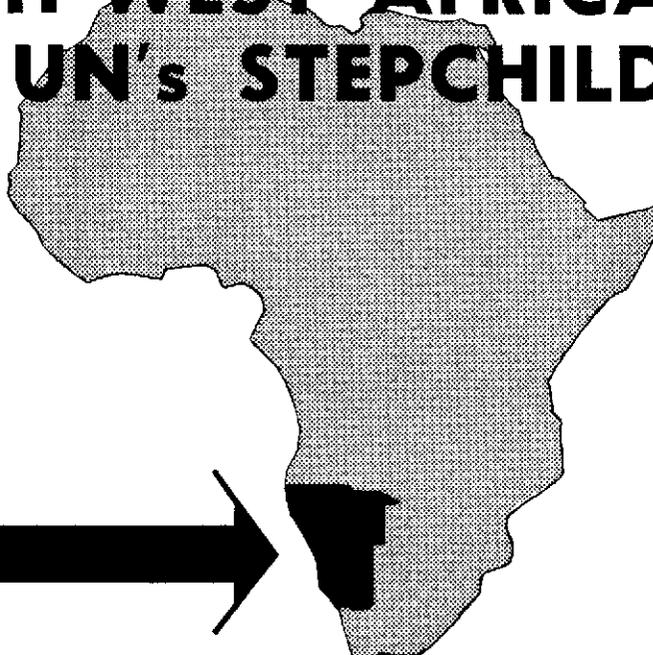


SOUTH WEST AFRICA: THE UN'S STEPCCHILD



American Committee on Africa



Hosea's Prayer

"You are the Great God of all the Earth and the Heavens. We are so insignificant. In us there are many defects. But the power is yours to make and do what we cannot do. You know all about us. For coming down to earth you were despised, and mocked, and brutally treated because of those same defects in the men of those days. And for those men you prayed because they did not understand what they were doing, and that you came only for what is right. Give us the courage to struggle in that way for what is right. 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 a dwelling place. O God, all power is yours in Heaven and Earth. Amen."

PRAYER OF CHIEF HOSEA KUTAKO OF THE HERERO TRIBE ON THE OCCASION OF THE REVEREND MICHAEL SCOTT'S DEPARTURE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS WITH THE FIRST PETITION FROM AFRICAN TRIBES OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA, 1946.

THE SOUTH WEST AFRICAN STORY

This is the story of the lonely struggle of a group of forgotten African peoples for decent living and working conditions and for the return of their ancestral lands. They live in a part of Africa of which few Americans have heard--South West Africa, an "international" territory under the jurisdiction of the Union of South Africa. The lot of the inhabitants has been bitter and harassed for many years and the United Nations has been unable to exert the influence which the International Court of Justice at the Hague says it should have.

This is the story of an eloquent and deeply religious chieftain of the Herero people, Hosea Kutako, now in his eighty-ninth year. He gave up his yearning to become a Christian clergyman many years ago in order to keep his people together after a tragic colonial war in which great numbers of them perished.

This is the story of a white man--the Reverend Michael Scott of the Church of England. He visited these people, was appalled at their situation, and for 13 years has dedicated himself to their cause, urging the British and all Western governments to take their side, pleading personally at the U. N. for action year after year.

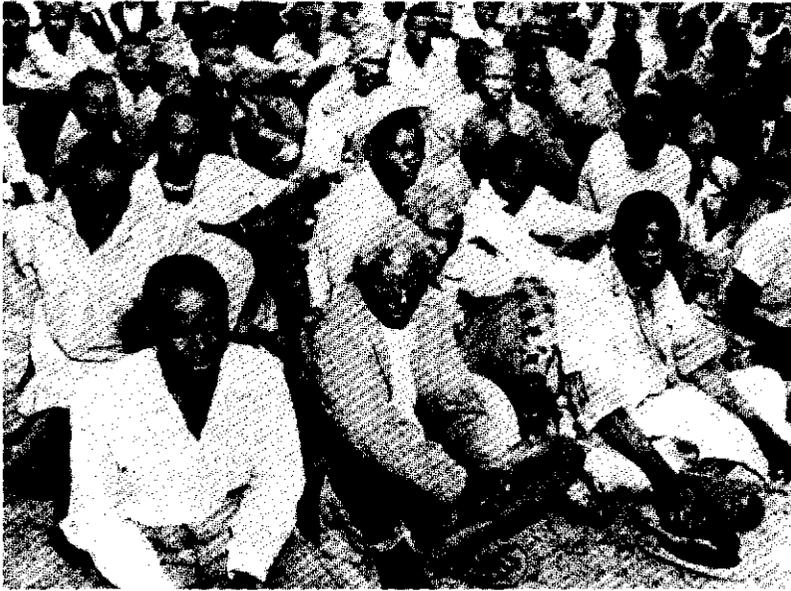
This is the story of two young Hereros who managed against great odds to get out of South West Africa and come to the U. N. in New York to plead for all the tribes of their country.

This is the story of three young Americans who in 1959 were able to investigate the lot of the Africans in South West Africa at first hand.

Finally, this is the story of the Union of South Africa's defiance of the U. N. because the Union would like to annex the economically profitable area for her own benefit and that of the white minority. South Africa is also afraid that to lose South West Africa would be to leave her flanks even more exposed to the pressures of African nationalism.

The Background

South West Africa was lost by Germany in the First World War and became a Mandate of the League of Nations--that is, an international territory--and was allotted to the care of its neighbor, the Union of South Africa. Under the terms of the Mandate, South Africa was supposed "to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the Territory." With the death of the League



SOUTH WEST AFRICA, which was a German colony until the end of the first World War, became a Mandate of the League of Nations, an international territory, under the supervision of the Union of South Africa. Under the Mandate terms, South Africa was to "promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the Territory." With the demise of the League of Nations, the mandate system was taken over by the United Nations. Today South West Africa is a mandated territory with its exact status in doubt. But there can be no doubt about the poverty of the people, or the violation of the pledge to promote to the utmost their material and moral well-being and their social progress.



of Nations, the mandate system was taken over by the U. N., but South Africa appears to be trying to absorb South West Africa without international approval. South West Africa is still a mandated territory.

The plight of the Africans in South Africa is generally understood. To know that South West Africa is regarded within South Africa as a sort of "fifth province" of the country is to know a little of what the Africans of this "international" territory have to endure.

For 14 years the U. N. has had the item, "Question of South West Africa," on its agenda. For 14 years conditions have become worse, not better, for the non-white 88% of the population. The white 12% have become wealthier in a "buoyant and expanding" economy, according to the 1958 U. N. report on the territory.

