BARGAIN-OFFER

200 new art. Silk FROCKS
all different, smart floral and dotted patterns, good heavy, art. silk material, many different, modern styles.
Sizes 12-20 (34-44)
Each Dress 49/6

ALSO:
75 new art. silk floral Frocks
made of a lighter-weight washing art. silk Sizes 12-22 (34-46)
Each Dress 39/6

All these dresses have just come from the factory
CONSIGN YOUR NEXT PARCEL OF KARAKUL PELTS TO
Karakul & Stock Farmers' Marketing Agency
Telephone 852 Telegr. “African” P.O. Box 61
WINDHOEK
Lotteryman's Buildings (Opposite the Police Station)
Our Daily Tender Sales guarantee you Highest Market Prices and Prompt Settlement!
We also buy your Cattle, Sheep, Karakul Wool, Pigs and Casein!
Consult the K-S-F-M-A before you give your goods away!

FURNISH TO-TODAY
TERMS
£ 4-0-0 per £ 100
Less 20% for Cash
FREE RAILAGE PACKING CATALOGUE

Please send me, without obligation, a free catalogue and price details of your complete range of furniture
Name
Address

GLOBE FURNISHING CO.
156 MANDEVILLE ST., P.O. BOX 1890, CAPE TOWN

FOR SALE
Purebred Karakul Rams
from own Stud.
G. Schultz, Nautzerus, Windhoek

HARNESS
A selected set of strong double brown Wheeler Cape Cart Harness, complete with reins, bridles and bits, £12.7.6; also superior well-made heavier White Alum Harness suitable for Cape Cart or Wagon, complete, £12.13.0. A fine set of Double Brown, selected leather, Cape Cart or Wagon Harness with loose bridleings and sliding polestraps, including bridles, reins and Liverpool bits £13.11.6. Neck bars and Straps 80/- each; Saving Collars 22/- pair. Quotations for Donkey and Mule Harness on application. The above prices include packing and delivery free your nearest station. C.O.D. or cash with order. JOHN MARCUS & SON, Government Auctioneers, 80 Long Street, Cape Town. Established 1879.
Minimum Native Wages

As from the lst January 1944 the Native Minimum Wages Proclamation comes into force in this territory. This piece of legislation is most welcome—although somewhat belated. The cost of living has increased considerably since the outbreak of war, and in numerous cases the undervag has been expected to come out on the same wage, although employers have all done well.

The law affects all persons, employing natives, whether householders, farmers, business people or industrialists, and the public would be well advised to make themselves acquainted with the provisions of this law, as they are liable for very heavy penalties for any contravention. A person can be convicted of a fine not exceeding £100 or in default imprisonment, or both fine and imprisonment.

The proclamation provides for an immediate increase in wages to the amount prescribed therein, and for the immediate cancellation of all contracts with natives employed at a wage lower than that laid down. A native must be allowed off duty for at least 5 consecutive hours once per week, between 6 a.m. and 3 p.m. the day and time fixed by the employer. An important provision that will most affect farmers is, that it is not permissible to deduct from a native's wages the value of grazing given him for his stock.

In order to amend their existing contracts, employers should send their natives to the Pass Office with a note giving details of his contract of service and stating the date from which he is to be paid as from the lst of January 1944.

The following is the schedule laid down in the proclamation—SCHEDULE—MINIMUM WAGES FOR EMPLOYEES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schedule</th>
<th>Native Wages for Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CLASS A: Urban Areas.</td>
<td>Employers other than casual labourers and extra-territorial or northern employees contracted through a Recruiting Association.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male:</td>
<td>£1.00.0 per month if food or rations supplied, otherwise £3.00.0 per month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female:</td>
<td>£1.00.0 per month if food or rations supplied, otherwise £3.00.0 per month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juveniles:</td>
<td>Those who have not yet reached the age of 16 years but are under the age of 16 years: half of the amounts payable to adults of the same sex.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male:</td>
<td>£1.00.0 per month plus food or rations quarterly plus any benefits mentioned in the service contract.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female:</td>
<td>£0.00.0 per month if food or rations supplied, otherwise £2.00.0 per month.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schedule</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CLASS C: Rural Areas.</td>
<td>Employees other than extra-territorial or northern employees contracted through a Recruiting Association.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male:</td>
<td>£1.00.0 per month if food or rations supplied, otherwise £3.00.0 per month.</td>
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<td>£1.00.0 per month if food or rations supplied, otherwise £3.00.0 per month.</td>
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</table>

The proclamation of two years:—

(i) When service contract is for a period of one year—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Untrained</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Per month.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First four months</td>
<td>11/-</td>
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In the Gazette of the 3rd January a Proclamation controlling the rents of dwellings is published. The law controls the rents of dwellings as from 1st October 1943.
PYAGRA
THE IDEAL INSECTICIDE
SAFE—CERTAIN
NON-POISONOUS
NON-STAINING
ECONOMICAL

FACE RUINED BY
HOME-MADE SOAP

"I had dreaded of ever looking presentable again," writes Mrs. J. R. Roberts (South West Africa). "I had chronic eczema on my face, caused by using home-made soap. Now I find Felaforn Soap excellent and the eczema has greatly reduced the ugly marks. I regularly use the splendid Felaforn Skin Powder on my face and I consider it superior to other face powder for appearance and cohesion."

Hundreds of sufferers from eczema and other skin troubles have obtained complete relief from pain, redness and discomfort, by using the Felaforn Cream at 2/6 per tin; Felaforn Soap at 1/6 per roll; Felaforn Skin Powder at 2/6 per tin; Felaforn Blood Tonic at 4/6 per bottle, and Felaforn Shaving Stick at 1/- each.

FELAFORN
FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES

A "Small"
Advertisement
will pay you!

Just received

Elegant, one-coloured Carpets

in various sizes

HUGO HENSEL LTD.
WINDEHOEK

January 1944. Motor Carrier Certificates are required for the first six months of this year only, and as the financial year of the Road Transportation Board will be altered during this year and will commence at the 1st July, Magistrates and Petrol Controllers have been requested by the Board to issue petrol for the time being until certificates can be in the hands of applicants.

Central (S.W.A.) "A Commando Detachment National Reserve Volunteers."

Compulsory Parade: The next Compulsory Parade will be held at the Hockey Field, Tal Street, Windhoek, on the 8th January, 1944, at 14.00 hours (2 p.m.).

Central (S.W.A.) "C Commando Detachment National Reserve Volunteers."

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ACME THEATRE.

Showing Saturday 8th, Monday 10th, Matinee at 3 p.m. "Bells go Down", featuring Tommy Trinca, Morrie Muson, and Philip Friend.

This is a story of how an East End Auxiliary Service unit made good. A young couple Bob (Phil Friend) and Nan (Philipa Hatt), want to get married, but the war blasts their hopes. See this film of flaming heroism. A dramatic story — a sincere and heart searching story. This is a story of real people. Thrills, romance, and laughs.

Next attraction, commencing Tuesday 11th and running Wednesday 12th "Sea Hawk", with Errol Flynn, Brenda Marshall and Claude Rains. Don't miss this "hold-above-the-seat".

METRO CINEMA.

Commencing Saturday and Matinee: M-G-M proudly presents a picture which will rank with the scene's great masterpieces! "The Human Comedy", starring Mickey Rooney and Frank Morgan with Marsha Hunt and Fay Bainter. A picture, so human and sincere, you'll live it as you see it. You'll find out what laughter is made of, and what makes love go round. A picture nobody can afford to miss!

Commencing Wednesday and Matinee: Gene Autry the singing Cowboy in "Rango Grande" with Smiley Burnette and Mary Lee. A Whirlwind of song and action.
THE WINDHOEK TURF CLUB.

Propositions for Race Meeting to be held in Windhoek on MONDAY 10th APRIL, 1944.

RACE 1. TRIALS. Weight for age. 4 Furlongs (800 m). Open to horses bred in South West Africa.

RACE 2. HANDICAP. Bottom Division. 6 Furlongs (1200 m). Minimum weight 9 Stone (126 lbs). Minimum Weight 9 Stone (126 lbs).

RACE 3. HANDICAP. Top Division. 6 Furlongs (1200 m).

RACE 4. FARMERS HACK RACE. Distance 1 Mile. Minimum Weight Men 161 lbs Ladies 147 lbs. Professional Jockeys allowed to ride.

RACE 5. MAIDENS. 7 Furlongs (1400 m). Open to all horses bred in South West Africa. Minimum weight 120 lbs. Winner of the Trials to carry 7 lb penalty.

RACE 6. HICAP. 1 Mile 3 Furlongs (2200 m). Open to all horses. Bottom Weight 9 stone (126 lbs). Race which have not won during the course of the day to carry 1½ lbs penalty. Winners during the course of the day 7 lbs penalty.

RACE 7. HURDLE RACE. 2 Miles (approx). This race will only be brought into the programme provided more than five horses are entered. Persons wishing to enter horses are therefore asked to notify the Secretary of the Club of their intention as soon as possible to enable him to publish further details. Minimum weight 150 lbs.

RACE 8. CONSOLATION RACE. Open to all horses which have not won a race during the course of the day. 2 Furlongs.

This programme is subject to alteration. Stakes and entrance fees will be published at a later date.

RACE MEETING at Windhoek on the 4th December, 1943.

The following were the results:—

Race No. 1 — Open trials — 5 Furlongs:—
1st Stud Veitland’s “Bojadeur”.
2nd Mr. P. Stark’s “Kastor”.
3rd Mr. P. Steenkamp’s “Florin”.
Also ran: “Echolalie”, “Pontifex”, “Texas”.
Time: 1 min. 4 sec.

Race No. 2 — Administrator’s Plate — 1 Mile:
1st Mr. W. Hoffmann’s “Portepee”.
2nd Mr. P. Steenkamp’s “Handhaaf II”.
3rd Mr. A. van Niekerk’s “Schutze III”.
There were only three horses.
Time: 1 min. 53 sec.

Race No. 3 — Windhoek Handicap — 6 Furlongs:

WINDHOEK Burger-Brew & Lager-Beer are good and at your service at all times.

The South West Breweries Ltd.

JOHANNESBURG STOCK EXCHANGE QUOTATIONS of 5th January 1944.

(Without responsibility)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stock Name</th>
<th>Quotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blyvooruitzicht</td>
<td>83/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consolidated Diamond Ord.</td>
<td>15/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consolidated Diamond Pref.</td>
<td>15/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daggaforendings</td>
<td>66/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Rand Consolidated</td>
<td>14/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simmer &amp; Jacks</td>
<td>5/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodesian Broken Hills</td>
<td>5/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Holdings</td>
<td>36/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Reefs</td>
<td>61/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African &amp; Europeans</td>
<td>68/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo Australians</td>
<td>80/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo American Investments</td>
<td>50/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South African Townships</td>
<td>80/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Rand Investments</td>
<td>80/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo Alpha Cement</td>
<td>9/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Union Gold Fields</td>
<td>16/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We hear that the net proceeds for this race meeting were £250.0.0 half of which were donated to the Red Cross Society. It is officially learnt that the next race meeting will be held on the 10th of April (Easter Monday).

As owners and trainers, as well as the jockeys will have ample time to prepare their horses for the coming meeting in April, the next race meeting promises to be even a better one than the December one, which, taking everything into consideration, proved to be a great success, and great credit is due to the Committee of the Windhoek Turf Club.

LIMOSIN
South Africa’s Finest Brandy
has the true Cognac quality

GOLD INVESTMENT protected
A really satisfying smoke!

YIELD OVER 6 1/2%
Free of normal income tax,
means that you enjoy the
good return of gold investment,
while capital is safe-guarded by
being spread over 39 mines.

PRICE
The purchase price of approxi­
mately £3.6-0 brings this sound
gold investment within reach
of every investor.

POSSIBILITIES
Unit 43 gives an avenue for
sound gold investment for even
small savings, as well as for
trust or other funds for which
a care-free, long term invest­
ment is needed.

Unic Certificates may be
sold through the Company
or its agents, at any time, at
the market value of the
securities on the day of
resale.

Write for details of other Unit
Certificates in Gold, Commerce,
Finance, Industry and Mixed Units;
and for free handbook giving full
particulars of Unit Certificates.

UNIT SECURITIES & TRUST CO. OF S.A. LTD.
UNIT SECURITY HOUSE, cor Fox and Sauer Sts. Johannesburg
Tel. Add.: "UNITSECURE" T.O. Box 9768 Phone: 33-1191

THE CREAM
OF TARTAR
BAKING POWDER

GIVE YOUR CAKE THE
"STAMP OF
QUALITY"
Royal Baking Powder is preferred by all
good cooks for two good reasons. First
of all its reliability ensures success and
puts "the mark of quality" on every
delicious cake you bake. Secondly, Royal
is economical—you never have a failure,
ever waste valuable and costly ingre­
dients which are all too scarce now-a­
days. Always use Royal—the Key Ingre­
dient—for successful baking.
UNITED BANKS BRAAIVLEIS
in Aid of S.A. Gifts and Comforts Fund held on Wednesday
15th December, 1943.

RECEIPTS:
Donations collected per Mrs. v. Backstrom:
Mr. Edgar Sander £10 10 0
Mr. F. Stein 10 10 0
Karal.-ul Kontor 3 3 0
Allfurs Karal.-ul Export 3 3 0
Bodelef Schuster Ltd. 12 10 0
Mejer & Ziegler (Pty) Ltd. 10 10 0
Shahan (Pty) Ltd. 5 5 0
M. & D. Len-ten 2 2 0
Barry and de Jong 2 2 0

Other Donations:
fr. H. Le
Mr. S. C. Oben
Mrs. Cloete, Hohenhof

Tickets Sold
18 13 0
12 0
14 0 10

Beer Licence and Gallon Tax 2 15 0
ood purclmsed 7 3 3
Butchers (Straube and Windhoek Market) 5 14 2
iener Bakery (Rolls) 1 5 0
ervants and undry Expenses 2 17 10

Amount available fur Distribution
£62 18 0

The following donations are also acknowledged with
thanks:—
Sheep: frs. J. Uys, P. H. Groher, J. P. A. Hanssen,
Beer: W. Bruderie Ltd. and Mr. H. Haselstein.
ilk: Mr. F. Jurgens.
Butter: C. Offen Limited.
Transport, etc.: Captain Borchers.

In conclusion I wish to say many thanks to all who
contributed so liberally and to the ladies and gentlemen who
so ably assisted in making the function such a success.

M. M. SCHUTZ, Convenor.

COUNTRY NOTES

Reserve Grazing! Reserve Grazing!
Auction Sale of Farm

Duly instructed thereto, the undersigned will offer for
sale by Public Auction — to the highest bidder for cash, and
for account of whom it may concern —

ON SATURDAY, 15th JANUARY, 1944, at 12 noon,
at the Karakul Kontor, Windhoek,
FARM "DORSTRIEB", No. 15, near Karibib.
This farm, 18,407 hectares in extent, is situated next to the
Swakop river; the four waters — with abundant water —
make it possible for the farm to be fully exploited. Cattle and
sheep thrive equally well on this farm with its beautiful,
healthy grazing.

Reserve Price: 5/6, subject to sale by private treaty, as
there are already some buyers who are interested in this
proposition.

Final arrangements can be concluded immediately.

HANS BERKER,
Sworn Appraiser and Auctioneer,
Karakul Kontor, Windhoek.

Reserve Grazing! Reserve Grazing!
Wines, Liqueurs and Beers
Prompt service — Reasonable prices assured

H. PUPKEWITZ, Bottle Store
(Successor to Sleith Davis & Co.)
Corner of BAHNHOF/STUEBEL STREETS
Telephone 514 P. O. Box 122

Otjiwarongo Beeshandelaars
A. P. Liebenberg

Telegr. Otlee Box 45 Phones 17 & 43

One of the most comprehensive stocks of
Imported and Colonial
Wines, Liqueurs and Beers

Duly instructed thereto, we will sell the following cattle,
etc. by Public Auction, at the farm ARCADIA, situated
35 miles from Otjiwarongo on the main road between Otjo-
and Otjiwarongo.

