

The recommendations for farm schools were:

- (i) that the minimum enrolment for a farm school be put at fifteen pupils;
- (ii) that a small-salaried teacher, even, if need be, unqualified, be appointed to such a school;
- (iii) that the owner of the farm should take the initiative in establishing a school and that he be expected to put up the building himself and either to manage the school himself or to nominate another suitable person as manager;
- (iv) that a farm school should be State-aided and the teacher be in the service of the farmer; the Department, however, paying the teacher's salary and providing allowances for equipment, books, etc.

Valuable aid and guidance can be obtained from the Department of Bantu Education in the Union.²⁰

Vocational training was to concentrate mainly on building work, joinery and tailoring.

On syllabuses, the Commission recommended that those in use in Bantu schools in the Union be introduced to native schools of Namibia; that when

syllabuses were revised this was to be done in consultation with the Education Department of Namibia; and that the 'Christian character of the native schools must be preserved at all costs'.²¹ There were problems, however, over introducing 'mother-tongue' instruction as had been done in South Africa, in spite of African protests. The Namibian languages were even less developed for the use of modern education than had been the case in South Africa. The Commission therefore suggested that a Bureau of Native Languages should be formed. At its head was to be a European (*sic*) Bantu philologist with the rank of Professional Officer and with his headquarters at Windhoek. He would be assisted by two or more Africans.²² The direction and development of the African languages was therefore to be decided by non-Africans. One of the most important recommendations was that proposing the handing over of mission schools except in the case of teacher training institutions and secondary schools requiring the use of European staff, and other schools to 'native schools committees' to become community schools. Churches which did not turn over their schools would forfeit state aid. To complete the increased plurality of the school system, a separate branch for native education was to be established within the Department of Education.

The school committees were to consist of three members chosen by the parents, three chosen by the mission which formally ran the school, one appointed by the tribal council and one appointed by the Director of Education. Since the tribal council is so constituted as to be under effective government control, the missions would hold the balance in any voting.

The plan for 'native education' was to be largely financed by the natives themselves under a proposed special levy for educational purposes.

The Commission then turned its attention to Coloured schools. At the time of the report there were both government and mission schools for Coloureds. In the former, the Department of Education met most of the costs, although Coloured communities contributed indirectly by collecting funds through the medium of functions. These contributions were supplemented by the Department of Education on a £ to £ system, although this was hardly used. In the case of mission schools, the building of the school was the responsibility of the mission, although subject to the approval of the Director, who also had the power to withdraw government support from schools that were overcrowded or in disrepair. However, a maintenance allowance was given to the mission and furniture and equipment were granted free of charge by the Department of Education. Afrikaans was the language used. The syllabuses, however, differed from those followed in white schools, and illiteracy remained high among the Coloured population.

The Commission recommended that primary education should be extended to cater for the six to thirteen-year-old group, i.e. Substandard A to Standard V, in an attempt to educate all Coloured children; but it went on to say that:

taking into account the fact that most of the Coloureds have to earn their living by manual labour, the development of their manual skills should be emphasized. This does not, however, mean technical training for certain trades or profession during their primary schooling.²³

If Africans were to be trained for unskilled labour, Coloureds were to be trained for skilled manual labour; neither group, however, was being trained as were the whites, for higher managerial posts.

In 1962 Government Notice No. 116 Ordinance was promulgated. Christian National Education was reaffirmed: 'Education and upbringing shall have a Christian character forming the basis for the establishment of a Christian way of life' (Part A, Chapter 1, para. 4 (i)).²⁴

The Department of Education was charged with:

- (i) the framing and application of syllabuses of instruction;
- (ii) the institution, supervision, control and conduct of examinations and the certification of pupils;
- (iii) the conduct of any scholastic, psychological, vocational and other tests;
- (iv) the training of prospective teachers, the further training of teachers, the examination of such teachers or prospective teachers and the certification of such teachers or prospective teachers on obtaining the qualifications prescribed by the Director;
- (v) the inspection of the educational institutions of the Department and of the teachers and pupils thereat;
- (vi) the determination of the staffing of schools of the Department;
- (vii) the fixing of school hours, vacation periods and the framing of a school calendar;
- (viii) the determination of the necessary facilities for the educational institutions of the Department;
- (ix) the exercise of any power and the carrying out of any duty which may be conferred or imposed upon it by this Ordinance; and
- (x) the issue or publication of such directions relating to education as the Director may give in terms of this Ordinance.²⁵

The Ordinance covered white, African and Coloured education. We shall compare the provisions made in each case. First, however, was the problem of racial classification. The Ordinance included a list of the measures to be taken where there was a doubt as to whether or not a child was white. This regulation stated:

(1) When application is made for the admission of a pupil to a school for white children or when a pupil has already been admitted to such school and an objection against such application or admission is lodged with the principal by reason of such pupil not being a white, or if the principal himself is not convinced that such pupil is a white, the principal shall forthwith inform the parent of such child in writing of such objection without revealing the name of the person who has objected or without mentioning the fact that he himself is not convinced about the pupil's white origin, and he shall thereupon investigate the matter, and if further evidence is necessary, he shall require such parent to submit within a period determined by him, evidence that such child is a white.

(2) After investigation and on receipt of the evidence referred to in subsection (1), the principal shall: (a) decide whether such pupil is a white or not;

(b) inform the Director of such a decision; and (c) submit all correspondence, documents and other papers in connection with the case to the Director.

(4) Should the parent concerned fail to submit the evidence referred to in subsection (1) within the period specified by the principal or within such further period as the principal may allow on request, or when a decision by a principal that such pupil is not a white is confirmed by the Director, or when a decision that such child is a white is set aside by the Director, such pupil shall, as far as this Ordinance is concerned, not be regarded as a white, and thereupon the principal shall refuse the application for the admission of such a pupil to such school or prohibit such pupil from further attending such school.

(5) No action shall lie against any principal or the Director or any teacher or officer in respect of anything done in the *bona fide* carrying out of the provisions of this section.²⁶

It should be noted that there is no provision for knowing who it is who has claimed that the child is not white and that it is incumbent on the parents to submit evidence that the child is white. Moreover, the Director or teacher cannot be taken to court by the parents if it has been proved that he is wrong. Since there has been, in spite of customs and laws, continual racial mixing in Namibia (as in South Africa), this law subjects even children declared as white to a great deal of insecurity, because the loss of white status also means losing the chances of a proper education.

The provisions on native education were that the Administrator may from time to time, if he considers it necessary, appoint an advisory board for native education. He could also establish a language bureau for native languages. This bureau was to develop native languages as written languages and teaching media. He could establish and maintain state native schools or evening and continuation classes. He could also 'at any time and whenever he deems it advisable, close any state native school or class established or created in terms of this section or any hostel or institution . . . or revoke the establishment of such school, class, hostel or institution'.²⁷ He could from time to time subsidize any native school established or maintained by a reserve board, tribal council or community (i.e. a native community school), or assist in the establishment or maintenance of any such school. Furthermore, under the Ordinance:

102.(2) The Administrator may at any time and in his discretion discontinue, reduce or withdraw the subsidy or assistance granted to any school in terms of this section or to any hostel in terms of paragraph (a) of Section Six.

103.(1) Save as is provided in this Ordinance, the Administrator may, on such conditions as he may determine, from time to time make grants-in-aid to any native school (hereinafter referred to as a State-aided native school) approved by him for the purposes of this section: provided that the Administrator, when considering the approval of such a school, may take into consideration whether the establishment or existence of such school will preclude, delay or render impracticable or will probably preclude, delay or render impracticable the establishment of any native community school or any state native school.

(2) The Administrator may at any time and in his discretion discontinue, reduce or withdraw any grant-in-aid made in terms of this section or withdraw his approval of any State-aided native school for the purposes of this section.

104. In respect of a state native school, native community school and State-aided native school, the Department shall decide whether boys or girls or boys as well as girls shall be enrolled thereat and shall determine the subjects of study and the highest and the lowest standards in the curriculum of the school as a whole or in the curriculum for boys and girls, respectively, in the case of a school at which boys as well as girls are enrolled.

Moreover, as far as Church schools were concerned:

105.(1) (a) From a date to be fixed by the Administrator by notice in the *Official Gazette* no church authority or body or person shall establish, continue or maintain any native school other than a state native school, unless such school satisfies the requirements prescribed by regulation for the registration of such school and has been registered with the Department in the manner prescribed by regulation or has been exempted from registration under the regulations.

(b) The Administrator may register a native school for such period as he may determine at the date of registration, and any school so registered shall, save as is provided in paragraph (c), at the expiration of the period for which it has been registered, be dissolved and cease to function as a native school notwithstanding the fact that such school satisfies the requirements prescribed for registration as a native school referred to in paragraph (a).

(c) The Administrator may in his discretion extend the period of registration referred to in paragraph (b).

.

(2) The Administrator shall refuse to register any native school if he is convinced that such school is not, or would not be, in the interests of the native population or of any section of such population or that such school would be, or would probably be, detrimental to the physical, mental or moral well-being of the pupils or persons who attend or may attend such school.

.

(4) Any church authority or body or person who, after the date fixed under paragraph (a) of subsection (1), establishes, continues or maintains a native school not registered or exempted from registration under this Ordinance, or who admits a native child or person to such a school shall be guilty of an offence and shall upon conviction be liable to a fine of not exceeding one hundred Rand or, in default of payment of such fine, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months.²⁸

The Administrator, 'with due regard to the principle that provision shall be made for active participation by the native population in the control and management of state native schools and native community schools . . . may create such regional, local or domestic boards or other bodies as he may

deem fit . . .'. He could also entrust the control and management of one or more such schools to any reserve board or tribal council. However, the powers of these boards were minimal:

The Administrator may at any time and whenever he deems it advisable to do so, abolish such regional, local or domestic board, management board or other body or withdraw a state native school or native community school from the control and management of the reserve board or tribal council to which such control and management have been entrusted in terms of subsection (1): provided that the Administrator, before exercising his discretion in terms of this subsection, shall cause an investigation to be made at which the board, management board or body concerned shall be entitled to be heard.²⁹

In addition, under Chapter XI of this Ordinance ('Miscellaneous Provisions'), the Administrator could prescribe the functions and duties of recognized mission schools; prescribe the conditions for making, withdrawing and recovering study allowances, loans and bursaries; prescribe not only salaries and leave for teachers but also the 'conditions on which married women may be appointed as teachers in a permanent capacity' (para. 117(g)), for the admission, enrolment, attendance, control, treatment, transfer, withdrawal, exclusion, expulsion and any other form of punishment for pupils or students in respect of any educational institution under the control of the Department; and provide for religious instruction in native schools.

The principle of different treatment exists not only within the Ordinance: 'Different regulations may be promulgated in respect of different teachers of different groups, classes, or races, or in respect of different schools or areas' (para. 117(2)).³⁰

The provisions for whites are quite different. Parents are qualified to vote on a school committee and the terms of service of this committee are written into the Ordinance. The powers of the Administrator are drastically reduced. The Department may consult school committees or joint school committees, and the conditions under which a school committee can be dissolved are clearly stated. Teacher requirements are also clearly set forth. Under certain circumstances 'a white teacher may become a member of any political party, including any managing body thereof, and may seek election to the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa or to the Legislative Assembly of the Territory or may become a member of a municipal council . . .'.³¹ However, any person '(a) who is a communist as defined in Section One of the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950 (No. 44 of 1950), or (b) whose name appears on any list in the hands of the officer referred to in Section Eight of the said Act, shall be deemed an undesirable person to serve as a teacher' (para. 58(1)).³²

This Ordinance therefore strengthens the earlier provisions and ensures that the Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953, of South Africa is fully applicable in Namibia.

Notes

1. C. J. C. Lemmer, *Onderwys in Suidwes-Afrika*, unpublished thesis, 1934. Quoted from International Court of Justice, South West Africa Cases 1960–66, *Counter-Memorial Filed by the Government of the Republic of South Africa*, op. cit.
2. The Police Zone is, in essence, the area of European settlement and is in theory more directly governed by the Republic of South Africa than the ‘unpoliced’ zone of African settlement supposedly governed by chiefs.
3. M. D. C. De Wet Net, in *House of Assembly Debates (Hansard)*, Vol. 52, 2 April 1945, cols. 4494–99.
4. See F. E. Auerbach, *The Power of Prejudice in South African Education*, p. 112, Cape Town and Amsterdam, Balkema, 1966.
5. *Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949–1951*, Ref. U.G. No. 53/1951, p. 163, Pretoria, Government Printer.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
8. *Statutes of the Republic of South Africa: Classified and Annotated from 1910*, Vol. 4: *Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953*.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Administration of South West Africa, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Non-European Education in South West Africa*, Part I: *Native Education*, November 1958.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 101–2.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 111–2.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 118–9.
23. Administration of South West Africa, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Non-European Education in South West Africa*, Part II: *Coloured Education*, November 1958, p. 63.
24. Authority of South West Africa, *Official Gazette Extraordinary of South West Africa*, No. 2413, p. 881, Windhoek, 4 July 1962.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 882.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 903.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 912.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 913.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 914.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 917.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 893.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 900.