Let The Sleeping Dog Lie?

Africans in many parts of the continent are learning today what independence means. Most of them admire white civilization and its democratic traditions. They look, however, at the areas of the continent where Africans under white control are still little better than serfs, and they wonder Why does the western world, why does the U. N., allow the exploitation of Africans by white masters to continue? If democracy is as desirable as the West claims, why does it not practice what it preaches? Will the West, the U. S., or the U. N. give the peoples of South West Africa the decent answer--supported by forthright action--before it is too late?

What follows is based on official U. N. documents and on the words of the Africans themselves. Conditions as described by the Africans are supported from many sources.

Where South West Africa Is

The map of Africa shows to the northwest of the Union of South Africa, on the Atlantic Coast, the Mandated Territory of South West Africa. It is bound on the north by Portuguese Angola and Northern Rhodesia and on the east by the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland. To the west lies the Atlantic Ocean and to the south the Cape Province of South Africa. In area 317,725 square miles, South West Africa is nearly as large as Texas and Oklahoma combined, or about the size of France. Its capital, Windhoek, is a growing modern city with a population of 17,000 whites and 15,000 Africans.

Who Lives There

The mid-1958 official population was estimated as 539,000 inhabitants. These included 452,000 "Natives" or pure-blooded Africans, 66,000 "Europeans" or whites, and 21,000 "Colored" persons or those of mixed blood. About 88% of the population is non-



FOR FOURTEEN YEARS the United Nations has had the question of South West Africa before it. Personal pleas were made on behalf of the people of the forgotten trust by the Reverend Michael Scott, an Anglican missionary, and Mburumba Kerina, a South West African who has been attending university in the United States. The Reverend Scott spoke because, he said, "those who have asked me to continue representing their views have not been allowed to leave South West Africa."

white.

The principal tribes are the Ovambos, Hereros, Namas (or Hottentots), and Bushmen.

People of German origin make up a quarter of the European population. The majority of the Europeans are from South Africa, being attracted to the territory by the large stock-farming areas made available to them.

Where They Live: Apartheid

"Apartheid" or segregation laws are applied rigidly to dwelling places for whites and non-whites.

The territory is divided into two main areas by an administrative boundary. The area south of the boundary is known as the "Police Zone" and is the area of white settlement. Two-thirds of the African population live north of the Police Zone in rural areas called reserves, which they must have permission to leave. Ovamboland in the north is one well-known reserve.

Eighteen other reserves, widely scattered, lie within the Police Zone. In or near towns are the "locations"--miserable shantytowns, usually, for the Africans working nearby.

Europeans must have special permission to go into locations or reserves, or north of the Police Zone, but otherwise may move freely. Africans must have special permission in the form of "passes" to go anywhere outside the reserves or locations where they normally live.

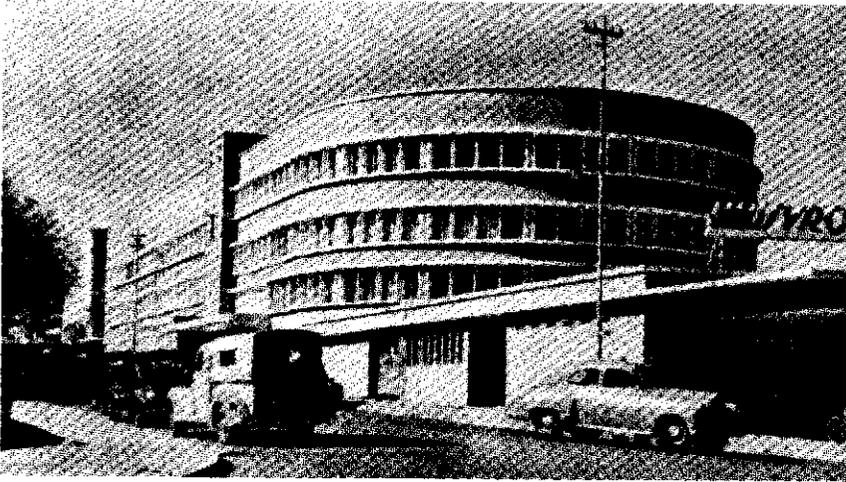
White Man's Wealth, Black Man's Burden

The 1958 report by the special U. N. Committee on South West Africa describes the generally profitable economy run by the Europeans. In 1954, the last year for which statistics separate from those of South Africa itself were published, the export trade was almost \$90 million a year, with diamonds, lead ores, fish products, and caracul (Persian lamb) pelts the most important products. Dairy-farming, the raising of sheep and beef, and mining have proved best adapted to a dry country, much of it desert, but with rich mineral resources. Foreign companies, some American, operate many of the mines.

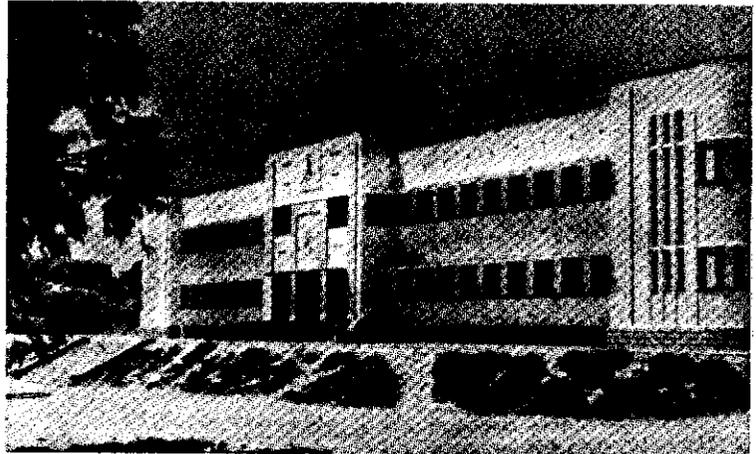
The President of the Windhoek Chamber of Commerce described the economy in 1958 as "very sound." According to a U. N. report, taxation for Europeans is "relatively light."