Straying Stock Notice
Station Commander S.A.P. Hafney.
Farm Kamelenbaum, District Gibeon.
Dark grey bull, Swiss type, branded NM on left shoulder.

Duly instructed thereto, we will sell by Public
Auction, the following stock of
Wines, Liqueurs and Beers:

H. PUPKEWITZ, Boute Store
(Successor to Sleith Davis & Co.)
Corner of BAHNHOF/STUEBEL STREETS
Telephone 514 P. O. Box 122

Otjiwarongo Beeshandelaars
A. P. Liebenberg
The South African Red Cross Society.

The centre has had a most successful year. The revenue for 1943 was £1252 odd and this past year it has more than doubled itself for the gratifying amount of £2505, has been raised. An average of £2155.6 nearly per month. It must admitted this a wonderful achievement for so small a place as Keetmanshoop.

The Centre is grateful and thanks patrons for their splendid response.

The Municipality is most generous and donates all money realized by flowers in the Municipal Park, to the Red Cross Centre, and the amount received for 1943 was nearly £43. The Assistant Town Clerk is a lover of flowers and the Park has improved wonderfully since his arrival.

Too much praise cannot be given to the Aran Sub-Committee and Red Cross Members. They raise enormous sums of money and £500 (nearly) was received from them in 1943 — also many knitted Comforts.

Mrs. Johannessen has left Aran and is making her home temporarily in Keetmanshoop. Mr. Barnard S.A.P, Aran is the convenor now, and he is a most enthusiastic Red Cross worker. Many large donations were sent in during 1943. It is regretted that space does not permit of a detailed report but this may be seen Mr. Herron, Windhoek, and Mr. F. Kagelmull, Keetmanshoop.

The Home Comforts Branch kindly gave the Red Cross Centre a donation of £50 for P.O.W. parcels.

Messrs. Hall and de Jongh are thanked most kindly for having audited the books.

Mr. Herron is thanked for consigning Red Cross parcels. Very appreciative thanks to the P.O. for Assistance and courtesy. Both Messrs. John Meinherr, Windhoek, and Mr. F. Kagelmull, Keetmanshoop, have given much assistance,

V. A. Detachment.

Gentle congratulations to the Commandant and members on the success achieved in the recent examinations.

Here are the results:

General: Mrs. Brownlee, Mrs. Du Preez, Mrs. Heymann, Mrs. Lasek, Mrs. Elsie Wesels, Miss Visagie.

Advanced: Mrs. Auffe, Mrs. Muller, Mrs. Olivier.

Silver Medals: Mrs. Blignaut, Mrs. Frahm, Mrs. Wesels (Elma).

The Detachment has been of the greatest assistance to the centre. The response of the members to all calls made on them has been wonderful.

Mrs. Frahm's Annual Dancing Display by her pupils which was held on 19th Nov. was as usual a brilliant success and she generously handed the proceeds to the Red Cross Centre £252.6.

The Centre is very much indebted to all patrons and asks for continued support.

The special appeal for 1944 is in full swing and many

AN APPEAL
NAVY WAR FUND
Sheepskin Coat Section
NAVY LEAGUE

Co. (Pty) Ltd.

Sheepskin Coats are a Godsend to Sailors in the bitter gales of the North, and on night watches all over the world. We MUST have more skins.

Whatever business you do today is due to the Navy. Please support our cause in donating skins. Coats are sent to Sailors in the name of Donors.

As we have a Free Rail Warrant, please endorse on your consent note the following:-

Carriage Paid. Standing Warrant B 154262.

FARMERS: BUTCHERS: PLEASE HELP!

FARMERS! BUTCHERS! PLEASE HELP!

1250 Store oxen and tollies.
100 Head of mixed cattle.
100 Donkeys.
21 Dam sowsers.
1 Wagon complete with gear.
1 Donkey cart.
2 Water tanks.
1 Dam plough.
1 Bellows, vice, anvils, spades, and other implements.

Also on farm WOODHOLME, situated 30 miles from Otjiwarongo,

ON THURSDAY, 17th FEBRUARY, 1944,
AT 10 A.M. SHARP.

400 Milk and dry cows.
300 Mixed heifers.
100 Mixed oxen.
350 Head of other mixed cattle.

And on farm HERMANN MARBERIES, situated 34 miles from Otjiwarongo and 2 miles from the Okaputa station,

ON SATURDAY, 19th FEBRUARY, 1944,
AT 10 A.M. SHARP.

100 Slaughter oxen.
100 firstclass milk cows with and without calves.
120 Shorthorn heifers.
40 Shorthorn-type ewes.
400 Store oxen and tollies.
100 Head of mixed cattle.

TOTAL HEAD OF CATTLE: 3560.

Many more entries are expected:

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Private Siding No. 114B, Box 1106, Port Elizabeth
The eight million African people of the Union of South Africa, pledged to the ideals of democracy, wish to convey to the Nations of the world, now meeting at Lake Success, that we will exert all our efforts in order to ensure that the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Charter of the oppressed people of the world, is put into practice in our country.

We regard the application of the principles contained in the Declaration as being vitally necessary for the preservation of world peace and accordingly it is our task of make possible the enjoyment by our people within our lifetime fundamental rights embodied in the Declaration.

The Declaration proclaims that the will of the people is the authority of the Government and that this should be expressed in periodic and genuine elections by universal and equal suffrage. The Non-White people of the Union are denied this all-important provision of the Charter and this denial is leading to increasing racial tension in this country. In such tension lies the seeds of international conflict.

We want, in particular, to inform the United Nations that it is the will of the African people of South-West Africa and the entire Non-White people of the Union, who constitute four-fifths of the population of the country, that this territory be not incorporated in the Union. We fully support the decision of the United Nations to place South-West Africa under the trusteeship of the United
Nations and we look to the world assembly to give effect to this decision.

Yours faithfully,

Signed:  W.M. SISULU

SECRETARY-GENERAL.
MEMORANDUM ON SOUTH WEST AFRICA

BY REV. MICHAEL SCOTT

WITH A PREFACE BY FREDA TROUPE
SOUTH WEST AFRICANS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

In the General Assembly debate concerning the Union of South Africa and its relation to the mandate territory of South West Africa the opinions of the native inhabitants of the latter territory on this question have found expression only through statements made by the spokesmen for the Union Government. According to these spokesmen, the attitude of the Africans in South West Africa was overwhelmingly in favor of the claims which the Union Government presented to the United Nations.

South West African leaders sought in vain to secure permission to state their views directly to the United Nations General Assembly. Nevertheless, ample evidence is now available to the UN delegates proving that the opinion of many native inhabitants of South West Africa is quite contrary to that alleged by the Union Government. This evidence, in the form of petitions and statements signed by numerous tribal leaders, headmen and other prominent Africans in South West Africa was entrusted to the Reverend Michael Scott to convey to the current General Assembly meeting following his extensive two-months' tour of South West Africa during the last summer. The Reverend Scott was delayed in reaching New York because of difficulties in securing an American visa. He forwarded certain of the documents entrusted to him to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. These were circulated to the delegates (Document A/C.4/96). No reference, however, was made to the contents of these petitions during the discussion of the South West Africa question nor were they taken into account in the resolution approved by the Trusteeship Committee on October 15, 1947.

Immediately upon his arrival in New York, Reverend Scott sent the following letter to the UN Secretary-General:

New York, October 10, 1947

The Secretary-General
United Nations
Lake Success
New York

Sir,

Further to my letter of August 29th, 1947 enclosing a petition addressed to you from representatives of African tribes in South West Africa, I must thank you for your good offices on their behalf in circularising copies of this petition to delegates.

As intimated in my covering letter, before leaving South West Africa, and in a subsequent communication from them a fortnight ago, I was asked to make certain further representations on the subject of the future of the Territory of South West Africa and its relationship to the United Nations and to the Union of South Africa, these representations being facts and opinions constituting their reasons for wishing that their Territory be brought under the Trusteeship system of the United Nations.
I should be most grateful if an opportunity could be afforded me of briefly imparting these reasons to members of the Trusteeship Committee at one of their meetings, and also their request that a Commission of Enquiry be sent from the United Nations to investigate impartially the wishes of the Native inhabitants of the Territory as well as their conditions of life and labour as compared with other Native inhabitants of the African continent and of the Union of South Africa.

If you so desire I will place at your disposal copies of the documents dealing with the above matters and the recorded statements of Native Chiefs, Headmen and others.

Meanwhile I should be glad to know whether it would be in order for the Committee to receive these representations either verbally in the form of an address to the Committee if that is permitted or in a written form.

I must express regrets that the delay in obtaining a visa to which I referred in my previous letter prevented my arrival at Lake Success until yesterday; but in view of the fact that much trouble and expenditure has been occasioned, as well as a journey of approximately fifteen thousand miles, in the preparation and conveyance of the representations of these Africans, I trust that their voices will be heard and due consideration now be given to their appeal to the United Nations.

In particular, their request for the return of their lands of which they claim they were dispossessed by the German Government in the first instance, and subsequently by the Union Government during the Tenure of the Mandate under the League of Nations, and their appeal for the return of their Paramount Chief at present living in exile in Bechuanaland are matters of vital importance to the Herero people and to the future of the Territory of South West Africa.

The complaints of the Herero and Hottentot tribal chiefs, as set forth in their petition, regarding the conduct of the Referendum by the Government of the Union are of a nature which seems seriously to reflect on the good faith of the Union Government both towards the African people of the Territory and towards the United Nations.

For this reason an impartial Commission of Enquiry by the United Nations Trusteeship Committee would surely be welcomed by all those who are concerned that justice should be done in shaping the future of this African Territory and the destiny of its inhabitants.

I am, Sir,

Yours truly,

(signed) Michael Scott (Rev.)

Having unfortunately failed to secure an opportunity to appear before the U.N. Committee concerned with South West Africa and bring the evidence in his possession to the direct attention of the delegates, Reverend Scott has authorised the Council on African Affairs to issue this memorandum citing relevant testimony culled from petitions and statements by the people of South West Africa.
The testimony presented here supplements that already brought to the notice of U.N. delegates in document A/0.4/96, and quoted in New Africa (Oct. 1947).

**General Character of the Union's Administration of South West Africa**

Frederick Maharero, Paramount Chief of the Herero People (statement made at Mafeking, July 14, 1947):

"I should not like my country to be handed over to the Union Government because that Government adopts the same oppressive policy towards the Native people as the Germans.

"The Union Government has no respect for the Native inhabitants of their country as human beings. The Union Government does not want the Native people to progress economically so that they may become economically independent. They restrict them regarding the cattle they may own and regarding other means of livelihood..."

"It is the restrictions and barriers which are placed in the way of the Native people so that they become their servants and dependent upon them which has driven the Herero people who lived in the Transvaal to cross into the country of the Mamangwato.

"The Union Government does not encourage education among the Native people because they want the Natives always to remain their servants.

"These are my views, Sir, and these are the reasons why I should not like my country to be handed over to the Union Government."

Festus Kanjo (statement made at meeting at Windhoek of Herero representatives with Col. I.P. Hoogenhout, Administrator of South West Africa, according to testimony given by Theophilus Katjiuonua, Windhoek, August 1, 1947):  

"The Union Government is the same as the German Government. Even when we were under the German bondage it was sometimes lighter than your regime. My reasons for saying this are as follows. The Germans used to kill us straightforward because we fought against them. We did in battle kill their beloved ones, their brothers and their cousins. But then why do you people kill us? We did not have any war against you. It seems to us from your treatment of us as though there had been a war between us and you. Even our property, our cattle and our children are not our own. Even my wife is not my own.

"Under the German regime we all used to carry an iron disc with our numbers written on it. This served both as a 'pass' and a "service contract". This was worn always and did not have to be renewed after a certain time. Today I carry a pass in my pocket, although I am in my native land. But that iron disc was enforced by those whom we had fought against. But this pass I have got from people whom I did not fight against. After the time has expired if I have not renewed the pass then I have committed an offence.

"If a day or two expires after I am due to pay the grazing fee for my cattle then I am taken to court and made to pay a fine. Even if my own child commits an offence and I punish the child I have committed an offence. The same applies to my wife. If I punish my wife I am guilty.

"I have been under the oppression of the Union Government for thirty-one years. The Government which I did not fight against has oppressed me for that number of years. It is all this ill-treatment which compels us to be dissatisfied with the Union Government."
Fr odola in Kazoh i a ze (statement made at Windhoek, July 23, 1947):

"In the time of Administrator Hodges (immediately after South West Africa passed from German to South African control) there arose a misunderstanding between the Europeans and African people.

"Chiefs Hosea Kutako, and Mikane Hoveka were driven away from Okatumba, Sesie, Orumba, Okahruna, Otiunde, Otjimbondo, Tsaite, Okapendje. All the people were expelled from these districts with the chiefs. In Okatumba and Orumba the houses of the people were burned because the people refused to leave. Leonard Makopo and Alex Mieze who are here now were present at the time this happened. They saw it with their own eyes. Their own huts were burned. The windmills were taken away at Tsaite and Okahruna, Otjimbondo and Okapendje, and the people were forced to leave because the pumps had been taken.

"Some of the people went to the Animuis Reserve under Chief Hosea and Epukiro Reserve under Chief Hoveka.

"After that Chief Salatiel Kembasembi was driven away from Waterberg. The houses of Salatiel were burned at Waterberg. Waterberg was the burial place of his father. He was forced to go and live at Okaharara with the people under him.

"At his death bed he made a plea that he might be returned to Waterberg to be buried at the graves of his fathers.

"The land at Waterberg was given or sold to a German named Schneider who is still living there. All these lands were handed over to Germans or settlers from the Union. We do not know if they were sold or given to them. This was about 1922.

"In 1925 a dispute arose in the District of Rehoboth. The Government insisted on the cattle there belonging to the Hereros and the Bastards being branded. Both Hereros and Bastards refused and the Government sent aeroplanes over them and the police, who were also armed, charged the people and beat them with sticks. Of those present here this afternoon the following were there: Christopher Katjiako, who was then Corporal in the S.A. Police; John Mpongose, who was in charge of twenty men with the task of making landing grounds for the aeroplanes. There are of course still very many people who remember this happening.

"All these people refused to have their cattle branded were put into concentration camps. Fortunately the Prince came to South Africa and these people were then released. After they were released they stayed for a little while—about a year—a police regiment left Windhoek and drove all the Hereros from Rehoboth and they went to Arminis and Epukiro Reserves...

"These grievances added to the other oppressions make us not to feel well towards the Union Government.

"The whole Herero people are convinced that the Union Government has not fulfilled its obligations to the League of Nations. Under the Mandate the Union Government was made the Trustee of the African people and their land. Education was denied to us and the wages which we are paid are really the wages of starvation.

"Emphatically I conclude with the plea that our lands should be returned to us. After our lands are returned Our Chief and the people in Exile should return to South West Africa. Our country should be given to a Trusteeship Council and not incorporated into the Union of South Africa, or falling that it should be held as a protectorate under the British Government as the Bechuanaland Protectorate is."

Simon Mpongose, Head Teacher of St. Barnabas Mission School (statement made at Windhoek, July 22, 1947):
"Then General Smuts was here a reception was held for him in Windhoek location. He made a speech in which he said the Union flag will always fly over S.W.A. under all circumstances. He did not consult the people at this meeting or ask their opinion on incorporation or on anything else.

"Question: Did the people applaud him?

"They did not applaud him when he said the Union flag will always fly over South West Africa. General Smuts also said all the people are his children, the white people and the black people. And the black people laughed when he said this."