6

Education from 1962 to 1975

The Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs complimented the 1958 Commission on Non-Native Education on its work, and went on to say:

The Commission wishes to endorse the general trend of the above-mentioned recommendations as a basis for the further development of educational services and will later emphasize only some of the principal aspects of this development which call for special and positive action and planning.¹

For urban centres the Commission recommended that:

(a) the provision of educational services for the inhabitants of towns be continued mainly on the basis of day scholars, and that adequate provision be made for the growing number of pupils attending schools;

(b) in the provision of educational services account be taken of residential areas planned for the various population groups and the different language groups to be served.²

To put subparagraph (b) another way, the educational services in the urban areas were to be segregated services determined by the African townships that existed already or would be planned in the future in the light of industrial development.

As regards rural white areas, the Commission recommended that:

(a) where possible in co-operation with private and missionary initiative, planned educational services under the control and supervision of the State be expanded in rural areas by grouping together farms for the purposes of a central lower primary school with hostel facilities;

(b) primary educational services for farm children up to Standard IV be further expanded in rural towns such as Aus, Aroab, Aranos, Koes, Gochas, Stampriet, Leonardville, etc., by the provision of adequate school and hostel facilities;

(c) the educational facilities in the rural areas for children from Standard V upwards be integrated with the educational services in the homelands concerned;

(d) the establishment of educational facilities, if on private property, be undertaken by the owner or body concerned with the assistance of a long-term loan from the State, or alternatively without such loan, the facilities provided by the owner or body concerned being utilized by the State on lease;

(e) in addition to the provision of the facilities, the State finance the current expenditure on the educational services and control such services.³

Several points need to be stressed here: first, the accent on primary school education and (in the case of schools serving rural areas) on lower primary education; second, that from Standard V upwards secondary education is not to be provided in white rural areas, but 'integrated with the educational services in the homelands concerned'; and third, the provision for farm schools under subparagraph (d), with the assistance of State loans. African children in white farming areas are therefore to be trained either to remain as unskilled farm labour or to return to the so-called homelands.

In deciding on education for the homelands the Commission was faced with a problem regarding the scattered nature of the population.⁴ It listed the points it felt should be taken into account:

(a) It is essential that educational facilities should be brought within the reach of all, for the time being at least on a primary level, and that the distribution of schools should be planned accordingly.

(b) Provision should be made for higher training at central places with hostel facilities when the number of pupils warrants such a step.

(c) Educational services should be integrated with the general development of the community and should be in keeping with the requirements of each population group.

(d) The maximum educational facilities for each population group should be made available systematically within its own homeland.

(e) The Commission is convinced that the further development of educational services for the various population groups will be possible on a much sounder basis within the enlarged and consolidated homelands proposed elsewhere. This will eliminate unnecessary duplication as a result of the presence of different language groups, and at the same time make it possible for educational services to be more closely integrated with the general development programme of each homeland and for due account to be taken of the traditions and cultural background of the population group concerned. There will also be more scope for a greater measure of control of educational services by the Legislative Councils of the homelands concerned.⁵

These considerations take the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission in 1951 further, starting from the premise of a Bantustan policy for Namibia and the reinforcement, and in some cases the creation, of tribal identities.

The Commission then made the following recommendations:

That in the further planning, expansion and development of educational services, full account be taken of the requirements in the various homelands as proposed elsewhere in this Report, i.e. Bushmanland, Damaraland, Hereroland, Nama-land, Tswanaland, the Kaokoveld, Ovamboland, Okavangoland and East Caprivi, and that educational services be incorporated as an integral part of community development.

That further lower primary schools (Substandard A–Standard II) for day scholars be provided where the population concentrations warrant such a step, on the basis of a minimum enrolment of twenty pupils per school, provided that such lower primary schools shall not be within a five-mile radius of one another.

That, in view of the nomadic nature and sparse distribution of the populations, lower primary schools be developed in Bushmanland and the Kaokoveld at concentration points even where the possible number of pupils is lower than twenty.

That the basis for the expansion of lower primary schools shall be the systematic provision of educational services with the aim of serving approximately 60 per cent of the possible school-going population of each homeland by 1970.

That higher primary schools (up to Standard VI) with hostel facilities be established at central places in the homelands, preferably at community centres where these already exist or are being developed.

That secondary and/or high schools with hostel facilities be established in each homeland at places as indicated above, as soon as the number of pupils justifies such a step.

That, in view of the fact that the existing facilities in the homelands are not up to standard, proper and effective educational facilities, which should compare with those provided in urban centres, should be the first to receive the serious attention of the authorities concerned.

That the further subsidization of mission schools should not be for the addition of new facilities but for the improvement of existing facilities.

That detailed planning in consultation with the co-ordinating committees proposed later be tackled immediately with a view to the proper distribution of schools in each homeland, the provision of adequate and suitable classroom accommodation, and the establishment of hostel facilities and housing for teachers for the purpose of centralizing higher primary and secondary education.

That, since the shortage of teachers must be regarded as the limiting factor which will inevitably delay the implementation of the planning proposed above, special attention be given to the creation of facilities for the training of teachers.⁶

There are to be, then, three distinct types of education for Africans in Namibia. But it would be erroneous to see those as existing apart from the thrust of the Namibian economy. The three differing sets of recommendations correspond to the skills, or lack of skills, required in the white economy, and to the concept of the Bantustans as a deliberately segregated under-capitalized sector of the Namibian economy.

The courses recommended by the Commission further emphasized the nature of the education and its purpose. They were:

(a) *A lower primary course* extending over four years from Substandard A to Standard II, with the emphasis on instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, and supplementary subjects such as religious instruction, instruction in the mother tongue, environmental studies, hygiene and physical training, singing and handicrafts, and a practical introduction to the use of English and Afrikaans.

(b) *A higher primary course* extending over four years from Standard III to Standard VI, which will follow on the lower primary course, will be aimed at the attainment of a higher level of education in preparation for secondary education and/or vocational training and, in addition to the subjects in the lower course, will also make provision for social studies (instead of environmental studies), nature study, and practical subjects such as homecrafts (for girls) and soil conservation (for boys). Instruction in the mother tongue, Afrikaans and English will be continued on an advanced basis.

(c) *A General Junior Certificate course* extending over three years (Forms I, II and III) with instruction in subjects such as, *inter alia*, the mother tongue, Afrikaans, English, social studies, general arithmetic, religious instruction, physical training, singing and music, and subjects chosen from: a science, agriculture, mathematics, woodwork, arts and crafts, homecrafts, etc.

(d) *A Commercial and Clerical Junior Certificate course* extending over three years (Forms I, II and III), basically the same as the General Junior Certificate course, but with subjects chosen from the following: book-keeping, commerce, typewriting, shorthand, commercial arithmetic and a science.

(e) *A Technical Junior Certificate course* extending over three years (Forms I, II and III), basically the same as the General Junior Certificate course, but with subjects chosen from the following: building construction, joinery, carpentry and cabinet-making, drawing and design, tailoring, wicker-work, leather-work, mechanics, etc.

(f) *A Senior Certificate course* extending over two years (Forms IV and V), which will follow the syllabuses of the Joint Matriculation Board or those of the Department of Education, Arts and Science of the Republic of South Africa, and therefore meet the requirements for admission to a university or other institution for post-school training.⁷

For Africans in rural white areas, therefore, where the majority of the projected schools were to be lower primary schools, education would be primarily reading, writing and arithmetic. The supplementary subjects for children who were destined to have only four years of schooling would consist of religious instruction, environmental studies, hygiene, physical training, singing and handicrafts, and a rudimentary knowledge of both official languages—English and Afrikaans. It is difficult to see how even one language could be taught properly as a ‘supplementary’ subject in the first four years of school. However, when both are taught as supplementary subjects, little more can be achieved than a functional knowledge of each language—the requirements for entering the unskilled farm labour force.

In the higher primary course, African students are to continue with the burden

of *three* languages—the mother tongue, Afrikaans and English—while provision is to be made for homecrafts for girls and soil conservation for boys. Since few African students will proceed to secondary education, most Africans will emerge from school with none of the skills needed for skilled employment, and with severe disadvantages even with regard to the use of a single language.

The General Junior Certificate, Commercial and Clerical Junior Certificate and Technical Junior Certificate courses, while being considered as secondary education, are heavily geared to producing semi-skilled labour, with subjects such as religious instruction, physical training, singing and music, and with other subjects being mainly those needed for lower-level labour: woodwork, leather-work, mechanics, joinery, carpentry, for example, being exactly the same type of labour that Africans were expected to do under formal and informal regulations of apartheid. Only the Senior Certificate course attempts anything like an academic education comparable to that given in white schools; and, as we have seen, the number of Africans proceeding to Forms IV and V is very small. The accent on religious instruction throughout the school cycle should be noted. This is partly the result of the number of Christian missions that were active in the early days of African education. But it served another purpose. Religious instruction in South African-occupied Namibia also has the function of ideological control. If, following Althusser, the ideological state apparatus ensures the reproduction of the social relations of production, in the case of Namibia this apparatus must be seen as including the use of religion, and explains its primacy throughout the years of schooling. But this is precisely its function during a colonial period—as apart from the post-colonial period—and is an indication of the nature of South African rule and of the provision, at least in 1962–63, for the future of Namibia.

The goal set by the Commission was for 60 per cent of the African school-going population to be at school by 1970. Thus 40 per cent of the children would not be at school at all and, as we have seen, the majority of those in school would receive only rudimentary education.

Let us now turn to the training of teachers. The proposed teacher-pupil ratio was 1 : 36; but of more importance to the Commission was how teachers were to be trained and by whom. The State was to take over teacher training from the missions. The reason given was that:

since the majority of the schools in Ovamboland are already community schools and since it is accepted policy that all schools should in due course be integrated in this manner with general community development, it is a perfectly natural development that the further training of teachers should be undertaken by the State, the idea being to transfer this function to the homeland authority as soon as it is equipped for the purpose.⁸

The take-over from the missions was therefore meant to accelerate ‘community development’, which (as we have seen elsewhere) is not only one of the important facets of re-tribalization, but also the way in which the burden of so-called development could be shifted on to the ‘homelands’.

The Commission recommended for the training of teachers that:

Teacher training be undertaken by the State and that diplomas obtained at non-government institutions shall be recognized only in cases where the syllabuses of government training schools are followed and candidates write the same examinations.

The Augustineum Training School be retained for the present as a government institution for the training of teachers for the Herero and Nama language groups.

A government training school be established as soon as practicable in Ovamboland in the vicinity of Okatana to serve the Ovambo and Okavango language groups and to replace the two existing mission training schools in Ovamboland in due course.

A special course for women teachers be instituted in Ovamboland, and that for the time being the admission requirement should be Standard IV.

The establishment of training schools in the other homelands be considered as soon as available numbers of candidates justify such a step.

Regular refresher courses be introduced for serving teachers.

Teachers be afforded every opportunity of improving their qualifications by private study or otherwise.⁹

Women teachers were to be deliberately trained for the lower primary classes, and the requirement for their admission to special teacher training for the lower grades was to be Standard IV. Women were therefore to be selected by the educational process for the lowest and the worst-paid rungs of the teaching ladder. In addition, the so-called expansion of African education at primary school level was to be accompanied by a lowering of teaching standards.

Vocational and technical education were also to be geared to the homeland policy. In spite of the rich mineral deposits in Namibia, in spite of the possibility of industrial development, technical education was to be mainly for the Bantustans. The Commission stated its case quite clearly:

. . . the Commission wishes to emphasize that technical training is a matter of great urgency particularly in Ovamboland with a view to the proposed development in the northern homelands. As the various population groups are to play an increasing part in the further development of the homelands and communities in the field of government and administration, educational matters, health, welfare services, commerce and industrial development and the general exploitation of national resources, more trained staff will obviously be required in all these fields.⁹

Let us now turn to the recommendations of the Commission, for these give an indication of the type of training and the type of development envisaged:

Technical training be continued at the Augustineum, notwithstanding the small numbers at present making use of such training, and also that provision be made for commercial subjects and, possibly, training in mechanics.

Training in agriculture and animal husbandry be provided in collaboration with the government departments concerned for: (a) the Herero-Damara complex; and (b) the Ovambo-Okavango complex.

A technical training centre be established in Ovamboland (possibly on the same site as the government training school) for formal technical training after Standard VI, initially concentrating on training in brick-laying, woodwork,

tailoring, wicker-work, leather-work, commercial subjects, mechanics, etc., with further provision for training as social workers, assistant stock and health inspectors and other courses for which the practical necessity may arise during the new phase of development.

In addition to formal technical training, short directed courses be arranged, particularly for adult employees, to increase their efficiency in the practical performance of their duties, for instance, courses in management and administration, commercial practice, mechanics, building, simple engineering, such as the construction and maintenance of ordinary roads, dams, etc.⁹

None of this is advanced technical training. It could, however, be argued that advanced level training in engineering, mining and so on would be provided at university level.

At no point in the Report is a university envisaged for Namibia. Instead, pupils were to continue to apply for bursaries and loans for study at institutions in South Africa. The specific recommendations were:

(a) The present arrangement be continued whereby bursaries and loans are made available for study in the Republic of South Africa.

(b) The bursaries and loans be used on a contractual basis for the benefit of the community concerned, and must allow for the cost of training at the particular institution attended.⁹

Subparagraph (b) provided for the return of the student to the homeland, since his bursary would be on a contractual basis. This automatically reduced the possibility of his entering high-level employment in white areas—even if the apartheid regulations had permitted him to do so.

