

GEGEN DIE STRÖMUNG



Organ for the building of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Germany

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Solidarity with the just reparation demands of the Herero people in Namibia!

The Genocide Committed Against the Herero by the German Imperialists Won't Be Forgiven Nor Forgotten!

"The state visit of the highest representative of German imperialism, Herzog, in Namibia was a direct blow in the face of the people of the Herero, the victims of the genocide committed by the German colonial army in the years 1904 to 1907. The German Federal President rejected all reparations and every apology, he even rejected to receive the representatives of the people of the Herero. The goal of Herzog's trip was in fact a different one. It consisted in the strengthening of the reactionary relations to this former German colony, especially to the 30.000 people 'of German descent,' who, for the most part, have the role of a '5th column' of German imperialism in the promotion of its hegemonic interests. All this is enacted together with a display of Pan-German chauvinism, and apart from this, Herzog's incantation of the 'German heritage still alive in Namibia,' in the face of the monstrous crimes of the German power holders in so-called 'German South West Africa' [Deutschsüdwestafrika], is a provocation and mockery of the peoples of Namibia that can scarcely be surpassed. All this mustn't be accepted without challenge by the progressive forces, especially the Communists. Not only is it important to unmask the rapacious and aggressive policy of the German imperialists; it is equally important to elaborate, and with all consequences, the revolutionary stance of the proletariat concerning the undeniable share of guilt that the German working class and the other parts of the working and exploited masses have in the crimes of the ruling class.

The genocide of the Herero by the German imperialists

During the last decades of the 19th century, capitalism reached his highest and last stage, the stage of imperialism, leading to a full territorial division of the world among the big powers by the turn of the century. It is true that in this "race" for the colonial division of the earth, German imperialism "came too late." But in all places where German imperialism was able to impose its colonial power, as in Togo, Cameroon, "East Africa" (mostly today's Tanzania) and South West Africa (today's Namibia), it demonstrated from early on – then on the road to the triggering

of the imperialist first world war – a characteristic manner of imposing its colonial demands with special aggressiveness up to the methods of genocide that were employed, for example, in South West Africa.

"German south-west Africa" was a German colony from 1884 to 1917. At the beginning of the colonisation, which was started in 1842 mainly by the "Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft," [Missionary Society of the Rhineland] the territory of today's Namibia was inhabited mainly by the Herero and Nama. In between, there were a few scattered Damara and a few groups of the Saan.¹

The year 1884 saw the official establishment

of the German "protective" rule. By deceitful methods, the German colonialist grabbed for themselves large parts of the land. Thus instead of the English mile (about, 1,5 kilometres) known in Namibia, they inserted into treaties German miles (7,4 kilometres)². From 1885, the leading force in the colonisation was the "German Colonial Society for South West Africa". In its background were the Dresdner Bank, the Deutsche Bank and other similar institutions.³

In October 1885, the leading representative of the Herero unilaterally cancelled the so-called "protective treaty". Bismarck ordered the unloading of the first German troops at the shores of Namibia. This step, taken in June 1889, marked the beginning of a German colonial rule safeguarded by the military.

Under the protection of the military, there was an accelerated influx of German settlers.⁴ Between 1887 and 1912, approximately 13.000 German settlers took residence in South West Africa.⁵

For the most part, they established cattle farms on their lands, which was worked by domestic day-labourers. The settlers didn't tolerate nomads on "their" land. From 1898, the German colonialists started to use a system of "racial segregation." In remote "places," they established so-called "native" reservations which were sharply limited in space and were regarded as economically uninteresting. The farms of the colonialists were situated outside of these areas in the agriculturally richest regions with the most mineral resources.

All this made the situation of the Herero people increasingly desperate. Numerous land sales had shrunk their areas to a small part of what they had formerly been. The construction of a railway line then being planned leading in a straight line through the land that was still left to them would have spelled the end of their existence as free cowherds. Under the pressure of the other political representatives and clan's elders, the supreme representative of the Herero Samuel Maherero called for an uprising at the beginning of the year 1904. All Herero clans rose in struggle against the German colonial masters.

Right in the first battle, the German troops suffered a severe defeat, and only their quick retreat saved them from complete destruction. Their supreme commander hastily requested reinforcement in Berlin, which was immediately dispatched.