Chief Tsehekedi Xhama and five other chiefs of Bechuanaland stated in a memorandum addressed to the British Government for transmission to the U.N. Trusteeship Committee:

"There are presently living in our country displaced persons, Hereros and others, who were persecuted and driven out of their country by the Germans. In addition to those mentioned, a number of South West African natives have since taken refuge in the Bechuanaland Protectorate during the Union's Mandate through fear of the Union's Native Policy, and all of these would return to their native lands in South West Africa if the purposes of the Mandate were being duly fulfilled."

Chief Tsehekedi Xhama in a letter to the High Commissioner of Bechuanaland, Sept. 24, 1946, lists the following hardships experienced by Africans in South West Africa:

(i) There is a pass system in vogue which requires every man, woman and child from 14 to 46 years to carry a pass. (This respectfully submit is even more drastic than the Union Laws.)

Even to go from one herero reserve to another in South West Africa passes are required e.g. from Okahandja to Windhoek.

(ii) It is common practice on account of the shortage of land for Africans in S. West Africa to receive no wage for their farm services beyond the right to run up to 26 head of cattle and 40 to 50 small stock on their master's farms.

(iii) The taxation of native stock is heavy, being 4d per head per month for cattle and equines and 1½d per head per month for small stock even in the native reserves.

(iv) There is also a dog tax of 10/- per annum and every dog found without a licence by its neck is destroyed.

(v) In all town areas the natives working therein must pay a tax of 5/7d per month per head. This also applies to visiting natives.

(vi) For every form of employment whether on farms, in industry or in mines the employee has to be registered subject to penal sanctions.

Festus Kendjo, when interviewed by Rev. Scott at Gobabis, August 25, 1947, said:

"There are only three schools run by the Government in all the eight Reserves. Other schools up to standard two only are run by the Missions. The children pay for their own books. All the school buildings are paid for by the Native Reserve Trust Fund. The food supplied to the children is also bought with Trust Fund money. The Trust monies come from taxes on every cattle owner in the Reserves."
"The stock tax is 3d. per head for ordinary cattle per month. Scrub bulls are 4d. per head per month, donkeys 4d. per head per month, oxen 6d. per head per month. For small stock, sheep and goats, we pay 2/6d. per hundred per month. One dog is ten shillings per year. A donkey cart with two wheels is 15s. per month. An ordinary wagon with four wheels is one pound, ten shillings.

"Passes must be carried when going from one reserve to the other or when going to the towns to look for work. Special permits must be obtained to visit our relatives in Bechuanaland."

A prosperous German farmer in South West Africa interviewed by Rev. Michael Scott expressed these views:

Trade and marketing policy are being directed solely in the interests of the Union and to the disadvantage of S.W.A. The Territory is being run by the Administrator and the Union Government by Proclamations, the S.W.A. Assembly being little more than an Advisory Board. All the Union's laws including its native legislation are made applicable to S.W.A. automatically. At least seventy per cent of current proclamations issued by the Union are made applicable to S.W.A., while naturally the Territory is taxed to protect the Union's industries. Cacao, e.g., must be bought at the price paid by the S.A. consumer not the subsidised export price. If it is bought from Cuba or elsewhere the S.A. tariff must be paid. If the Union decided to manufacture motor cars we should be at the same disadvantage.

As regards native policy, however, the Union's attempt to impose minimum wage legislation and provision for the sale or supply of necessary foodstuffs to the natives when prices were rising or scarce ended in fiasco, and the Proclamation issued on Dec. 26th 1943 laying down minimum wage rates, etc. had to be withdrawn on Jan. 30th 1944.

Alienation of Native-Held Lands in South West Africa

Stephanus Hovem, younger brother to Nicanor Hovem, headman of the Kupiro Reserve (statement made at Windhoek meeting of Herero representatives with Col. Hoogenhout, according to testimony given by Theophilus Katjiuongua, Windhoek, August 1, 1947):

"In addition to the grievances mentioned, I wish to point out that your Law says to us: 'This is your dwelling place—this space.' Then unexpectedly your Law removes us from that space. We first lived at the Auskigas Reserve. Then we were told to move from Auskigas and go to Gumbo. Then we were told to move from Gumbo and from other places over to the "sandveld" (i.e., the borders of the Kalahari Desert. It is the unfair treatment by the Union Government that compels us not to take their side. And we shall never want the Union Government."

Christoph Levy Katjitea (statement made at Windhoek, July 23, 1947):

"Sir, we are really dissatisfied with the ways of the present Government in S. W. A. It is hoped very much that you will be able to come to the reserves and see where the African people are expected to live. These lands which are not side for the African peoples are not really lands for people but were known as lands for snakes and lions, and were only inhabited by people who roamed about such as Bushmen. There is not sufficient water there. It is not suitable for growing or growing any crops. People have often tried to bore for water but have been unsuccessful. In case the people are able to get water that water is very often not suitable, being brackish, for humans or cattle. Many of the cattle which we reared in the past which we inhabited before have died in the lands where we were driven to known as the Reserves. I wonder how if men can be treated in this
The following account of how the Herero were expelled from their lands soon after the Union Government took over the administration of South West Africa was given by Isaac Kazongari to Rev. Michael Scott at Mafeking, July 14, 1947, in the presence of Frederick Mahareru, Paramount Chief of the Herero people, and other representatives:

**Isaac.**

What happened was the Herero were first asked to leave those valleys to make room for the Angola Boers. They refused and were asked a second time and again they refused. They were then pushed out by force.

**M.S.**

What do you mean "by force"?

**Isaac.**

I mean that they were ordered to leave, and when they refused, their belongings were thrown out of their huts and their huts were set on fire. When I returned to S.W.A. I found that there was a case going on between the Herero and the Union Government. I could see the ruins of the huts where they had been burned down on the orders of the Native Commissioner.

**M.S.**

What was the case between the Union Government and the Hereros about?

**Isaac.**

The Herero were complaining to the Court that their huts had been destroyed and that they had been driven from their lands. The district where this happened was Oumbo.

**M.S.**

What was the conclusion of the case between the Hereros and the Union Government?

**Isaac.**

The people were nevertheless driven out of the valleys. The Native Commissioner at whose command that was done was removed from office but only to be reinstated after a short time.

Chief Hosea Kutako (statement made at Windhoek, August 6, 1947):

"The statement made by officials that the Herero people are demanding that lands belonging to other African tribes be given to them is false.

"It is the opinion of our people that the lands which were taken away from them by deceit and by force should be returned to them and that they should be enabled to live their life as people. The Herero Nation does not wish to dominate over any other race or nation. They ask for the right to live their own life as a people. That will require the return of their lands and it will also require the return of the Paramount Chief Frederick Mahareru who is now in exile and with him the people who are now living in Bechuanaland together with their cattle.

"This is not the first time that this request has been made. The request for the return of our Chief and our lands was made in 1924 when Chief Frederick Mahareru last visited this country.

"We do not regard the Union Government as fit to be in charge of us as the trustees of the African people in this Territory. If we are regarded by the Union Government as their wards we want the other nations of the world to know that we have been deprived of our lands and we are prevented from developing as a full grown people by those who claim to be our trustees."
Extract from Minutes of conference between Mr. Allen (Additional Native Commissioner), Mr. Neesor (Chief Native Commissioner), Major Hahn and the Bergdamares —native inhabitants of South West Africa—at Okombahe Reserve during the last week of August, 1947:

The Bergdamares stated: "We do not want to be under the rule of the Boers. We do not want to join the Union Government." One leading Bergdamares continued, saying, "I still have my burdens on my back. We were given Angaika Reserve, and we have been driven away from there. I am now, as I am speaking, come from Angaikas, from which the Union Government has driven me away. Our lambs and goats have died on the way. I have suffered since the day the Union Government became the Trustee of South West Africa, and I am still suffering."

Conditions of African Labor in South West Africa

Extract from Minutes of extraordinary meeting of the Windhoek non-European Advisory Board, Aug. 9, 1947, to meet Mr. Bottonlay, Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs:

Boardman J. Karibob, Damara Representative, said, "Greeting. Many thanks on behalf of my people. I heartily welcome the distinguished visitors and our officials in the Location today. I heard one speaker say that this is a sign of the coming of freedom and I shall be pleased if I see this freedom. I am very sorry that the Headmen of the various Reserves are not present here to listen to what has been said and to hear that they have democratic rights. We did not know that we were a free people but I have heard this time that the time is arriving and we will be free and I am very much pleased. I am also very much pleased that an Honourable Member from overseas has come to see us and tell us we are free and have democratic rights. I also wish that you will tell his Majesty's Government that their subjects in South West Africa have greeted them heartily."

In his remarks at the conclusion of the meeting, replying to this, Mr. Neesor, the Chief Native Commissioner, said, "They say a dog will always have fleas and a human being always has something to worry him, and freedom does not consist in breaking laws and regulations and nobody is free to ignore those regulations. Even in a country like England, which is the "Mother of Freedom", there are numerous big gaols and that is the most free country in the world and it still has gaols for people who break the law.

"We must not get a mistaken idea of what freedom means. Freedom means to be able to talk what is in your mind and to say whether you want to do a certain class of work or not. Nobody forces you to work but if you make a contract you yourselves have bound yourselves to do that work, so when a man has engaged to do a certain work he cannot then grouse tomorrow and say he is not free because he has to work. I have engaged myself to work for the Administration of the country and I cannot just walk out of my job tomorrow and leave the Government. Still I am a free man because I myself said that I would go and work and I signed a contract."

The Bishop of DamaraLand, who has lived in S. W. A. for 23 years, mainly working among the Ovambos, expressed the following opinion of the indentured labor system:

"Nothing could be said in its favour from the point of view of the African laborers."
It had to be admitted that the laborers came from the Reserves of their own free will to earn a wage. But they were not free to choose their own masters when they arrived or to bargain with their employers or to leave them if they were ill-treated. They were probably the lowest-paid laborers anywhere in South Africa. They were herded on to the trains with labels around their necks and were not properly fed or accommodated. Their wages ranged from eight shillings ($1.60) a month. The employers pointed out that it cost them $6 to bring them down from Ovamboland and if they were unsatisfactory it was a dead loss.

The Bishop deplorer the breaking up of the family and tribal life of the Ovambos people which under this system is proceeding apace, especially so since in our urban and semi-urban civilization there is nothing to take its place for the African who is excluded from most of the advantages of our urban and industrial society, both cultural and occupational.

Festus Kandjo, previously referred to, described the recruiting system as follows:

"This is how it is done:

"If a Reserve does not supply enough labor it is looked on as a bad Reserve. A message comes from the Native Commissioner to the Welfare Officer. The Welfare Officer calls the Headman and the Reserve Board Members. The Welfare Officer reads the letter to the Board Members and tells them they want a certain number of laborers to work on the farms or on the roads, and this number must be supplied.

"If that number is not supplied the Headman and the Board Members are scolded.

"As far as those laborers who come from Ovamboland are concerned every farmer who wants an Ovambos laborer from Ovamboland has to deposit $6.60 with the Government Native Affairs Department for each man. I do not know whether the money goes to a private company now or where it goes. All I know is that it has to be deposited and that it has always been done through the Native Affairs Department.

"Then they send the Ovambos off with a ticket. He does not know where he is going. The name of the master and the place is written on the label and the people at the railway station send him where he has to go.

"After the station master has read the label he rings up the police station to come and fetch this parcel and he is then taken to the police station from where he is fetched by the farmer or taken by the police to the farmer. Sometimes they have to walk for fifty or sixty miles. They may be just shown the road and told to go."

Simon Ngoshe, previously referred to, adds this information:

"The people of Ovamboland do not know the conditions under which they will have to work on some of these farms. They are brought from Ovamboland to Grootfontein where the S.W.A. Native Labour Association has its headquarters. They can be seen after they have been issued with a khaki shirt and shorts. To the shirt is buttoned a label with the name of the boss and his place written on it. There they are sorted to their different destinations and herded on to the trains by the railway police like animals. They do not know where they are going and are crowded into buses being forced to crowd further together with the use of cattle prods. From Grootfontein coming down South as far as Usakos they are loaded into cattle trucks but from Usakos to Windhoek they are given coaches.

"These Ovambos laborers are taken on for a twelve month contract period. For the first four months of this they receive eight shillings a month plus a meagre meal ration. For the second four months it is nine shillings and the third four months it is ten shillings. In some cases the money is kept and paid to them at the end of their contract."
They leave their women and families behind and build their own huts on the veld. They are not given any land or cattle. Their work is milking, tending the sheep and slaughtering Karakul lambs."

A. Tjiwona, an Ovamb co (statement made at Windhooik Location, July 23, 1947):

The Ovambos recruited come here from Grootfontein. They have no place to stay. They stay outside the railway station area on the veld. There is no shelter or shade from the sun. Of course they are very poor people. They have not sufficient clothes and they suffer from the cold or the rain. At Grootfontein they get a blanket shirt and shorts and one blanket. When they come here they are waiting for their different masters to come and fetch them. Sometimes they stay two days four days, or a week while waiting. I understand they get 6d a day for food while they are waiting...

These Ovambos when they go to the farmers and find that some of them do not treat them well sometimes ask for a permit because they want to go to the police. The masters of course refuse them a permit and then they go off on their own to the police station. When they arrive there the first question is "There is your pass!" Reply is "I have no pass." Question: "Why?" Answer is "I ran away from my master he treated me badly." (question) "Where you from?" Answer: "So and so place." Answer: "All right because you got no pass we stick you in jail. You got no right to come here with no pass, no permit, nothing."

Then they go to jail for fourteen days to one month. Then that they give the boy a piece of his earnings. As I look at the boy is perhaps frightened to go back on account of the beatings and because of being away for two weeks in the jail. Then he will come sometimes to Windhooik. Here he is asked in the street. "Where your pass?" He must answer "I got no pass." Question: "Why you got no pass?" Answer: "I ran away from my master because he is bad." They say "We cannot receive you as a complainant; first of all we got to let you fall under the Pass Law. We got to show you you got to have a pass before you come here to Windhooik. Then he is getting another fourteen days or one month, unless he pay the fine.

I tried to make a case through the Advisory Board. But the Chairman of the Board will ask many questions I cannot answer. "Who is the employer? What is the name of the employer? What is the district? How many cases have come to your notice from that man? Did they come to you or can you go to them? Did you see it? Did anyone see it? Did you hear it? Did anyone hear it? Have you got the evidence? Why you didn't investigate at the time?" I am saying the case will fail on all these questions.

Why should the police take the farmers' side against the Ovambos? They ought to be on both sides and enquire themselves. Why should the police threaten them and chase them away?

Abraham Ugalu, an Ovamb co (statement made at Windhooik, July 23, 1947):

Although it is said that our people are living under a tribal organisation they do not live in peace. They suffer hardship similar to the others.

The young boys are taken away from their parents. They range from 14 years to 20 years. They are recruited by the Chief Native Commissioner. He was going about asking parents to send their boys to work on the farms to look after the cattle to look after the sheep and the calves and to do the milking on the farms. Some of them do not return at all. In some cases they just disappear and sometimes even they are shot. Yes, I was present at a case in the Supreme Court in 1940 when a young man was shot. The farmer told the Court he thought the boy was an ostrich and all we knew was that he paid some money in the Court and then went back to his farm.
The old people in Ovamboland are very grieved because so many of the young lads go away to work on the farms and many of them disappear. Many of them do not return; they stay working on the farms or in the towns.

Joshua Muvangoa (statement made at Gobabis, August 25, 1947):

Here in S.W. Africa we are being paid according to the colour of the skin not according to the quantity and quality of our work. It is one of the most sad things here in South West Africa.

All the rich men that there are in South West Africa derive their wealth from the labour supplied by the Natives because the labour is so cheap.

Seven hundred sheep are worth £2,800. This shepherd looking after all these sheep earns anything between five shillings and seven and sixpence or eight shillings per month as his salary. And from this he has to feed his wife and children. He only gets about a sixpence worth of mealie meal per day.

That poor shepherd is not supposed to bring in the flock before sunset and when he brings in the sheep he must also bring wood on his shoulder for his master, drive the sheep into kraal, chop the wood the same evening, fetch the water from the well, and he has got to be there again in the evening to wash the dishes after supper.

