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OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID IN NAMIBIA:
THE ROLE OF EDUCATION, RELIGION,
AND THE CONTRACT LABOR SYSTEM

by

Christopher A. Leu

Introduction

The development of formal educational systems by the colonial powers has generally played a most significant role in African progress throughout the continent. As James O'Connell puts it

It helped leaders to a vision of freedom, provided the skills that enabled colonial administrators to be replaced and animated the agricultural extension work that lay behind the more scientific harvesting of cash crops. Education at one and the same time enhanced human dignity through increasing knowledge, and advanced economic production through developing manpower skills.¹

In Namibia (formerly known as South-West Africa), education has been viewed as having a liberating effect, however, it has conspicuously failed to have any positive impact. As a colony, Namibia's educational system reflects the *apartheid* philosophy and policy of the occupying power, the Republic of South Africa. According to this theory, the nonwhite Namibian population is to be divided into twelve mutually incompatible "nations." Thus, education for whites and nonwhites is separately administered, and students are physically separated by race and, in the case of nonwhites, further separated by "nations." Depending on "nationality," there are *inter alia* differences in laws, curricula, teacher training and salary-scales, teacher/pupil ratios, amounts spent per pupil on education, attendance rates, and among administering authorities.

Whites are in all cases treated differently from nonwhites. For the dominant white population group (100,000) the education of the territory's African population (900,000) has always been regarded as either superfluous (in the light of the lowest role assigned to the African in the socio-economic system) or harmful, for whites fear a rise in political con-

sciousness among educated Africans. In 1954, Dr. H. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs who later became Prime Minister and the foremost architect of a separate and hence inferior system of education for the African argued

Equip him to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose upon him...There is no place for the native in the European society above the level of certain forms of labor... For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community ...Until now he has been subject to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze.²

The imposition on Namibia of the *apartheid* educational system within its own borders had two outstanding results. First, it assisted the occupying South African in their policy of fragmenting the African opposition into different so-called "population groups"; this was part of the openly expressed policy of "bantustanization" according to which each "bantustan" such as Ovamboland is supposed to be the homeland of a separate "nationality". Second, it had the effect of keeping the African population educationally inferior to the whites and thus, in the view of white South Africans, less qualified to assert their right to freedom and independence.

Africans realise that the aim of such an educational system is to entrench the domination of the oppressive and illegal South African regime. In the words of South West African People's Organization's (SWAPO) President, Sam Nujoma

Bantu education is simply brain-washing the African to believe that he's inferior to the white..to prepare him for a life of laboring for the white 'baas.' Many students, including myself, left school and took up correspondence studies instead.³

Besides dealing with the development of the current Namibian educational system from the time of its missionary origins, this paper will examine the role and political significance of the churches, and the emergence of political consciousness among the contract laborers whose extensive involvement in the growing political economy led to various forms of resistance and the emergence of modern nationalist activity.

It is the notion of "political education" that ties these three areas of concentration, i.e. education, religion, and the contract labor system, together. Political education has generally been viewed as a generic concept subsuming at least two different processes: (a) "political indoctrination" in a specific ideology intended to rationalize and legitimize a particular regime; and (b) "civic training" in the nature and functioning of one's own polity and in how a good citizen participates in it.⁴

In Namibia, education for Africans definitely includes "political indoctrination" in the *apartheid* ideology of the white elite. It excludes any notion of "civic training" in the sense of encouraging black Namibians to participate in their own political system. What takes the place of civic training and in fact counteracts the political indoctrination of *apartheid* education is the widespread membership of Namibians of different ethnolinguistic groups who adhere to the Christian religion and the involvement of many Namibians in the political economy of the territory as contract laborers.

Any analysis of African resistance and the emergence of nationalism in Namibia must account therefore not only for the significance of the role of the churches in the political context but also the migrant (contract) labor system as the basis for the development of a more radical nationalist outlook, particularly evident in the dominant liberation movement, SWAPO.

Mission and Apartheid Schools

In South West Africa, as elsewhere on the continent, the first agents of literacy and education in the modern sense were missionaries. The Wesleyan Missionary Society, beginning in 1805, was the first to work in the southern region of the country among the Nama, Damara and Herero. By 1842 the Lutheran Rhenish Mission extended their work throughout almost the whole of the area known now as the Police Zone. Christianity and modern education were not introduced, however, into the northern region until 1870 by the Finnish Mission, nor into the Okavango region until 1910 by a Catholic Mission.⁵ Education, of course, was considered as important to the missions' main task of spreading the Gospel, as literacy was necessary if their converts were to read the Bible and other evangelical literature. Thus, the missionaries themselves came to be the first teachers, selecting and subsequently training the best of their pupils to assist them in this task.

The missionaries in Namibia, as in so many other places in Africa, also became traders in the vain hope that material benefits would hasten the evangelical mission.⁶ More -

over, they became political advisors and leaders to the various peoples who were in conflict with each other. The coming of missionaries and traders brought about a course of events which was observable in many places on the continent. Dissatisfied with the way they were treated, the various missions came in conflict with each other, and feared a loss of power and influence. They then enlisted the aid of outside powers to protect them and their influence.

Very few mission schools were established prior to the annexation of Walvis Bay by Great Britain in 1878 and the advent of German rule over the whole territory in 1884. With the advent of German rule, more missionary societies started schools - particularly the Catholic Church, among the Nama and Herero people, in 1888 and 1896 respectively.

During this early period, no control of mission schools either by church or state existed. Basically each mission determined its own curricula guided mainly by the requirements of its church or society. The vastness of the territory and its scattered population as well as the conflict among the Herero and Nama limited progress in missionary educational endeavor. The state came to the aid of the various missionary societies in 1909 by providing them a subsidy. Nevertheless, by the end of the period of German rule, only 115 mission schools with a total enrollment of 5,490 students provided a rudimentary education, one intended mainly to assist evangelization.⁷

The period between the inception of the Mandate for South West Africa by the League of Nations in 1920 (under which South Africa as the Mandatory power pledged to "promote the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory")⁸ and 1960 saw both the expansion and the decline of missionary schooling. From the beginning of that period mission schools retained self-control and remained subsidized by the South African state. And in 1923, on the basis of a conference between state authorities and missionary societies relative to nonwhite education, educational services were expanded. Established missions increased their educational activities, while new ones such as the Seventh-Day Adventist Church entered the field. Colleges for training teachers were established at the Augustineum near Okahandja by the Rhenish Mission, at Debra near Windhoek by the Catholic Church, and at Onipa in Ovamboland by the Finnish Mission. The new state-enforced educational requirement enacted in 1926 split the existing mission schools into two types, those for Coloreds and those for Blacks,⁹ foreshadowing the more rigorous application of apartheid policy requirements subsequently enacted in the 1960's.