The German colonial army acted against the Herero with a cruelty that resembled the atrocities of the Nazis in World War II in many respects. Mass shootings of prisoners and the slaughter of wounded Herero warriors were the order of the day.

August 11, 1904 brought the decisive battle between the main force of the rebels and the advancing German soldiery at the "Waterberg." The fighting Herero were encircled by the German army with its vastly superior weaponry and were fired upon by armoured carriers, cannons and guns from all sides. The only thing

"The waterless Omaheke was to complete what German weapons had begun: The annihilation of the Herero people..." (The German General Staff, 1904)

left to them was to try to break the siege around them. In a murderous design, the German army consciously left a single possibility for a breakthrough, leading into the waterless Omaheke desert. In order to prevent the Herero from escaping from the desert, the murderous German soldiery installed a series of heavily armed encampments at the borders of the desert. Only a small number of Herero reached Bechuanaland where they were given asylum by the British. Most of the 80.000 Herero killed – Children, women, men and the elderly – were murdered by cutting them from all water sources, forcing them to die from thirst in the desert of Omaheke! Breakthrough attempts ended in a hail of bullets, representatives of the Herero invited for negotiations were shot dead, Herero trying to approach water sources were summarily slaughtered.

Jan Cloete from Om-aruru testified under oath:

“I was present when the Herero were defeated at Hamiri close to the Waterberg. After the battle, all men, women and children, whether wounded or not, who fell into the hands of the Germans were mercilessly killed. Then the Germans pursued the others, and all stragglers on the roadside or in the sand field were shot down or massacred by bayonet. The huge mass of the Herero were unarmed and unable to defend themselves.”⁶

Commander Hendrik Campbell who commanded a domestic unit allied to the German army testified under oath:

“When the battle was over we discovered eight or nine sick Herero women who had been left behind. Some of them were blind. Water and food, they still had. The German soldiers burned them alive in the hut in which they lay.”⁷

The supreme political representative of the Begdamara also testified under oath: “The Germans spared no-one. They killed thousands upon thousands. I have seen this slaughter day after day.”⁸

But in the following years, too, units of the Herero continued to fight together with the Nama – who were now also in rebellion – against the German colonial troops. Thanks to the long

resistance of the rebellious Nama that was carried out mostly in the form of masterful guerrilla tactics and was for a time supported by South African miners⁹, the complete annihilation of the Herero people could be avoided. Despite continuous reinforcements, up to 20.000 German soldiers scarcely succeeded in dealing with a few hundred barely armed rebels.

Despite the official lift of the state of war in “German South West Africa” on March 31, 1907, the battles continued. After an agreement of their governments, German and British troops finally took to united action against those African units that still refused to give up the fight. On September 20, 1907, Nama leader Jakob Marengo, who up to the present day has remained to be a symbol for the struggle of resistance of

the letters ‘GH’ (‘Gefangener Herero’ – imprisoned Herero) were burnt into their skin, and they were forced into forced labour. Other survivors were interned in concentration camps at the cold and wet coast of the Atlantic Ocean where thousands of them died in part of climatic conditions they weren’t used to. In part, they were also deported to other German colonies. The tribal organisations of the Herero were disbanded by force, and their political representatives executed as “ringleaders.”

In “retaliation” for the uprising, the whole real estate of the Herero and Nama still left over was “confiscated,” that is, expropriated. In 1907, the Germans even passed a decree designed to exclude all Africans from the possession of land for all times. The once free herdsmen were now

forced to earn their living on German farms as unpropertied wage labourers under conditions resembling slavery, or – after the discovery of the first diamond deposits – to rent themselves into the mines operated by the German capitalists. If a Herero resisted the forced labour, brutal repression was the consequence. The duty to carry a passport and a “work book” made for a watertight control.