The U. N. report comments, however, that such comfortable progress is for the

Windhoek hotel for whites

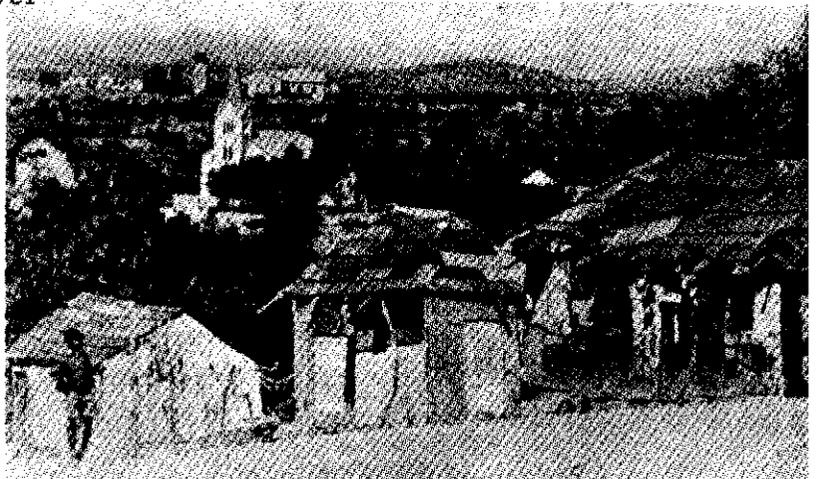


Windhoek high school for whites



BLACK AND WHITE: Per capita incomes for the 66,000 whites of South West Africa rank with the most advanced countries of the world. For the 452,000 African inhabitants the statistics tell another story. Poverty in the rural areas is below the survival level. As for the towns, John Gunther called the location in Windhoek "one of the most gruesome and nauseating slums I have ever seen."

Windhoek "location" for African inhabitants



whites only and "depends to a critical extent on a large and relatively cheap labor force drawn from the 'Non-European' population"--which is limited by law almost entirely to unskilled labor.

A Tragic History

A tribe with which we shall be mostly concerned here is that of the Hereros, a proud and intelligent people who once were "cattle-rich" and roamed the country freely and without fear.

German missionaries arrived in South West Africa in the mid-nineteenth century, and the country was successfully claimed by Germany in 1884. German occupation made headway only against the desperate opposition of the African populations, culminating in the Herero War of 1904-07. The brutal "extermination order" of General von Trotha cost about 65,000 Herero lives. An estimated 15,000 Hereros survived, bereft of their cattle wealth, reduced to landless poverty, and segregated on reserves. Some stayed in South West Africa under Chief Hosea Kutako, who is still alive today. Others fled to Bechuanaland where they have lived in exile ever since.

During the First World War, Hereros provided soldiers and aid to the Allies and were promised a return of their lands for this help. They received instead the Mandate status under South Africa's unsympathetic rule.

The assignment of the Mandate was justified on the ground of geographical position. State papers on the peace conference published subsequently show the Mandate as a misguided concession to South Africa's desire for the outright annexation of South West Africa. South Africa was required to submit annual reports on the progress of South West Africa and to be subject to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. South Africa had, however, the privilege of applying its own laws to the territory. Administrative powers were delegated by the Governor-General to an Administrator who acted in his behalf. Under the constitution adopted in 1925, the European inhabitants were given the right to elect members of a Legislative Assembly. The same privilege was denied to Africans, whose affairs were dealt with not by the Assembly, but by the Administrator in Advisory Council. Only one member of this Council was selected on the ground of his "thorough acquaintance with the reasonable wants and wishes to the non-European races in the territory."

Between the two World Wars the Hereros continued to be moved from place to place, finally reaching the reserves where they are today.

QUOTATIONS FROM SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SOURCES

From "South West Africa--Land of Promise," by the Editor, in Lantern for October, 1957, published under the patronage of the South African Government:

Of the Ovambos: "They are a happy and contented people."

Of "the Whites": "The country's economy depends upon their enterprise, and without their guardianship the Natives would hardly be able to make a living, let alone have their feet on the rungs of the ladder of civilization.

"The Whites are constantly being reinforced by immigrants from the Union and abroad, for opportunity in commerce, industry, and the professions seems unlimited."

"Non-Europeans are not a part of the electorate for the Union Parliament or the Legislative Assembly, but enjoy a large measure of autonomy in managing internal affairs in their areas according to their own customs.

"It must be borne in mind that the majority of the Natives, from the point of view of civilization, are centuries behind the Whites...Before the advent of the white man the territory was the scene of much bloodshed...and it took a long time to place a curb on savagery, costing not only many White lives but millions of pounds."

"Naturally, many non-Europeans make a temporary or permanent living outside the reserves, chiefly as unskilled or semi-skilled labourers...For that end there is a special recruiting organization called SWANLA, but wherever they may be, the welfare of non-Europeans is a matter of official concern.

"In Windhoek, for example, there is a government hospital solely for their use..."

From South West Africa and the Union of South Africa: The history of a mandate, pub. c. 1946 by the South African Government:

"The idea of trusteeship by various nations is understood by the Natives ... [Certain tribes] said they understood that under trusteeship administration King George of England would have to share his Council seat with the Chiefs of other Nations--an idea which they strongly reject."

"...One explanation of their low birthrate ventured by medical opinion is the moral degeneracy of the Herero tribes and the high incidence of disease among them--and it may be added that indolence and degeneracy are greatly retarding the advance of some of the other non-white communities in the Territory."

"In Native hospitalisation and education, too, the Union takes a lead and the progress made with the general social welfare of the Natives is unequalled in Africa. This small white nation...has reason to feel that its trusteeship of the Native peoples has brought them great and lasting benefits."

A Friendly White Man--The Reverend Michael Scott

After the Second World War, South Africa was the only mandatory power to refuse to make its Mandate a Trust Territory and thus it refused to groom South West Africa for independence under the supervision of the Trusteeship Council and General Assembly of the United Nations. Togoland, the Camerouns, the Somalia are today about to become independent under such guidance.

South Africa, in fact, used the occasion to renew its efforts to annex South West Africa. Field Marshal Jan Smuts came to the U. N. to ask for that privilege in 1946.

Meanwhile, the Rev. Michael Scott, an English clergyman of the Church of England who had made a remarkable reputation as a defender of Africans and Indians within South Africa, was staying with an African chief in Bechuanaland, bordering South West Africa. This chief introduced him to Chief Frederick Maherero of the Herero remnant which had fled to Bechuanaland many years before. Chief Frederick appealed to Father Scott to help Chief Hosea's people in South West Africa. The Hereros--knowing of Smuts' move at the U. N. (a move based on a dubious "referendum" conducted among the tribes)--sent this urgent message to Chief Frederick: "The heritage of your father's orphans is about to be taken from them and because we cannot speak with one voice as we are scattered all over their country, our heritage may therefore fall to that side for which we have no liking Come quickly to us."

Frederick, knowing that he would have no freedom of movement, sent Scott to South West Africa to visit Hosea instead of himself.

Scott told the old chief and his elders that they were entitled to petition the U. N. against annexation and he agreed to carry such a petition for them. Surmounting incredible difficulties, Scott journeyed to London and thence to the U. N. in New York. Annexation was denied to Smuts, but South Africa refused to recognize U. N. jurisdiction over the territory. The International Court of Justice in 1950 ruled that South Africa, while not bound to make South West Africa a Trust Territory, was legally required to submit annual reports and transmit petitions to the U. N. and to observe the terms of the Mandate.