After the assumption of power by the Afrikaner Nationalist party in 1948, the whole question of black education was re-examined in the 1950's. In 1958, the Van Zyl Commission made recommendations incorporated by the South African government which clearly indicate its determination to use education as an instrument of apartheid in Namibia. Among the more important changes of the new system (details were to be added by regulations) were: the replacement of missionary schools by "community schools" with the assumption that these schools would encourage the active participation of African parents; the introduction of a separate section for administering African education to be established in the South West African Department of Education; the mother-tongue as the basic medium of instruction among the various African groups; and the adoption of the South African Department of Bantu Education syllabus for African instruction in the system of teacher training.¹⁰

These recommendations justifiably met with much opposition within the territory. All schools required registration, and it was illegal for anyone to establish, conduct or maintain a Bantu school without registration. This obviously struck most severely at the mission schools where registration was solely at the discretion of the Minister of Education. Although many of the primary schools run by the missions in remote areas, were overcrowded, inadequately subsidized, with poor quality teachers and hence poor result; fine schools and institutions were established such as the respected and long-established Augustineum College for Africans in Windhoek. The Augustineum drew pupils from all over Namibia, which was no longer tolerated under the policy of "separate development." That institution was taken over by the Department of Coloured Affairs in 1976, and those students in residence sent to racially-exclusive schools in their respective "homelands."¹¹

Thus, beginning in 1960, mission schools which had since the 1920's provided at least a reasonably independent and high standard of education and produced many African leaders, were converted precipitously to "community schools." While there were 211 mission schools in 1922, there were only 101 in 1966, and by 1972 that figure had been reduced to 36.¹²

With respect to the establishment of "community schools," the official emphasis was on the participation by African parents in the management of schools for their children. However, the primary objectives of such participation were to extract greater financial contributions from the African community for the costs of education and the undermining of mission schools.¹³ Moreover, one of the many serious criticisms by Africans of the system as it now functions are the complaints by parents and students of nepotism on the part of those identified as "puppet chiefs", particularly in Ovamboland, and the

Department of Education's black-listing of political suspects. There also is strong feeling that appointments should not be subject to Departmental approval. But above all Africans are reminded that their participation in the system gives them only administrative powers -- not control of policy. The Minister of Education retains very wide powers to make regulations governing the control of schools, conditions of service of teachers, syllabi, media of instruction, school funds, etc. With the advent of quasi-self-government for some "Bantu homelands" such as Ovamboland, this has begun to change in recent years, but at the cost of an inferior education.

The South African government's dictum, extended to Namibia, that "the education of the White child prepares him for life in a dominant society, and the education of the Black child for a subordinate society"¹⁴ is nowhere more clearly seen than in the policy of teaching African children in their mother-tongue. This is required until the end of the primary school, Standard VI (grade 8), and the upper level for such instruction is constantly being raised.¹⁵ The two official languages, namely English and Afrikaans, are taught as subjects of instruction in the early years, after which one language - usually Afrikaans, the language of domination - becomes the language of instruction. Children taught in the vernacular in primary school are expected to complete their secondary education in Afrikaans, and take the same matriculation examination as white children who started school a year earlier and have been taught in Afrikaans or German since the age of six.¹⁶ Consequently, instruction in the mother-tongue is at the expense of competence in the two official languages, in which secondary and advanced education examinations are given.

In contradiction to international educational practice which tends to favor mother-tongue instruction for progressive reasons, the South African government has thus sought to impose it both on the African people at home and in Namibia as a means of inculcating "ethnic group" consciousness, perpetuating such divisions, and reinforcing the gulf between white and black. Moreover, very few Africans are taught the *lingua franca*, English, used in government, industry, commerce or in financial or professional circles because the vast majority of the African school pupils drop out of school by the time they reach Standard III (grade 5). Therefore it is not surprising that a survey of Namibian refugees in Zambia who had attended school in the territory showed that few are able to function adequately in English without extensive remedial work.¹⁷

To place the problem of functional illiteracy in its proper context, recent figures show that only 2,664 or 1.92 per cent of the 138,890 blacks enrolled in 1973 were in the upper

five grades, including teacher and vocational training.¹⁸ As of March 1974, 31.3 per cent of all African students enrolled in Namibia were in substandard A (first grade) and 18.5 per cent in substandard B (second grade); thereafter the percentage of children in each grade dropped steadily, leaving only 2.1 per cent in the upper five standards or secondary grades (forms I-V); finally, those in the final year constituted only .06 per cent of the total enrollment.¹⁹ Thus, the dropout rate is enormous, but particularly at the lower grades.

Although education is free for all nonwhite students in Namibia, it is not compulsory. Quite often children drop out of school even before finishing the first year because they are needed to help at home, or because the "stipulated contribution" cannot be afforded, or for political reasons when they reach higher primary. Dropping out for political reasons is quite clearly related to what is implicit in the laws on education and administration but never explicitly stated. That is, the goal of the educational system is "schooling" or training the vast majority of blacks for menial labor and servitude to white needs and desires, rather than for genuine education or self-development. Thus it is not surprising that the curriculum for black students introduced in the 1950's and 1960's by the Nationalist government then in power is almost identical with that for blacks in South Africa. This curriculum emphasizes crafts and manual training at the expense of academic subjects. Consequently, there is intense competition to get into the mission schools precisely because the students want to learn English, an international language which not only allows them to function in a modern commercial and academic world but which also enables them to listen to Radio Zambia and the BBC, as well as to read foreign newspapers and books. Consequently, the authorities are opposed to the one and only existing English secondary school for Africans in Namibia: St. Mary's Anglican School at Odebo in Ovambo which they threatened to close in 1974.²⁰

There are only seven other schools in the whole territory where secondary education can be obtained. These are called "centralized, comprehensive boarding schools" offering also teacher vocational training for blacks.²¹ The only agricultural school is in Ovamboland with eighteen students.²² With the exception of the Augustineum school which is still open to all, each school is limited to students from the "nation" where it is located.