That shepherd leaves his hut by five o'clock in the morning. When he gets back to his hut at ten p.m. Do you regard such treatment as a good treatment for a human being, sir? Would you regard such a person as a free person or a slave?

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To those who live and work among coloured peoples, and whose vision has not entirely a parochial focus, it is abundantly clear that the real problem of the immediate future is the eleventh hour prevention of a world cleavage on colour lines. We must either give the best of our civilization fully and freely to the subject races of the world or see its decline. In South Africa, with its complex racial and colour set-up, the approach of conflict is evident for those who have eyes to see.

South Africa includes in its midst two islands and a peninsula of British protected territory. On its borders is the mandated territory of South West Africa. Probably few in Europe or America have any conception of the interest and anxiety with which UNO deliberations on the future of South West Africa have been followed by the 10 million underprivileged peoples of this sub-continent, nor of the volume of hope or despair penned up for release by the ultimate decision.

The Protectorates of Beutoland, Swasiland and Bokhuana-land are governed directly by the Dominions Office, the relationship to Britain being defined by agreements between their chiefs and the Crown. Their people have fiercely opposed every suggestion of incorporation in the Union in their fear and hatred of the Union's repressive native policy. South West Africa has, on the other hand, been governed under the Mandate System as an integral part of the Union. Now the Union asks for incorporation, and the Protectors watch nervously feeling that here is the thin end of the wedge and that their turn may well be next. Bechuanaland, bordering on both the Union and South West Africa, feels itself most concerned and likely to be the next victim. Sheltering within their borders 14,000 refugees from the German rule in South West Africa who have not returned, the Bokhuanas are conversant with the opinions of their neighbours. They suspect the intentions of the Union Government and doubt the validity of the referendum.

Their enlightened chief, Tshokedi, and five other Bokhuanaland chiefs set forth their views on the incorporation of South West Africa in a memorandum addressed to the British Government, to be placed before the Trusteeship Committee of UNO.

"It may seem presumptuous," they say, "that we, Chiefs of the Protectorate, should urge that South West Africa be not transferred to the Union of South Africa, but we, as African peoples, are not uninterested. There are presently living in our country displaced persons, Hereros and others, who were pogromed and driven out of their country by the Germans. In addition to those mentioned, a number of South West African natives have since taken refuge in the Bokhuanaland Protectorate during the Union's Mandate through fear of the Union's Native Policy, and all of these would return to their native lands in South West Africa if the purposes of the Mandate were being duly fulfilled."

Perhaps at this stage it would be well to outline some of the features of the Union's native policy which most arouse resentment. This policy, it must be recognised, is based on the assumption that advance in civilization and Westernization of the natives is a threat to the standard of living and even to the survival of the white race, and this supposed threat is met and countered by stringent legislation often passing as being in the native best interests. The so-called 'Colour-Bar' Act prevents the native from handling machinery or becoming a skilled artisan ; the Native Land Act prevents him from buying, renting or occupying land except in..."
certain restricted areas (this, in the interests of segregation, also applies to Europeans, but their choice is much wider); there are restrictions on the number of squatters on farms; the Urban Areas Act and the hated Pass Laws limit the movements of the native and prevent him from selling his labour in the best market; and the Native Franchise Act deprives him of the right as a citizen to appear on the Common Voters' Roll, with the result that his representation in the House of Assembly is confined to three European members in a House of 153. These are put forward as some of the reasons why the natives of South West Africa regard with such apprehension the possibility of incorporation.

Chief Tshokodi and his colleagues go on to give examples of breaches of faith and repressive measures within the borders of South West Africa under the Union Mandate. The Hororo Tribe, one of the most powerful and well organized of all the South West African tribes, came as a proud and independent race into sovereign conflict with the Germans. The Germans decimated the tribe and threatened that "within the German frontiers every Hororo with or without arms, with or without cattle will be shot down (signed Trothe)", and many of the survivors fled with the Paramount Chief, Frederick Maharueru, on whose head a price of 5,000 marks was placed, into Bechuanaland. In the 1914 war he and some 30 of his followers were called on to return to South West Africa to load their people against the Germans, and were promised that when the Germans were defeated their land would be restored to them. These promises were not fulfilled, and the Hororos voluntarily resumed their exiles in Bechuanaland, "where we found a government which is different indeed in its attitude towards and its treatment of the native races." (1)

In South West Africa the Mandatory Government, following the German practice (and its own within the Union), declared certain areas "Reserves for the aged and those incapacitated for work", and the remainder of the country became Crown lands, portions of which were set aside for European settlement on an individual tenure basis. The Mandatory Power then proceeded to introduce Europeans, mostly of Afrikaans extraction. Three hundred families of Anglo-Boors were brought in at a cost of £524,000, and many of them settled on lands which had formerly belonged to the Hororo and Abanderu. Twelve hundred more families were imported from the Union. These European families, states the memorandum, were each given a farm of nearly 32 square miles in size (whilst the Hororo family was in practice given about 3 square miles (2,400 square miles for 799 families).

The compilers of the memorandum question the methods by which the referendum result was obtained. They quote the van Zyl Commission as recording,

"If, then, one considers the backwardness of the indigenous population (i.e. South West African Natives) it becomes clear that there is no reasonable expectation of their acquiring those mental, moral and civic qualities, which would justify their being seriously taken into consultation, before a point of time so remote as hardly to merit present consideration."

and maintain that

"a consultation which is circumscribed and conducted by officials of the Government proposing the matter under consideration cannot be impartial."

They recall that the offer of the Institute of Race Relations...

(1) Frederick Maharueru.
ions to conduct an impartial inquiry into the wishes of the indigenous population was refused by Gen. Smuts as being "confusing to the native mind to find non-official inquiries also being made." General Smuts in the same letter states that he refused permission to Lord Halley for a similar visit on the same grounds, considering that the visit "should be postponed until the Administrator thinks it can take place without harm being done."

The memorandum proceeds to a plea on behalf of the Bechuana people themselves, urging the economic necessity of a free outlet to the west coast, supporting the contention by recalling Bechuanaland's gift of territory for the building of the railway to Rhodesia to the British South Africa Company and quoting Rhodesia's similar claims in support. The absence of a free outlet to the sea would in the event of the incorporation of South West Africa put Bechuanaland economically at the mercy of the Union Government who could close the part of Walvis Bay to Bechuana traffic as it has closed the Union markets to Bechuana cattle.

"Bearing in mind," it concludes, "the declared and active policy of the Union where the native inhabitants of South Africa are concerned and that the basis of this policy is economic servitude of those people - a parallel economic development having as its purpose complete equality of opportunities... is a serious threat to the Union policy. The Union must fight this progress in Bechuanaland hence their insistent demand to incorporate both South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate."

Chief Tshokodi, struggling to launch against the heavy odds of race prejudice a comprehensive scheme for the economic development of his country, felt that here was evidence of supreme importance to be put before UNO, and he felt it essential to go himself to London (as his father had gone to see Joseph Chamberlain), and if necessary, to New York to give expression to the fears and hopes, not only of his own people, but of all the coloured peoples of Africa. He wished above all to press for an impartial investigation into the whole question of Union administration in South West Africa and into the conduct of the referendum. In his possession are letters from individuals in South West Africa containing most disquieting comments on the referendum.

"...we are being asked that our land be joined to the Union, but we have refused. The Hororos, the Nama, the Ovambo and the Berg Damara have all refused. We have been informed that there will be a meeting again on the third September and that we should be stopped from going to that meeting and they will have their own man to speak for them and we will be stopped...."

"...The Government...continue in their efforts to prevail over us."

The British Government's reply to this request to go overseas is recorded by Chief Tshokodi as follows,

"I gather the position to be that Your Excellency has been instructed to tell me that the British Cabinet not to consider the position which has recently been presented by the Chiefs of Bechuanaland collectively, and that as a result of such deliberations I was to be told that my visit to England... was not approved of by the British Cabinet and that should I go to England despite its disapproval I should come there fully knowing that I could not be given an interview by the Secretary of State, and its was most unlikely that I could interview..."
any of the Cabinet Ministers......It seems to us that we have no alternative but to apply, as we now formally do, for 'priority' permits to proceed to England as delegates on behalf of the Bechuanaland Chiefs and Peoples to consult our numerous friends and advisors there......"

Priority travel was also refused him and the deliberations of the Nations have been conducted without the voice of a single representative of the people most concerned.

It is imperative that before the next meeting of UNO a full and impartial inquiry should be held, and that these allegations and suspicions, if groundless, should be proved so beyond all shadow of doubt, not only to the world at large, but to the people concerned.
THE CASE OF CHIEF TSEKEDI OF BECHUANALAND AGAINST THE UNION GOVERNMENT'S CLAIM FOR THE INCORPORATION OF SOUTH WEST AF RICA, AT U.N.O.

On November, 4th, 1946, the writer received a copy of the full text of a despatch by the correspondent of the 'New York Times.' This despatch had appeared in the New York Times on October, 23rd, 1946. It had not been quoted in full in the Union Press, but had formed the subject of unfavourable editorial comment in the Union.

This despatch as it appeared in the New York Times reads as follows:

Despatches from New York today made it clear that when Smuts asks U.N.O. Assembly to incorporate former German South West Africa in South African Union, he will base his plea on the fact that he has the support of the majority of inhabitants - White and Black. These despatches have served to intensify the controversy in which it is stated that the New York Times "gives prominence to the fact that the South West African natives have voted in favour of incorporation." No context is given.

Painstaking investigation extending over many weeks reveals the following factors in the problem.

Firstly, because of transportation and other material difficulties, it is not possible for any individual to feel the pulse of some 300,000 inhabitants scattered over as many square miles. Only recourse is to take soundings at random.

Secondly, various organisations sought to take a straw vote, but they were discouraged on the grounds that their questionings would only confuse the minds of the black inhabitants. Despite equivocal statements in the British House of Commons, it is a fact that Lord Halley - the recognised authority on constitutional questions - was allowed to visit South West Africa, only after the 'referendum'.

Thirdly, consequent on the non-white population was consulted through the instrumentality of magistrates and commissioners. An official statement issued in Pretoria today cites the instance of the Kafvo tribe, which in the presence of their chief and headmen approved of incorporation after 3½ hours discussion. The statement adds that 'the entire referendum was conducted in a similar manner by the administration'.

The South African Institute of Race Relations comments on this phase in documented report 'it may well be that they [the blacks] have passed formal resolutions at tribal and other meetings favouring annexation, although they may not have appreciated the difference between annexation and maintenance of status quo'.

Fourthly, the Legislative Assembly in South West Africa, composed entirely of whites (one-third nominated, two-thirds elected) has voted unanimously for incorporation but with the following proviso seldom mentioned 'upon such terms as to financial relations and political representation as may be mutually agreed upon.'

(N.B. "Nativo Affairs" are not at present within the jurisdiction or financial control of the South West African House of Assembly.)
Correspondence in South West African newspapers reaching here suggests that it would be well if those terms were defined before incorporation becomes established fact.

Fifthly, incorporation is opposed by Tshokodi Khama, acting Regent for the Paramount Chief of Bochuanaland. He fears that incorporation of South West Africa would prove the prelude to annexation of territories presently administered by Britain, namely, Bochuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. Tshokodi Khama's principal argument is that incorporation of South West Africa would place his country's trade routes at the mercy of the South African Government.

South West Africa is populated by approximately 30,000 whites and 300,000 blacks.

It was this despatch, and the serious misgivings which many people in the Union felt about the case, which was being presented by the South African delegates at U.N.O. that seemed to call urgently for more light on the whole subject, before the debate at the United Nations Assembly concluded.

Also there was the fact that Senator Basner had challenged the British Prime Minister's statement in the House of Commons that the Native population of South West Africa favoured the incorporation of their country in the Union, on the grounds that "there is no possible way of checking the people of South West Africa, on whether they want incorporation. They live under tribal organisation and have no say." claimed Mr. Basner, "only the chief can speak for the tribe."

Having therefore received word from Chief Tshokodi that he would be agreeable to discussing the matter, the writer went to Scrow in Bochuanaland to see him. In the course of discussions with him and subsequently with a number of others, it became clear that there were grave doubts about the Union's claim for incorporation and about the procedure by which the Referendum had been conducted, and results favourable to South Africa's claim had been reached.

Meanwhile, Senator Basner, Mrs. Ballinger and the Indian Passive Resistance Council delegates at U.N.O. were being pilloried in the South African Press for their "unpatriotic activities" abroad. The Minister for Native Affairs was telling those of us in South Africa who were attempting to make our voices heard above the so-called......
called "patriotic" clamour, that even if what we said was true, now was not the time to say it. But, it must be borne in mind that General Smuts claimed at the United Nations Assembly that the Union's proposal for incorporation, was based solely on the wishes of the inhabitants - both black and white. It was this that needed clarifying, since it was an undoubted fact that the African people in the Union, through their own representative bodies, strongly disapproved of any incorporation of African people or territory in the Union's discriminatory economic and political system.

The Hororo interprets this (restrictions on land and grazing) as an action of the Union Government to keep the number of his stock down so as to force him to hire his services to the white man on the farms and the mines, whilst the Government argues that the reduction of stock is necessary to prevent overgrazing etc. In view of the declared purpose of the Government of the Union that "the reserves were set aside for the aged and those incapacitated for work", Hororo grievances of shortage of the land cannot be regarded as unreasonable and frivolous. Indeed it is the declared policy of the Union Government to its native peoples that all able bodied men must be kept in a state where they will be forced to work for the white people at the mines and on the farms. This was specifically and officially said in the case of the Herero - "the men will not sell their cattle, and are too lazy to go and work and earn money in that way, they, especially the young men, idle away their time in the reserves."

Furthermore, despite the emphatic and often repeated claims of General Smuts and the British Prime Minister that the native people favoured incorporation (vide the latter's reply to Dumbleton's question in the House of Commons), here was Chief Tshokodi saying, after a meeting between himself and other chiefs with the British High Commissioner at Mafeking. (Sept.20th): -

"We challenge any statements either now or hereafter made by the Union Government in the General Assembly at U.N.O. /to the......."
Page Four.

to the effect that the native people of South West Africa concur in the transfer of that country to the Union, free of any mandate."

Under these circumstances, and in view of the fact that Chief Tshokodi and his legal adviser Mr. Buchanan had been refused permission to travel to England to see the Secretary of State, it seems that there was a moral obligation to make known to the delegates at U.N.O. the facts and allegations which had been reported by Chief Tshokodi and others of South West Africa.

The following cables were sent to the Secretary of the Trusteeship Committee, the Dominions Office and finally to Mr. Atlee. Some of the relevant documents were dispatched to delegates taking part in the controversy at U.N.O.

Nov.13th 1946: To Secretary Dominions Office London.

After consultation African opinion strongly urges representations information and opinions communicated to High Commissioner by African Chiefs Tshokodi and Maharoro be made available to U.N.O. before conclusion of debate incorporation S.W.A.

From: Rev. Michael Scott.

To: Secretary Trusteeship U.N.O. New York:

Have facts communicated through British High Commissioner at Mafeking Sept.20th and subsequently by Chiefs Tshokodi of Bechuanaland and Maharoro of Hererans been made known to delegates U.N.O. stop. These would have serious implications reliability referendum S.W.A. and results claimed by Union Government. Understand impartial enquiry asked for chiefs into referendum procedure attitude hereroes Bega Damaras Naas Ovamboes also into question Hereroes land allocated to White settlers and other facts relevant to relationship S.W.A. and Union stop. Please acknowledge to Box 42 Noodpoort, Transvaal.

Rev. Michael Scott. Mafeking
12th November, 1946.

To Prime Minister, 10 Downing St. London. 25th November, 1946.