The U. N.--Words But Not Deeds

Scott achieved much in gaining U. N. attention to the cruel conditions in South West Africa. Even his unflinching efforts, however, and even the sympathy he won for this cause among a majority of U. N. members, have never resulted in any action which

compelled South Africa to change its ways.

Meanwhile South Africa continues to integrate the territory into her own, giving it white representation in the South African Parliament, bringing its Africans under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Native Affairs, and in general doing what she pleases.

The Good Offices Committee

In 1957 a Good Offices Committee was established by the U. N. After a long unwillingness to talk and a boycotting of U. N. sessions, South Africa agreed to "negotiate" with this Committee. The U. S., Britain, and Brazil were members of this Committee and discussions were held in South Africa itself. When the talks were concluded, the British and Brazilian members allowed themselves to be flown on a hasty and unpublicized tour of South West Africa under government guidance, apparently seeing only what suited the South African government and interviewing no African leaders. This visit, which aroused deep misgivings among Chief Hosea and his friends, was the only occasion when representatives of the U. N. even as individuals have been invited to visit South West Africa.

In September, 1958, when the Good Offices Committee reported to the U. N. Trusteeship Committee, the only positive result of the discussions which it could present was a tentative suggestion that South Africa might be willing to consider annexation of the southern (profitable and white-settled) area of South West Africa and to administer the northern part (where the majority of Africans live) as a U. N. Trust Territory.

Eric Louw, foreign minister of South Africa, was present in New York to discuss the partition suggestion. After a majority of U. N. members voted to allow Michael Scott and Mburumba Kerina, a young Herero, to comment on partition from the beginning of the debate, Mr. Louw consulted his government and announced that South Africa would have to boycott the remainder of the South West Africa discussions. Thus South Africa walked out. Scott and Kerina, reflecting the opinion of Africans, completely rejected partition--as did the U. N. majority. To many partition smacked of apartheid under U. N. auspices. The Trusteeship Committee asked the Good Offices Committee to try once again and report to the 14th General Assembly in 1959 on its results. These proved to be nil.

A Herero Speaks at the U. N.

For many years Michael Scott was the only petitioner at the U. N. on behalf of the South West African tribes. (In the meantime he was forbidden by South Africa to



United Nations Photo

A HERERO HERO makes a personal appeal to the United Nations Committee on South West Africa in May 1959 after penetrating the sealed borders of South West Africa. Here Fanuel Konzonguisi of the Herero tribe of South West Africa appeals to the United Nations against the South African tyranny at the United Nations in New York.

enter South West Africa or South Africa). In 1956, however, Scott was joined by a young Herero, Mburumba Kerina (sometimes known as Getzen, a name he no longer uses). As a South West African, Kerina was unable to get permission to leave South Africa for higher education, but registering as a South African he managed to receive a passport to study in the U. S. He received a degree from Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and is continuing to study in New York City. He was authorized by his people in South West Africa to speak for them. He has added further confirmation to Scott's carefully-documented testimony and to the U. N.'s reports.

The Herero Who Escaped

On many occasions the U. N. has requested that certain South West Africans be allowed to come and testify before it. Passports have always been refused by South Africa. In 1957 one was denied a Herero, Fanuel Jariretundu Kozonguizi. As far as is known, he is the only African other than Kerina from South West Africa to have a college degree. He is also chairman of a new "political" organization, the South West Africa National Union (SWANU).

In the spring of 1959 Kozonguizi, with admirable resourcefulness and courage, managed to leave South West Africa inconspicuously and to make his way to the U. N. where he testified before the Committee on South West Africa and the Fourteenth General Assembly.

THE STORY OF HANS BEUKES

A third non-white from South West Africa reached the General Assembly as a petitioner in the fall of 1959. He was Hans Beukes, a "Colored" man from the Rehoboth Community, who had been chosen from among all the non-white students in South African universities (now to be closed to non-whites altogether), to take up a three-year scholarship to the University of Oslo, Norway. Beukes, a student at Cape Town University, had received a passport and was about to embark for Norway, when his passport was withdrawn. Official explanations varied. The final one, pronounced by Foreign Minister Eric Louw at the United Nations was that "it was then discovered that the immediate purpose of this young man . . . was . . . to come and give evidence at the United Nations."

Beukes determined to get to Norway by any means possible. Slipping across the border to Bechuanaland, he then did make the United Nations his object, since it could provide for him the papers he lacked and would offer an opportunity to strengthen the case of the other petitioners by describing in person his own shabby treatment by South African authorities.

He has, in 1960, taken up his economic studies in Oslo, where "WELCOME, HANS!" greeted him in newspaper headlines on his arrival.

THE STOWAWAY

A fourth South West African, Leonard Gabriel, an Ovambo, stowed away on a ship in the fall of 1959 and was detained for extradition at a U. S. Gulf port. Here he tried to commit suicide when he thought he would be returned to South West Africa. Through the intervention of interested individuals, the American Committee on Africa, and the governments of the United States and Liberia, he received a scholarship for study in Liberia and was spared certain imprisonment at home.

AN OVAMBO REPRESENTATIVE - SAN NUJOMA

Yet a fifth South West African, who arrived in New York in June, 1960, is energetic Sam Nujoma, chairman of the political organization formerly called the Ovamboland People's Organization, now the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Mr. Nujoma was arrested three times (twice released) at Windhoek after the December, 1959, disturbances. The third time--rather than face detention in Ovamboland--he was instructed by SWAPO to escape and go to the United Nations. "So I escaped," he told with characteristic modesty of understatement the South West Africa Committee of the U. N. on his arrival.

Self-educated, he has a wife and four children in South West Africa, but will incur grave penalties if he returns.

The most effective function of the two new African organizations, SWANU and SWAPO, is perhaps the raising of funds to support representatives to the U. N. They also, of course, give South West African non-whites a new sense of solidarity and nationalist pride, though in the absence of elected African representation in government they are at present politically impotent.

How South West Africans Live

The European economy of South West Africa is prosperous in part because it is based on cheap African labor. The cynic--and one need hardly be a cynic to believe this--might suppose that the Hereros and others are deliberately kept on poor lands, deliberately allowed to learn no skills, deliberately prevented by law from forming effective labor or political organizations, so that they will be forced to work for the white man on the white man's own terms.

Chief Hosea and a group of Hereros wrote to the U. N. in 1958: "At the last meeting . . . when we raised the question of low wages we were told that the Government has nothing to do with the question of wage increases. That must be left as a matter between the labourer and his master."