There are, as might be expected, numerous cases of these schools being disrupted by student strikes, followed by mass expulsions by school administrations for intimidation or political purposes. These disruptions are obviously "a result of dissatisfaction both with the conditions and educa-

tion of the schools, as well as a symptom of political unrest."²³ For example, in August 1973 alone, nearly 3,000 school children went on strike.²⁴ The problem of the secondary school child is compounded by the fact that even after having completed a high school course, there is for most no choice of jobs, and school graduates then have to join the contract labor system.

A comparatively few qualified black students go on to nonwhite universities, teacher training or technical training institutions in the Republic of South Africa (as there are no universities in Namibia). In 1966 five students pursued university studies in South Africa; in 1974 this figure had risen only to 33 students; the majority (17) were at Fort Hare, 13 at the University of the North, and 3 at the University of Zululand. Of these, 12 were enrolled in the arts faculties, 5 in law (compared to the relatively large number of lawyers trained elsewhere in Africa during the colonial period), 4 in economic science, and 12 in science.²⁵ For these few students, there will be few leadership opportunities when they return to Namibia. The five who are studying law, for example, know well that they must serve upon their return as clerks in white lawyer's offices because they are not allowed to practice law on their own.

The above considerations considerably diminish the significance of what appear to be impressive government statistics relating to the education of the African population. These indicate that the number of African children and young adults (many start school long after the normal age of seven) enrolled in school increased 267.4 per cent between 1960 and 1973, from 37,801 to 138,890.²⁶ However, during the same period the number of teachers increased by only 223.4 per cent, from 1,068 to 3,453. This means that either the enrollment figures are inflated or that the already high pupil/teacher ratio rose from 35.4:1 to 40.2:1. In Ovamboland, the ratio is 50:1²⁷ and the general trend of a widening pupil/teacher ratio for blacks suggests that the disparities in the rest of the territory may be even larger now. The number of schools only increased between 1960 and 1973 from 257 to 592.²⁸ Moreover, during the same period the African population increased by approximately 110 per cent.²⁹ Assuming an African population of 900,000, 15.4 per cent of the black population is enrolled, as compared with 23.2 per cent of all whites.

These figures on education for Africans must be compared with the favored status enjoyed by the dominant minority. Examining the same period 1960 to 1973, it appears that in 1960, there were 63 schools of all types for whites, with 666 teachers and 16,257 pupils. By 1973 these figures had increased to 85 schools, 1,232 teachers and 23,185 pupils. In 1960 the pupil/

teacher ratio of 24.4:1 had by 1973 declined to 18.8:1.³⁰ Education for whites is compulsory, but not for blacks.

There is no doubt that the government has spent in the last ten years considerable amounts of money on primary schools for Africans. In 1973-74, for example, the government spent R75.75, or \$110.00, on each African student in Namibia, over half of which (R.50) apparently represented the cost of books, stationery, and hostel accommodation, while the remainder covered teachers' salaries, school buildings, equipment and administration.³¹ But, given the drop-out rate, with the overwhelming majority (75 per cent) of students leaving school in the first three years prior to becoming literate, even in their mother tongue, much of the increase in African students attending primary school is vitiated.* As a result, 69 per cent of Africans in Namibia are estimated to be illiterate.³² In Namibia, as in South Africa, education for blacks is subordinated to the overriding demands of apartheid and racial domination - even if the result is wasteful, not just from the point of view of those who are deprived, but also from the point of view of the government. It was, after all, the South African government appointed Eiselen Commission which pointed out in 1951 that "a Bantu child who does not complete at least Standard II has benefitted so little that the money spent on his education is virtually lost."³³

For whites, education is not only free, as it is for blacks, but also compulsory until the age of sixteen, or until attainment of the junior certificate, or Standard VIII (grade 10). Comparing the expenditure on Africans with that spent per white child in South Africa in 1973-74, there existed a range of R387 (1R = \$1.40) or \$542.00 in the Transvaal to R557 or \$780.00 in Natal.³⁴ A knowledgeable observer, Muriel Horrell, has assumed that the amount spent on education for whites in Namibia falls somewhere in or near this range, which is four to seven times the amount spent on black students.³⁵

The level of black education is unlikely to rise until the appallingly low standard of education of teachers themselves is raised and the educational system itself becomes more acceptable to African students. As late as 1970 the majority of teachers, 1,187 (62 per cent) were only educated to the Junior Certificate or Standard VI (grade 8) level, while 687 (36 per cent) had no matriculation or professional qualifications; 27 (1.4 per cent) teachers were qualified with matriculation or equivalent, and only 6 (0.3 per cent) had University degrees.³⁶

*One internationally accepted minimum criterion for achieving literacy is five years of schooling.

The low educational level of African teachers reflects not only the general inadequacies of African education but also the poor facilities for training African teachers. Moreover, poor salaries are a major factor in discouraging African graduates and matriculants from entering the teaching profession. In 1973 the majority of African teachers were on a salary scale of \$99-\$221 per month (men) and \$79-\$185 per month (women).³⁷ These African teachers averaged in earnings 46 per cent of salaries paid to whites with equivalent qualifications holding similar posts.³⁸ Some idea of the value of these salaries is gained by comparing them with the Poverty Datum Line (PDL) calculations. The University of Port Elizabeth Institute of Planning has calculated that in January 1973 the PDL for an average African family living in Johannesburg was R81.25 (\$113.75) - an estimate that made no provision for recreation, furniture, replacement of household equipment, writing materials or saving for emergencies not to speak of the high level of food prices in Windhoek due to the cost of transportation from the Republic.³⁹ In any case, equality in salary scales is not the government's policy, as Dr. Verwoerd made clear in 1954:

*The salaries which European teachers enjoy are in no way fit or permissible criterion for the salaries of Bantu teachers. The European teacher is in the service of the European community and his salary is determined in comparison with the income of the average parent whose children he teaches...In precisely the same way the Bantu teacher serves the Bantu community and his salary must be fixed accordingly.*⁴⁰

The educational conditions of the sort described previously, when combined with the wider frustrations and indignities of life under apartheid, give rise to much dissatisfaction in the African schools. Occasionally this erupts into riots, strikes, and other militant outbursts, although less frequently, than might be expected due to the severe competition for places in the schools and the deprivations and penalties facing those bold enough to rebel. Yet, these disturbances occur frequently enough and are of political significance to indicate a pattern: in Namibia an enormous demand for education by Africans coexists with a widespread rejection of the education provided by the government. Colin O'Brien Winter, the Anglican bishop, recounts a typical student rebellion, unrest and reaction in the years just prior to his deportation by the South African government in March 1972 for his opposition to apartheid:

The black student body in Namibia was rapidly becoming the mouthpiece which articulated growing black unrest and dissatisfaction.