Have urgent representations from Bechuanaland Herero and other chiefs not been communicated you query. Seriously concerned after visiting Bechuanaland to read your reply Dumpton's question regarding S.W.A. stop. Facts and allegations of Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs of referendum substantiated would be serious reflections on conduct of referendum truth of claims for incorporation and good faith towards U.N.O. stop. Impartial investigation urgently needed or British delegation may be compromised in continuing support stop. No acknowledgement received to cable sent Dominions Secretary November, 13. stop.

Rev. Michael Scott.

On the whole the South African Press, with the exception of the Guardian and the Democrat, seemed unwilling to engage in any /public......
public discussions about the allegations, while the debate on incorporation was in progress. The following article was published by the writer in the South African Democrat, before the final vote was taken and quotes statements made by certain South West African headmen.

**SERIOUS ALLEGATIONS ABOUT S.W.A. "REFERENDUM".**

A cable has been sent to Mr. Atlee asking for a full and impartial investigation into all the facts and allegations which have been made regarding the referendum in S.W.A., "facts and allegations which, if substantiated," the cable says, "would be a serious reflection on the conduct of the referendum, on the truth of the claim for incorporation and on good faith towards the United Nations Organisation."

In explaining the misgivings which a number of us in the Union feel about this whole matter, irrespective of political affiliations, statements may be quoted from certain chiefs and from headmen belonging to the Herero tribe.

The Herero tribe, since its decimation by the Germans, has been divided up into small units or wards under sub-chiefs or headmen. The Paramount Chief, Frederick Maharoro, has been living in exile in Bechuanaland with 14,000 of his tribe and this explains the repeated appeals from his subjects for him to return to South West Africa, "because the heritage of your father's orphans is about to be taken from them."

**Appeal to Britain:** In one of the documents (in the writer's possession) Chief Maharoro is reported as appealing to the British Government that the country be placed under British rule, "being alarmed and much concerned to learn that my country is to become part of the Union."

"My people there inform me of their hardships and are inviting me to go there and rule over them." This request appears to be explained by another document which refers to a meeting in S.W.A. at which "suggestions were put forward on behalf of the Union Government offering additional land for the Herero tribe in two separate areas.... and the Herero were also asked whom they desired as Chief or Headman if their land were increased." Another document maintains that after receiving its mandate, "the Union of South Africa imported from Angola over three hundred families of Anglo-Boors and settled them on land which formerly belonged to the Herero and Abandoro."

From the Union 1,200 families were imported to South West Africa, "At present the Herero in South West Africa have not their tribal area—indeed their land, apart from the nine separated areas, has practically all been occupied by Europeans."

This has happened, it is claimed, despite "the promise that if the Germans were defeated in the first world war the country would be given back."

The following extracts may perhaps best be quoted without comment:--

* Some of us have been to Windhoek to attend a meeting to discuss the country. The white people there say that the country must be joined to the Union, but we said that it could not be joined to the Union but should be given to us as it is ours.

/All efforts........
All efforts are being made to prevail on us so that it may be joined to the Union. We were afterwards told that what was said would be placed before the person responsible for this country, General Smuts. We returned to-day from Windhoek. We have heard clearly what was said and we desire very much that the Chief should come. We are not at all happy. We pray that the Chief should come even if it be for a few days and then go back. We want the Chief very much. That is all.

The Chief's letter on certain matters addressed last month to your people who live in the Koetmanshoop district arrived safely. The man to whom you had written has gone to Windhoek to attend a meeting of the headmen of the various villages, and as he could not find time he requested me to reply to the Chief's letter. These are the words of this man and of those who live here:

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. Let the Chief despite pressing duties there come with all haste to us, we pray you, son of the Chiefs of our fathers. Come quickly to us. Come, come, come, without you your tribe cannot come together but remain scattered, so please come quickly to bring us together. We shall expect you Chief and do come quickly.

I, the writer of this letter, am Jonas Gottfried Ueriondjosa Hatjunju, grandson of Kuhata, so my mother was Hainkonderu and so that you may understand clearly let me say this that my grandfather's Elias (Biaarota) wife afterwards married my father's younger brother Naitali, and Chief, if the said woman be still alive kindly let me know, and tell her my father died on 16.5.45.

I have received your letter in which you enquired about our matter. Yes, it is so; we are being asked that our land be joined to the Union, but we have refused stating that our land will not be joined to the Union at all, but rather should it remain ours only, together with those with whom we have been associating in the past. Those we like and not the Union. That is what we said. Up to now we have refused to join them. But as far as we can see the Government does not like our saying that we refuse to be drawn towards the Dutch people. The Hereros, the Kamas, the Ovamboons, and the Borg Damarae have all refused. We were taken according to our individual tribes and each tribe was asked individually, but all of them refused, and spoke in one and the same strain to say they refuse. We have been informed further that there will be a meeting again on the third September and that we should be stopped from going to that meeting and that they will have their own man to speak for them while we will be stopped. This is all. The matter now rests with you. You who enjoy freedom are the people who should come here to us.

I let you know that I received your letter but have been moving from place to place, between Windhoek and Okakarara. We do not sleep because we are being asked for our land so that it be made one with the Union, but we say no, we refuse. We say that the country is ours and ask that it be given to us. We had been robbed of it unjustly. The Government has not paid heed to what we say but continues in their efforts to prevail over us. Indeed we do not sleep and from whence shall our help come? Are you making
any efforts or are you just quiet about this matter? You should tell me quickly because I do not sleep. So much for this.

I addressed this letter to __________ because I was afraid it might fall into the hands of our enemies. This is all. Your country is looking up to you. Tjenaari is keeping well and I am with him even now. He sends his greetings to all of you in your village. Your whole country sends greetings to you. I together with my children also send hearty greetings.

In this connection Chief Tshekedi of Bechuanaland, in the course of discussions which he had with the British Government together with Chief Mahororo and a number of others, pointed out that the Native inhabitants of South West Africa did not become Union Nationals when the Union assumed the mandate of S.W.A. (Wright, Page 461) and they retained the right to petition the League as long as the League existed. "Whose wards are they now?" he asks, and requests that their representation be placed before UNO together with the objections of his own people to incorporation "when the Union Government places its cause before that Assembly for consideration."

No doubt there are some who will not consider those voices from S.W.A. despite the underlying pathos, to be very important in the world scheme of things at the present time. In the cynical spirit of our age there is a common acceptance as a necessary evil of the subservience of truth in public affairs to considerations of political expediency.

Yet there are increasing numbers of people in every country in the world, including South Africa, upon whom it is beginning to dawn that this small yet great untruth has now become a menace to the continuance of our civilization.

The United Nations' Organisation has a greater responsibility to mankind, and a greater opportunity, than any organised body has ever had in the history of our civilization. Neither peace nor any world order can be founded upon falsity or upon the shifting sands of political expediency. There should be a strong demand from South Africa herself for a full and impartial enquiry into this matter. For even now, within the framework of UNO itself, untold damage is being done to the prospects of future peace and racial cooperation by the methods resorted to by some of the older statesmen in their attempts to defend what is indefensible by reference to those standards and ideals which they have encouraged others to defend with their very lives.

In particular, the conduct of South Africa's official propaganda in defence of her policy towards Non-Europeans ought not to pass unchallenged in South Africa. It is right that the challenge should come from those who have no party political axe to grind and who are still free to maintain a disinterested regard for the truth for its own sake; and for the sake of all in heaven and earth that is dependent upon truth.

The following questions on the subject of the Referendum were drawn up on the basis of the statements and allegations which had been made about the conduct of the Referendum.

"/General Smuts........
General Smuts, in a speech broadcast in America after he had left there, claims that the "discreditable suggestion from Communist quarters that there was 'something fictitious' about the South West African referendum has been 'firmly knocked on the head and finally withdrawn.'

There are, however, still a number of questions which South Africa's national honour demands should be fully and unequivocally answered.

1. Why was the question of the form and procedure of the referendum on the incorporation not discussed in the Union Parliament before being brought before the United Nations Assembly?

2. How much time and what opportunity was given to the Native people of South West Africa to consider the proposals that were being made regarding their future? Were the spokesmen and representatives of the Native people in any case the Government's own nominees?

3. Why was the official booklet on the incorporation of South West Africa not made generally available in the Union before being presented to the United Nations Assembly or before the conclusion of the debate?

4. At a meeting held prior to the referendum Dr. Botha and Mr. Han (?) appear to have offered an extension of land to the Herero tribe in two separate areas and to have enquired whom the tribe would desire to have as their Chief or Headman in the event of their tribal area being extended. Was this intended as an inducement to vote in favour of incorporation and/or was it regarded as such by the Hereros at the time?

5. Was there more than one attempt to hold a referendum and if so why? If not what is the explanation of the statement that the Borg Damaras, the Namas, the Ovambos, as well as the Hereros refused to countenance incorporation, and that "another meeting will be held on the third of September, that we would be stopped from going to that meeting and that they will have
their own men to speak for them while we will be stopped "?

6. What is the meaning of such expressions as "All efforts are being made to prevail over us" and "the Government does not pay heed to what we say but continues in their efforts to prevail over us"?

"The Government does not like our saying that we refuse ......." etc. etc. If this could have been said in one or two cases is it not possible that some form of pressure was exercised in other cases as well?

Such allegations taken in conjunction with the refusal to permit the Institute of Race Relations' representative (and Lord Hailey) to enter the territory during the period when the referendum was being taken, seem to make it imperative that an enquiry should be held into the way in which the referendum was conducted and the reliability of its findings.

According to an official Court statement "the Natives were asked to debate the matter fully among themselves before making their free and final decision known. After three and a half hours the Natives gave their reply "we desire to remain under the Union, we have found no fault with this administration, we have been governed well and we have lived well". How can this statement be reconciled with Mr. Justice H. S. Van Zyl's commission report to the Union Government quoted in Tshokodi's memorandum, having regard to the fact that the above description was quoted as being typical of the way in which the referendum was conducted?

"If, then, one considers the backwardness of the indigenous population, (i.e. South west African Natives) it becomes clear that there is no reasonable expectation of their acquiring those mental, moral and civic qualities, which would justify their being seriously taken into consultation, before a point of time so remote as hardly to merit present consideration."

It is felt that the publication of some of these relevant documents should be undertaken now, since General Smuts is persisting in his claim that the Union's case for incorporation is based solely........
“solely on the wishes of the inhabitants both Black and White.”

It also seems doubtful whether the British public is aware of the repeated requests which Chief Tshokodi made, to be allowed to go to England, in order that some of the facts and allegations that were made to him, should be made known to the British and other delegations at UNO.

There is a growing suspicion supported by General Smuts' persistence that his claim for the annexation of S.W.Africa forms part of a long term plan for the expansion of the Union's territories.

Under such circumstances the Union, with its colour barriers and its cheap migratory labour policy would become the predominant force in the direction of Pan-African affairs. Just as Hitler pursued his annexationist policy piecemeal, so General Smuts is suspected of pursuing the dream of Cecil Rhodes. Once the principle of incorporation had been granted him at UNO, it is thought that this would have provided the necessary sanction for the further incorporation of other Native territories.

"Always bearing in mind the declared and active policy of the Union where the native inhabitants of South Africa are concerned and that the basis of this policy is the economic servitude of these people, a parallel economic development having as its purpose complete equality of opportunities and progress for the natives is a serious threat to the Union policy and means its ultimate frustration. With such development in the Bechuanaland Protectorate the more progressive African element in the Union will naturally be attracted into the Bechuanaland Protectorate and it will both accelerate the advancement of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and decrease the available cheap African labour in the Union. It is an unavoidable deduction that the Union must fight this progress in the Bechuanaland Protectorate by every means and hence their insistent demand to incorporate both South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate." so concludes Chief Tshokodi's memorandum.

/However........
However that may be, it is clear that General Smuts is determined not to abandon his policy so far as the incorporation of South West Africa is concerned. On his return from the United Nations Assembly he delivered a broadcast speech to the Nation, in which, inter alia, he said:

"So far as South-West Africa was concerned we made it clear that what we were doing was to lay before the conference the wishes of the inhabitants of South-West Africa, European and native, in favour of incorporation in the Union. We also explained that in the face of that definite expression of South-West African views, the Union did not see its way clear to submit a trusteeship agreement for South-West Africa.

The answer of the relevant committee was, in the first instance, that on the data before this conference it did not feel justified in acceding to the request for incorporation. It subsequently reversed that decision and recommended that it could not agree to incorporation and that the Union should submit a trusteeship agreement, and this reversal was in substance confirmed by the full Assembly.

This was not only in conflict with the expressed wishes of the inhabitants, but might also be in conflict with the Charter, which makes the mandatory a free agent in agreeing or not to a trusteeship agreement. These matters must now receive the further attention of the Union Government.

In any case, the Union Government is determined to maintain at least the position which was given it under the mandate, and to discharge the trust it has undertaken to the inhabitants of South West Africa and to the Union itself, to whose security South West Africa is essential.

In these and other activities I meant also to serve the interests of South Africa, which I found far from being either known or appreciated in the world at large. To most, South Africa still remains a remote, unknown corner, and I hope some publicity — such as I could give personally — might be useful to our country and its interests, which are so largely misrepresented even by the people who hail from South Africa but don't deserve the name of South Africans.

It may be that in Tshokotshi Khamza, General Smuts, to use an expression popular amongst Africans, has 'met his Moso' so far as his Pan-African programme is concerned and perhaps as far as the whole of the African people is concerned.

The questions at issue were not merely questions of internal-Imperial policy, though the main participants in the controversy at the United Nations Assembly, were the Indian British and South African delegates. The issues which were raised in this controversy were issues of world-wide importance, and could not be settled within the framework of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

For our present purpose, the controversy in so far as it concerned
the British protectorates in South Africa, and Chief Tshekodi in particular, could be said to begin with an interview which took place between the Chief and the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom on June 11th 1946. At this interview Sir Evelyn Baring conveyed the decision of the British Cabinet on the question of the locus standi of Bechuanaland in the claims of the Union Government for the incorporation of South West Africa.

In the matter of the Union's claims the decision was also conveyed to him that the Secretary of State would not accord him and his legal adviser an interview if they were to go to England, "as delegates on behalf of the Bechuanaland chiefs and people."

Since those decisions were conveyed verbally to the chief he wrote to the High Commissioner as follows, summarising the decisions of the British Cabinet as he had understood them:--

13th June, 1946.

His Excellency the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, Parliament Street, Cape Town.

Your Excellency,

As I have been unable to gather the purpose of the instructions of the British Government which Your Excellency was asked to convey to me, I desire to state my impression of the interview Your Excellency accorded to me on Tuesday.

I trust that Your Excellency will appreciate the fact that in this matter I am acting on behalf of the Bechuanaland Peoples and it is, therefore, essential that I should convey to them the correct message given me by Your Excellency.

I gather the position to be that Your Excellency has been instructed to tell me that the British Cabinet met to consider the position which has recently been presented by the Chiefs of Bechuanaland collectively, and that as a result of such deliberations I was to be told that my visit to England accompanied by Adv. Buchanan to assist me was not approved of by the British Cabinet and that should I go to England despite its approval I should come there fully knowing that I could not be given an interview by the Secretary of State, and it was most unlikely that I could interview any of the Cabinet Ministers.

With regard to the position of South West Africa, I gather that it is held that the Bechuanaland Protectorate has no locus standi in this matter.

I recollect asking Your Excellency whether our petition would be laid before U.N.O. but I cannot remembe any definite reply on the part of Your Excellency.

On the point of a free and open road to a free West Coast Port, I gathered from Your Excellency that you could take this point up with the Union Government if I so desired.
but that you, Sir, had first to report to the British Government before taking any steps. In any case, Your Excellency did not feel that there was any chance of succeeding with regard to obtaining a free corridor through the territory of South West Africa and that the most that could be hoped for would be to receive the same treatment on the Railways and Port as the Union would give to its own people.

If the above is not the correct summary of Your Excellency's instructions I should be most grateful for a written summary thereof, as I do not wish to make any error in my report to those who have delegated me to represent the case.