Most of the labor required for mining and farming comes from the northern re-

serves, of which Ovamboland is one, and is recruited by the South West African Native Labor Association (SWANLA). Laborers are employed under contract for periods of as much as two years at a time.

Kerina says: "The laborers come from the reserves, some forced, others of their own free will, to earn wages. They are not free to choose their masters on arrival at the place of work, or to bargain with their employers or to leave them when exposed to harsh treatment They are herded in the trains and cattle trucks with tallies or labels around their necks and are not well-fed or accommodated." Wages a few years ago ranged from \$1.26 a month plus minimum clothing and rations, according to Scott. He has also seen these laborers sleeping outdoors on concrete with one blanket in sub-freezing weather.

An Ovambo writing the U. N. in 1957 says:

The apartheid is a ceaseless terror--now hundreds of Ovambo workers in the police zone have been arrested. Nobody knows what is their crime. It is only that they happen to pay a visit, or were sleeping somewhere where they have no permission to sleep. They have either to serve six weeks imprisonment or be fined three pounds [\$8.40]. The daily wages of an contract Ovambo are 7/6 [\$1.05] per week Fines! Fines!

Conditions of life for Ovambo Native labour in South West Africa are a scandal. There is a grave system of forced labour. The Majority of Ovambo recruits for S.W.A.N.L.A. are forced to go somewhere they do not want. Eventually, they sneak away. By sneaking away . . . they have hundreds of miles to walk. Many were thus eaten up by lions; many starved in the way; many were shot down by Boer farmers; many were captured by S. A. police; before they reach Court, they were savagely kicked and beaten by S. A. Boer Policemen. At the Court they are always fined . . . ten pounds [\$28.00] or serve six months' imprisonment with heavy labour . . . Few farmers accused of murder were fined fifteen pounds [\$42.00] only by the Court. This above-mentioned amount is often part of an Ovambo victim's sacked monies (savings).

We might question the shootings as an exaggeration, but Michael Scott's own investigations reveal similar conditions, as have newspaper stories from South Africa itself. The death of an African at the hands of a white man is not an infrequent occurrence, with the kind of penalty as reported by the Ovambo petitioner. Fleeing laborers are, of course, fugitives from justice. Certain public expenditures, according to the U. N. reports, have been described in official reports as the cost of efforts "to trace Ovambo deserters who, if found, were subject to imprisonment with hard labour and to the completion of their full contract period with the same employer whom they had left." Desertion is "one of the more serious offences."

Break-up of the African Family

Since lands are poor on many of the reserves and money is need to pay taxes, the men are forced to take up the long contract periods offered by SWANLA. When an African in the Police Zone is slow in finding employment, he may--by law--be assigned an employer or be arrested for vagrancy. Women and children are left behind--few women are ever given permission to leave the northern reserves. The men at the mines sleep in crude barracks-style compounds. At Tsumeb copper mines, owned by two American concerns--the Newmont Mining Corp. and American Metal Climax, Inc.--African workers live 12 to a room. Accommodations at the white farms are far more primitive.

What effect these long periods of separation have on the morality--not to say the morale--of husband and wife and on the welfare of young children is not hard to imagine. This is one of the more brutal aspects of a system in which Africans are regarded not as human beings but as so many units of work.

African Wages

The Tsumeb mine in 1956, according to The New York Times, paid Africans from 25¢ to \$1.54 for an 8-hour day, while the first-class European worker was paid a base wage of \$6.00 a day and a cost-of-living bonus of \$75 a month. His family was provided a house at a reasonable rental. Conditions for Africans at Tsumeb are, it should be noted, among the best in the territory.

Chief Hosea has written: (pounds are here changed to dollars):

Wages for our people in the towns are very low. For men they are from \$16.80 to \$28.00 per month in Windhoek where pay is highest. A few men receive \$33.60 per month. Women receive \$4.20 to \$8.40 per month. In other towns wages are lower than this e.g., Okahandja, where men receive \$4.20 to \$8.40 per month. At Otatu the wage is \$2.80 to \$5.60 per month without rations

A U. N. report describes wages in the 1950's for mine and farm laborers as beginning from \$2.80 to \$9.10 a month, plus food, some clothing, and housing.

Prices are, however, geared to the white man who may earn 10 times as much as an African. Chief Hosea describes the price of clothing worn by himself and his friends: \$19.60 for a pair of trousers, \$4.90 for a shirt, \$27.65 for a coat, \$8.40 for a pair of shoes, \$14.00 for a second-hand suit. Food costs range as follows: a loaf of bread, from 14¢ to 21¢; 3 pounds of mealie (corn) meal, 14¢; a pound of goat meat or beef, low grade, 28¢; a pound of butter, 45¢; a cow's head, 77¢; heart and lungs, the lot, 70¢; feet, 56¢; and stomach, 42¢.

With \$33.60 a month being a high salary for an African, it is any wonder that deficiency diseases, shown in sores and distended stomachs, plague the children? On many occasions corn meal may be the only article of diet.

Taxation

Taxation for Europeans has been described as "relatively light." This holds true for corporate as well as for individual taxes. Thus South West Africa offers attractive prospects for outside investors. South Africa complains that the whole cost of government in South West Africa is borne by whites, failing to mention that this tax money might be considered as rightly owed to those who make the high incomes for whites possible. Michael Scott points out that the territory now contributes a flat sum of 50,000 pounds (\$140,000) a year for the development of the reserves, "but any further expenditure . . . has to come from the Trust funds--that is, from the annual rates or head taxes, grazing fees, and the many other taxes imposed on the Africans, most of whom are far too poor to pay any kind of tax."

The Pass System

Suppose that every time you wanted to go anywhere beyond a few blocks from your home you had to get a pass from the police or from your employer. Suppose you wanted to be out after ten o'clock at night and had to have police permission. Suppose you had to have written police permission not only to be away from home, but to get into a friend's neighborhood not far away. Suppose you also needed a pass to prove that you had paid your income tax. If you were caught without the right pass or passes, if you stayed more than 72 hours at a friend's house or in a city to seek work, you would go to jail--and no one in your family would know where you were. It sounds like a nightmare. Yet this is what the pass system means in South West Africa, an "international" territory.

Kerina describes 9 kinds of passes, one or more of which an African must produce on demand: the poll tax receipt, the identification and traveling pass, the 6 days' special pass to seek work, the night special pass, the lodge pass, the day labor pass (to prove employment), the location visitor's pass, the trek pass (for migrant laborers), and the exemption pass--to say one needn't carry any other passes! Africans hate the pass system as much as any other single indignity.