Retarded and handicapped children were also to be provided for only in institutions in the Republic of South Africa—institutions that were already insufficient for the African population in the Republic. It was only in the future, if numbers in a particular homeland justified the setting up of a special school for handicapped children, that one was to be established. But none were foreseen on a national basis.

The recommendation of the Eiselen Commission was put into effect not only within the Republic of South Africa but also in Namibia. After 1960, missionary activities were discouraged, no new sites were granted for mission schools and the expansion of existing institutions was not allowed. The Government, instead, encouraged the development of community schools. There was a difference, however, in the pace of conversion between the Northern and the Southern sectors. By the time the Odendaal Report was published in 1963, 112 out of 215 schools in the Northern sector had been converted into community schools, whereas in the Southern sector only 22 out of the 101 schools were community schools.

Tables 35 to 40 give details of the distribution of schools, pupils and teachers for the homelands, the white rural areas and the towns in Namibia in 1962. More detailed information on the situation in the Southern sector may be gleaned from Tables 41 to 43.

By 1962 the policy of separate development centred on the Bantustans could

Table 35 *Native groups: number of schools, pupils and teachers, Northern sector, 1924-62*

Year	Government and community	Finnish	Roman Catholic	Anglican	Rhenish	N.G. Kerk	Total number of mission schools	Total number of schools	Total number of pupils	Average number of pupils per school	Total number of teachers	Average number of pupils per teacher
1924	—	168	—	—	—	—	168	168	4,689	27.90	304	15.42
1928	—	186	—	—	—	—	186	186	6,697	36.00	*	—
1932	—	179	—	—	—	—	179	179	9,378	52.39	293	32.00
1939	—	100	32	14	—	—	146	146	13,655	93.52	*	*
1945	—	87	12	14	—	—	113	113	13,815	122.25	321	43.03
1946	*	*	*	*	*	*	152	152	15,294	100.61	392	39.01
1950	—	*	*	*	*	*	151	151	16,026	106.13	441	36.34
1955	—	*	*	*	*	*	161	161	17,515	108.78	522	31.73
1960	—	*	*	*	*	*	161	161	26,134	162.32	633	41.11
1961	85	33	43	10	1	1	88	173	29,452	170.24	669	44.02
1962	112	*	*	*	*	*	103	215	32,248	149.99	808	39.91

* Figures not available.

Source: *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963*, op. cit., Table LXXVI, p. 227.

Table 36 *Native groups: number of schools, pupils and teachers, Southern sector, 1922-62*

Year	Government	Rhemish	Roman Catholic	Wesleyan	Anglican	A.M.E.	Total number of schools	Pupils at government schools	Pupils at mission schools	Total number of pupils	Average number of pupils per school	Total number of teachers	Average number of pupils per teacher
1922	—	26	16	1	—	—	43	—	2,430	2,430	56.51	47	51.70
1925	—	27	16	1	2	—	46	—	2,748	2,748	59.74	82	22.51
1930	—	45	18	2	2	—	67	—	4,747	4,747	70.85	149	31.85
1935	1	47	19	—	—	—	67	115	3,805	3,920	58.50	147	26.66
1940	2	50	24	1	1	—	78	240	4,216	4,456	57.12	191	23.33
1945	6	45	24	1	1	—	77	555	4,797	5,352	69.50	224	23.89
1950	6	45	26	1	1	—	79	553	6,080	6,633	86.49	259	25.61
1955	8	52	28	—	—	—	88	935	6,958	7,893	89.69	324	24.36
1960	13	56	26	—	—	1	96	2,191	9,476	11,667	121.53	441	26.45
1961	15	54	27	—	—	1	97	2,931	10,367	13,298	137.09	433	30.71
1962	22	51	27	—	—	1	101	4,065	10,775	14,840	146.93	466	31.84

Source: Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963, op. cit., Table LXXV, p. 227.

Table 37 *Basters and Coloureds: number of schools, pupils and teachers, 1935-62*

Year	Government	Rhenish	Wesleyan	Anglican	Roman Catholic	N.G. Kerk	A.M.E.	Undenominational	Total number of schools	Pupils at government schools	Pupils at mission schools	Total number of pupils	Average number of pupils per school	Total number of teachers	Average number of pupils per teacher
1935	1	4	4	2	1	—	—	—	12	8	792	800	66.66	27	29.63
1940	1	7	4	1	6	—	—	—	19	104	1,051	1,155	60.79	45	25.66
1945	1	6	6	1	6	—	—	1	21	130	1,272	1,402	66.76	53	26.45
1950	2	9	6	1	8	1	—	1	28	146	2,382	2,528	90.28	96	26.33
1955	3	14	6	1	9	2	—	1	36	280	2,960	3,240	90.00	142	22.81
1960	5	18	5	1	11	1	1	1	43	607	3,916	4,523	105.18	184	24.58
1961	5	18	5	1	13	1	1	1	45	741	4,304	5,045	112.11	200	25.22
1962	5	18	5	1	13	1	1	1	45	*	*	6,235	138.55	200	31.35

* Figures not available.

Source: *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963*, op. cit., Table LXXIV, p. 225.

Table 38 White groups: number of schools, pupils and teachers, 1920-62

Year	Government schools										Private schools				Total					
	Farm	Primary	Secondary	High	'Burgher'	Agricultural	Special	Total number of schools	Pupils	Teachers	Average number of pupils per teacher	Schools	Pupils	Teachers	Average number of pupils per teacher	Schools	Pupils	Teachers	Average number of pupils per teacher	Average number of pupils per school
1920	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	975	55	17.73	—	—	—	—	23	975	55	17.73	42.39
1925	19	23	2	1	—	—	—	45	2,703	126	21.45	20	747	50	14.94	65	3,450	176	19.60	53.08
1930	15	51	1	2	1	1	—	71	4,457	196	22.74	55	1,074	92	11.67	126	5,531	288	19.20	43.89
1935	2	55	2	2	1	1	—	63	4,669	181	25.80	59	876	89	9.84	122	5,545	270	20.54	45.45
1940	—	48	3	2	1	—	—	54	5,587	211	26.48	18	730	51	14.30	72	6,317	262	24.11	87.73
1945	—	47	4	2	—	—	—	53	6,111	244	25.04	15	730	50	14.59	68	6,841	290	23.59	100.00
1950	—	45	3	3	—	—	—	51	7,684	286	26.86	15	1,181	63	18.74	66	8,865	349	25.40	134.32
1955	—	45	4	5	—	—	1	55	10,595	395	26.82	16	1,493	74	20.18	71	12,088	469	25.77	170.25
1960	—	43	5	5	—	—	1	54	14,410	571	25.24	9	1,847	95	19.44	63	16,257	666	24.41	258.00
1962	—	51	5	12	—	1	1	70	17,442	746	23.38	*	*	*	*	70	17,442	746	23.38	249.17

* Figures not available.

Source: Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963, op. cit., Table LXXIII, p. 223.

Table 39

Educational services: Northern homelands, 1962

Homelands	Schools			Pupils		Teachers	
	Government and community	Mission	Total	Total	Average number of pupils per school	Total	Average number of pupils per teacher
Ovamboland	109	39	148	27,136	183.35	672	40.38
Okavango	—	46	46	3,444	74.87	91	37.84
Kaokoveld and Sesfontein	1	2	3	165	55.00	—	55.00
East Caprivi	2	16	18	1,503	83.50	42	35.78
TOTAL	112	103	215	32,248	149.95	805	39.91

Source: Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963, op. cit., p. 231.

Table 40

Educational services: Southern sector, 1962, Summary

Area	Schools				Pupils		Teachers	
	Government	Mission	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
Homelands	12	23	35	34.66	3,749	25.26	121	25.97
Rural areas	—	23	23	22.77	2,038	13.74	69	14.80
Towns	10	33	43	42.57	9,053	60.00	276	59.23
TOTAL	22	79	101	100.00	14,840	100.00	466	100.00

Source: Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963, op. cit., p. 231.

Table 41

Educational services: homelands, Southern sector, 1962

Homelands	Schools			Pupils		Teachers	
	Government and community	Mission	Total	Total	Average number of pupils per school	Total	Average number of pupils per teacher
Aminuis	1	1	2	554	277.00	14	19.79
Berseba	—	4	4	329	82.25	12	27.41
Bondels	—	3	3	90	30.00	3	30.00
Epukiro	2	—	2	114	57.00	4	28.50
Fransfontein	1	—	1	204	204.00	7	29.14
Krantzplatz	—	1	1	23	23.00	1	23.00
Okombahe	2	—	2	278	139.00	7	39.71
Otjijhorongo	2	—	2	145	72.50	5	29.00
Otjimbingwe	—	1	1	203	203.00	6	33.83
Otjituuo	2	—	2	105	52.50	6	17.50
Ovitoto	1	—	1	96	96.00	3	32.00
Rehoboth	—	7	7	751	107.28	28	30.40
Tses	—	4	4	295	73.75	11	26.81
Warmbad	—	2	2	206	103.00	6	34.33
Waterberg East	—	—	1	356	356.00	8	44.50
TOTAL	11	23	35	3,749	107.11	121	30.99

Source: Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963, op. cit., p. 229.

Table 42 *Educational services: rural areas, Southern sector, 1962*

District	Schools			Pupils		Teachers	
	Government and community	Mission	Total	Total	Average number of pupils per school	Total	Average number of pupils per teacher
Gibeon	—	6	6	335	55.84	11	30.45
Gobabis	—	1	1	127	127.00	5	25.40
Grootfontein	—	1	1	160	160.00	4	40.00
Keetmanshoop	—	2	2	67	33.50	4	16.75
Maltahöhe	—	1	1	52	52.00	1	52.00
Okahandja	—	1	1	44	44.00	1	44.00
Omaruru	—	1	1	217	217.00	6	36.16
Outjo	—	1	1	160	160.00	5	32.00
Rehoboth	—	3	3	135	45.00	6	22.50
Warmbad	—	5	5	472	94.50	17	27.76
Windhoek	—	1	1	269	269.00	9	29.87
TOTAL	—	23	23	2,038	88.60	69	29.53

Source: Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963, op. cit., p. 229.

Table 43 *Educational services: towns, Southern sector, 1962*

Town	Schools			Pupils		Teachers	
	Government and community	Mission	Total	Total	Average number of pupils per school	Total	Average number of pupils per teacher
Bethanie	—	1	1	162	162.00	6	27.00
Gobabis	—	3	3	360	120.00	12	30.00
Grootfontein	—	2	2	516	259.00	12	43.16
Karasburg	—	2	2	174	87.00	7	24.86
Karibib	2	1	3	781	260.33	22	35.50
Keetmanshoop	1	3	4	798	199.50	28	28.50
Lüderitz	—	3	3	349	116.33	11	31.54
Maltahöhe	—	1	1	73	73.00	3	24.33
Mariental	—	5	5	598	119.60	20	29.90
Okahandja	1	1	2	439	219.50	21	20.90
Omaruru	—	1	1	255	255.00	6	42.50
Otjiwarongo	—	3	3	935	311.66	25	37.40
Outjo	—	1	1	310	310.00	9	34.44
Swakopmund	1	1	2	275	137.50	7	39.28
Tsumeb	—	2	2	535	266.50	17	31.47
Walvis Bay	1	—	1	394	394.00	11	35.81
Windhoek	4	3	7	2,097	299.56	59	35.54
TOTAL	10	33	43	9,051	210.53	276	32.80

Source: Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963, op. cit., p. 229.

have been expected to have reduced the gap between rural areas and urban areas. Instead, we find the following geographical distribution of teachers and pupils:

Vicinity	Percentage of total	
	Pupils	Teachers
Homelands	25.26	25.97
Rural areas	13.74	14.80
Towns	60.00	59.23

The Odendaal Report calculated that if 23 per cent of the total population was taken as the possible school-going population, then the percentage of the potential African population at school was: homelands, 54.33 per cent; rural areas, 13.23 per cent;¹⁰ and towns, 77.37 per cent. The figure of 23 per cent of the total population is a low one; even so, children in white towns were more likely to be at school and children in the white farming area were most likely not to be at school at all.

The homelands, however, varied both as to the percentage of children at school and as to the degree of community control. The following are the percentages of children at school by homeland as cited in the Odendaal Report: Ovamboland, 49.33 per cent; Okavango, 49.91 per cent; Kaokoveld and Sesfontein, 6.87 per cent; and East Caprivi, 39.55 per cent.¹⁰

Table 44 gives information on school attendance in 1960 and 1962 for the Namibian population.

In Ovamboland 109 out of 148 schools were community schools, while in the Okavango in 1962 all the schools were still mission schools. The missions also differed as to how readily they relinquished control of their schools. The Rhenish and Finnish Missions gave up their schools; the Anglicans retained most of theirs, while the Catholics decided to retain control, if necessary on an unsubsidized basis.¹¹

Here again we must turn to South Africa. In 1957 grants were withdrawn from private schools for Africans. Private organizations were given the choice of relinquishing control of primary and secondary schools and of selling or letting the building to the Department or of retaining the schools as private, unaided institutions. Even in the latter case, however, they would have to accept departmental syllabuses and regulations regarding the appointment of teachers, the admission of students and the media of instruction. Responsibility was to be delegated from the central Government to Bantu authorities and local councils as far as control over primary schools was concerned; where no such authorities existed, school boards were to be created. Members of these school committees were to be subject to the approval of the Secretary for Bantu Education himself, and subsidies from the central Government could be withdrawn at a month's notice without any reason being given for this withdrawal.