After the genocide of the Herero, the German imperialists perfected their racist apartheid regime in South West Africa officially and from on high. In 1905, the ban on mixed marriages was introduced, which was in turn integrated as § 17 into the colonialist “order for self government.” The consequence of this was that the couples concerned and their offspring

automatically lost their civil rights, including suffrage. The governor of the period declared in the style of the Nazis that sexual relations between Europeans and Africans were “not only a crime against the purity of the German race and German morals..., but could also endanger the position of the white man in general.”¹² The racist “principles of cultural politics” of the former settlement commissar for “German South West,” Rohrbach, stated in 1909, correspond nearly word by word to the “guidelines for German colonial politics concerning racial policies” of the NSDAP.¹³

Hundreds of German farms developed on the lands of the Herero, who had largely been murdered. In 1912, of the 835.000 square

Open propaganda of the genocide by German imperialism

Order of the German General von Trotha on October 1904 to the Herero after the massacre of the rebellion:

“I, the great General of the German soldiers, herewith send this letter to the people of the Herero. The Herero aren’t German subjects anymore ... The people of the Herero must now leave the country. If the people doesn’t do this, I will force it to do so by means of the big barrel. Within the German borders, every Herero, with or without gun, with or without cattle, will be shot dead. I don’t accept any women and any children here anymore; I shall drive them back to their people or shall give orders to shoot at them. These are my words to the people of the Herero.

The great General of the powerful Kaiser: v. Trotha.”¹

After the murder of nearly all Herero in the Omaheke desert, the German General Staff publicly declared the completion of the genocide of the Herero in a “report of the General Staff”:

“The waterless Omaheke was to complete what German weapons had begun: The annihilation of the Herero people. ... The closure of the sand field, carried out with iron sternness for months on end, completed the work of destruction. ... The drama unfolded on the dark scenery of the sand field. But when the rainy season came, when the scene slowly cleared up and our patrols advanced to the border of Bechuanaland, the appalling picture of army platoons dying of thirst was revealing itself before their eyes. The death-rattle of the dying and the furious cries of madness ... died away in the exalted silence of infinity! The chastisement had come to an end. The Herero had stopped to exist as an autonomous tribe.”²

1 Cited in: Martha Mamozai: Schwarze Frau, weiße Herrin, Reinbek/Hamburg 1989, p. 36.

2 Cited in: Karlheinz Graudenz: Die deutschen Kolonien, Augsburg 1989, p. 65, and Helgard Patemann: Lembuch Namibia, Wuppertal 1985, p. 109.

the peoples of Namibia, for a courageous and determined guerrilla struggle, was killed. In an interview in 1906, he explained why he took part in the war against one of the most powerful military powers of the world:

“It is because I have come to the opinion that the Germans have treated us cruelly, like dogs, and that we shouldn’t tolerate that, but should rather fight and die instead. Otherwise there will be no justice.”¹⁰

According to estimates, of the 80.000 Herero, only 15.130 survived, of the about 20.000 Nama, 9.781.¹¹ Herero taken prisoner were put in chains;

The continuity of German imperialism as exemplified by General Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck

The infamous German colonial General Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck was one of the leading exponents of the colonial army of the German Kaiser. In 1901, he was also active in the crushing of the revolutionary movement in China (known as the "boxer uprising").

In the years from 1904 to 1906, he took part in the murder of the Herero people in his function as the first adjutant of General von Trotha. In World War I, he was the commander of the German colonial army in East Africa. In 1919, Lettow-Vorbeck, as division commander of the Reichswehr, took a leading part in the bloody suppression of the rebellious workers in Hamburg in June 1919, and after that, in Mecklenburg. He also had a significant part in the Kapp military coup of 1920.

Under the Nazis, who in point 3 of their party programme posed the renewed conquest of the colonies as a goal, he was celebrated as an idol.

After World War II, the West German imperia-

lists once more used Lettow-Vorbeck to gain new influence in Africa. In 1953, he travelled to South and South-West Africa for the purpose. He also played an important role in the founding of the numerous associations of "old fellows" of German colonialism. At the annual meeting of the regional Weser Ems association of the "steel helmet" [Stahlhelm] in Wilhelmshaven in 1959, Lettow-Vorbeck, together with a nice company of "representatives of the newly created sea battalion of the Federal Marine" as well as of municipal delegates of Wilhelmshaven, was once again among the participants to lay down a wreath with the "Reichskriegsflagge" [the war flag of the "German Reich"]. Among the guests at the celebrations of Lettow-Vorbeck's 90th birthday were, apart from numerous "Africa veterans," high representatives of the Bundeswehr as well as the prime minister of Schleswig Holstein at the time, von Hassel. There were also birthday telegrams by Federal Chancellor Adenauer and Federal President Lübke; the telegram by Lübke was even published in the official bulletin of the German government.