The impression left in my mind was that the British Government, without hearing what we have to say in support of our case, has decided that Mr. Buchanan and myself should not be allowed to come to England. Mr. Buchanan and I submit, Sir, that in order fully to instruct the British delegation to U.N.O. it is important that the facts should be clearly stated and their implications and effects explained from all angles.

On the question of the Bechuanaland Protectorate's Locus standi, it seems clear that with its more than 400 miles of contiguous border to South West Africa, and the fact that it presently gives refuge to about 14,000 displaced Hereros and Apanderos, the Bechuanaland Protectorate must be regarded as a country having a direct interest in the future of South West Africa.

In view of the assertions — judging by debates in Parliament and the public press — made on behalf of the Union of South Africa, it is essential that these should be carefully examined from another point of view. To adequately achieve this objective the Bechuanaland case should be heard by the Secretary of State from the mouths of its delegates.

With regard to the suggestion that an agreement be made with the Union Government as to special treatment on the Railway and at the Port — this has been considered and we have come to the conclusion that this would be ineffective once the territory is transferred to the Union.

As delegates of the Bechuanaland people, we wish to emphasise that our case, as presented in the memorandum, in effect depends on the possibility of economic development of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. It seems unlikely that at this time soon after the war, the British Government would entertain any idea of developing a railway such as that which we suggested in our memorandum and with these thoughts in our minds, we have been making efforts to contact friends in England, to get them interested in this venture, and I have now received most encouraging correspondence with certain friends who are interested in Colonial developments and have the money to carry them out and are very definitely interested in the proposals which I placed last year before the Bechuanaland Protectorate Government.

It would be too late to make any efforts to establish the economic life and independonce of the Bechuanaland Protectorate on a real footing if, as Your Excellency suggests, our visit to England were delayed until after U.N.O. has dealt with South West Africa and the issue of a free route for the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

To summarise the position put to me by Your Excellency......
Excellency:

1) I must not go to England to argue the case of the Bechuanas.

2) That the Bechuanaland Protectorate has no locus standi in the question of the future of South West Africa.

3) My only hope is to ask for special treatment from the Union on the Railways and at the Port; and

4) No reply has been given to us as to whether our case is being placed before U.N.O.

On this basis it is clear to us that we have nothing to gain but everything to lose.

It seems to us that we have no alternative but to apply, as we now formally do for 'priority' permits to proceed to England as delegates on behalf of the Bechuanaland chiefs and peoples to consult our numerous friends and advisors there as to the best and proper course to take. Our friends in South Africa are so few that in fairness to our cause and to them we feel it our bounden duty as delegates to get the soundest advice possible in England before taking any irrevocable steps, and consequently, as time is so short, we earnestly request permits to proceed to England immediately.

Following these decisions Chief Tshokodi presented to the British Government a memorandum setting out the reasons why he considered that the Union's claims to annex S.W. Africa were a matter of vital concern for the future of his country, economically, in so far as it would affect the control of his trade routes, and politically in so far as it would form a sanction for the further incorporation of African territories in the Union.

In the course of a joint letter by himself and his legal advisor, Mr. Buchanan, it was requested that nothing should "interfere with the due presentation of our case by the British delegation as our Advocate to present our case before the United Nations General Assembly and even at this 11th hour we ask that our memorandum be given to the British delegation for the purpose of representing us at U.N.O even if the British Cabinet has formed an opinion which is adverse to our case."

"We had hoped", they remarked, "that this memorandum would first be considered before a reply was given to us....If your Excellency's letter is meant for a final reply to our case, we will have no alternative but to humbly record that for the second time, we as dependants of the British Government have not been.............
been given a hearing before our case was turned down, but were
told that the fact as now furnished in our supporting memorandum
was sufficient to answer the unsatisfactory (from the Bechuanaland
chief's and people's side) belief and apparent confidence of
his Majesty's Government in the intention of the Government of the
Union of South Africa towards the Native people of South Africa.

"Perhaps the true position is best summed up in the words:
'The toad beneath the harrow knows exactly where each tooth
point goes.' It is natural that our hope is to have the
full and complete support of Great Britain as one of the
three Great Powers represented at U.N.O. and particularly,
as she is our 'Protecting Power'. Nevertheless, as one of
the Bench of Judges at U.N.O., we must, and do recognize that
in that capacity Great Britain has a judicial function to
discharge, and that capacity must be free and unfeathered.

This however should in no way interfere with the
duo presentation of our case by the British Delegation as
our Advocate to present our case before the United Nations
General Assembly dealing therewith in September. We submit we have a right to have our case properly and fully present-
et to all the Nations represented at United Nations General
Assembly. This matter is brought before the General Assembly
by the Union of South Africa as a matter for International
decision, and even at this eleventh hour we ask that our
memoranda be given to the British Delegation for the purpose
of representing us at U.N.O. even if the British Cabinet
has formed an opinion which is adverse to our case, still
this should not be allowed to jeopardise the duo, proper
and adequate presentation thereof at United Nations General
Assembly.

It is therefore essential that the Bochuanaland Pro-
ectorate proposals are put before the General Assembly
simultaneously with the South African Government's proposals
in regard to South West Africa.

We note with concern that so far the Union of South
Africa is the only Mandatory Power that has not accepted the
procedure laid down in the United Nations Charter, even
though Field Marshal Smuts was one of its chief framers. All
the remaining Mandatory Powers - namely Australia, Belgium,
France and New Zealand - have declared their willingness
to conclude Trusteeship agreements in respect of such
territories administered by them. Japan's Mandates automatic-
ally vest in U.N.O.

As to paragraph 4, the immediate construction of a
railway to a South West African Port is not the point under
consideration, but the keeping open of a free and unrestrict-
ed means of export and import by a railway from Bechuanaland
to a South West African Port is the vital issue. Once South
West Africa is incorporated in the Union such ingress and
egress is barred, but it is always open so long as South
West Africa remains a Mandated territory, and not one which
the Mandatory can use to stifle a neighbouring power.

This is the present essential difference between
Bechuanaland and Basutoland. The latter's economic future
always been regarded as completely in the hollow the hand
of the Union of South Africa. The belief of His Majesty's

/Government
Government that there can be no reason to suppose the Union Government would seek to restrict export stamps to the Bechuanaland Chiefs and Peoples to be an act of faith in which they are unable to participate, as, so far as the facts go, not to mention anything more than the restrictions on the export of cattle from Bechuanaland to the Union, and the treatment which Bechuanaland receives on the Union Railways; these have shattered any such belief in the minds of the Bechuana Chiefs and Peoples.

We submit, that in view of the past apparent unwillingness on the part of His Majesty's Government to hand over the administration of Bechuanaland Protectorate to the Union of South Africa, the Union Government is demanding the annexation of South West Africa to the Union of South Africa amongst other reasons to place Bechuanaland in a position where she will ultimately have no alternative but to be forced for economic considerations to come into the Union of South Africa. This is the present position of the sister High Commission Territories in South Africa especially Basutoland.

Once South West Africa is an integral part of the Union, U.N.O. under its present Constitution will have no right or authority to intervene in the internal affairs of the Union (then including South West Africa), and consequently will have no locus standi concerning either exhorbitant or differential customs, duties, railway rates, dock dues, etc., etc. — so much for the BechuanaLand Protectorate's economic position.

This matter is most serious for the African inhabitants of South West Africa, as the International "Trusteeship" Principle would be wholly abandoned for the diametrically opposite "Native Policy" of the Union, and U.N.O. would then have no right to object to or protest at the conduct of international affairs in the Territory, a right which was clearly stated in the League of Nations under Mandates.

It is admitted by all well-informed persons that migratory labour has been and is the biggest factor in the break-up of family life amongst the Bantu and mainly responsible for the enormously high incidence of Venerable Disease and Tuberculosis amongst the African native.

Yet this deteriorating system is being increasingly forced upon the indigenous peoples of South West Africa under Union control. In 1930 the average number of the African people recruited (indentured) for mine work in South West Africa was 4,349 a year. Today the Witwatersrand Gold Mines recruit about 3,000 natives a month from that territory. This last fact, together with the notorious policy of the Native Administration of the Union of South Africa, we submit, should suffice to convince His Majesty's Government that the Union of South Africa, cannot, in the true interests of the welfare of the native peoples of South Africa, be entrusted with more and more territories principally inhabited by native peoples.

As to the case of the displaced peoples, the Hereroes in particular, these people have now made a request to interview the High Commissioner, and Your Excellency will be able, directly from these people, to ascertain what their apprehensions are as to the future of South West Africa. We earnestly submit that though they are technically entitled so to do — it is neither fair nor just, under existing circumstances, to expect those Hereroes temporarily resident in the BechuanaLand Protectorate, or those under the control of the Union in
South West Africa, to raise their voices at U.N.O., but we submit that both Great Britain and the other nations represented at U.N.O. are bound by their "sacred trust" and pledged word to protect both acts of Hororos and to see that their rights to freedom and fair treatment are amply protected both under the terms of the existing Mandate and in the provision of any new Mandatory agreement to be entered into between U.N.O. and the Union of South Africa.

The interview referred to above between the High Commissioner and the Hororo chief Frederick Maharoro, Tshokodi and other headmen from South West Africa, took place at Mafeking on 20th September, 1946, and the following is a resume of the discussion that took place there:

"Frederick Maharoro: I have heard with alarm that my country will be incorporated into the Union, and so I desired to meet your Excellency and ascertain whether it is true that my country is going to be made part of the Union.

After I have heard whether it is true or not then I shall say what I wish to say to Your Excellency.

The High Commissioner: There is that proposal by the Union Government. The proposal is about to be made by the Union Government to the United Nations Organisation.

Frederick Maharoro: My father fought against the Germans in that country, and when we ran out of ammunition we had to flee our country. Our Chief was not captured and he took refuge in this Territory.

From very long ago we have known the English people, before the Germans came.

When we were in Ngamiland a white man came from the Transvaal to look for Samuel my father and to tell him that land had been set aside for and given to him in the Transvaal. Samuel was told that he was given that piece of land free to settle and live there with his people. After they had come to settle there, the men, young and old, were taken by force and taken to the mines to work there. When Samuel complained that those men should be asked for from him he was told that the land on which he lived belonged to the people who owned the mines and that his people must go to the mines to work, and most of them died there.

There was a second occasion when my father had to give out men, this was for the war against the Germans (The First World War). Thirty of us were sent to South West Africa. We were told we would be paid only £3 each for our services, but that if the country was taken from the Germans it would be given back to Samuel and his people. Those Hororos were sent to South West Africa to load their people because they knew the country. Samuel asked that the promise that if the Germans were defeated the country would be given back to him be given in writing but he was told he would be given this at the end of the war. But that was not done up to the present time.

South West Africa is my father's country and it is for this reason that I wish to know whether it is true that my country is to become part of the Union. Because many of my father's people died at the mines he left the Union and went back to the Bechuanaland Protectorate to live in Chief Khoana's country. Chief Khoana told him to come to Mafeking to ask for land. The Government offered him land at Ghanzi, but the two
two men who were sent there by the Chief Samuel to see what the
country was like brought back the report that there was no
water. The Chief Kharna in consultation with the Government
offered them land at nakati. Samuel complained that Nakati was
very far and that he would be a long way from his people in
South West Africa so he notified to live with Chief Kharna.
Sekgoma succeeded Kharna as chief of the Bamangwato and
my father asked that when he died he should be buried in
Sekgoma's country, but that his remains should subsequently be
exhumed and removed to be interred in his country in kahanga.
This was done. South West Africa in my country. The Germans
did not conquer us. We ran out of ammunition.
I am alarmed and much concerned to learn that my country
is to become part of the Union. My plea, Your Excellency, is
that the country be placed under British rule, because the Trans
vaal Government imposes conditions which are intolerable. I
lived there and had to come back because we could not bear the
conditions there. we had to get permits even to slaughter our
cattle to eat, otherwise we were liable to arrest and
prosecution.
My people in South Africa wrote to me from time to time
and told me their hardships and their grievances. I have come
to lay my grievances before Your Excellency as the Supreme
Chief of all the Natives in this country.

High Commissioner: The country was first under the Germans,
then the Union succeeded the Germans and for how many years
did the Chief (Fredrick) live in South West Africa when it was
administered by the Union?

Fredrick: I did not live in South West Africa when it was
administered by the Union.

High Commissioner: So, the things the Chief speaks of he has
heard from his people in South West Africa?

Fredrick: My people there inform me of their hardships and are
inviting me to go there and rule over them.

High Commissioner: How many people of the Chief live in the
Bochumanland Protectorate - in the Bamangwato Reserves, in the
Batwana Reserve etc ?

Fredrick: I do not know their numbers, but these could be
ascertained from the tax-register.

High Commissioner: But does the Chief think their number
exceeds that when they first came out to this this country?

Fredrick: Yes, they have increased.

Chief Tshekedi: I have a request to make, Your Excellency.
Could Fredrick Mahororo be asked to explain why his people
want him back to South West Africa?

Fredrick: They want me to go back to my country and be their
Chief there and help them to oppose incorporation into the
Union. Men, women, and children are sending this message to me.

Stephanus B: I am a Nkandoro from Nyamiland and my feelings
and views are those which have been expressed by the Chief of
the Herero people.
Our people who come in from South West Africa have told
us that they have been told that their country is to be
incorporated within the Union. But our desire is that this
should not happen. Our people do not want the Union, and I
/do..........

do not want it too, together with the request that South Africa remain outside the Union. We lay before Your Excellency the grievances of our people in South West Africa.

High Commissioner: When did the last speaker and his people come from South West Africa into Ngamiland - before or after the Germans were defeated?

Stephanus: After the Hororo War.

S. Wapimbi: We are glad of the opportunity to come before our Supreme Chief. We are touched by the cries of our people in South West Africa come through me: so I know more than anyone else the cries of our people in South West Africa, not only from letters but also from people who come from there from time to time. They are experiencing the same hardships as were experienced by our people when they lived in the Transvaal. The numbers of cattle which they may own are limited, they may not keep a dog unless the licence to possess it is to be found on the dog's neck always, they pay tax for every domestic animal they keep. There is with us here a man from South West Africa, the last speaker is head of the Babandero in Ngamiland, the Headman of the Hororo in Ngamiland is also here, all these know those grievances which have been expressed here.

Toabe: I am head of chief Liharero's people who reside in Ngamiland. I have come to lay before our Father and mother the cries of our people in South West Africa. They tell us that their country is going to be handed over to the Union, and our request Your Excellency, is that the country should not be handed to the Union Government, but that it be administered under the same basis as the Bocuanaland Protectorate, namely that it be proclaimed a Protectorate.

Isaak Kalongali: I am glad of this opportunity to stand before the great chief. I come from South West Africa. We have lived therefore about 46 years after our war with the Germans. The grievances expressed by the speakers here are our grievances.

I shall mention one other thing. When our Government sought our views on this question we said we would not give away our country because our Chief is alive and the country is his. Our hardships have been adequately expressed here this morning.

K. Wapimbi: What I wish to say is that I have accompanied the Headman from Ngamiland. I have never gone to South West Africa. I am afraid to go there. I am afraid of the conditions there. The previous speakers have expressed my views. The owner of that country was never captured and I do not wish the country to become part of the Union because its owner was not captured.

Chief Tshokedi: One of the speakers, Your Excellency, was Stephanus, and I have here a letter written me by Chief Moromi and to which is attached a letter to Stephanus by one Hoveka of South West Africa. I desire to hand this letter to Your Excellency, after it has been read. (the letter was read and the Chief explained that he was reading the translated copy and that he was not responsible for the translation as it had been sent to him in that form.)

There are just two or three points which I desire to make - the first is - in a statement recently issued by the South African Institute of Race Relations (Ref.No.R.R.91/46) /on the........
on the Future of South West Africa, this Institute points out in the last paragraph on page 7 the "Native Inhabitants of South West Africa did not become Union Nationals when the Union assumed the Mandate for the territory: they were to be "regarded as nationals of the territory itself." (Wright p.46.) .... They have also had the right to petition the League against any acts of the Mandatory Power. They were really wards of the League as long as the League existed, whose wards are they now?