The white administration had the choice of entering into dialogue to resolve their problems, or crushing them by making an example of their leaders and treating them as trouble-makers. It chose the latter course. Students were carefully watched in Namibia, paid informers abounded in their midst, and the state moved in with speed to smash any opposition before it got a grip on the black community at large. It was not unknown for an entire school to be closed and the greater part of the black students expelled for what was termed 'political agitation.' At one period, it was estimated at least 1,000 black students had been forcibly removed from school with all chances of furthering their education blocked to them. Sometimes the state would agree to have them back on the condition that they submitted to a flogging.⁴¹

Such patterns of political unrest reflect an outright rejection of *apartheid* education; it also seems reasonable to assume that neither the press, the government, nor individual accounts adequately reveal the suppressed tensions which smolder beneath the surface in African schools. It also can be seen that much of the described unrest and political resistance focuses immediately on the blacks in charge, whether they be boarding school managers, school principles and other teachers. These men like many chiefs in the *apartheid*-imposed system sometimes exercise a petty tyranny for the rewards of status and job security.⁴² But such men are pawns, and it is those who control them who are ultimately responsible for the ensuing conflict between black youths and the State, represented by the police, the courts and the prisons.

Legitimizing Opposition: The Role of the Churches

In South-West Africa, as elsewhere on the continent, the first agents of modern political education were the missionaries. The important Lutheran Rhenish Mission ministered to the Herero and Nama people. With the conquest and colonization of the territory by Germany, however, these early missionaries were confronted with an ecclesiastical and political contradiction which was not resolved until 1960.

After 1884 the early missionaries were confronted almost overnight on one hand with their dual task as missionaries to the African peoples, and on the other hand, with acting as spiritual shepherds or pastors to the growing white German garrison and imported oligarchy of soldiers, farmers, and

business men. Some of the early missionaries who could not cope with the demands of this dual task returned to Germany.⁴³ Soon the German community demanded its own exclusive pastor, particularly since the building of a church had a basic priority and the fact that this required an enormous amount of energy on the part of the early ministers of the German community. Thus, gradually the ministerial and missionary activities of the German-based churches drifted organizationally and politically apart on both sides of the strict dividing line between white and black. This state of affairs remained in limbo and was not recognized officially until 1960 when the various congregations of the German community joined forces and became an exclusively identifiable church, the German Evangelical Lutheran Church (DELK), whereas, the black converts of the early missionaries and their descendants got their 'own' church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in SWA (Rhenish Mission Church, ELK). The latter became in 1957 constitutionally independent.⁴⁴ The South West African Lutheran Church then, although developing along different paths, attained the same end-result as the South African Dutch Reformed Church: a church clearly and cleanly divided along racial lines.⁴⁵

While these ecclesiastical conflicts took place in the southern part of the territory, Lutherans of the Finnish Mission at the specific request of the pioneer missionary, Hugo Hahn, started operating in the more populous northern part, Ovamboland in 1870. Due to the peaceful political situation, their work progressed rapidly with the result that the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church (ELOK) attained its constitutional independence before the ELK (which had to deal with a smaller population and, initially, with warring ethno-linguistic groups).

Since its missionary origins, the ELOK has become with its 200,000 plus members the largest church in Namibia. The church operates largely in Ovamboland where the Ovambo constitute 45% of the population and a majority of the contract laborers in the political economy, and it has formed a major ecclesiastical and political force in the territory. Bishop Leonard Auala, head of this church, was by all accounts one of the main driving forces behind the "open letter" addressed to the Prime Minister of South Africa on June 30, 1971. This letter was co-signed by Pastor Paulus Gowaseb of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of SWA (Rhenish Mission Church), ELK. The ELK is active among all the African peoples in the southern part of the territory with approximately 110,000 members primarily among the Damara, Herero, and Nama peoples.⁴⁶ The ELK is the original Lutheran Mission Church started by the Rhenish Mission. Its leadership or clergy forms a largely united front against the increasing imposition of *apartheid* policy. This was demonstrated most clearly in their unanimous stand

behind Moderator Gowaseb when he co-signed the "open letter." The letter itself was based upon a referendum of Auala's church members and a consensus of opinion reached at a joint meeting of the boards of the ELK and the ELOK.⁴⁷

The basically nonwhite consensus represented by these two Lutheran churches involved in spreading the Gospel throughout the territory in approximately 90 congregations was most clearly revealed in the "open letter" to Prime Minister Vorster. The letter explains that the overwhelming majority of Africans totally reject *apartheid* because they: are not a free and secure people in the land of their birth; do not have freedom of movement and accommodation; are afraid to express their opinions for fear of reprisals; are denied political participation and voting rights; are hindered in their development by the application of the Job Reservation policy;⁴⁸ and the contract labor system destroys family life.⁴⁹ This letter followed the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice which on June 21, 1971 ruled that South Africa's continued presence was illegal and that it was under obligation to withdraw its administration. This decision, though not binding, stripped South Africa of its long-vaunted pretence to legitimacy,⁵⁰ and made liberal use of South Africa's violation of the Human Rights Declaration of the United Nations.