In 1964, Lettow-Vorbeck was buried in the County of Segeberg. The funeral oration was delivered by Kai-Uwe von Hassel, who had become Germany's war minister by that time. In Hamburg, the town where Lettow-Vorbeck once shot down the rebelling workers, or had others under his command do this, an army barrack carries his name. In 1939, on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the massacre at the Waterberg, the Nazis erected an "honorary monument for the protection troops" in the courtyard of these barracks – it is still there today.

(Sources: Martha Mamozi: Schwarze Frau, weiße Herrin, Reinbek/Hamburg 1989; Eberhard Czaya: Über kolonial-chauvinistische Traditionspflege und den Mißbrauch der Auslandsdeutschen in Afrika, in: Deutsche Außenpolitik, Sonderheft 1/1960, Berlin. Detlef Bald, Peter Heller, Volkhard Hundsdörfer, Joachim Paschen: Die Liebe zum Imperium – Deutschlands dunkle Vergangenheit in Afrika, Bremen 1989).

kilometres of the whole area of South West Africa only 12.373, that is, just 1,5 % of the area, were still in the possession of the peoples of South West Africa. The "German Colonial Society" [Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft] held the largest share in the profits. Their stock prices rose by 2000 % in 1909 alone; in this year, a dividend of 64 % was paid to the owners. Between 1908 and 1913, the mining companies exported 5,3 million carat in diamonds.¹⁴

Rosa Luxemburg more than once reminded the public of the cruel colonial policies of German imperialism in Africa, having largely passed into oblivion already then, especially its murderous campaign of oppression and extermination in South West Africa from 1904 to 1907. In 1914, for example, she wrote:

"Where was ... the storm of outrage in the Reichstag [the German parliament] when the German military expelled defenceless Herero women and children into the desert, where they were made to breathe their last in madness?"¹⁵

She declared her solidarity with the freedom struggle of the peoples of the Herero and the Nama against the colonial rule of the German imperialists who executed their first genocide in murdering most of the 80.000 Herero.¹⁶

To highlight the terrible facts of the nearly forgotten genocide of the Herero is indispensable for the struggle against German imperialism, militarism and revanchism, especially today. The Bundeswehr is already conducting "foreign operations" again, as in Somalia, former Yugoslavia and in other places, and is systematically preparing for large-scale aggressions and wars in the future. This results from the fact that German imperialism, in its hunt for maximal profits, pursues – after two lost world wars – basically the same goals as it did then with a special revanchist aggressiveness; in its struggle for world-wide spheres of influence and dominance it doesn't shrink back from any crime against the peoples of the world, no matter

how enormous the crime will have to be.

Unmask and fight German neo-colonialism and revanchism in Namibia today!

As a consequence of the defeat of German imperialism in World War I, "German South West" was placed under the "mandate" of British imperialism, which delegated the authority over the country to South Africa in turn. But the possessions of the German big landlords and capitalists were in no way affected by this. Nor has there been a significant change in this after a long liberation war for the end of apartheid and the attainment of the formal independence of Namibia in 1990. The property relations created by the German colonial terror and genocide by and large still exist as before. All valuable land is still in the possession of the white minority of the population, which is predominantly "of German descent"; industry and mining are operated by the corporations of the imperialist countries. A large part of the black majority of the population is unemployed.

Although formally independent, Namibia today *de facto* is a neocolony, with German imperialism in a leading position. Germany is the biggest "donor of development aid" to Namibia.¹⁷ Namibia is also the country that receives the highest German per capita "development aid" of all the countries in the world.¹⁸ The appeal of president Herzog to the German capitalists to strengthen their investment activity in Namibia means that the peoples of Namibia are to be squeezed dry even more by German imperialism.

In the same country where the German troops committed their genocide of the Herero from 1904 to 1907, German troops were used once again under the flag of the "Bundesgrenzschutz" [Federal Border Police] in 1989, masked by a "UN action for the monitoring of the election."¹⁹ In addition to that, a "German Military Advisory Group" is stationed in Namibia, which was

"inspected" by the Chief of Staff of the Bundeswehr on the occasion of Herzog's state visit.²⁰

In its world-wide imperialist and revanchist activities, German imperialism makes use of the old connections that were formed by the Nazi fascists everywhere in the world; at the same time, it revives traditional relations to its old colonies in Africa, or also in Asia. This is especially true of Namibia.