Now I draw attention to this point that the Natives of South West Africa had the right to petition the League. We have argued in Chapter two of our pamphlets the present position of S.W.A. in relation to UNO and I need not go over the ground again. This deputation of the Horeeros and Abandoros is a deputation of those people living in the Bamangwato and Batawana countries and I have been deputed by the various tribes of Bechuanaland to present their case to the Government. I therefore ask His Excellency the High Commissioner on behalf of this deputation of the Horeeros and Abandoros that their representations made this morning to the High Commissioner be placed before UNO when the Union Government places its case before that Assembly for consideration.

My second point is - in chapter five of our pamphlet we pointed out that since the S.W.A. Mandate was granted to the Union of South Africa the Union Natiove Policy has deteriorated and continues to deteriorate. I wish to add to what we said in our pamphlet that as a result of this oppressive policy there is a growing feeling of frustration amongst the Union Native Nationals and this has recently culminated in the indefinite postponement of the sitting of the Union Government Native Representative Council.

I want these statements to form an annexe to our pamphlet and I request they should immediately be put in the hands of the British Delegation to UNO for use in reply to the Union Government's demands on S.W.A.

My third point may be beyond my understanding to discuss but I am only raising it because of a strong feeling of anxiety possessing me. From a recent letter addressed to the various Chiefs by His Excellency the High Commissioner I cannot believe that the British Government is fully aware of (a) the determined policy of oppression and denial of all human rights to the Native people of South Africa by the Union Government, (b) a feeling of certain strong political sections in the Union for South Africa to be a "Neutral Country", coupled with the possibility of Portugal either being in the same position or coming under the control of an "Enemy", what is going to be the position of Bechuanaland, the Rhodesias and perhaps other British possessions with regard to their outlet to the sea. However this is a matter which I am entirely unqualified to discuss but I am only mentioning it because of a feeling of anxiety possessing me. At this point I may say that we are aware that a Railway Line has been surveyed from Rhodesia to S.W.A. Port, but this surveyed line may be found to run along land which has break water and one feels the present is the time for these matters to be given consideration.

I make this last point Your Excellency having in view the point of Locua standi of Bechuanaland on the S.W.A. question because if other Railway lines were to be surveyed that line would be on the Southern side of the present surveyed line and that Southern side would be in my country.

High Commissioner: I have listened carefully to what has been said and what has been said here will be sent to the British Government.
Following the interview with the High Commissioner, Chief Tshekedi wrote to him on the 24th September, enclosing certain letters which had reached Frederick Maharero from "certain headmen residing in S.W.Africa", and conveyed to him certain further information on the subjects of discussion. The letters are those of which extracts are reproduced in the article published in the Democrat and recorded at the beginning of this memorandum. The chief’s letter enclosing those statements after the Mafeking interview reads as follows:

"On behalf of myself and the Hereros I wish to thank Your Excellency for giving us the opportunity of placing the Herero position before you at a meeting at Mafeking on the 20th instant.

Although the Herero stated their case fairly fully there are certain details I should like to place before Your Excellency in order to clarify the position.

Following up the suggestion contained in the last paragraph of your Excellency's letter of the 3rd July, Ref. No.17/46 addressed to the various Chiefs of Bechuanaland Protectorate I have the honour to inform the High Commissioner that certain representations have come from various Headmen in South West Africa to their Chief Frederick Samuel Maharero presently residing in the Bechuanaland Protectorate in consequence of certain meetings held by the Union Government Officials in South West Africa with the various tribes there. I attach hereto three letters written to Frederick Samuel Maharero by certain Herero Headmen residing in South West Africa. These letters should have been presented to Your Excellency at the meeting at Mafeking, but unfortunately Frederick had left them at Mahalapye.

It appears that at a meeting held about January this year in South West Africa at which we understand Dr. Botha, Mr. Hahn and other officials were present, suggestions were put forward on behalf of the Union Government offering additional land for the Herero tribe in two separate areas one of which lay from Waterborg towards the Batawana Territory. It was suggested that the Herero send persons to inspect those areas and the Herero were also asked whom they desired as Chief or Headman if their land were increased.

As a result thereof the Herero in South West Africa made representations to their said Chief Frederick to return to South West Africa to take charge of the tribe.

From the information we have been able to gather it appears that the land offered is unsuitable.

Subsequently about March this year another official meeting was held between the Union Government's Officials including Mr. Botha and Mr. Hahn at which other tribes were also present and the subject for discussion was the incorporation of South West Africa in the Union.

Our information goes to say that there was an emphatic refusal..."
refusal to agree to this by the Hororo, Borg Damaraas, Namas and Ovambos, though separately consulted on this question. This information has come through verbal sources quite distinct from the letter handed to Your Excellency at the meeting.

It would appear that Frederick Samuel Maharoro would be willing to return to his people at their request if adequate suitable land were allotted to his people where they could live and develop as a tribe in a single area instead of various small reserves numbering about nine at the present moment and each situated some distance from the other.

We would point out that the Ovambos retain today their tribal area practically intact.

At present the Hereros in South West Africa have not their tribal area - indeed their land apart from the nine separated areas has practically all been occupied by Europeans. In addition to the land which may have been occupied by the German Farmers we wish it noted here that the 300 families of Anglo Boers were all settled in the land belonging to the Hororo after the Union received its Mandate.

Some of the Union nationals have also been settled on their land. With reference to the remarks made to Your Excellency by K. Napimu at our interview with regard to the hardships suffered by Hereros, we have now been supplied with the following further information:

(i) There is a pass system in vogue which requires every man, woman and child from 14 to 46 years to carry a pass. (N.B. This we respectfully submit is even more drastic than the Union Laws).

Even to go from one Heroro reserve to another in South West Africa passes are required e.g. from Okahandja to Windhoek.

(ii) It is common practice on account of the shortage of land for Africans in S. West Africa to receive no wage for their farm services beyond the right to run up to 25 head of cattle and 40 to 50 small stock on their master's farms.

(iii) The taxation of native stock is heavy, being 4d per head per month for cattle and equines and 1/2d per head per month for small stock even in the native reserves.

(iv) There is also a dog tax of 10/- per annum and every dog found without a licence to its neck is destroyed.

(v) In all town areas the natives working therein must pay a tax of 2/7d per month per head. This also applies to visiting natives.

(vi) For every form of employment whether on farms, in industry or on mines the employee has to be registered subject to penal sanctions.

The above contains the main items which it was the intention of the Horeros to place before Your Excellency on this issue.

From the information before us it would seem that apart from the Herero Reserves all the good Herero land has been allocated to Europeans and no such good land is in consequence available to those displaced Hereros presently in the Bochuanaland Protectorate.

/Thc...
The Herero themselves say that the present Reserves are inadequate for those Hereros presently within the boundaries of South West Africa.

On behalf of the Herero natives we ask that the question of providing land for these displaced persons be dealt with on the lines indicated in Your Excellency's letter.

From the foregoing we challenge any statement either now or hereafter made by the Union Government to the General Assembly at UNO this October to the effect that the Natives peoples of South West Africa concur in the transfer of that territory to the Union free of any Mandate.

In view of the points raised by the Hereros at their meeting with Your Excellency and as amplified in this letter we cannot believe that either the British Government or the members of the General Assembly at UNO are aware of the determined policy of oppression and the denial of all human rights to the native peoples of South Africa by the Government of the Union.

So far as we have been able to ascertain the Herero do admit that the Union's treatment is preferable to German rule but only in one degree namely that the Germans had one penalty - the death penalty - for even minor offences.

As stated at Your Excellency's meeting we request on behalf of the Hereros that the representations made at the meeting and this letter be placed before the Secretary of State and Members of the Delegation to the General Assembly of UNO.

On the 11th October, the High Commissioner wrote to Chief Tshekedi reiterating the point of view of the United Kingdom Government after considering the representations that had been made to it on the subject. "The full case against the incorporation of South West Africa to the Union, described in a document signed by Mr. Buchanan and yourself and mentioned in your letter of the 26th August, has been carefully considered by the United Kingdom Government together with the view expressed in the letter from Mr. Buchanan and yourself dated 16th and 26th August."

"As you know the Secretary of State has already expressed his views on the argument put forward from the point of view of the African residents in the Bechuanaland protectorate, concerning the future of South West Africa. He does not consider that any new point is made in the document under reference above of sufficient force to justify any alteration in those views. As you know, the views of the inhabitants, European and Native, in South West Africa, itself, are, in the opinion of the united Kingdom Govern-
moment, the factors to be taken into account on the question of the incorporation of South West Africa in the Union of South Africa. Meanwhile, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, is carefully considering that instructions should be given to the United Kingdom delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation. Finally I should point out to you that the reply received from the Secretary of State was written before he had an opportunity to read the representations made by Chief Frederick Maharoro and you to me recently at Mafeking and the data contained in your subsequent letter on the 24th September.

From the debate at the United Nations Assembly and the support given by the British delegation to the South African case for incorporation, it is now common knowledge that the Mafeking meeting and following representations made no difference to the attitude of the British government.

Seemingly in despair, Chief Tshokodi cabled to London on the 21st October as follows:

"From correspondence so far received it appears the Secretary of State and the British Cabinet does not favourably consider our case, but as General Assembly at UNO is international tribunal to decide the future South West Africa, including our relative position we ask for assurance that our full documents will be placed before the General Assembly at UNO."

On returning from Bechuanaland to Johannesburg, the writer of this memorandum communicated the substance of these documents and copies of some of the documents themselves to those taking part in the debate at UNO and interviewed both the South African press and certain diplomatic representatives in the Union on the subject since at that time it seemed likely that those representations had not been made known to delegates at UNO. At the same time cables were addressed to the Secretary for the Dominions, the Secretary Trusteehip Committee of UNO, and finally to Mr. Attlee himself after his reply had been given to Mr. Dumpleton's question in the House of Commons, in which he expressed himself satisfied with the conduct of the Referendum and the justice of the Union's claim, based upon the expressed wishes of the inhabitants.
Bechuanaland, an arid grass-land country, with its area of 275,000 square miles only little smaller than the Cape Province, is inhabited by a native people largely communist in their primitive social structure. These people are now becoming aware and conscious of the movement of Western civilization and anxious to take part in it. Their problem is to discover how they may share in this movement, by passing the extremely individualistic structure which has for centuries characterised Western life, and joining the stream in its modern direction of increasing socialisation and state ownership, in many ways not far removed from their own present simple organisation.

The country is essentially pastoral, the extensive grassland supporting large herds of cattle and of sheep and goats. The uncertain rainfall and absence of large irrigation schemes result in uneven crop yields, and though in a good year enough grain may be reaped to allow a substantial export, yet in most years the country must import wheat and mealies to supply its full needs. Its chief sources of income are its cattle and dairy produce, hides and skins, and minerals, and the export of its labour to the Transvaal mines.

In the last part of the last century, Bechuanaland, threatened by the Boers then advancing north and east from the Cape, and by the increasing commercial interests of the British South Africa Company, eager to acquire the country to ensure communications with the north knew its independence to be in jeopardy. A delegation of three chiefs led by the famous Khama went to London to interview Joseph Chamberlain on the future of their territory. "Shall we be given into the hands of a company whose work is to hunt for gold and the wealth of the land only?"

They achieved Protectorate status for Bechuanaland, and came to an agreement on the method of government, the extent of power remaining to the chiefs, which was considerable, and the details of future administration. Land policy was one of the problems most immediately in need of settlement, and it was eventually agreed to cede to the Chartered Company the railway strip. To prevent further land concessions by the chiefs themselves, titles to land granted after 1891 were valid only if sanctioned by the government, the total of alienated land being 7,500 square miles, mostly on the eastern border of the country. Five tribal reserves, 102,000 square miles in all, were marked out for native occupation, and the rest of the country (165,000 square miles) over which no tribe proved occupation was declared Crown land, and has remained for the most part uninhabited and undeveloped.

Within the Reserves there is a complex well-knit tribal society. The people are gathered into villages, some of considerable population, and Sorowe, largest native town in southern Africa, has a population of over 25,000. The family is the important unit in administrative life and a man with his sons and their families form a lineage group, the father being the recognised older, and being succeeded by his eldest son. The sons as the families increase, form their own lineage groups and these are grouped together into larger kinship units, known as Wards, under the senior Headman; and the Wards together form the Village, under the Chief of the tribe who is thus a descendant of the original lineage head. Alien people are admitted to the tribe simply as a lineage group or, in greater numbers, as a Ward under the headship of their hereditary leader. Authority and the maintenance of law and order, in the first instance, rests with the father or lineage head, and only in the event of his failure does the matter progress to the headman of the Ward and, if necessary, to the Chief. Land belongs to the tribe collectively and not to individuals. If a tribal community moves to a new area the land is...
selected by the Chief in consultation with his headmen. The Chief then allocates lands for settlement and fields to each of the Wards and the headman divides the land among the families. The cattle graze on communal ground far from the village settlements. The wealth of the individual is vested in his cattle, but in general there is a well-developed family solidarity prompting the rich, if need be, to share meat and milk with their poorer kinmen. There is, too, a general tendency in the ploughing season to share labour, oxen and implements.

The most prominent of the Chiefs of Bechuanaland is the chief of the Banangwato tribe, Tshokodi, whose headquarters is the large town of Sorowe. Chief Tshokodi has for sometime been seriously concerned with the advancement of his people and he considers that the time has come to take some progressive steps, but he is particularly anxious that what schemes are introduced should be not a more wholesale adoption of chunks of European customs and practices, but a careful adaptation of what is suitable of European life for the purposes of his people.

Obviously the first step in any advancement must be an advance in education. Up to the present only primary education has been obtainable in the country and for secondary, technical and university education the students must go to the Union. Tshokodi now proposes the establishment of a secondary and industrial school under tribal rather than government control, urging that "the foundations may be well and truly laid of an educational policy... that would ensure for all time the steady progress of the people towards an economic and social way of life in keeping with their customs and traditions yet fluid enough to embrace western civilization."

He plans that the chief type of education needed immediately general academic, agricultural, industrial, domestic and commercial, should all be in one organisation. In this way the school should to a large extent be self-supporting, the food being supplied by the farming department, the house-work being done by the domestic science section, the maintenance of buildings by the industrial students, and so on. Tshokodi also insists that, as the people of Bechuanaland are, and must for many decades remain, primarily an agricultural and pastoral people, practical farming must play an important part in the education of every student, whatever his major interests and studies. The scientific side of agriculture will be the concern of those whose intention it is to devote their lives to agricultural pursuits, but any and every one who is to contribute in any way to the life of his country must have thorough knowledge of practical farming and of the way of life of the majority of his fellows.

The importance of farming to the Bechuana is such that Tshokodi also outlines a scheme for the adaptation of what in the Union is known as Whole Farm Demonstration, for the instruction and enlightenment of established practical farmers who have not the advantage of agricultural training at school. The general aim of whole farm demonstration is to show the people the immediate advantages of agricultural training at school. The general aim of whole farm demonstration is to show the people the immediate advantages of scientific farming, preservation of the land by crop rotation and intensive methods in place of the old shifting cultivation, and the improvement of their herds by better care and feeding and the use of picked bulls. The value of this type of demonstration naturally lies in the success with which it is shown to be applicable and practicable in the actual circumstances in which the people live and its adaptability to the local conditions and habits of the people. Any attempt to introduce this potentially valuable type of adult instruction into Bechuanaland must first of all take cognisance of the traditional communalistic features of Bechuana tribal life. For example, livestock, privately owned, though often communally ploughed, the people live in villages where there are schools, and possibilities of organising other communal activities.
village markets, industrial and recreational schemes, but every man is a farmer with lands to cultivate and cattle to tend; because of the distances of the fields and pastures from the village the men must spend much of the year away from the village cultivating the fields and herding the cattle.