The involvement of these churches in political affairs of the territory was, however, not new. Even before the Odenaal Commission Report proposing dismemberment of the territory and implemented by the South African government in the late 1960's, the ELOK and ELK protested in two joint memoranda to the government in 1964 and 1967 the "homelands" program and the transfer of people against their will, stressing that South West Africa must remain united.⁵¹

These two "Black" Lutheran churches have begun a collective effort, now that they are confronted with increasing official restrictions on their mission of ministering to their members in order to provide them with spiritual and material sustenance. They have already a common interest in the only viable theological training center, the Paulinum. Moreover, the "open letter" to the Prime Minister was the outcome of a joint meeting of leaders of the two churches. This and the subsequent meeting of Bishop Auala and Moderator Pastor Gowaseb with the Prime Minister and government officials on August 18, 1971 in which the oppressive measures of *apartheid* including torture by the police were brought forcefully to the attention of the South African leadership,⁵² hastened their striving towards union. As these two churches began to protest and reject *apartheid*, which in the words of Bishop Auala is "the mother of all the problems in the daily life contacts between indigenous and white people,"⁵³ efforts to

bring about a workable union between these two "Black" churches and the exclusively white DELK began to recede. Thus even among the Lutherans in Namibia, with their common historical background, the racial battle-line became more and more demarcated.

The ELK and the ELOK were not, however, without support from other churches in their rejection of *apartheid*. The most revolutionary and therefore most controversial church during the 1970's is the Anglican Church, whose bishop, Colin Winter was before his expulsion, undoubtedly the most outspoken churchman in Namibia. In a charge to the Diocese of Damaraland, he stated:

We are living in a church/state confrontation...We as a (multiracial) church have committed the unpardonable crime of rejecting apartheid. All the power of the state is therefore brought against us. We can never accept this ideology of apartheid as solving any of the vast problems of this land...Apartheid has been a barren and costly failure. As an Anglican bishop I reject apartheid on biblical grounds; on humanitarian grounds...⁵⁴

As a result of its forthrightness, the Anglican Church finds itself saddled with a series of restrictive actions against individual workers which can only be described as a deliberate, continuous and selective harrassment of the church.⁵⁵ And since the greatest part of the church's work is done among the Ovambo - the total membership of the church being some 50,000, of whom only 5,000 (including a small minority of whites) are non-Ovambo - the government fears that the church's radical persuasion will spread among the *politically conscious* and significantly relevant Ovambos.⁵⁶ The restrictions - while not yet against the church have been against individuals, restrictive actions by the government having been taken already against one-third of the paid full-time workers of the church, most of them South African or South West African citizens.⁵⁷

The adverse effect of government persecution is balanced by the fact that due to its small white membership, the church is not financially dependent on the support of its white laity. While the majority of white members in DELK appear to be apolitical in their attitude to the territory and the church in particular, the nonwhite members insist on political action and use the church as a mouthpiece of their frustrations. On both sides, however, there is a remarkable tolerance towards each other.

The only other large multiracial church in Namibia is the Roman Catholic Church, which is divided into two sections, one with headquarters at Windhoek (approximately 100,000 members), and one in the South at Keetmanshoop (approximately 20,000 members). The Catholic church has not suffered to a great extent by interference from the authorities. Although the church was able to come out in provisional support of the open letter to Prime Minister Vorster, they were not prepared to associate themselves with the "political" church groups. Because the Catholics are not confronted with a pronounced form of chauvinism among their white members, as in the case of the DELK, they can pride themselves on a fully "integrated" church where there is much tolerance between the races. Consequently, government officials leave them relatively at peace.⁵⁸

This brief historical overview of the role of the churches leads to several conclusions. The churches and the government are poised, by the very nature of things, for a traumatic confrontation with each other because apartheid is essentially and unarguably hostile to Christianity and the situation in Namibia represents apartheid in its most naked and crystallized form. As the Namibian domestic and international problems intensifies, it becomes more and more incumbent upon the churches to stand up in protest against the unavoidable inhumanities which flow from the official policy of the government. And it becomes more impossible for the government to refrain from taking official action against the opposition and protests of the majority of the church bodies.

The church's direct involvement in politics and its development of a particular style of protest is in part due to the fact that the seething discontent among especially educated Africans finds no political expression whatsoever. According to official policy, this is to be granted them only in that utopian separate existence, namely, the "homelands."

While neither party really desires a confrontation - the churches because they fear persecution and a curtailment of their activities, the authorities because they fear unfavorable publicity in a delicate international situation - neither can avoid it in the long run. Whether the leaders of the churches and their style of protest as discussed previously will bring about freedom for all Namibians is questionable. The function of the Christian churches has been, above all, to sensitize their members to the possibility, indeed necessity, of achieving political freedom for all if the prophetic message of Christianity is to be fulfilled. If today every African political group - except those nominated from South Africa - vehemently insists on independence for a Namibia, territorially inviolable with equal rights for all its citizens and if these

groups grasp the implications of apartheid policy for their daily life, then the churches will have played a largely unrecognized, but immensely significant role in the political education of their members.

It certainly is difficult to overestimate the value of the churches' action in arriving at the circumstances leading to the contract workers strike in December, 1971. The definite political sequences of the "open letter" and the subsequent meeting of the two church leaders gave the workers a feeling of legitimate opposition to their miserable working conditions by the church for the first time.

The Contract (Migrant) Labor System and the Emergence of Total Opposition to Apartheid

Namibia's black people have largely escaped bickering over means to achieve commonly desired political ends due largely to the fact that a large proportion of the labor force is extensively involved in an apartheid economy which crystallizes their reasons for resistance. In 1971, 43,000 or three-fourths of the 60,000 laborers were migrants allowed to enter white areas only if in possession of a contract binding them to a specific white employer.⁵⁹ No country other than Namibia has such a high proportion of migrant workers in its labor force - even in South Africa only about 30% of the workers are migrants. The proportion of migrant workers since then has continued to increase even further as more Africans are moved out of white areas and forced to settle in the "homelands." The logical conclusion of this deliberate process is to produce an almost exclusively migrant black labor force to serve the needs of the white-owned political economy.

This economy, which is central to the international dispute over its status, has three significant features: (1) it is exclusively oriented towards narrowly-based export industries; (2) it is entirely dominated by foreign capital and enterprises; and (3) it is labor intensive, that is, with a heavy dependence on manual labor.⁶⁰

An almost equal number of contract workers are employed by government, industry and the mines, while 25% work on white-owned farms. The largest employer of contract labor is *Tsumeb Corporation* (largely American-owned) which had 5,000 contract workers, while the largest employer of contract labor in Windhoek is the City Council.