"The Land Is Ours"

Hosea Kutako has been saying, "The land is ours," for most of his 88 years. In

reality, however, the European is steadily whittling away from the reserves as fast as the Africans pay for developing them. Africans cannot afford the same kind of development as the European, of course, and receive only a small fraction of the public funds made available to white farmers. From their cattle they make a meager living selling cream, butter, meat, and hides.

Chief Hosea has written:

There is a great scarcity of water in the Reserves. In the Epikuro and Otjituo Reserves animals must often be driven twenty or thirty miles to water. It is very difficult to breed animals in good condition and the people get little benefit from rearing these animals. There are very few people living in the Reserves who have enough cattle to provide them with a proper livelihood. They are not allowed to have permits to go and seek work in the towns, though sometimes the young men can obtain contracts to work in the towns. . . and white recruiting officers come. . . when young men are needed in the towns. But the young women and people generally are not allowed to go to the towns to look for work. For these reasons the standard of living of the people in the Reserves remains very low.

In the towns there is, in general, no labor shortage, as there has been of recent years in farming and mining. A man unemployed for 14 days may lose his house in the new Windhoek location and be forced to leave the town. When the Africans sell their cattle, they find prices very low.

Two recent cases illustrate the European attitude toward African land.

The Case of Hosea Kutako and the Aminuis Reserve

Aminuis reserve, where Chief Hosea lives, is an oblong area about 40 by 60 miles, next to a strip or corridor about 60 by 10 miles along the Bechuanaland border. In 1933 the South West African Administrator, Dr. Conradie, visited the Hereros and told them that the corridor would be added to the Aminuis reserve, as already promised by the Government. He added: "This, however, has not been actually proclaimed as it was not considered necessary to do so until water has been opened up and the ground was actually used by the people."

Twenty-four years after, in 1957, the Secretary for Native Affairs offered Hosea one farm area in the corridor in exchange for a much better part of the reserve which the Hereros were then occupying. The corridor was wanted, of course, for white settlement. Chief Hosea refused the offer, pointing out that the corridor had been theirs for many years. The "exchange," if he were to accept it, was far from fair in any case. The Secretary replied that Hosea would regret having lost such a fine opportunity, since in

the present circumstances the Hereros could have no further claim to the corridor whatsoever!

Suggestions for moving nearly all the Hereros from the Police Zone for resettlement in the north have been seriously advanced in the South African Parliament in 1958. This would be rather like moving 40,000 New Yorkers to Georgia--and without their permission.

The Case of the Rev. Markus Kooper

A number of recent letters and petitions to the U. N. have concerned the Hoachanas Reserve, where 400 of the remainder of the "Red Nation"--one of the Nama tribes--have lived for many years. They were allowed to build their own African Methodist Episcopal Church, but the Government decided that it needed the area for whites. The Rev. Markus Kooper, beloved by his people, has been their religious leader. He and others have complained to the U. N. that the Government has recently persecuted their church and has wrongfully accused certain of its members of buying stolen caracul pelts in order to justify the impending removal of the Red Nation from its lands. These had been granted in perpetuity by the Germans, although three-quarters of the original area--the inhabitants insist--has since been taken from them.

In January, 1959, the Rev. Kooper and his family of six were forcibly removed--and some of his people were injured when they protested--to a remote spot, 150 miles away in the Itsawisis Desert, where his people are to follow him. Sadly, Kooper has written that he was taken there as so much "useless waste matter."

In a petition to the U. N. a month later, Kooper concludes:

"Sirs, while I do not know the present situation of my people at Hoachanas whom I have been serving and from whom I was depending for my meals and salary I, together with my wife and children are in a miserable situation of hunger. We live and I fed my children on gum since we have been threw away in these lifeless stones by the administration of SWA, so I am closing the petition sofar for today because I am going to fetch gum our onliest diet to quiet my children crying for food. Oh, Heavenly Father, hast Thou create me to live on the face of this earth, to roam about and to fed myself and my family which Thou has entrusted me on gum as if we are really baboons for whom Thou has no purpose to serve in the world of humanbeings and in this country Thou gavest to our dear parents and their parents. Forgive us our transgressions as we are sinners and deliver South West Africa from South African Government. Amen!"

Respectfully yours for Rooinasie [Red Nation] and oppressed.

--Rev. Markus Kooper

He begs the U. N. to take action. Indeed, the General Assembly did pass a laud-

able resolution on the Rev. Mr. Kooper. The South African government did not heed the resolution, but the Rev. Kooper escaped from exile into Bechuanaland in the spring of 1960.

Health--More Hospitals Wanted

John Gunther in Inside Africa wrote of the Windhoek location as "one of the most gruesome and nauseating slums I have ever seen." In such locations, refuse flowing from the lavatories sometimes contaminates drinking water--with as many as 150 families sharing a water faucet.

Tuberculosis and malaria, among other diseases, have been rife in the territory, as well as an epidemic of diphtheria in Ovamboland in 1956-57. Though there are a number of state hospitals for Africans in the Police Zone, and more are being built, they are still inadequate to the need. There are three Administration medical officials and one small government hospital outside the Police Zone, where missionaries provide the only other medical help--for 238,487 Africans, or nearly two-thirds of those in the whole of South West Africa.

Housing

African housing both in the locations and on the reserves is of the flimsiest. John Gunther describes those at Windhoek as being "made of old automobile fenders, cardboard, mashed-out petrol tins, and bits of old cloth and basketware." New houses for Windhoek Africans are now being built, but with the usual enforced removal of location residents to a site far distant from the city. This removal of Africans from white areas involves higher rents and bus fares, still under apartheid.

Chief Hosea in 1958 observed that Africans were refusing to be moved and would prefer that existing locations be improved. Policemen, he said, searched Africans going in and out of locations. He describes the new locations as follows:

These locations will be built in separate sections for the Hereros, Namas, Damaras, Ovamboes. When a person wishes to go from the Ovambo to the Herero section he must apply for a permit and state the purpose of his visit. The houses that are to be built by the Administration must be paid for before the seventh of each month. [The rent for each house will be the equivalent of \$5.40 as opposed to 50¢ or less per person under the old scheme]. Those who fail to pay will be arrested.

The house is about twenty feet square divided into four equal-sized rooms. It has only one door and has one window at the front and one at the back . . . There is no kitchen, but permits may be given to build a kitchen alongside the house or to use an open fire. . . . The superintendent says that communal bathrooms will be built for each section. Those who are to be allowed to stay in these houses are a man and his wife and minor children. . . . There will be separate compounds

for male and female [over 18 years of age] in each section. . . .