Among the 1,6 million inhabitants of Namibia, today there are about 30.000 people "of German descent". From the German colonial rule and the genocide of the Herero to the decades of apartheid to and further to our day, they have in large measure been a privileged upper class, profiteers and promoters of the oppression and exploitation of the peoples of Namibia; as a consequence, they "take a leading part in the economy."²¹

Just a single example for all this is the leading functionary of the "German-Namibian Development Society" Funkeldey who doesn't even attempt to hide his Nazi convictions and declares them openly. Funkeldey is the only recipient of the "Bundesverdienstkreuz" [Distinguished Service Cross of the FRG] of the first class in Namibia.²²

German imperialism consciously takes advantage of the reactionary potential of those "of German descent," using them as a fifth column, as a base for the subjugation of Namibia under its dominance. In this, the imperialists use and shamelessly display a disgusting sort of German nationalism, chauvinism and racism. The state of German imperialism to these days guarantees German statehood to all those "of German descent." On the occasion of his visit in 1996 – which was accompanied by vigorous protests and demands for reparations – German chancellor Kohl greeted the minority "of German descent" as "dear countrymen and -women" and told them about the problems of the far-away "fatherland." German federal president Herzog blew the same horn when he praised the "living

German heritage" in his speech in Namibia.

Lead the struggle for the enforcement of the reparation demands of the Herero!

Today's leading political representative of the Herero people Kusima Riruako has repeatedly demanded reparations for the descendants of the members of the Herero people massacred at the beginning of the century. A documentation of the genocide was presented, not only to the German embassy in Namibia, but also to the United Nations and to the World Court in Den Haag.²³

In a totally shameless manner, the German president during his visit to Namibia excluded reparations to the people of the Herero. In the same vein, he stressed that there "will be no apology."²⁴ Herzog even rejected to receive the representatives, many of whom had come from far away. The genocide of the Herero is not even mentioned in Herzog's speech. Instead, it is hidden within the following rhetoric: "We also share a brief period of common history, which was not very happy (!). For Germany, this period came to a close with the end of World War I." The bourgeois media also report the following infamous statement made by Herzog during his state visit in Namibia: "We are of course conscious of the fact that the confrontation between the German colonial administration and the Herero was not in good order."²⁵ For one thing, in this statement the genocide is in the most incredible manner diminished into a mere "confrontation." On the other hand, the Herero themselves are given the blame because they didn't submit to the yoke of German colonial rule but dared to rise up, waging a liberation struggle against it.

In order to dismiss the just demands of the Herero, Herzog, in an interview during his state visit in Namibia, resorted to the rhetorical trick that "according to international law as valid at the time" there weren't any international "rules for the protection of the rebels". This is a reactionary provocation by the supreme representative of German imperialism, designed to distract from the fact of the massacre and of the close-to-complete annihilation of an entire people, the genocide of the Herero people by the German colonial troops, and to reject all responsibility for it.

The solidarity with the peoples of the Herero and Nama as well as the other peoples of Namibia requires the denunciation of this reactionary stance and politics of German imperialism and its representatives, and the struggle for the authorisation of reparations. This fundamental task has several immediate and future aspects:

First: The Communist Party must lead the struggle for reparations and indemnification already now. Without resolute support for this here and now, an alliance with the peoples against German imperialism will be utterly impossible.

Second, it is a fact that the German workers, the German working people carry a share of the

guilt in the crimes of German imperialism. This is also true for the genocide of the Herero, as well as for the entire uninterrupted chain of crimes committed by German imperialism in all parts of the world. Frederick Engels, together with Marx the founder of scientific Communism, wrote about this as early as 1848:

"The guilt of the perfidies committed in other countries with the help of Germany doesn't fall back on the governments alone, but has to be carried in large part by the German people itself. Without its delusions, its slave mentality, its readiness to serve as lansquenets and as 'good-natured' headles and tools of the rule 'of god's grace,' the German name would be less hated, condemned, despised abroad..."

(Engels, "German Foreign Policy," Neue Rheinische Zeitung No 33, July 3, 1848, Marx/Engels, works, vol. 5, p. 155 (German).