Occupation of Contract Workers - 1971⁶¹

Government, Commerce & Industry	14,000	32%
Mining	12,800	30%
Farming	10,900	25%
Fishing	3,000	7%
Domestic Service	2,700	6%

The then existing contract-(migrant)-labor system evolved as a means of supplying the white economy with sufficient and cheap labor. Contracts were introduced to provide a means of controlling the number of black people in the white areas. Hence this system minimizes the number of Africans living in areas favored by the whites and cuts down on any outlay for black housing (other than compounds) and other social infrastructure. An additional advantage of the system from the authorities' point of view is that the rapid turn-over of the unskilled black labor force makes it difficult for them to organize themselves politically. All this represents the practical application of the Stallard Commission's recommendations, made in the 1920's that "...the Native should only be allowed to enter the urban areas which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister."⁶²

During December, 1971 and January, 1972, however, 20,000 (officially recorded as 13,000) workers, nearly all from Ovamboland, ceased to minister for the white man and went on a mass strike in an attempt to abolish the contract-labor-system. The contract-labor-system, low wages and miserable working conditions were the fundamental causes of discontent.

The action of the Ovambo workers can only be understood in terms of the existing contract system. The workers were medically processed, categorized, and distributed without any element of choice on the part of the worker. If a company in the fishing industry required 100 "boys", the first medically fit 100 workseekers would be dispatched from the South-West African Native Labor Association (SWANLA) labor camp. There were no individual contracts between employer and worker, but bulk requisitions at standardized terms. The contracts signed by the workers bound them to their employers usually for a minimum of one year, but more often up to eighteen months; the workers speak of being "handcuffed" by the "wire" (contract). Wives and children are not allowed to go with them and most stay behind in the "homeland."

The initial strike action of December 13, 1971, was originally conceived in Walvis Bay by a group of 30 stu-

dents who had successfully organized a total boycott of the opening ceremony of a showcase high school in Ongwediva, Ovamboland, who then were expelled and forced to seek work in the south. Keeping in touch by letter, the dispersed students sharpened their political ideas and those who were working in Walvis Bay came into contact with seasoned members of SWAPO.⁶³ It was this group which wrote a letter to the Windhoek Ovambo compounds in response to the statement by Mr. deWet, the Commissioner-General of Ovamboland, who said that the contract-labor-system was not slavery and that the workers had accepted it voluntarily. The letter said:

*We are having problems with the white man J. deWet. You are having similar problems. He said we ourselves want to be on contract, because we come to work. But we must talk about ending the system. We in Walvis Bay discussed it. We wrote a letter to the government of Ovamboland and to SWANLA. We will not come back. We will leave Walvis Bay and the contract, and we will stay at home as the Boer, J. deWet said.*⁶⁴

A mass meeting was held on January 10, 1972, attended by some 3,500 striking Ovambos after they and others had been returned to the northern reserves. At that meeting the Contract Committee agreed that the contract-system was a form of slavery because:

1. All people, regardless of race or color, are created by God with the same human dignity and are equal before Him. This system undermines the God-given human dignity of the Ovambo worker;
2. The so-called 'homeland' became a trading market where blacks are bought; in this trade SWANLA became richer and richer, and the blacks poorer and poorer;
3. This slavery brought about the erection of the compounds, equivalent of jails, with surrounding walls on top of which sharp pieces of glass are embedded. In compounds, workers sleep on hard beds made of cement bricks, which can cause lameness and death;
4. In consequence of this slavery system, Ovambo has only one exit to the Police Zone, quite exactly as the compounds and stays are built;...

5. This system brings ill treatment throughout the employment period.⁶⁵

While the workers made clear that they wanted a "true contract in the ordinary meaning of the word," they also looked beyond the improvement of working conditions by stating: "our objective is to have human rights to work in peace and order as do other people all over the world."⁶⁶

While the old contract was replaced by a new one, the system as a whole remained essentially unchanged. SWANLA was abolished and the worker now had the right to terminate his contract by handing in his notice (previously he was liable to criminal prosecution if he stopped work).⁶⁷ But the right to sell his labor in the best market remained severely restricted in practice. The principle employers' associations were now recruiting workers in recruiting offices in Ovamboland. What emerged by the summer of 1972 was a contract-system more refined, and, if anything, a more complete system for the direction and control of labor. The worst features of the old system were still there: the compounds, the low wages, and the separation from families. Thus, on returning to work, the workers found the changes to have been illusory and the attitude of the employers the same as before. The general manager of the Tsumeb Mining corporation, where 4,000 contract miners had struck, was quoted March 1, 1972, as saying: "I do not subscribe to the attitude that if a company - by its initiative, skills and so on - is making big profits, it is necessary to contribute them to labor."⁶⁸

On the other hand, what emerged from the strike was a renewed sense of solidarity among Black workers which developed into a realisation that they had the power to cripple the white-owned political economy. Since then there has also been a noticeable increase of political activity reflecting a heightened sense of political consciousness among the people. Mass meetings continued despite intimidation, arrests, and floggings by Ovambo headmen, who, by attempting to reassert their authority through the police, transformed the workers and the hired authorities of the Ovamboland "bantustan." The strength of the politically educated Ovambos contract workers and students was demonstrated in the Ovambo elections in August, 1973, when only 2.5 per cent of the registered voters actually cast their vote.⁶⁹ The two opposition parties, SWAPO and the Democratic Co-operative Development Party (DEMCOP), the latter emerged out of the strike, who were strongly opposed to the "homelands" policy, successfully boycotted the election; over 3,000 students boycotted the schools during the election period as a mark of protest.

African workers, aside from their struggle to remove the repressive labor system, also pledged themselves to improve agricultural production in Ovambo so as to increase their independence of wage labor, and, of course, to continue to resist the puppet regime in Ovamboland and all those who compromise with the South African authorities.