Provision is being made for those wishing to build their own houses in the same location. . . . The house will belong to the person who has built it for thirty years only.

Much of this is confirmed in the 196 regulations proposed for the new Windhoek location. Some houses will have only two or three rooms at lower rentals. Advance permission will be required for large gatherings; strict control will be exercised over those who enter the location.

Education

The European in South West Africa lives much as an American would in America, except that he rarely lifts a finger at manual labor. He has servants--several servants. He may be somewhat richer than we are, seldom poorer--so far as comforts are concerned. He is required by law to educate his children. For 1954-55 in South West Africa, the total government expenditure on education was approximately as follows: 79% for educating the Europeans, 8% for the Colored, 9.5% for the Africans in the Police Zone, and 3.5% for the Africans outside the Police Zone. The latter comprise the vast majority of Africans.

Most education for Africans in the north is in the hands of missionaries. Their best schools, and they are few, normally end at the fifth grade. Government and "recognized" mission schools within the Police Zone reach the eighth grade. There is only one non-white high school (with classes through the twelfth grade) in the whole territory. This is for Colored pupils only. There is no institution for higher learning.

"In distant parts there is no school for the children to attend," writes Chief Hosea, "and thus it is that many of our children get no education."

There can be, therefore, no compulsory education for Africans. Only about one in three Africans ever sees the inside of a schoolhouse or sits in a class.

Americans Visit South West Africa

Two young Americans, Allard Lowenstein and Emory F. Bundy, issued a statement in August, 1959, after close personal investigation of conditions in South West Africa. From their talks with Africans they conclude:

We bring a renewed testimonial to Michael Scott of the unequalled esteem, affection, and trust placed in him by the people whom he has so effectively and faithfully represented for so many hard years. England can be proud. . . that she has produced such a son. And Christianity is indeed fortunate to have in the ranks of her clergy a man whose selfless concern for others has done much to redeem

the meaning of the Christian religion for millions of oppressed and forgotten people who might otherwise have been led to think of the Christian Church as an elaborate rationalization of the doctrine that no black man, however good, should be the equal--on this earth--of any white man, however mean.

In the "police state" atmosphere of South West Africa, Lowenstein and Bundy observe: "It grows increasingly difficult. . . even for Europeans to voice publicly fundamental disagreements with present racial policies. It will be said that few Europeans disagree. . . with present racial policies; we would observe merely that we encountered such Europeans, and that their hesitancy to speak out and their fear of being quoted betray an unhappy erosion of traditional freedoms even within the limited European community."

Lowenstein and Bundy report:

The noose of the pass laws grows ever tighter; intimidation of persons opposing government policies increase in incidence and in intensity; and the communications among the various African tribes and between them and other groups is discouraged and grows increasingly difficult. . . .

Our affection for many of the generous and charming Europeans who have made their homes in South West Africa cannot be allowed to blind us to the conditions in which the vast majority of the people of the territory are obliged to live by the present Mandatory Power.

The first recommendation made by these two American observers is that the western democracies must take action on the "plight" of these Africans and, in so doing, carry out their international responsibilities. Other recommendations are as follows:

The Government of South Africa is unfit to continue as the Trustee for the conscience of the world and should be stripped of its rights as a Mandatory Power.

The Territory should be placed under the jurisdiction of the Trusteeship Council and the inhabitants consulted as to which nation they would like to have as the Trust power.

Steps should be taken to carry the problem of the status of South West Africa to the International Court of Justice for its compulsory jurisdiction.

In the event of continued defiance of its international obligations by the Union Government, we would urge the increased use of economic pressures by an aroused conscience of mankind.

Lowenstein, a lawyer, Bundy, a teacher, and Sherman Bull, an American medical student who had been with them in South West Africa, later testified before the United Nations Trusteeship Committee on their findings. They played taped recordings of the pleas of African leaders for the information of U. N. delegates.

Despair Stalks South West Africa

Milton Bracker, a reporter for The New York Times, described in the July 12, 1959 issue of The New York Times Magazine an afternoon he spent in a location hovel with the Herero leaders. (Mr. Bracker was later arrested, lengthily interrogated, fined,

and subjected to a search of his belongings and a study of his notes and papers for having been in this location without a permit). We may embroider a little upon his story and picture Chief Hosea leaning upon a table, his ancient head grizzled and his face lined with the years of his sorrow and the waiting, waiting--for the broken promises to be fulfilled, for the U. N. to act, for something to happen to give his people a glimmer of hope. He is thinking perhaps of Michael Scott's 14-year dedication; of the two young Hereros abroad; and perhaps of the iron rule of South Africa, sapping the joy from each African child as he learns how little joy there is to be in life for him, asking African labor at a pittance, and dooming the African to virtual slavery, disease, ignorance, hunger, separation from loved ones. . . .

Hosea spoke only of the Herero claims to their ancient lands. But Festus Kandjo, his friend and companion of many years, had this to say: "If you wait too long for something that belongs to you it breeds bad things. When a person has lost patience, he sometimes commits suicide. . . ."

During 1959 and early 1960 the United Nations learned of the severe drought in South West Africa, which has added immeasurably to the sufferings of the African peoples.

DEATH IN WINDHOEK

On December 10, 1959, ironically enough Human Rights Day, the pattern of police shootings--later repeated at Sharpeville, South Africa, on a larger scale to the horror of the whole world--appeared for the first time in South West Africa.

A gathering of unarmed Africans meeting to protest the proposed mass removals from the Windhoek Location as described above, was shot into by police. The toll: 12 dead, some 40 wounded by bullets. Africans claim that the police initiated the violence. South Africa said otherwise and declared that the affair had been engineered from New York! The U. N. 's Trusteeship Committee held an emergency hearing of the three South West Africa-born petitioners--Kerina, Kozonguizi, and Beukes. Later the South West Africa Committee sent a strongly worded cable to the South African Government protesting the shootings.

What Has the U.S. Done About South West Africa?

The U. S. has participated in the U. N. Committee on South West Africa for a three-year term (1956-58) and helped to draw up reports severely critical of South Africa's carrying out its Mandate.

The U. S. participated in the Good Offices Committee in 1958. Its representative

refrained from joining the "tour" of South West Africa which caused such resentment among Africans.

The U. S. has supported many U. N. resolutions asking South Africa to change its ways regarding South West Africa.

The United States in the fall of 1959 took stronger action than ever before in supporting the two strong resolutions passed by the General Assembly. One of these, couched in forceful terms, asked that new negotiations with the Union of South Africa be undertaken. This passed 55-5. The other pointed to the possibility of recourse to the International Court for its compulsory jurisdiction on whether South Africa had violated her Mandate, and was passed 55-4.