Local control was thus, in fact, controlled by the central Government. In the case of Namibia, ultimate responsibility for and control over educational services for Africans were vested in the Administration of South West Africa,

Table 44 Educational services in relation to population groups, 1960 and 1962

Population group	Number in group	Percentage of total number in group	Possible school population ¹	Actual school population	Percentage of actual school population	Percentage of possible school population	Number of schools	Percentage of total number of schools	Number of teachers	Percentage of total number of teachers	Average number of pupils per school	Average number of pupils per teacher
<i>1960</i>												
Whites	73,464	13.97	16,896	16,257	27.06	96.22	63	17.36	666	34.62	258.05	24.41
Basters and Coloureds	23,965	4.56	5,512	4,523	7.53	82.05	43	11.84	184	9.56	105.19	24.58
Natives	428,575	81.47	98,572	39,304	65.41	39.87	257	70.80	1,074	55.82	152.93	36.59
TOTAL	526,004	100.00	120,980	60,084	100.00	49.66	363	100.00	1,924	100.00	165.52	31.22
<i>1962</i>												
Whites	76,000	13.79	17,500	17,442	24.65	99.66	70	16.24	746	33.60	249.17	23.38
Basters and Coloureds	30,000	5.44	6,900	6,235	8.81	90.36	45	10.44	200	9.00	138.55	31.35
Natives	445,000	80.77	102,000	47,088	66.54	46.16	316	73.32	1,274	57.40	149.01	36.96
TOTAL	551,000	100.00	126,400	70,765	100.00	55.98	431	100.00	2,220	100.00	164.32	31.87

1. Calculated at 23 per cent of the total population.

Source: Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963, op. cit., Table LXXXXXII, p. 245.

except in the case of Africans in East Caprivi, where control was exercised by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development of the Republic of South Africa.

The move from mission-controlled to community-controlled schools in Namibia brought that country into line with South African policies for Africans within the Republic.

By 1975 only 5.429 per cent of schools for Africans were run by missions; 93.170 per cent were Government- and community-controlled, and 1.226 per cent were farm and mine schools (see Table 45).

The question of compulsory education had been raised by the Commission of Enquiry into Non-European Education in South West Africa in 1958. The Commission recommended that:

(a) the Department of Education should not take the initiative to introduce compulsory education in native schools;

(b) it was enough to leave it to school councils to decide whether or not to introduce compulsory education, taking into account existing school facilities; and

(c) the co-operation of the school councils should be obtained in order to assure that children already registered at school went to school regularly.

In defending this policy before the Court of The Hague, the South African Government stated in its Counter-Memorial:

With regard to the Northern Territories outside the Police Zone, no one has ever seriously suggested that education could at any time in the past have been made compulsory. In reply to an enquiry by the Administration in 1961 as to whether compulsory education could possibly be introduced in the Northern Territories, the Finnish Mission replied: 'Not yet in the Okavango. Before the community reaches a certain stage of development it is not possible or advisable.' Regarding the position in Ovamboland, the Finnish Mission said: 'Compulsory education is not yet practicable because the support of a majority of the population is necessary for such a step. As for the future, and with a view to its possible eventual introduction, an experiment could perhaps be made in respect of certain school board districts to test the practicability thereof.' (Translated from Afrikaans.)

In the Police Zone, too, circumstances have in the past never been such that any system of compulsory education could successfully have been introduced. There is, to this day, a large body of parents who do not send their children to school, even when schools are available nearby, for no other reason than that they do not want to do so and see no good in schools. Likewise there are many who allow their children to go to school, but take them out again as often as they need their services at home, or as soon as they consider them old enough to go out to work. It may be suggested that this is the very reason why education should be made compulsory, but experience has taught the Administration that the native groups in the Territory are generally of a conservative nature, and that they resent being forced into anything they do not know. In the light of its experience, the Administration has no doubt that any system of compulsory education, unless it can be introduced with the consent of the native group concerned and with full appreciation on its

Table 45 Africans: number and percentage of schools according to control, 1962 and 1975

Area	1962					1975											
	Government and community	Percentage	Mission	Percentage	Total	Government	Community	Percentage	Farm	Percentage	Mine	Percentage	Special schools	Percentage	Mission	Percentage	Total
Ovamboland	109	73.649	39	26.35	148	5	281	97.611	—	—	—	—	1	0.341	6	2.048	293
Okavango	—	—	46	100	46	2	141	98.621	—	—	2	1.379	—	—	—	—	145
East Caprivi	2	11.111	16	88.889	18	1	33	75.556	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	24.444	45
Remainder of Namibia	23	22.115	81	77.885	104	7	62	78.409	5	5.682	—	—	—	—	14	15.909	88
TOTAL	134	42.405	182	57.595	316	15	517	93.170	5	0.876	2	0.350	1	0.175	31	5.429	571

Source: (1962) *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963*, op. cit., Tables LXXX and LXXXI, p. 231; (1972) *Bantu Education Journal*, Vol. XXII, No. 12, March 1976, p. 20.

part of what it will entail, will inevitably lead to dissatisfaction and probably also destroy much of the good work that has been done in the past.

Requests for compulsory education have occasionally in the past been received from native parents. But almost invariably it appeared that the parents concerned failed to appreciate that compulsory education would place on themselves the burden of seeing to it that their children attended school regularly, and that their failure in that regard would make them subject to penalties at law. As an illustration may be cited a request for compulsory education which was put to the Chief Inspector of Schools and the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner at a Herero tribal meeting in the Waterberg Reserve during October 1960. The natives present were taken aback at the idea that compulsory education entailed the punishment of parents who failed to send their children to school without lawful excuse. The Chief Inspector then suggested that the Reserve Board indicate centres in the Waterberg East area where a number of small schools could be built which would be within easy reach of all children in the area, and that by way of experiment a system then be introduced whereunder parents who failed to send their children to school regularly would be fined by the Board. The Reserve Board was asked to consider the suggestions made and to inform the authorities of their decision. No reply has as yet been received.¹²

However, the Counter-Memorial went on, the Administration further indicated that one of the reasons for not making education for Africans obligatory was the lack of sufficient teachers. In fact, the more serious obstacle was finance, whether for training teachers, for expanding schools or for establishing the economic and social infrastructure that would ensure that African children did not drop out of schools before the end of the primary course.

In 1962-63 the Administration was spending R8.17 on each African pupil in the Northern sector.¹³ This was certainly an increase over the R1.28 spent in 1947-48; but at the same time (1962) R12.11 was being spent on every African pupil in South Africa.¹⁴ The comparative figure for white pupils in the Republic (R146.65) shows to what extent this was a serious block to the expansion of African education.¹⁵ In the case of the Police Zone, however, the sum being given by the Republic differed considerably: in 1962-63 it was R27.45 per pupil. The amount per head of the population was given as R0.93.¹⁶

When comparisons are made with whites in Namibia, the expenditure on white education was R2,675,557 for the year 1965-66, compared with R1,333,879 on African education for the year 1966-67 and R680,000 on Coloured education for the year 1966.

Table 46 shows government expenditure on education in South West Africa from 1951/52 to 1963/64. Expenditure on education as a percentage of the total vote for services decreased from 20.201 per cent in 1951/52 to 13.999 per cent in 1963/64, although the actual sum of money rose from R5,950,110 to R33,457,111. Allowance must be made here, however, for inflation over the period and the change in the relative purchasing power of the Rand. Estimates of the expenditure on Bantu education to be defrayed

Table 46

*Education appropriation as part of the total vote for services, South West Africa, 1951/52-1961/62
(in Rand)*

Financial year	Total vote	Education appropriation	Education appropriation as percentage of total vote
1951/52	5,950,110	1,202,000	20.201
1952/53	8,055,200	1,594,920	19.800
1953/54	9,131,640	1,844,140	20.195
1954/55	8,166,590	2,060,020	25.225
1955/56	9,204,450	2,193,620	23.832
1956/57	10,317,200	2,426,480	23.519
1957/58	11,822,522	2,652,620	22.437
1958/59	12,390,220	2,752,640	22.216
1959/60	14,355,180	2,974,060	20.718
1960/61	16,159,420	3,414,160	21.128
1961/62	18,666,000	3,783,000	20.267
1962/63	29,395,800	4,185,150	14.237
1963/64	33,457,511	4,683,880	13.999

Source: Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963, op. cit., Table LXXXIX, p. 243.

Table 47

*Estimates of expenditure to be defrayed from the South West Africa Account, 1970/71 and 1976/77
(in Rand)*

Item of expenditure	1970/71		1976/77		Percentage increase 1976/77 over 1970/71
	Amount	Percentage of total expenditure	Amount	Percentage of total expenditure	
<i>Total estimated expenditure, of which:</i>					
Bantu education	98,103,900	100.00	192,425,000	100.00	96.144
Bantu administration and development	2,560,000	2.609	3,730,000	1.938	45.703
Coloured Rehoboth and Nama affairs	13,133,000	13.387	51,446,000	26.736	291.731
Radio services (contribution to the running of the expenses of the FM broadcasting service for the natives of South West Africa)	5,223,000	5.324	14,107,000	7.331	170.094
Mines	90,000	0.092	256,000	0.133	184.444
Water affairs	315,000	0.321	666,000	0.346	111.429
Justice	13,000,000	13.251	30,000,000	15.590	130.770
Prisons	653,900	0.667	1,068,000	0.555	63.328
	545,000	0.556	1,040,000	0.540	90.826

Source: Republic of South Africa, *Estimate of the Expenditure to be Defrayed from the South West Africa Account during the Year Ending 31 March 1971 (R.P. 5 and 7, 1970, Second and Final Print)*, presented to both Houses of Parliament, Pretoria, Cape and Transvaal Printers Ltd, 1970; idem, *Estimate of the Expenditure to be Defrayed from the South West Africa Account during the Year Ending 31 March 1977 (R.P. 3 and 5, 1976, Second and Final Print)*, Pretoria, Cape and Transvaal Printers Ltd, 1976.

from the South West Africa Account for the financial years 1970/71 and 1976/77 are given in Table 47. This represented only 1.938 and 2.609 per cent of the total estimated expenditure from the South West Africa Account for the two financial years in question.

Only 0.5 per cent of the school-going African population reached Standard X, with all of these being concentrated in the towns. At the same time, 16.63 per cent of the white school-going population were at government schools. Tables 48 to 69 present various statistics on education in Namibia for selected years in the 1960s and 1970s.

Table 48 Pupils in successive standards, Northern homelands, 1962

Standard or substandard	Ovamboland	Okavango	Kaokoveld, Sesfontein	East Caprivi	Total	Percentage ¹
A	13,627	1,959	128	601	16,315	100.0
B	5,721	598	21	337	6,677	40.9
I	3,843	403	12	234	4,493	27.7
II	2,113	263	3	139	2,518	15.4
III	1,020	143	—	85	1,248	7.6
IV	414	42	—	70	526	3.2
V	214	36	—	34	284	1.7
VI	119	—	—	3	122	0.7
VII	46	—	—	—	46	0.2
VIII	19	—	—	—	19	0.1
IX	—	—	—	—	—	—
X	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	27,136	3,444	164	1,503	32,248	—

1. Calculated as a percentage of the number of pupils in Substandard A.

Source: *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963*, op. cit., p. 239.

Table 49 Distribution of pupils in standards, Northern homelands, 1962

Standard or substandard	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment
A	16,315	50.592
B	6,677	20.705
I	4,493	13.933
II	2,518	7.808
III	1,248	3.870
IV	526	1.631
V	284	0.881
VI	122	0.378
VII	46	0.143
VIII	19	0.059
IX	—	—
X	—	—
TOTAL	32,248	100.059 ¹

1. Discrepancy in percentage owing to rounding.

Source: *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963*, op. cit., Table LXXXVI, p. 239.

Table 50 Pupils in successive standards, Southern sector, 1962

Standard or substandard	Homelands	Rural areas	Towns	Total	Percentage ¹
A	1,564	750	3,687	6,001	100.00
B	845	362	2,158	3,365	56.07
I	501	250	1,191	1,942	32.36
II	340	232	803	1,375	22.92
III	214	145	532	891	14.85
IV	132	102	364	598	9.97
V	88	75	183	346	5.77
VI	61	47	100	208	3.47
VII	—	21	37	58	0.97
VIII	—	5	12	17	0.29
IX	—	—	4	4	0.07
X	—	—	3	3	0.05
TOTAL	3,745	1,989	9,074	14,808	—

1. Calculated as a percentage of the number of pupils in Substandard A.

Source: *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963*, op. cit., p. 239.

Table 51 Distribution of pupils in standards, Southern sector, 1962

Standard or substandard	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment
A	6,001	40.525
B	3,365	22.724
I	1,942	13.317
II	1,375	9.285
III	891	6.017
IV	598	4.038
V	346	2.337
VI	208	1.405
VII	58	0.392
VIII	17	0.115
IX	4	0.027
X	3	0.020
TOTAL	14,808	100.202 ¹

1. Discrepancy in percentage owing to rounding.

Source: *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963*, op. cit., Table LXXXV, p. 239.

Table 52 Africans: enrolment per standard, 1962

Standard or substandard	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment
A	22,347	47.458
B	10,042	21.326
I	6,435	13.666
II	3,897	8.276
III	2,139	4.543
IV	1,124	2.387
V	630	1.338
VI	330	0.701
VII	104	0.221
VIII	36	0.076
IX	4	0.08
X	3	0.06
TOTAL	47,091	100.012 ¹

1. Discrepancy in percentage owing to rounding.

Source: Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963, op. cit., Table LXXXVI, p. 255.