Although South African authorities accused SWAPO of having instigated the strike "this was not entirely true. The Acting President of SWAPO, now banned from Namibia, was head of the workers' central committee and many SWAPO members were strike leaders. However, this strike - a political strike against the whole contract labor system - was, to a very great extent organized and led by the contract workers themselves."⁷⁰ What must be said, in this context, is that the creation of various political parties in the 1950's, including the Ovambo Peoples Congress (OPC), were formed by contract workers with the explicit objective of breaking the contract-labor system. SWAPO, as the successor of OPC, was formed in 1960 to gather support on a national basis rather than along ethnic lines. What SWAPO had created prior to the general strike of 1971-72, were conditions favorable to a mass strike. The increased political consciousness it had provided among black workers provided the framework for the strike.

Aspects of the labor system itself contributed to the political education of the workers. The workers are mainly accommodated in compounds in the towns and mines. Both Walvis Bay and Windhoek have huge Ovambo compounds, and in these two compounds the workers started discussing their grievances and taking strike action. Communication is facilitated by the concentration of workers in one area; the authorities found it impossible to control the early small-scale meetings which were made easy by the fact that workers are housed 16 to a dormitory and the authorities had to tolerate (without taking direct police action) large meetings in the center of these compounds.⁷¹

Thus the compound is not only an industrial institution - a permanent feature of the *apartheid* economy which exists in South West Africa and in southern Africa generally - but also a political institution, one that is embedded in a political economy designed to separate work from home for the African worker. Mass transportation is required to bridge the gap over hundreds of miles, and compact and cheap accommodation is necessary to maintain labor control and keep labor costs at their lowest.

African workers' resistance to their situation has been not merely a rejection of inadequate wage levels and miserable working conditions but one of total opposition to

a political and social system they see as upholding the present labor system. For this reason the aims of the dominant political party, SWAPO, and the workers are inextricably linked, more so since trade union activity for Africans is forbidden by law. And since the strike, many strikers emerged as leaders of a new political resurgence and resistance to South African domination is fed by an increasing politically conscious student body who have rejected *apartheid* education.

On the international level, pressure continues to build at the United Nations where Namibia's special international status has been the focus of a protracted legal and political battle for more than half a century; Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim visited South Africa and Namibia in 1973 but was without success in winning Namibia's independence.⁷² However, genuine independence is not won at the conference table. Today, at least, due to the internal unity generated during the last 60 years among the African people against the *apartheid* society imposed upon them by South Africa, general resistance to colonial rule now is more openly expressed. The people of Namibia are opposed to any proposals involving partitioning their country. They are determined to have a dwelling place of their own.⁷³ Every African political group except those nominated from South Africa vehemently insists on independence for Namibia, with equal rights for all its citizens. Despite the great disadvantages of poverty, poor education, restrictions on communications, censorship and political persecution, Africans have grasped the implications of South African policy and their agreement on this issue is universal. In their effort to achieve independence and self-determination, Namibia's people have in no uncertain way been politically educated by the mission and *apartheid* school system, whatever the implications they attach to it subsequent to independence. Finally, the churches and the contract-workers, too, have contributed immensely to the political agreement which now exists among the vast majority of the people of Namibia.

Footnotes

1. O'Connell, James. *West African Journal of Education* 2, 2 (June 1963).
2. Verwoerd, H.F. *Bantu Education, Policy for the Immediate Future* (Pretoria: Information Service of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, June 7, 1954), p. 7.
3. "Twenty Years of Struggle", interview recorded by Ole

- Gjerstad in Lusaka, Zambia, October, 1975 in *Liberation Support Movement News*, (Special Issue on SWAPO) Nos. 11-12, 1976, p. 4.
4. See the introduction of James S. Coleman (ed.) *Education and Political Development* (Princeton University Press, 1965).
 5. For the early years of the Missionary, see Heinrich Vedder, *South West Africa in Early Times* (New York, 1966).
 6. During the first twenty years stay the well-known Hugo Hahn of the Rhenish Mission did not succeed in baptizing one single Herero. See I. Goldblatt, *History of South West Africa From the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century* (Cape Town: Juta & Co., 1971), p. 36.
 7. *South West Africa Survey 1967* (Pretoria: Government Printers, 1967), p. 109. Cited hereafter as *SWA Survey 1967*.
 8. See Annexure B., *Ibid.*, p. 140 citing the terms confirming the Mandate by the Council of the League of Nations.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
 10. For an official version and general discussion of policy, objectives and method of the Commission recommendations, see *SWA Survey 1967*, pp. 110-119.
 11. Morris, Jo, "The Black Workers in Namibia," in Roger Murray et al., *The Role of Foreign Firms in Namibia* (London: Africa Publications Trust, 1974), p. 171.
 12. Calculated from *SWA Survey 1967*, p. 117 and *Bantu Education Journal* (August, 1972).
 13. See the comments of Elizabeth Landis in her comprehensive *Review of Laws Established in Namibia* prepared for the Acting United Nations Commissioner.
 14. Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education 1936, quoted in Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, *The Oxford History of South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971) Volume II, p. 224.
 15. Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of South Africa, *South West Africa Survey, 1974* (Pretoria: Government Printers, 1975), p. 63. Cited hereafter as *SWA Survey 1974*.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 63. Education for black children starts a year later than for whites, i.e., not until age 7. Instruction in German may be authorized where the language is widely used. In fact, Afrikaans and German predominate in the territory; English is less used.
17. Jones, H. Lewis. *Report on the Survey of the Educational Situation and Needs of Namibians in Independent Countries* (Geneva: International University Exchange Fund, 1974), p. 7.
18. *SWA Survey 1974*, p. 62.
19. Extrapolated from the statement submitted by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, South African House of Assembly, *Debates*, March 14, 1975, columns 497-498, Q and A.
20. *Drum*, Johannesburg, March 8, 1974.
21. *SWA Survey 1974*, p. 64.
22. South African House of Assembly, *Debates*, August 23, 1974, columns 172-173, Q and A.
23. Morris, "The Black Workers," p. 173.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *SWA Survey 1967*, p. 118; *SWA Survey 1974*, p. 62.
26. Calculated from the 1960 figures in *SWA Survey 1967*, p. 120 and 1973 figures in *SWA Survey 1974*, p. 62.
27. Calculated on figures given in *South West Yearbook 1972*, p. 179.
28. *SWA Survey 1967*, p. 120; *SWA Survey 1974*, p. 62.
29. The 1960 figure of 428,575 Africans (excluding Whites, Coloreds and Bastards) is taken from *SWA Survey 1967*, p. 24; I am assuming a figure of 900,000 Africans for 1973 based on a UN estimate of one million plus total population (100,000 Whites). The official South African figures for 1974 are 852,000 Africans and 99,000 Whites. See *South Africa 1975 Official Yearbook* (Johannesburg: South African Department of Information, 1975).
30. The 1960 figures are from *SWA Survey 1967*, p. 119; the 1973 figures from *SWA Survey 1974*, p. 62.