The United States broke away from most of its NATO associates in taking this position. Mason Sears, the United States delegate acting on this question, was most sympathetic to the African point of view.

This was a great step forward, but words have still to be followed by deeds. Africans are asking: Will the United States strongly support the effort to bring South Africa to the International Court? The next two sections describe this course of action.

What Next in the U.N. Assembly?

What recourse does the international community have when a country defies the U. N. as the Union of South Africa has done in its relations with South West Africa? If new negotiations produce no results of a positive nature, it is likely that the next step will be to take legal methods of remedying the situation, a possibility which has been under study at the U. N. for several years.

The International Court of Justice ruled in 1950 that South Africa did have obligations to the U.N. in regard to South West Africa. These were to maintain the territory's international status and abide by the terms of the Mandate, to transmit reports to the U. N. annually, and to forward petitions to the U. N. from the inhabitants of the territory. The Court also gave as its opinion on this occasion that if a complaint were correctly brought against South Africa, it would be bound--under the League of Nations Covenant--to accept the Court's compulsory jurisdiction.

Compulsory Jurisdiction?

Under international law, the inhabitants of a mandated territory cannot themselves seek court relief. The complaint must be lodged by an independent state, possibly any member of the U. N. or, at any rate, any former member of the League of Nations which is now a member of the U. N.

The U. N. Committee on South West Africa has indicated repeatedly several ways-- including the failure to make annual reports--in which it believes that a case might be made that South Africa has violated its Mandate over South West Africa.

The method, depending on legal considerations yet to be decided, should be available for any one nation or group of nations which the International Court permits to petition it to hear the complaint on South Africa's failure to observe the terms of the Mandate. (This action could take place at any time of year; it need not be dependent on a meeting of the General Assembly). Both South Africa and the complainant would be bound to accept the International Court's decision. If South Africa were asked to take certain steps and refused to comply, the matter could then be brought before the U. N. Security Council which could theoretically impose economic and even military pressures to force compliance. Many have long advocated economic sanctions.

Needed--An Informed World Public Opinion

To accomplish the end of justice, the nations of the world must be willing and anxious, in the name of humanity, moral obligation, the U. N. Charter, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights--to which most nations are signatories--to insist on a new deal for our international wards in South West Africa. Dr. Gebre-Egzy, the delegate from Ethiopia to the 1959 U. N. Committee on South West Africa, suggested that there be world-wide demonstrations and an international observance yearly of "South West Africa Day." The ordinary citizen has to hear of South West Africa and to make his opinion--based on accurate information--known to his government and to other citizens at home and abroad.

What You Can Do

1. Write two letters,

one to President Dwight D. Eisenhower,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

another to Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge
U. S. Mission to the United Nations
2 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Make these three points:

- a. That the U. S. take effective measures, including forthright direct pressure, toward bringing about U. N. Trust Territory status for South West Africa. As long as South Africa retains power over South West Africa, it should be unceasingly pressed to observe the terms of its Mandate.

- b. That the U. S. strongly support any effort to ask the International Court of Justice for compulsory jurisdiction on the question of whether South Africa has violated its Mandate over South West Africa.
- c. That the U. S. make every effort to exert her leadership in NATO and in the U. N. toward making constructive action on the South West African question. Point out that the new and about-to-be-free nations of Africa are watching to see if the U. S.'s protestations of friendship to them are matched by its deeds in the U. N.

2. Write to Ambassador Wentzel C. du Plessis
Embassy of the Union of South Africa
Washington, D. C.

Urge the Union of South Africa to implement the terms of its Mandate over South West Africa and to report on its progress toward self-determination regularly to the U. N.

3. Send for the reports of the U. N. Committee on South West Africa, of which there has been one each year since 1954. Six reports, 1954 through 1959, can be obtained at nominal prices from the U. N. Bookstore (United Nations, N. Y.). Also read Michael Scott's autobiography, A Time to Speak (Doubleday, 1958). Write to the American Committee on Africa (801 Second Ave., New York 17, N. Y.) for a reading list of other printed material.

4. Order and distribute additional copies of this pamphlet directly from the American Committee on Africa. There is a discount for quantity orders. These should be distributed to schools and libraries and editors, clergymen, and other opinion-makers in your community.

5. Invite a speaker on African affairs--an African student, visitor, or petitioner to the U. N.--to address your club, school, union, church or synagogue. A few speakers can talk on South West Africa. Write to the American Committee on Africa for suggestions for speakers.

6. Ask the clergymen of your faith to deliver a sermon on the problem of South West Africa. Many ministers, priests, and rabbis have preached such sermons and they have found the case for South West Africa to be a clear moral issue of our time. Provide background material for such a sermon.

7. Write a letter on South West Africa to your local newspaper or to your favorite periodical, explaining what is happening to South West Africa and asking for justice to its people.

8. Keep informed, through newspapers, books, and periodicals (such as Africa Today) on the problems of the entire African continent--problems which in a real sense are not divisible.

9. If you are a pupil or a teacher, you can discuss these U. N. stepchildren in South West Africa. There have been many such classroom projects, including discussions and then letter-writing campaigns.

10. Support the Africa Defense and Aid Fund, which is giving legal and other help to those who stand for freedom and equality in many parts of Africa. More than \$50,000 has gone to the individuals (and their families) indicted for treason in South Africa. Much more is needed. The Fund has sent funds to South West Africa also. Send your contributions to the Africa Defense and Aid Fund, Suite 400, 801 Second Avenue, New York 17, New York.



CHIEF HOSEA'S PLEA

Chief Hosea Kutako is an old, old man, now. In 1961 he will be ninety. He has led his people from the time of their near-extirmination under the Germans through years of travail, his Christian faith and his hope undimmed.

On April 21, 1960 he wrote from Windhoek:

We are grateful to the American Government and people for the generous support they have been giving to us in our struggle for right, peace, and justice. We are international wards to whom America too has a great responsibility. The American Government and people cannot look with greater pride to their achievements as long as we remain oppressed and slaves to an inhumane unchristian doctrine of Apartheid.

Our appeal goes to the U. S. A. Government and people with their strong belief in justice and peace to do everything within their international jurisdiction so that our country can be placed under Trusteeship supervision of the United Nations. Only the presence of the world organization can save the sufferings of the Africans in South West Africa.

May your prayers not only bring this to happen but also a change of heart amongst many of the whites in South West Africa, redounding to the glory of God Almighty.

Will we of the United States help bring an answer to this plea in Chief Hoseau's lifetime?

The American Committee on Africa is indebted to Winifred Courtney for editing this pamphlet.

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