Table 53 Basters and Coloureds: pupils in successive standards, 1962

Standard or substandard	Number of pupils	Percentage ¹
A	1,471	100.0
B	973	66.1
I	943	64.1
II	789	53.6
III	725	49.3
IV	516	35.1
V	394	26.8
VI	243	16.5
VII	75	5.1
VIII	66	4.5
IX	28	1.9
X	12	0.8
TOTAL	6,235	—

1. Calculated as a percentage of the number of pupils in Substandard A.

Source: Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963, op. cit., Table LXXXIV, p. 237.

Table 54 *Basters and Coloureds: distribution of pupils in standards, 1962*

Standard or substandard	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment
A	1,471	23.593
B	973	15.605
I	943	15.124
II	789	12.654
III	725	11.628
IV	516	8.276
V	394	6.319
VI	243	3.897
VII	75	1.203
VIII	66	1.059
IX	28	0.449
X	12	0.192
TOTAL	6,235	99.999 ¹

1. Discrepancy in percentage owing to rounding.

Source: *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963*, op. cit., Table LXXXIV, p. 237.

Table 55 *Whites: pupils in successive standards, 1962*

Standard or substandard	Number of pupils	Percentage ¹
A	1,960	100.0
B	1,928	98.4
I	1,970	100.5
II	1,913	97.6
III	1,709	87.2
IV	1,706	86.0
V	1,651	84.2
VI	1,425	72.7
VII	1,218	62.1
VIII	924	47.1
IX	527	26.9
X	326	16.63
TOTAL	17,257	—

1. Calculated as a percentage of the number of pupils in Substandard A.

Source: *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963*, op. cit., p. 233.

Table 56 Coloureds, Rehoboth Basters, Namas: distribution of pupils in standards, December 1971 and December 1974

Standard or substandard	Coloureds				Rehoboth Basters				Namas			
	1971		1974		1971		1974		1971		1974	
	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment
A	1,420	18.766	1,567	17.184	691	14.171	892	15.646	1,438	21.517	1,664	21.098
B	1,148	15.171	1,334	14.629	759	15.566	785	13.770	1,168	17.477	1,441	18.271
I	1,093	14.444	1,226	13.444	656	13.454	747	13.103	1,102	16.490	1,264	16.026
II	960	12.687	1,107	12.139	587	12.039	622	10.910	881	13.183	883	11.196
III	808	10.678	999	10.955	548	11.239	687	12.051	670	10.025	839	10.638
IV	772	10.262	899	9.859	436	8.942	566	9.928	558	8.350	611	7.747
V	600	7.929	730	8.005	397	8.142	458	8.034	389	5.821	518	6.568
VI	502	6.634	562	6.163	304	6.235	356	6.245	343	5.132	381	4.831
VII	199	2.630	348	3.816	221	4.532	242	4.245	102	1.526	150	1.902
VIII	65	0.859	231	2.533	138	2.830	192	3.368	32	0.479	74	0.938
IX	—	0.000	80	0.877	89	1.825	115	2.017	—	0.000	32	0.406
X	—	0.000	36	0.395	50	1.025	39	0.684	—	0.000	30	0.380
TOTAL	7,567	100.000	9,119	99.999 ¹	4,876	100.000	5,701	100.001 ¹	6,683	100.000	7,887	100.001 ¹

1. Discrepancy in percentage owing to rounding.

Source: Republic of South Africa, Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs, *Annual Report for the Period of 1 April 1972 to 31 March 1973* (Pretoria, 1974); Republic of South Africa, Department of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations, *Annual Report for the Period 1 April 1974 to 31 March 1975* (Pretoria, 1975).

Table 57 *Whites: distribution of pupils in standards, 1962*

Standard or substandard	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment
A	1,960	11.358
B	1,928	11.172
I	1,970	11.416
II	1,913	11.085
III	1,709	9.903
IV	1,706	9.886
V	1,651	9.567
VI	1,425	8.258
VII	1,218	7.058
VIII	924	5.354
IX	527	3.054
X	326	1.889
TOTAL	17,257	100.000

Source: *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963*, op. cit., Table LXXXII, p. 233.

Table 58 *Whites: distribution of pupils in standards, government schools, 1974¹*

Standard or substandard	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment
A	1,987	10.022
B	1,939	9.780
I	1,889	9.528
II	1,869	9.427
III	1,922	9.694
IV	1,782	8.988
V	1,760	8.877
VI	1,699	8.570
VII	1,697	8.559
VIII	1,373	6.925
IX	1,121	5.654
X	788	3.975
TOTAL	19,826	99.999 ²

1. The 2,598 white pupils attending private schools and opportunity classes are not included.

2. Discrepancy in percentage owing to rounding.

Source: South West Africa Administration, *White Paper on the Activities of the Different Branches for 1974*, p. 48.

Table 59

African enrolments by standard, showing percentage of total enrolment for each standard, 1971

Standard, substandard or form	Ovambo		Okavango		Caprivi		Rest of Namibia	
	Number of pupils	Percentage	Number of pupils	Percentage	Number of pupils	Percentage	Number of pupils	Percentage
<i>Lower primary</i>								
A	19,615	32.445	4,855	42.081	1,127	20.509	4,506	20.843
B	11,474	18.979	2,146	18.601	1,058	19.253	3,603	16.666
I	9,032	14.939	1,568	13.591	885	16.105	3,257	15.066
II	6,874	11.370	1,071	9.283	712	12.957	2,627	12.151
SUBTOTAL	46,995	77.734	9,640	83.557	3,782	68.826	13,993	64.728
<i>Higher primary</i>								
III	5,293	8.755	741	6.422	517	9.408	2,512	11.619
IV	3,288	5.438	456	3.952	380	6.915	1,664	7.697
V	2,106	3.483	307	2.661	266	4.840	1,342	6.207
VI	2,093	3.462	190	1.646	375	6.824	1,056	4.884
SUBTOTAL	12,780	21.139	1,694	14.683	1,538	27.989	6,574	30.409
TOTAL PRIMARY	59,775	98.873	11,334	98.240	5,320	96.815	20,567	95.138
<i>Junior secondary</i>								
I	364	0.602	97	0.840	95	1.728	382	1.767
II	193	0.319	47	0.407	47	0.855	367	1.697
III	87	0.143	46	0.398	24	0.436	211	0.976
SUBTOTAL	644	1.065	190	1.646	166	3.020	960	4.440
<i>Senior secondary</i>								
IV	23	0.038	13	0.112	5	0.090	65	0.300
V	14	0.023	—	—	4	0.072	26	0.120
SUBTOTAL	37	0.061	13	0.112	9	0.163	91	0.420
TOTAL SECONDARY	681	1.126	203	1.759	175	3.184	1,051	4.861
TOTAL PRIMARY AND SECONDARY	60,456		11,537		5,495		21,618	

Source: *Bantu Education Journal*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, April 1972. Percentages calculated by the author.

Table 60 African enrolments by standard, showing percentage of total enrolment for each standard, 1972

Standard, substandard or form	Ovambo		Okavango		Caprivi		Rest of Namibia	
	Number of pupils	Percentage	Number of pupils	Percentage	Number of pupils	Percentage	Number of pupils	Percentage
<i>Lower primary</i>								
A	21,385	33.376	5,322	41.204	1,407	22.774	4,246	19.035
B	12,079	18.852	2,416	18.705	1,080	17.481	3,938	17.654
I	9,793	15.284	1,694	13.115	959	15.522	3,479	15.596
II	7,169	11.188	1,220	9.445	755	12.220	2,876	12.893
SUBTOTAL	50,426	78.702	10,652	82.471	4,201	67.999	14,539	65.179
<i>Higher primary</i>								
III	5,046	7.875	857	6.635	600	9.711	2,502	11.216
IV	3,671	5.729	582	4.506	428	6.927	1,855	8.316
V	2,333	3.641	338	2.616	392	6.345	1,409	6.316
VI	1,970	3.074	245	1.896	422	6.830	1,085	4.864
SUBTOTAL	13,020	20.320	2,022	15.655	1,842	29.815	6,851	30.713
TOTAL PRIMARY	63,446	99.022	12,674	98.126	6,043	97.814	21,390	95.893
<i>Junior secondary</i>								
I	268	0.418	121	0.936	57	0.922	358	1.604
II	213	0.332	64	0.495	41	0.663	257	1.152
III	118	0.184	41	0.317	25	0.404	194	0.869
SUBTOTAL	599	0.934	226	1.749	123	1.990	809	3.626
<i>Senior secondary</i>								
Form IV	19	0.029	10	0.077	9	0.145	72	0.322
Form V	8	0.012	6	0.046	3	0.048	34	0.152
SUBTOTAL	27	0.042	16	0.123	12	0.194	106	0.475
TOTAL SECONDARY	626	0.977	242	1.873	135	2.185	916	4.106
TOTAL PRIMARY AND SECONDARY	64,072		12,916		6,178		22,306	

Source: Bantu Education Journal, Vol. XIX, No. 3, April 1973. Percentages calculated by the author.

Table 61

African enrolments by standard, showing percentage of total enrolment for each standard, 1973

Standard, substandard or form	Ovambo		Okavango		Caprivi		Rest of Namibia	
	Number of pupils	Percentage	Number of pupils	Percentage	Number of pupils	Percentage	Number of pupils	Percentage
<i>Lower primary</i>								
A	23,865	34.132	6,292	43.267	1,557	22.179	5,312	22.126
B	12,772	18.266	2,640	18.154	1,312	18.689	4,086	17.020
I	9,851	14.089	1,847	12.701	1,069	15.227	3,879	16.157
II	7,375	10.547	1,221	8.396	829	11.809	3,073	12.800
SUBTOTAL	53,863	77.036	12,000	82.519	4,767	67.905	16,350	68.105
<i>Higher primary</i>								
III	5,976	8.547	940	6.464	679	9.672	2,513	10.467
IV	3,847	5.502	612	4.208	481	6.851	1,776	7.397
V	2,973	4.252	464	3.190	397	5.655	1,336	5.565
VI	2,430	3.475	271	1.863	488	6.951	1,071	4.461
SUBTOTAL	15,226	21.776	2,287	15.726	2,045	29.131	6,696	27.891
TOTAL PRIMARY	69,089	98.812	14,287	98.246	6,812	97.037	23,046	95.997
<i>Junior secondary</i>								
I	382	0.546	154	1.059	118	1.680	405	1.687
II	245	0.350	61	0.419	45	0.641	243	1.012
III	149	0.213	30	0.206	31	0.441	179	0.745
SUBTOTAL	776	1.109	245	1.684	194	2.763	827	3.444
<i>Senior secondary</i>								
IV	40	0.957	6	0.041	5	0.071	81	0.337
V	14	0.020	4	0.027	9	0.128	53	0.220
SUBTOTAL	54	0.077	10	0.068	14	0.199	134	0.558
TOTAL SECONDARY	830	1.187	255	1.753	208	2.962	961	4.002
TOTAL PRIMARY AND SECONDARY	69,919		14,542		7,020		24,007	

Source: Bantu Education Journal, Vol. XX, No. 3, April 1974. Percentages calculated by the author.

Table 62 African enrolments by standard, showing percentage of total enrolment for each standard, 1974

Standard, substandard or form	Ovambo		Okavango		Caprivi		Rest of Namibia	
	Number of pupils	Percentage	Number of pupils	Percentage	Number of pupils	Percentage	Number of pupils	Percentage
<i>Lower primary</i>								
A	25,688	34.011	6,844	42.322	1,404	18.757	5,226	20.188
B	13,896	18.398	3,253	20.116	1,363	18.209	4,587	17.720
I	10,533	13.945	1,990	12.305	1,230	16.432	3,862	14.919
II	7,509	9.942	1,332	8.236	865	11.556	3,424	13.227
SUBTOTAL	57,626	76.297	13,419	82.981	4,862	64.956	17,099	66.055
<i>Higher primary</i>								
III	6,226	8.243	952	5.887	739	9.873	2,743	10.596
IV	4,534	6.003	664	4.106	581	7.762	2,151	8.309
V	3,039	4.023	504	3.116	489	6.533	1,665	6.432
VI	3,061	4.052	351	2.170	508	6.786	1,225	4.732
SUBTOTAL	16,860	22.322	2,471	15.280	2,317	30.955	7,784	30.070
TOTAL PRIMARY	74,486	98.620	15,890	98.262	7,179	95.911	24,883	96.125
<i>Junior secondary</i>								
I	478	0.632	161	0.995	166	2.217	500	1.931
II	306	0.405	75	0.463	82	1.095	270	1.043
III	197	0.260	32	0.197	32	0.427	128	0.494
SUBTOTAL	981	1.298	268	1.657	280	3.740	898	3.469
<i>Senior secondary</i>								
IV	29	0.038	11	0.068	21	0.280	64	0.247
V	32	0.042	2	0.012	5	0.066	41	0.158
SUBTOTAL	61	0.080	13	0.080	26	0.347	105	0.405
TOTAL SECONDARY	1,042	1.379	281	1.737	306	4.088	1,003	3.874
TOTAL PRIMARY AND SECONDARY	75,528		16,171		7,485			

Source: Bantu Education Journal, Vol. XXI, No. 4, May 1975. Percentages calculated by the author.