It is pointed out that the War lands, developed and farmed by communal tribal effort in an attempt to increase food production as a contribution to the war effort would make a suitable starting point for demonstration and the lands could now easily be taken over by the department of agriculture for this purpose. A communal scheme of this sort would also facilitate the development of the Irrigation Projects so vitally needed by the country and which few but the very wealthy can attempt individually, but which could be embarked on as communal undertakings with success, in those areas.

For the improvement of livestock it is held that if waters are to be evenly and effectively distributed throughout the territory, rather than leave it to the few wealthy to establish dams and wells, the people should form family syndicates able to afford collectively to put down deep boreholes and build large dams thus countering the evils of over-grazing and erosion which is following on the making of isolated water-holes where the cattle from miles around tend to congregate. It is at these irrigation centres that the whole farm demonstration could be carried out - experiments in growing cattle feed under irrigation and vegetables for family use; collective dairying and pig-breeding could be organised; inoculation of cattle could be arranged; and good bulls could be bought and tended collectively for individual use. Here, too, agricultural and other educational institutions could be established for the youth of the people.

Bechuanaland is believed to contain extensive mineral deposits, but they are mostly as yet unsurveyed and their potentiality unknown. Tshekedi has been made proposals for the commercial development of the minerals of his country, but he has refused these, believing himself not justified in coming to an arrangement by which one of the major assets of his country would be exploited by a foreign people, most of the profits leaving the country and only a small proportion remaining to the people. It may be that the people may progress more rapidly than is expected to reach a stage at which they can themselves undertake the mineral development of their country, or outside help may be found on terms more favourable to the Bechuanas. Certainly the revenue from mineral development would be of very great use in the advancement of the country in other directions.

Whether the transition from a primitive to a modern socialist state can be smoothly accomplished remains to be seen. Tshekedi believes it possible; and were he assured of sympathetic and helpful understanding from his neighbours and associates it certainly would be. In any event the experiment should be keenly watched, for it will be of great interest and instruction to the world.
Record of a meeting with Frederick Mahareru, Paramount Chief and other representatives of the Herero people at present in exile in Bechuanaland.

The meeting took place at Mafeking on July 14th, 1947 and in addition to the Chief and the writer there were present:-

- Sibalana Wapimbi, a Deacon of the London Missionary Society.
- Leonard Maubantu Toromojo, Uncle of the Chief of the Banderos in the Boteti district of the Bechuanaland Protectorate.
- Gaofhetog Tshikhe, for fifty years Native Administration's Chief Tax Collector. Awarded Certificate of Merit by British Administration 1944. Member of Chief Tshekedi's Council.
- Isaac Kazongari - Windhoek
- Obed Tjinda - Mabeleapudi. ) Interpreters.

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Frederick M.

I made a request to Chief Tshekedi to be given an opportunity of meeting you. I asked this in order to express my views on the question of appealing for the return of our lands in South West Africa.

It is the conviction of the whole Herero people that we should have our lands returned to us. And it is the wish of the Herero people living in the Bechuanaland Protectorate that we should return to South West Africa.

Our request is that our country should be administered by the British Government in the same manner as the Bechuanaland Protectorate. I expressed our views at a meeting held not so long ago with the High Commissioner here in Mafeking that our country should not be handed over to the Union but that when the land which was ours is returned to us, we should be administered by the British Government.

It is the wish of the Herero people, men, women and children that their country should not be handed over to the Union Government. We desire to be administered only by the British Government. These are the feelings of the Herero people which I wished to come and lay before you. It is the desire of my people and my desire that I should go back and live with them in South West Africa.

M.S.

Why would you not like your Government to be brought under the Union Government?

F.M.

I should not like my country to be handed over to the Union Government because that Government adopts the same oppressive policy towards the Native people as the Germans.

The Union Government has no respect for the Native inhabitants of their country as human beings. The Union Government does not want the Native people to progress economically so that they may become economically independent. They restrict them regarding the cattle they may own and regarding other means of livelihood.

M.S.

Do you not think the Union Government would provide other means of livelihood besides cattle farming for your people?

F.M.

There is nothing which the Union Government gives to the Native people which takes the place of their cattle. It is the restrictions (Contd.)
and barriers which are placed in the way of the Native people so that they become their servants and dependent upon them which has driven the Herero people who lived in the Transvaal to cross into the country of the Mamangwato.

The Union Government does not encourage education among the Native people because they want the Natives always to remain their servants.

Those are my views, Sir, and those are the reasons why I should not like my country to be handed over to the Union Government.

M.S. When was the last time that the Chief visited his country?
F.M. It was in 1923.

M.S. Did your people at that time ask you to return to them?
F.M. Yes. My people made every effort to persuade me to stay, and to stop me coming back to Bechuanaland. They have continued asking me, and even now are sending messages asking me to return.

M.S. Does that apply to all the Hereroes whether Christian or not Christian?
F.M. Yes, it applies to all the Herero people whether Christian or not Christian. The Namas and the Berg Damirs are also sending messages to me asking me to return.

M.S. I was very much interested to hear that when the Chief last visited his country there was much pressure put upon him to rekindle the Holy Fire.
F.M. It is true that great pressure was brought to bear upon me. But I delegated that right to rekindle the Holy Fire to my Uncles who are not Christians and they have continued to do this to this day.

M.S. Many people admired the Chief's strength of mind under the circumstances.
F.M. (merely on a point of interest is it not the duty of the women to keep the Holy Fire alight?)

M.S. The Fire is associated with the man's place of meeting and therefore it is work which is done by the men.

Leonard Ngubauba.
I am the Uncle of Chief Nicodemus Selatiela of the Banderu in the Beteti District, and I have come here in place of the Chief at his request.

Firstly, I am glad of the opportunity to come here to express our views regarding our land in South West Africa. That land as it is now is not good for us because it has been spoiled by the Union Government. I was in South West Africa only two years ago, and when I was there I found that the land which we had previously occupied has been taken away from our people who have now been sent away from the valleys to sandy soil where food cannot very well be grown - that is to say it can only be grown with great difficulty and not in sufficient quantity.

(Contd.)
We had fought against the Germans in our own war with the Germans (The Herero War) because amongst other reasons they had wanted to drive us away from these valleys where there was water and where food could be grown.

We shall only be satisfied if this land which we had occupied namely the river valleys is returned to us. If the Government, with God's help would return this land to us we should be happy. This is our prayer to God that this land be returned to us and that we should go back to reoccupy it. These are the views I came all this way to express.

M.S. When you say the land has been spoiled by the Union Government which land do you mean, and how has it been spoiled?

L.N. When I say that the land has been spoiled by the Union Government I mean that our people have been driven away from the fertile valleys to the sandy regions. If our people still lived on those parts where our grandfathers lived we should be satisfied that they are occupying the land of their fathers.

M.S. How did it happen that your people were driven from the fertile valleys?

L.N. The Herero people lived in those valleys until the Angola Boers were brought to South West Africa by the Union Government, and the Herero were pushed out of them so that they could now be occupied by these Angola Boers.

M.S. When you use the word "pushed" what do you mean by that word exactly? Were you forced out or were the lands fenced in or what actually happened? In England many years ago the lands which had always belonged to the people were "enclosed" and the people forced to go into the towns to work for wages. Something like that is happening in South Africa today. But it happens in different ways. What actually happened when the Herero were driven from the valleys?

L.N. Isaac will be able to tell you more at first hand what happened.

Isaac. What happened was the Herero were first asked to leave those valleys to make room for the Angola Boers. They refused and were asked a second time, and again they refused. They were then pushed out by force.

M.S. What do you mean "by force"?

Isaac. I mean that they were ordered to leave, and when they refused, their belongings were thrown out of their huts and their huts were set on fire.

M.S. Were you there when this happened?

Isaac. No, at the time it actually happened I was in Johannesburg working in the gold mines.

M.S. How do you know that it happened then?

Isaac. When I returned to S.W.A. I found that there was a case going on between the Herero and the Union Government. I could see the ruins of the huts where they had been burned down on the orders of the Native Commissioner.

(Contd.)
M.S. What was the case between the Union Government and the Hereros about?

Isaac. The Hereros were complaining to the Court that their huts had been destroyed and that they had been driven from their lands. The district where this happened was Orumbur.

M.S. What was the conclusion of the case between the Hereros and the Union Government?

Isaac. The people were nevertheless driven out of the valleys. The Native Commissioner at whose command that was done was removed from office but only to be reinstated after a short time.

M.S. When did this happen?

Isaac. I cannot remember the date when this happened, but I have a record of the matter at Mahalap and will let you know this. I was in Johannesburg about 1920 or 1921 so it must have been at about that time.

M.S. There are about ten thousand head of cattle now belonging to the Hereros in Bechuanaland. Is it the wish of your people that their former lands - the lands which they say they occupied in the valleys after the 1914-1918 war should be returned to them before the return of their Chief?

Isaac. It is the wish of my people in South West Africa that these lands in the valleys should be returned to them so that their Chief and the people in Bechuanaland and their cattle may be able to return to us.

M.S. Would that land be sufficient?

Isaac. If we were given back only that land which was taken by the Union Government after the 1914-1918 war it would not be sufficient, but if all the land which we formerly occupied before our war with the Germans were returned to us it would probably be enough.

M.S. Were you Chief Frederick consulted when the question of your people removal from the valleys arose?

F.M. I was not consulted. I only heard that my people had been driven away.

M.S. Was any offer of alternative land made by the Union Government to the Hereros at any time?

F.M. Isaac can perhaps answer that question.

Isaac. Just before the Referendum was taken last year I have been told that an offer of land was made but the people did not consider it to be suitable land after they had been to see it.

M.S. Were you present at the Referendum taken for submission to the United Nations Assembly last year?

(Contd.)
Isaac.
I was present.

M.S.
What was the result of the Referendum amongst the Hereros?

Isaac.
A meeting was held at which it was explained that the Union Government had sent representatives to find out what were the wishes of the Herero regarding the incorporation of S.W.A. into the Union. The Herero people declared that they were not in favour of the incorporation.

M.S.
Is it Chief Fredericks wish that the tribal lands of the Herero should be adjoining one another or is there any objection to their being separated?

F.M.
It is necessary that the lands should be adjoining one another rather than separated from one another.

Silbanus Wapimbi.
If these lands were separated it would be difficult to administer the affairs of the Tribe as a whole. There might be difficulties in passing from one district to another. Officials might be subject to obstructions and the free movement of members of the tribe and their stock impeded. If the tribe is divided up in separate areas, it is very difficult for the tribe to act together as a tribe and for authority to function as and when required. Division must tend to break down tribal solidarity and cohesion. I say this from my experience of the Herero people who left their country some time ago. Some of these lived in the Transvaal in different places and those who live in one place have nothing to do with those who live in another place because there is no unifying authority and because of the separation in distance. They are one and the same people but they have lost contact with one another through being forcibly separated.

M.S.
It is said by Dr. Vedder and others that the Herero are losing their leadership in South West Africa because they do not want to depart from the old ways but are looking back to the past, that they only want to remain a cattle rearing people rather than to make progress in other walks of life.

F.M.
The Germans fought against us and took away our land. That is why they do not want to see any good in us. They converted us to Christianity but did not want to give us any education or to help us to advance. They only preached to us. The Hereros did not learn anything from them except the word "God". The Germans were afraid of the Herero people. They did not want them to learn and to become civilised as we want to day. I was taken to Germany with three others to be shown to the Kaiser because he did not know his black subjects, and also to be taught. There was also an Herero Minister and his wife, and there were four Namib two men and two women in Germany at the same time.

M.S.
How long were you there and what did you learn?

F.M.
We were there one year. We were not taught anything. Only we rode about on horses and dressed and drilled as soldiers.

M.S.
About what year did you go to Germany?

F.M.
It must have been about 1894 because a year after we returned rinderpest broke out, and that was in 1896.

(Contd.)
Silbanus Wapimbii.

I should like to emphasise that we object strongly to being made to live in separate "locations". This is the Union policy of dividing the people to rule them. We wish to live and to be ruled like the people in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. This is why we wish to be brought under the rule of the British Government because that Government would allow us to live together as a tribe.

M.S.

Is it the Chief's wish that the position of his people should be taken up as a factor in any forthcoming debate on the status of South West Africa at the United Nations Assembly or elsewhere?

F.M.

It is my wish and that of my people that the views which have been expressed here today and those which were expressed at a meeting with the High Commissioner in Mafeking some time ago should be represented at any discussion on the future of S.W.Africa, and I appeal to the British Government to make the strongest possible representations on behalf of my people. I am an old man and I do not wish to die in any country other than that of my Fathers. Although we have been in exile we have been happy in the country of the Bamangwato and there has been progress under the Government of the British Protectorate. Men, women and children have been happy and multiplied and our cattle have increased.

Mr. Chipps.

Contrary to the remarks of Mr. Vedder I should say that the Hereros have shown their true mettle in Bechuanaland. They have made good progress and are recognised as one of the finest cattle ranching and dairy farming people in our country.

M.S.

I trust the Chief's prayer will be answered and that he will live for many years to rule over his people in peace. Since it is his wish that further enquiries should be made about these matters in South West Africa and that discussions should take place amongst his people there we shall be leaving for South West Africa in a day or two, and shall look forward to meeting him again on our return from there.


Footnotes.

1. With reference to Dr. Vedder's remarks referred to above (vide The Tribes of S.W.Africa.) Cf. the answers given by the Union's representative at the Twenty Ninth session of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations May 27th-June 12th Geneva 1936.

"Mlle Dannevig was glad to see that the first Government Native School for Hereros had been opened in October 1935 (para 232 of the report). The number of pupils had exceeded all anticipation. Would schools be opened in other Native Reserves?"

Mr. Te Water said that it did not follow. The Hereros were the most advanced and possibly the most aristocratic tribe in Africa. Mlle Dannevig had understood that they had previously been opposed to education.

Mr. Te Water said that they had suddenly become interested and a very able man had therefore been sent to capitalise the new spirit. It was hoped that from now on they would cooperate more fully with the Administration. Lord Lugard asked whether there was no other Government Native School in the Territory.

Mr. Te Water said there was none. The Commission had drawn attention to the point and the first school denoted the beginning of a new policy."

2. With reference to Chief Frederick's complaint that the restrictions and barriers to the development of the Native people under the Union Government's Native policy were reducing them to the status of servants and labourers in the employment of the white people, it is instructive (Contd.)
to note that the permanent Mandates Commission revealed its anxiety about the the position of indentured and immigrant farm labourers more than ten years ago. This is especially noteworthy in view of the recent allegations by magistrates, missionaries and others of "near slavery" conditions for recruited labourers in the Bethal and other districts of the Transvaal, though these allegations mainly concern Native from Nyasaland, the Rhodesias, and Portuguese East Africa recruited by unofficial farmers' agencies.

(Sept. 4th 1947. But see separate statement on recruited farm labour in South West Africa by S.W.Africans.)

"Lord Lugard referring to the "Control of Natives" Proclamation No. 29 (page 4 of the report asked whether in addition to the steps taken to make the employer responsible for the repatriation of labourers recruited from outside the Territory any arrangements were made for remittances to be sent to their families (para 24) of the report. Mr. Te Water thought this would be very difficult to arrange but would bring it to the notice of the Administrator.

Lord Lugard did not think there should be any particular difficulty. There was such a demand for labourers that employers would no doubt be willing to make and remit some deduction from wages. He was glad to note that as a result of the increased demand for labour wages were improving (para 247 of the report). But with the exception of the chapter on public health (page 52) on the numbers of natives recruited and employed by the mines and their state of health there was little information about labour, conditions of employment, wages, housing, the accompanying of labourers by their families and so on, and to collect this information in a special chapter...


C f. Also the recommendations of the Institute of Race Relations and the Anglican Church regarding the stabilisation of Native Labour in town and country, and in the meanwhile that recruited labourers conditions be made subject to inspection especially in the matter of housing and feeding and brought under the Native Labour Recruiting Act.