31. South African House of Assembly, *Debates*, September 20, 1974, column 506.
32. Morris, "The Black Workers," p. 172 citing the Bureau of Literacy.
33. Quoted in SPRO-CAS (Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society) Education Commission, *Education Beyond Apartheid* (Johannesburg, 1971), p. 30.
34. South African House of Assembly, *Debates*, September 6, 1974, columns 359-360. See also the calculations in *Survey of Race Relations 1972* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations), p. 344. In more recent years official statistics have been presented in such a way that makes this kind of comparison impossible.
35. Horrell, Muriel, *South-West Africa* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968), p. 73.
36. Cited by Jo Morris, "The Black Workers," p. 170 based on calculations from South African *Hansard* 3, February 18, 1971, columns 204-5. Education for Black runs one year longer than for Whites. An extra grade, Standard VIIA, is added after Standard VII (grade 9). Thus, a junior certificate standing requires three years of study beyond the upper primary level and matriculation two additional years. The extra year was initially added to help Blacks overcome deficiencies in their early education. Now the government plans to discontinue the extra year so that upper primary school will consist of two years instead of the present four. There will be three years between the junior certificate and matriculation instead of two years. See *South West Africa Survey, 1974*, p. 53, note 2.
37. Calculated on the basis of figures supplied by Jo Morris, "The Black Workers," p. 170.
38. *Survey of Race Relations 1973* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations).
39. Morris, "The Black Workers," p. 141.
40. Verwoerd, *Bantu Education*, p. 19.
41. Winter, Colin O'Brien. *Namibia* (Michigan: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1977), p. 73.
42. See the statement on the role of headmen or chiefs by the

- founder of the Namibian nationalist movement, Joivo Herman Ja Joivo in *Ibid.*, p. 232.
43. These returning missionaries established a pattern later of immigrant ministers from Germany who under South African rule were allowed into the territory on temporary residence permits, ranging from six months to one year at a time "according to good behavior."
 44. This account is heavily indebted to the report of W.B. de Villiers, *The Present State of the Church in South West Africa*, included in IDOC International Documentation Participation Project on "The Future of the Missionary Enterprise - Namibia Now!" No. 3, May, 1973, pp. 81-90.
 45. The South African Dutch Reformed Church will not be discussed here for obvious reasons. This is the church essentially representative of Afrikaner (and South African government) religious thinking and forms the main spiritual and moral bulwark of the theory and practice of apartheid.
 46. de Villiers, *The Present State*.
 47. Winter, *Namibia*, p. 112.
 48. A South African law by which the most skilled and best jobs are reserved for whites only.
 49. The "open letter" is reprinted in Winter, *Namibia*, pp. 112-114. For a general overview of the attitudes of the Christian churches in the socio-political development process, see Gerhard Totemeyer, *South West Africa/Namibia* (Randburg, S.A.: Fokus Suid Publishers, 1977), Chapter 6.
 50. For this ruling and the implications of its findings for member states of the United Nations, see *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970)*, Advisory Opinion of 21 June 1971: I.C.J. Reports 1971.
 51. de Villiers, *The Present State*.
 52. Excerpts from this meeting which ended inconclusively can be found in "The Future of the Missionary Enterprise - Namibia Now!" pp. 92-98.
 53. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

54. As quoted by de Villiers, *The Present State*, p. 87.
55. See, for example, the list of actions taken by the South African government against Anglican church workers in Colin Winter, *Namibia*, pp. 16-17.
56. See de Villiers, *The Present State*, p. 87.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
59. Kane-Berman, J. *Contract Labour in South West Africa* (Johannesburg: South Africa Institute of Race Relations, 1972).
60. For an excellent introduction to that current political economy, see Roger Murray, "The Namibian Economy: An Analysis of the Role of Foreign Investment and the Policies of the South African Administration," in Roger Murray, et. al., *The Role of Foreign Firms in Namibia*, pp. 22-122.
61. Figures provided by Kane-Berman, *Contract Labour*. With the continued expansion of the mining sector during the 1970's the number of contract workers has undoubtedly increased considerably.
62. Transvaal Province, *Report of the Local Government Commission* (Stallard), 1922.
63. See the account by Jo Morris, "The Black Workers," p. 163.
64. Reproduced in *Namibia News*, February 1972, with the Strike Diary kept by Leonard Nghipandulua and produced as evidence in the trial of strike leaders in Windhoek.
65. Report of the Contract Committee based on the mass meeting at Ondangwa, January 10, 1972 in "The Future of the Missionary Enterprise - Namibia Now!" p. 47.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
67. The important life history of one contract laborer - now a member of the National Executive of SWAPO - is sensitively portrayed in *Breaking Contract: The Story of Vinnia Ndadi* (recorded and edited by Dennis Mercer, Oakland California: LSM Information Center, 1977, 2nd printing).
68. *Christian Science Monitor*, March 1, 1972.

69. Kotze, D., "General Election in Ovambo," *African Institute Bulletin*, XI, 7 (1973).
70. Statement of Andreas Shipanga, then Director-SWAPO Information Service and member of the National Executive, in *Interview with Andreas Shipanga* (Canada: LSM Press, 1973), pp. 19-20.
71. See the description of the Windhoek compound by Adam Raphael in *The Guardian*, London, May 8, 1973.
72. Leu, Christopher, "The End of the Waldheim Initiative," *Africa Today*, 21, 2 (Spring 1974).
73. Taken from Hosea Kutako's prayer: "O Lord, help us who roam about. Help us who have been placed in Africa and have no dwelling place of our own. Give us back our dwelling place." Cited in Randolph Vigne, *A Dwelling Place of our Own, the Story of the Namibian Nation* (London: International Defense and Aid Fund, 1973).

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