Table 63 *Drop-outs in primary classes of African schools, 1971-74: summary¹*

Standard or substandard	Year	Total enrolment	Number of drop-outs	Percentage
<i>Lower primary</i>				
A	1971	30,103		
B	1972	19,513	10,590	35.179
I	1973	16,646	2,867	14.693
II	1974	13,130	3,516	21.122
<i>Higher primary</i>				
III	1971	9,063		
IV	1972	6,536	2,527	27.883
V	1973	5,170	1,366	20.900
VI	1974	5,145	25	0.483

1. These figures do not include those pupils repeating classes.
Source: Bantu Education Journal, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, April 1972; Vol. XIX, No. 3, April 1973; Vol. XX, No. 3, April 1974; Vol. XXI, No. 4, May 1975. Percentages calculated by the author.

Table 64 *Drop-outs in secondary classes of African schools, 1971-75: summary¹*

Form	Year	Total enrolment	Number of drop-outs	Percentage
I	1971	938		
II	1972	575	363	38.699
III	1973	389	186	32.348
IV	1974	125	264	67.866
V	1975	71	54	43.200

1. These figures do not include those pupils repeating classes.
Source: Bantu Education Journal, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, April 1972; Vol. XIX, No. 3, April 1973; Vol. XX, No. 3, April 1974; Vol. XXI, No. 4, May 1975; Vol. XXII, No. 6, August 1976. Percentages calculated by the author.

Table 65 *Drop-out in primary classes of African schools, 1971-74¹*

Standard or substandard	Year	Ovambo			Okavango			Caprivi			Rest of Namibia		
		Enrolment	Number of drop-outs	Percentage	Enrolment	Number of drop-outs	Percentage	Enrolment	Number of drop-outs	Percentage	Enrolment	Number of drop-outs	Percentage
<i>Lower primary</i>													
A	1971	19,615			4,855			1,127			4,506		
B	1972	12,079	7,536	38.420	2,416	2,439	50.237	1,080	47	4.170	3,938	568	12.605
I	1973	9,851	2,228	18.445	1,847	569	23.551	1,069	11	1.019	3,879	59	1.498
II	1974	7,509	2,342	23.774	1,332	515	27.883	865	204	19.083	3,424	455	11.730
<i>Higher primary</i>													
III	1971	5,293			741			517			2,512		
IV	1972	3,671	1,622	30.644	582	159	21.457	428	89	17.215	1,855	657	26.154
V	1973	2,973	698	19.014	464	118	20.275	397	31	7.243	1,336	519	27.978
VI	1974	3,061	—	—	351	113	24.353	508	—	—	1,225	111	8.308

1. These figures do not include those pupils repeating classes.

Source: *Bantu Education Journal*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, April 1972; Vol. XIX, No. 3, April 1973; Vol. XX, No. 3, April 1974; Vol. XXI, No. 4, May 1975. Percentages calculated by the author.

Table 66 *Drop-out in secondary classes of African schools, 1971-75¹*

Form	Year	Ovambo			Okavango			Caprivi			Rest of Namibia		
		Enrolment	Number of drop-outs	Percentage	Enrolment	Number of drop-outs	Percentage	Enrolment	Number of drop-outs	Percentage	Enrolment	Number of drop-outs	Percentage
I	1971	364			97			95			382		
II	1972	213	51	14.011	64	33	34.021	41	54	56.842	257	125	32.723
III	1973	149	64	30.047	30	34	53.125	31	10	24.390	179	78	30.350
IV	1974	29	120	80.537	11	19	63.333	21	10	32.258	64	115	64.246
V	1975	10	19	65.517	4	7	63.636	10	11	52.381	47	17	26.563

1. These figures do not include those pupils repeating classes.

Source: *Bantu Education Journal*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, April 1972; Vol. XIX, No. 3, April 1973; Vol. XX, No. 3, April 1974; Vol. XXI, No. 4, May 1975; Vol. XXII, No. 6, August 1976. Percentages calculated by the author.

Table 67 Comparative totals and percentages of the total enrolment of Africans by standard as between Namibia and the Republic of South Africa, 1972

Standard, substandard or form	Namibia		Republic of South Africa	
	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment
<i>Lower primary</i>				
A	32,360	30.681	687,990	22.340
B	19,513	18.500	536,818	17.431
I	15,925	15.098	475,848	15.452
II	12,020	11.396	359,339	11.668
SUBTOTAL	79,818	75.676	2,059,995	66.893
<i>Higher primary</i>				
III	9,005	8.537	301,232	9.781
IV	6,536	6.196	222,913	7.238
V	4,472	4.239	176,109	5.718
VI	3,722	3.528	161,472	5.243
SUBTOTAL	23,735	22.503	861,726	27.982
TOTAL PRIMARY	103,553	98.180	2,921,721	94.876
<i>Junior secondary</i>				
I	805	0.763	63,733	2.069
II	575	0.545	47,256	1.534
III	378	0.358	32,074	1.041
SUBTOTAL	1,758	1.666	143,063	4.645
<i>Senior secondary</i>				
IV	110	0.104	9,909	0.321
V	51	0.048	4,814	0.156
SUBTOTAL	161	0.152	14,723	0.478
TOTAL SECONDARY	1,919	1.819	157,786	5.123
TOTAL PRIMARY AND SECONDARY	105,472		3,079,507	

Source: *Bantu Education Journal*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, April 1973. Percentages calculated by the author.

Table 68 *Comparative totals and percentages of the total enrolment of Africans by standard as between Namibia and the Republic of South Africa, 1973*

Standard, substandard or form	Namibia		Republic of South Africa	
	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment
<i>Lower primary</i>				
A	37,026	32.060	728,772	22.174
B	20,810	18.019	551,095	16.768
I	16,646	14.413	503,396	15.317
II	12,498	10.821	383,026	11.654
SUBTOTAL	86,980	75.315	2,166,289	65.914
<i>Higher primary</i>				
III	10,108	8.752	320,606	9.755
IV	6,716	5.815	242,500	7.378
V	5,170	4.476	194,585	5.920
VI	4,260	3.688	181,455	5.521
SUBTOTAL	26,254	22.733	939,146	28.575
TOTAL PRIMARY	113,234	98.048	3,105,435	94.490
<i>Junior secondary</i>				
I	1,059	0.916	70,711	2.151
II	594	0.514	56,098	1.706
III	389	0.336	37,175	1.131
SUBTOTAL	2,042	1.766	163,984	4.988
<i>Senior secondary</i>				
IV	132	0.114	11,344	0.345
V	80	0.069	5,736	0.174
SUBTOTAL	212	0.183	17,080	0.519
TOTAL SECONDARY	2,254	1.949	181,064	5.507
TOTAL PRIMARY AND SECONDARY	115,488		3,286,499	

Source: *Bantu Education Journal*, Vol. XX, No. 3, April 1974. Percentages calculated by the author.

Table 69 Comparative totals and percentages of the total enrolment of Africans by standard as between Namibia and the Republic of South Africa, 1974

Standard, substandard or form	Namibia		Republic of South Africa	
	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment	Number of pupils	Percentage of total enrolment
<i>Lower primary</i>				
A	39,162	31.312	760,835	22.271
B	23,099	18.468	577,273	16.898
I	17,615	14.084	519,547	15.208
II	13,130	10.498	404,711	11.847
SUBTOTAL	93,006	74.363	2,262,366	66.225
<i>Higher primary</i>				
III	10,660	8.523	343,301	10.049
IV	7,930	6.340	259,944	7.609
V	5,697	4.555	210,704	6.167
VI	5,145	4.113	200,427	5.867
SUBTOTAL	29,432	23.532	1,014,376	29.693
TOTAL PRIMARY	122,438	97.895	3,276,742	95.919
<i>Junior secondary</i>				
I	1,305	1.043	82,351	2.410
II	733	0.586	63,442	1.857
III	389	0.311	42,588	1.246
SUBTOTAL	2,427	1.940	188,381	5.514
<i>Senior secondary</i>				
IV	125	0.099	10,401	0.304
V	80	0.063	4,691	0.137
SUBTOTAL	205	0.163	15,092	0.441
TOTAL SECONDARY	2,632	2.104	203,473	4.080
TOTAL PRIMARY AND SECONDARY	125,070		3,480,215	

Source: *Bantu Education Journal*, Vol. XXI, No. 4, May 1975. Percentages calculated by the author.

Technical training

One of the important aspects of any modern educational programme is the availability of technological education. One would expect that in Namibia, with its mineral resources and its capacity for industrialization, both higher-level and middle-level cadres would be trained to enter industrial employment above the semi-skilled level.

Table 70 gives the statistics for post-primary technical training in Namibia between 1971 and 1975. A breakdown according to grade of the 297 pupils enrolled in 1974 shows 198 boys in the first year of trade training, 92 in the second year, and one in the third year, while only six girls enrolled at all.

Table 70 *Enrolment for post-primary technical training in Namibia, 1971-75*

Type of technical training	Ovambo	Okavango	Caprivi	Rest of Namibia
<i>1971</i>				
Technical secondary	—	—	—	—
Trade and vocational training ¹	61	29	—	183
<i>1972</i>				
Technical secondary	—	—	—	—
Trade and vocational training ¹	67	19	33	170
<i>1973</i>				
Technical secondary	—	—	—	—
Technical training	—	—	—	—
Trade and vocational training ¹	103	—	51	200
<i>1974</i>				
Technical training	—	—	—	—
Trade and vocational training ¹	91	6	43	157
<i>1975</i>				
Advanced technical training	106	6	53	189
Trade and vocational training	—	—	—	—

1. Vocational training for boys included: painting and glazing; brickmaking; general mechanics; motor-body repairman's course; leatherwork and upholstery; motor mechanics; tailoring; concreting, brick-laying and plastering; carpentry, joinery and cabinet-making; plumbing, drain-laying and sheet-metal work; electrician's and wireman's course. Vocational training for girls included: home management; dressmaking; assistants in pre-school institutions.

Source: *Bantu Education Journal*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, April 1972; Vol. XIX, No. 3, April 1973; Vol. XX, No. 3, April 1974; Vol. XXI, No. 4, May 1975; Vol. XXII, No. 4, May 1976.

Moreover, as can be seen from the note to Table 70, training was mainly for carpentry, building and other semi-skilled jobs. No attempt was being made to train for even middle-level technical posts. This compares unfavourably with the training given to Africans in the Republic—and there, training is already highly unsatisfactory. In 1974, in the Republic, 310 students had been enrolled in schools under the single heading of 'technical training'. However, 231 of these students were in the Transvaal and the other 79 were in Kwazulu. In 1973 (the last year for which figures for technical secondary schools are available) 288 pupils were in the Transvaal, 128 in the Cape and 135 in Kwazulu, while of those registered for technical training, 200 were in the Transvaal and 69 in Kwazulu, making a total for the entire Republic of 269.

In Namibia, trade and vocational training disappears from the statistics in 1975 and is replaced by advanced technical training.

In 1973 there were four trade training schools and one vocational training school.¹⁷ In 1974, there were five trade training schools and one vocational training school,¹⁸ and this appears to be the position in 1975 also.¹⁸

The number of trade schools is clearly insufficient; but besides this, the absence of serious training, even at a middle level, suggests the type of economic development foreseen for Namibia and that the role of the African labour force is as unskilled or semi-skilled untrained workers, mainly to service extractive industry or farming.

Number of teachers

Tables 71 and 72 show the number of teachers in Namibia in 1973 and 1974, by control of school. Thus, in 1973, 86.175 per cent of all Namibian teachers were under community control, with 8.039 per cent under church or private control, and 5.259 per cent under government or territorial control. At the same time 66.230 per cent of teachers in African schools in the Republic were under community control, 17.539 per cent were under government or territorial control, and 3.185 per cent were under church control. In 1974, 85.862 per cent of teachers were under community control, with 7.843 per cent under church or private control, and 5.675 per cent under government or territorial control.

Table 71 *Number of teachers according to control of school, 1973*

Type of control	Ovambo	Okavango	Caprivi	Rest of Namibia	Total
Government/territorial	46	19	9	66	140
Community	1,367	347	160	420	2,294
Farm	—	—	—	9	9
Mine	—	—	—	—	—
Factory	—	—	—	—	—
Hospital	—	2	—	—	2
Special schools	3	—	—	—	3
Roman Catholics	—	—	—	—	—
Other church/private	33	—	63	118	214
TOTAL	1,449	368	232	613	2,662

Source: Bantu Education Journal, Vol. XX, No. 4, May 1974.

Table 72 *Number of teachers according to control of school, 1974*

Type of control	Ovambo	Okavango	Caprivi	Rest of Namibia	Total
Government/territorial	55	24	11	75	165
Community	1,465	401	175	455	2,496
Farm	—	—	—	10	10
Mine	—	—	—	—	—
Factory	—	—	—	—	—
Hospital	—	3	—	—	3
Special schools	5	—	—	—	5
Church and private	30	—	71	127	228
TOTAL	1,555	428	257	667	2,907

Source: Bantu Education Journal, Vol. XXI, No. 5, June 1975.

Teacher training

Table 73 gives information on the number of teachers trained between 1971 and 1975. However, these figures must be qualified according to the type of training given. In 1974 all the teachers trained in Namibia were trained for the lower primary teachers' course or the primary teachers' certificate; none were trained for the junior secondary training certificate. Of those trained for the two lower types of training certificate, 69.715 per cent were trained for the lowest grade of all (the lower primary teacher's course).

Table 73 *Number of teachers trained in Namibia, 1971-75*

Year	Ovambo	Okavango	Caprivi	Rest of Namibia
1971	231	40	37	159
1972	216	62	39	108
1973	93	49	51	204
1974	205	89	37	161
1975	212	119	45	200

Source: Bantu Education Journal, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, April 1972; Vol. XIX, No. 3, April 1973; Vol. XX, No. 3, April 1974; Vol. XXI, No. 6, August 1975; Vol. XXII, No. 4, May 1976.

University training for Africans

Every developed and progressive country in the world has a number of universities where young people with intellectual interests may qualify for one or other career. These well equipped institutions of higher education enjoy great respect as centres of learning. The students at these universities are usually also accepted as being the cream of the nation's youth and throughout time great things have been expected of them. The teachers at university are recognized as being amongst the greatest experts in their own fields of knowledge. They are addressed respectfully as 'Professor' or 'Doctor' and, without any external compulsion, preserve the standards that are worthy of their high calling. Only the very best students are destined to follow an academic career as a university teacher. . . . Such posts provide them with ample opportunity for study, research and the transmission of knowledge to others.²⁰

Since there are no local universities, Namibians are trained at South African universities. We have already seen that few students in Namibia reach a level of secondary schooling which would qualify them for university entrance. Selection begins with those who get to school at all, continues at the end of the lower primary course, at the end of primary school education and throughout the secondary school course. Even if students qualify for admission to a university, they must attend a university in the Republic of South Africa.

Within the Republic, the universities of Stellenbosch, Pretoria, the Orange Free State and the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education have traditionally only accepted white students. Rhodes University accepted

some blacks but only in certain postgraduate courses. The 'open universities' of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand accepted students of all races, while the University of Natal accepted non-European students in segregated classes except for certain postgraduate classes.

In 1959, however, the Government passed the Extension of University Education Act which aimed at placing the Africans, Coloureds and Indians at the 'open universities' in separate universities instead. These separate universities were again to be divided by 'tribe' and by ethnicity.

In December 1960 a government proclamation declared that Africans would no longer be allowed to register for the first time at an open university, in the departments of chemistry, physics, zoology, botany, mathematics, applied mathematics, geography, psychology, agriculture, social work, anthropology, native administration, Bantu languages, classical languages, philosophy, political sciences, law, divinity or education.

Ostensibly, these measures—which aimed to enforce apartheid in education at all levels—concerned only the Republic of South Africa. In fact, because of the absence of a university in Namibia the regulations also affected Namibians. Unless exceptional circumstances obtained, they were debarred from attending universities other than the tribal colleges set up by the South African Government, and they were affected in exactly the same way as Africans in the Republic by the particular set of regulations governing these universities.

The 'conscience clause' that was included, until that time, in the regulations of all white South African universities except Potchefstroom was omitted from those governing the new tribal and ethnic universities. This clause ensured that no test of religious belief should be imposed on a student or member of staff. In fact, regulations controlling the registration of African students at the ethnic universities stipulated that the application form should be accompanied by a testimonial of good conduct by a minister of religion. Specific regulations govern visits to the college or to other institutions—regulations which do not apply to white students.²¹ The universities are controlled by the Department of Bantu Affairs of the Republic of South Africa, through the pattern of funding, through the appointment by the State President of no fewer than eight persons to the white Governing Council, through the appointment by the State President of all

Table 74 *Number of Namibian university students*

Year	Men	Women	Total
1969	16	3	19
1970	18	3	21
1971	26	2	28
1972	32	2	34
1973	29	2	31
1974	26	9	35

Source: *Bantu Education Journal*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, February 1971; Vol. XVIII, No. 4, May 1972; Vol. XIX, No. 4, May 1973; Vol. XX, No. 7, September 1974; Vol. XXI, No. 7, September 1975.

members of the black Advisory (*sic*) Council, and through the appointment of the Rector and the Vice-Chancellor by the Minister. Namibians, like Africans in the Republic, are excluded from important research centres in the older non-ethnic universities, as well as from benefiting from the wider access to ideas that the white universities permit. This type of university training is not only racial discrimination (although it is indeed that) but also an important method of control over the type of knowledge permitted to Africans. As regards university training, therefore, Namibians are directly subject to the laws of apartheid governing the ethnic universities of South Africa. Table 74 reveals how few Namibians do in fact gain entry to universities.

Notes

1. *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963*, op. cit., p. 251.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 253.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 253.
4. See Part IV, 'Culture'.
5. *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-1963*, op. cit., p. 253.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 253, 255.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
11. Muriel Horrell, *South-West Africa*, pp. 75-6, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1967.
12. International Court of Justice, South West Africa Cases 1960-66, *Counter-Memorial Filed by the Government of the Republic of South Africa*, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 59-60.
13. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 128.
14. See: *Apartheid: its Effects on Education, Science, Culture and Information*, 2nd revised edition, p. 54, Paris, Unesco, 1972.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
16. International Court of Justice, South West Africa Cases 1960-66, *Counter-Memorial Filed by the Government of the Republic of South Africa*, op. cit., Vol. VII, p. 129.
17. *Bantu Education Journal*, Vol. XX, No. 2, March 1974.
18. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, No. 3, April 1975.
19. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2, March 1976.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, No. 8, October 1968, editorial article.
21. For details on the administration of the ethnic universities, see *Apartheid: its Effects on Education, Science, Culture and Information*, op. cit., pp. 109-10.

Part IV

Culture

7

Culture in Namibia

In the books *Apartheid: its Effects on Education, Science, Culture and Information* (in South Africa) and *Southern Rhodesia: the Effects of a Conquest Society on Education, Culture and Information*, we were able to write a sizeable section on culture. This has not been possible for Namibia. Not a single major writer or poet exists, black or white. The urban African culture associated first with the Drum School and then with the Black Consciousness Movement in the Republic is virtually absent. The poetry of a Chitepo, as in Zimbabwe, is not there. There is no Nadine Gordimer, no Doris Lessing—in short, nothing. No vast archeological surveys have been undertaken. Only the traces of copper production attest to a former civilization. Traditional culture has been broken, first by the onslaught of settlement and occupation, and second by the creation of a fictitious tribalism to bolster the structure of the Bantustans. There is no firm base for the development of a modern culture for either blacks or whites. For blacks, this is hampered by the uncertainty of urban living, the wide use of the compound system, political intimidation and the South African attempt to control the flow of all ideas through defined censorship or *de facto* censorship as to who publishes what. And then, there is the high degree of illiteracy. Whites are hardly better placed to produce cultural symbols. The requisite conditions for the development of art, music or literature are absent. There is nothing to tell of a country whose roots are seen as being in Johannesburg or Pretoria; nothing to encourage publishing for a readership which takes its cultural norms from the Republic.

Obviously, culture—how people arrange their lives—exists even in the absence of cultural artefacts. For Africans, there must exist some translation of the fight for freedom into cultural symbolism. The structure of the community, the structure of the family must be affected both by repression and by resistance. In spite of the control of ideas by the South African Government, there must be informal and underground methods of communication. For white Namibians, it is improbable that political and economic domination is not accompanied by the evolution of cultures structured in

dominance and by the use of culture and dominant ideology as a component of hegemonic control. In fact, we have indicated in the chapter on the economy that this is so. The attempt to re-establish those African traditions selected to suit the economic and political control of white South Africa, the control of the movement of Africans are not simply political and economic facts. They also affect the direction of culture, and therefore are attempts to impose on Africans the ideology and the culture that make domination in other areas possible. If there is little to be written on culture, this indicates the extent of domination and not that culture is unimportant. Some idea of the cultural situation may be had from the following information on libraries in Namibia taken from the *Handbook of Southern African Libraries* (1970):

Gobabis Library. Established in 1959. Staff: 1 (white). Borrowers: 214 (whites).

Hardap Experimental Farm Library. Established in 1962. Staff: 2 (whites). Loan and reference facilities available to staff (i.e. whites).

Okahandja Public Library. Established in 1919. Staff: 1 (white). Borrowers: 96 (whites).

Omaruru Public Library. Established in 1964. No indication of staff. Borrowers: 55 (whites).

Otjwarongo Public Library. Established in 1952. Staff: 1 (white). Borrowers: 135 (whites).

Museum Library. Established in 1951. Staff: 1 (white). Number of borrowers not stipulated. Reference facilities.

Walvis Bay Public Library. Established in 1956. Number of staff not stipulated. Borrowers: 1,625 (whites).

Windhoek Administration Library (to be developed to become the National Library and the Central Reference Library). Established in 1926. Staff: 8 (whites). Loan and reference facilities available to staff, to accredited borrowers and to students (whites and non-whites).

These data and those in Table 75 show that Africans are virtually excluded from access to library services or from being librarians. This would be serious in any country; but in Namibia the impoverished Africans have little money to buy the books they are not entitled to borrow. Moreover, the maintenance of literacy depends upon access to some form of literature. This is practically non-existent. In addition, the low circulation figures do not even indicate a large white readership.

With libraries practically non-existent for Africans and used less than expected by whites, what is the situation as regards newspapers?

Table 77 gives a list of newspapers published in Namibia and their circulation figures. The low circulation figures should be noted. It is reasonable to assume that, given the level of literacy among Africans, the bulk of the readership is white.

As a result, information on events within and outside Namibia reaches Africans through the radio stations controlled by the white Government. Therefore, even if there were no censorship regulations at all, the selection of news, feature articles and the use of language would be controlled by the South African Government as far as Africans were concerned. If the right to infor-

Table 75 *Libraries in Namibia, 1962*

Type of library	Number of libraries	Number of books available	Population served
Public libraries for non-Europeans	None available	—	450,000
Public libraries for Europeans ¹	14	50,625	75,000
Libraries in schools for Africans	25		1,440
Libraries in schools for Coloureds	19	982	
Libraries in government schools			67,000
Libraries in private schools	6		11,000
'Recreation club' libraries			
Among these:			
South African Railways (five clubs)	5		26,500
Oranjemund Consolidated Diamond Mines			8,000
Tsumeb Corporation			6,500

1. Geographical distribution of the public libraries for Europeans: three in the south (Karasburg, Lüderitz, Mariental); five in the central part of the region (Gobabis, Okahandja, Swakopmund, Walvis Bay, Windhoek); six in the north (Grootfontein, Kamanjab, Otavi, Otjiwarongo, Outjo, Welwitschia).

Source: Republic of South Africa, *Report of the Commission on Libraries in South West Africa, May 1963*. Not a comprehensive list, as the terms of reference of the Commission did not include certain book collections and libraries.

mation is taken to mean the right to receive complex information—rather than propaganda or simplistic news—and the right to communicate information, this right is denied to Africans due to the political and economic structure of Namibia and the hegemonic control of the Republic of South Africa. Even in the unlikely event that Africans were permitted to communicate freely, the capital needed to start newspapers or radio stations would be limited, and such newspapers or radio stations would be difficult to staff for lack of trained journalists or technical personnel. Even informal methods of communication through conversation or 'gossip' is inhibited by the presence of Government-paid informers.

Africans, Coloureds and whites are all affected by the censorship regulations. Censorship is controlled by the Publications Act, No. 42 of 1974. This Act repealed the Publications and Entertainments Act, No. 26 of 1963, and the amendments to that Act.

The principles of the 1974 Act are given as 'the constant endeavour of the population of the Republic of South Africa to uphold a Christian view of life . . . '.

The Act provides for a Directorate of Publications having the following functions:

(a) perform such functions in respect of publications or objects, films, public entertainments and intended public entertainments as may be entrusted to it under this Act or any other Act;

(b) at the request of any committee, submit any matter relating to any function of that committee to any person who is an expert on that matter, for his advice;

Table 76 Results of a library survey in 1973

Library	Date founded	Number of books	Number of periodicals	Number of daily newspapers	Off-prints/pamphlets	Financing	Circulation	Control
South West Africa Library Service (Windhoek)								Administered by municipality with acquisitions made through South West Africa Library Service
Windhoek Public Library		55,994 ¹	94	11			199,410	
Library in Grootfontein	During German colonial period	5,500	15	5				
Library in Otjiwarongo	During German colonial period	7,700	22	5				
Library in Outjo		5,000	15	5				
Library in Omaruru	Before 1915	3,700	15	5				
Okahandja Public Library	Before 1915	9,627				Annual contribution of R2 from the 100 reading members; subsidy from South West Africa Administration		
Public Library of Swakopmund		14,284	16			Monthly contribution of 25 cents per reading member; subsidy of R40 from Municipality and of R260 from South West Africa Administration		
Walvis Bay Public Library	1956	18,162 ¹	18			Subsidy of R1,000 from Municipality and R1,240 from South West Africa Administration		
State Museum Library (Windhoek)	1907	2,700	Several hundred		5,000	Annual expenditure of R1,500		Under the superintendance of the

Library of the Museum (Swakopmund)		2,120	450	Collection of South West African daily newspapers from 1898		Annual expenditure of R645	
Library of the South West Africa Scientific Society (Windhoek)	1924	4,371	208		2,213		
South West Africa Administration Library (Windhoek)	1926	8,000 (1962 figures)	49	Local daily newspapers	Numerous official publications and reports	Annual expenditure of R20,000	
Supreme Court Library (Windhoek) (not open to public)		6,200					Department of Justice, Pretoria
Water Affairs Library (Windhoek) (open only to Department of Water Affairs staff)	1957	550	68			Annual expenditure of R500	
Record Office Library (Windhoek)		4,000 (1962 figures)			1,200 microfilms, official and private documents dating back to German colonial rule	Annual expenditure of R50,800	Department of National Education, Pretoria
German private secondary school staff and student libraries (Windhoek)		5,826 ¹					
Library of the private German school in Karibib	1906	5,450 ¹				Subsidy of DM1,000 from Federal Republic of Germany	
Music Library (Windhoek)	1963	400 books, 3,000 scores					
Archives of the Rhenish Mission (Windhoek)							

1. Reference books are included.

Source: C. Schlettwein and L. Gebhardt, 'Libraries and Archives in South West Africa', *Mitteilungen der Basler Afrika-Bibliographien (Communications from the Basel Africa Bibliography)*, Vol. 13, 1975, Basel, Crantander AG. The above data are based on information gathered in a survey conducted by the authors of this article.

Table 77 *Newspapers published in Namibia*

Newspaper	Language	Periodicity	Year founded	Ownership	Estimated circulation ¹
<i>Allgemeine Zeitung</i> (Windhoek)	German	Daily	1915		6,200
<i>Windhoek Advertiser</i> <i>Die Suidwes Afrikaner</i> (Windhoek)	English Afrikaans	Daily Twice weekly (Tues. and Fri.)	1919	Organ of the Federal Party	3,512
<i>Die Suidwester</i> (Windhoek)	Afrikaans	Daily (Mon. to Fri.)		Organ of the National Party	9,000
<i>Namib Times</i> (Walvis Bay)	English, Afrikaans, German	Twice weekly (Tues. and Fri.)			
<i>Official Gazette of South West Africa</i> Church newspapers; including: <i>Immanuel</i> (Windhoek)		Fortnightly Monthly		Government publication Evangelical Lutheran Church in South West Africa (Rhenish Mission Church)	3,500
<i>Omkwetu</i>		Monthly		Evangelical Lutheran Church in South West Africa	

1. Estimates of circulation from 'Statistical Survey of Namibia (South West Africa)', in *Africa, South of the Sahara, 1976-1977*, p. 602, London, Europa Publications, 6th edition, 1976.

(c) advise the Minister concerning any matter arising from the application of any provision of this Act which is referred to the directorate by the Minister.¹

Chapter II of the Act covers the production of an undesirable publication or object, its distribution, its importation and its possession.

The censorship of publications, films, records and periodicals works exactly as in the Republic of South Africa. Most States apply some form of censorship, particularly with regard to certain pornographic material and sometimes with regard to publications deemed subversive; in Namibia, however, the 'subversive' category includes books which, while not directly concerned with politics, nevertheless present blacks in a favourable light, which is not what the Republic of South Africa desires. These are *ipso facto* subversive, since they threaten the South African Government's monopoly in the realm of ideas and they may lead to an intensification of the struggle against political and economic

control by introducing or strengthening the components of a competing ideology. However, censorship is not directed only against the small number of Africans likely to read. It is directed also against white Namibians (and, indeed, against white South Africans), since the basis of the present control rests on obtaining a wide consensus for its maintenance within the white group and in deflecting or minimizing conflicting interests within it. Laws, regulations and measures affecting culture and information include security legislation. Ostensibly framed to deal with terrorism, these nevertheless impose restrictions on culture and information.

The four main laws in force are the Suppression of Communism Act and the Sabotage Act of the Republic of South Africa, extended in 1966 to cover Namibia. Although (unlike the situation in the Republic) few people have been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, the wide definition of 'communism' remains a potential weapon for intimidation. It would be surprising, therefore, if it did not foster auto-censorship in works dealing with social relations or social structure, whether these works were creative or scientific. The Act therefore seriously curtails academic and intellectual freedom. The Terrorism Act, No. 83 of 1967, complements the Sabotage Act. While the latter is concerned with 'wrongful and wilful' physical actions, 'terrorism' applies not only to acts but also to speech and writing and covers both lawful and unlawful actions. Besides provisions relating to the training of 'terrorists' and the possession of explosives and fire-arms, the Act prescribes penalties for obstructing the free movement of any traffic, for embarrassing the administration of the affairs of the State or for bringing about social change in South Africa in accordance with, or in cooperation with, any foreign or international government or institution, whether or not violence is intended. Since terrorism applies not only to the acts in question but also to incitement to such acts, it could apply to novelists, poets, creators of popular songs and those who sing them, or to anyone who undertakes a sociological analysis of Namibian society that could be interpreted as likely to bring about change. Proclamation R17, as amended by Proclamation R26, came into effect in 1972 in Ovamboland, where there has been continuing resistance to the South African occupation. The two proclamations prohibit all gatherings, meetings, assemblies, and so on (with the exception of sports gatherings, church services or statutory meetings called by heads of kraals), unless authorised in writing by the Native Commissioner, who may stipulate conditions. Individuals can be banned from legal meetings. Furthermore,

It is an offence to say or do anything likely to have the effect of undermining the authority of the State, the Ovambo Government, officials of these bodies, or a chief or headman.

It is an offence to make an intimidating statement, to boycott a meeting called by an official, chief or headman, and to fail to obey any lawful order given by a chief or headman, or to treat him with disrespect.

The South African Minister of Justice has full powers over individual mobility. He can forbid people from entering, being in or leaving Ovamboland, or any part of the homeland.

No interdicts may be issued for the stay of orders given or decisions made under the regulations, nor may civil or criminal actions be instituted against the State, the Ovambo Government or any official carrying out the regulations.

Persons suspected of having committed an offence, or intending to do so, or having information relating to an offence, may be arrested without warrant and detained for questioning until the authorities are satisfied that all questions have been truthfully answered.

Detainees may not consult with legal advisers, except where special permission is obtained. Maximum penalties for offences under the regulations are R600 or three years imprisonment, or both.

In addition to the whole arrangement of Namibian society which, through political and economic domination, institutes informal but effective controls over culture and information, there are also legal controls.

The lack of cultural forms in Namibia is therefore not purely fortuitous. It would be more surprising if they could exist. Culture, after all, takes its being from the organization of the total society; it provides the symbolic meaning that men give to existence; a national culture can exist only where a nation-State exists, and any but underground culture depends on some freedom to express, to contest and to re-analyse the society in which one lives. It also hinges on the structure of communication—not only in the formal sense of control of publishing or the media, but also between peoples and communities. Culture is also related to ideology. Where, as in Namibia, the only ideology fostered or permitted is that of white control, where the nation-State is deliberately prevented from coming into being, it is not surprising that we find a cultural wasteland. We have already indicated that the so-called protection of minority rights and cultural identity has nothing to do with either. Here we would simply indicate that not only does the maintenance of African traditions in fact mean the fostering of the folkloric, with the chiefs as the mechanism for the political and economic control of the reserves and the method to maintain Namibia as a Balkanized entity dependent on the Republic of South Africa, but new 'traditions' have been introduced in order to increase political repression—the most famous of these being the public flogging of political opponents ordered by tribal courts.

Note

1. *Statutes of the Republic of South Africa—Censorship*, Classified and Annotated from 1910, Publications Act, No. 42 of 1974.

Conclusions

From the beginning of German settlement until the present day there has been no attempt, either by the German Government or by the South African Government, to construct a national educational system based on equal opportunity for all Namibians regardless of racial or ethnic group. Moreover, South Africa not only maintained the separation that was present during the earlier occupation but intensified it. German colonizers might have thought of a single class of Africans, as opposed to whites, coming into being. South Africa, however, has not only maintained racial separation but added to it tribal separation—a tribal division or amalgamation decided by the whites. In the case of education, this division is seen clearly in the differing structures of administration and control, the separate commissions of enquiry, the promulgation of separate laws, the different and separate methods of financing, the differing degrees of compulsory education, the provision of different types of schools, the differing standards and terms of service and pay for teachers and the differing provisions for technical training. None of these have occurred by chance. They correspond to a different political incorporation, to the heightening (and sometimes the fabrication) of cultural differences and to the powerlessness of Africans unrepresented at the level of the central Government. The educational system corresponds to the economic structure, with a deliberate attempt being made to keep Africans as a pool of cheap unskilled, non-unionized labour, and with special privileges being accorded to Europeans. Just as important, the increasing shifting of the financial burden of education on to local communities extracts additional surplus while contributing to the impoverishment of the reserves and therefore increasing the push of Africans into the labour market. Small wonder that South Africa refuses the demand that Namibia should be an integrated, single national entity, since it is precisely 'community control' and the Bantustanization of Namibia that is the corner-stone of her labour policy, permitting the semi-subsistence economy to be exploited over and beyond the exploitation possible in a single national class society. Discrimination in education is therefore not only the means by

which knowledge is controlled by whites, but also one of the ways by which the pool of contract labour of South Africa, of underpaid workers in mines and on farms (i.e. a workforce composed of African Namibians or Africans in the Republic), is maintained.

By 1976 the education issue had become so crucial, and the policies instituted by the Eiselen Report had failed so completely, that even the South African hand-picked Constitutional Conference—at which SWAPO had no voice—suggested drastic changes in the South African-imposed educational system. Having congratulated South Africa on the ‘great strides towards providing educational facilities for all population groups in South West Africa’, and having accepted the ‘various population groups’ ideology of White South Africa (which was why the South African Government convened the Conference in the first place), the Conference then went on to ask for equal teacher training facilities and a university for South West Africa and offered proposals for compulsory school attendance for all, for permission for pupils to attend schools outside their own population groups, and for increased finance. It would therefore seem that, even within South Africa’s terms of reference, even where African ‘leaders’ were created by the South African Government, serious questions were nevertheless being asked in 1976 about a policy which, it was confidently declared, would be adequate for Namibia in 1988.

As we pointed out in the Preface, the elaboration of this study has been hampered by the paucity of material in crucial fields. This in itself indicates the situation of Namibia. Population figures seem to be inaccurate. No universities exist, scientific research is mainly South African-sponsored and geared to the needs of the white sector of the society, little anthropological and sociological research has been attempted—and both are limited by the lack of academic institutions, by the procedures governing entry into the reserves, by the tension latent in a situation of domination and by the fear of police informers. Statistics do exist, but they are incomplete and, in some areas, incorporated into South African statistics. House of Assembly debates must be found in the House of Assembly debates of the Republic of South Africa, where Namibia is represented by whites. We have here a degree of colonial rule that has seldom been surpassed—it is to the Republic of South Africa that we must go to discover information on Namibia.

When we conceived this book, two lines of enquiry suggested themselves: race, and human rights. We have found racial discrimination at every level of society: in land ownership, in administration and education, in access to urbanization, credit and technology and (although it was not strictly within our brief) in access to political power. We have found that human rights have been infringed as regards the right to education, the right to information, the right to freedom of movement, the right to culture, the right to freedom of religion. However, as we examined the material, it seemed to us that racial discrimination and the denial of human rights were inadequate as concepts to explain or to analyse the situation in Namibia—at least if the orthodox approach were adopted. The denial of human rights and the policy of racial discrimination, repugnant as they both are, are not problems in isolation. They are the inevitable

result of the social structure of Namibia, of its history of conquest, of its present occupation by the Republic of South Africa, of the pattern of its economy and of the method of capital accumulation. Race is the factor used to provide the cheap labour on which profits are built, the justification for the allocation of land, the ideology that consolidates the white group, and the method by which the State can limit its expenditures. Tribalism is complementary to this, as is the deliberate construction of tribal identities and tribal units, and tribal political incorporation into a weak central political power. The concept of race as a social category for organizing interaction between people is also inadequate, as is the concept that categorization is only the result of overt cues to physical appearance. Racism, seen as mainly the behaviour of psychologically disturbed people or a form of irrationality, can hardly explain the Namibian situation. There is, of course, role behaviour—Africans and whites are expected to behave in certain ways and to maintain particular methods of consumption. But all these concepts, while perhaps valid in other societies, neither explain race in Namibian society nor suffice as a description of that society. The implementation of key areas of human rights (operation of the judiciary, political participation, equality of educational opportunity, creation of cultural artefacts, equality of access to technology and science) is everywhere qualified by methods of social stratification and the structure of political, economic and technocratic power. In the case of Namibia, these all operate to maintain white control. But besides this, the denial of human rights is the mechanism of repression through which the Republic of South Africa maintains the structure in the face of contestation and incipient revolt.

A comparison between Namibia and the rest of white-ruled southern Africa (the Republic itself and Southern Rhodesia) shows that the same mechanisms are used in both, whatever the difference in legal status or in history. In all three, African reserves are deliberately maintained as a source of cheap labour; the mass of Africans are unfree labour, 'traditions' are re-constructed to serve the modern needs of differential political and economic incorporation—but incorporation and not separateness—in the particular society.

The African middle class, which emerged during the pre-independence period in other colonized States, has been limited in its growth and its place has been taken by the middle-level white settler. Pluralism in the area of culture has been used to forge the ideology of domination. In all three countries all technological, financial and commercial control, as well as commercialized agriculture, has been artificially limited to whites. In the case of Namibia, however, another factor has intensified domination: its client status to the Republic of South Africa. It is therefore not surprising that Africans are worse off in Namibia than in either the Republic itself or Southern Rhodesia.

[A.28] SS.76/D.98/A