The third conclusion is that we have to instil a consciousness in the workers that, especially after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, they face the task of delivering maximal compensation for the crimes committed during the rule of imperialism. Engels made the following programmatic statement:

"But now, behind official Germany, there is a socialist Germany, the party to which the future ... of the country belongs. As soon as this party succeeds in taking power, it cannot execute or maintain it without redress for the injustices committed by their predecessors in office against other nations."

(Engels, "Socialism in Germany," 1891, Marx/Engels, works, vol. 22, p. 253 (German).

Apart from the goal of the overthrow of the rule of capital and finally, its total expropriation here in Germany, the statement that all German capital in foreign countries belongs to the peoples of these countries is necessary part of the unmistakably clear message of the proletarian revolution and the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat against German imperialism. The Communist Party propagates and struggles for the unconditional liquidation of German capital as well as of all positions of political power and all military bases in foreign countries.

Right after the overthrow of the German bourgeoisie and the smashing of German imperialism, the revolutionary proletariat will deliver maximal reparations and furthermore, maximal help to the peoples oppressed and exploited by German imperialism, according to their conditions and demands. Without really accomplishing this, a proletarian-internationalist union with the peoples oppressed by the German imperialists on the road to the trustful and voluntary melting of the nations in communism is not even thinkable.

Death to German imperialism, militarism and revanchism!

Sources

¹ junge welt (German daily; in the following: jw), 13/03/1998.

² One of the spearheads of German colonialism in South West Africa, the German trade capitalist Lüderitz, gave the following order to his representative Vogelsang for conscious deceit of the land seller Frederiks: "...Because our purchasing contract stipulates = 20 miles into the interior of the country, this is what we should demand. But presently, please leave Joseph Frederiks in his belief that we are talking about 20 English miles. In the same manner, buy the rest of the coast, stretching 20 geographical miles into the interior..." (Cited in: Helgard Patemann: Lernbuch Namibia, Wuppertal 1985, p. 77)

³ jw, 13/03/1998.

⁴ blätter des iz3w (German bimonthly), No 156, March/April 1989.

⁵ See Helgard Patemann: Lernbuch Namibia, Wuppertal 1985, p. 96.

⁶ Cited according to Patemann, p. 106.

⁷ Cited according to Patemann, p. 106.

⁸ Cited according to Patemann, p. 106.

⁹ jw, 09/03/1998.

¹⁰ According to Patemann, p. 116; Manfred O. Hinz, Helgard Patemann, Armin Meier (ed.): Weiß auf Schwarz - 100 Jahre Einmischung in Afrika. Deutscher Kolonialismus und afrikanischer Widerstand, Berlin 1984, p. 104 f.

¹¹ jw, 13/03/1998.

¹² Cited in Patemann, p. 113.

¹³ See Patemann, p. 113/114.

¹⁴ jw, 09/03/1998 and 13/03/1998.

¹⁵ jw, 09/03/1998 and 13/03/1998.

¹⁶ See also Rosa Luxemburg, Collected Works (German), vol. 3, p. 70 and 412, as well as vol. 4, p. 161

¹⁷ Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (German daily; in the following: FAZ), 05/03/1998.

¹⁸ Frankfurter Rundschau (German daily; in the following: FR), 05/03/1998.

¹⁹ See "Out of Area", BRD + Dritte Welt, No 48, p. 6.

²⁰ FAZ, 05/03/1998.

²¹ FR, 07/03/1998.

²² FR, 07/03/1998.

²³ jw, 09/03/1998.

²⁴ FR, 05/03/1998.

²⁵ FR, 07/03/1998.

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This leaflet contains as a supplement the Memorandum of Understanding submitted by the Six Royal Houses of Ovambanderu and Ovaherero to the German Government

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The Social and Moral Responsibility of Restoring Properties Lost By Herero and Mbanderu Peoples During the German Colonialism and Consequently the Wars Which Followed

Draft Proposal (submitted by the Six Royal Houses of Ovambanderu and Ovaherero)

Memorandum of Understanding between the Six Royal Houses of Ovambanderu and Ovaherero and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany concerning the social and moral responsibility of restoring properties lost by Herero and Mbanderu peoples during the German colonialism and consequently the wars which followed.

The Six Royal Houses of Ovambanderu and Ovaherero and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, in the spirit of our historical bonds between the Ovambanderu, Ovaherero and the German people, desiring to strengthen and intensify a new era of bilateral approach through the recognition of the past upheavals and develop a new culture in the spirit of cooperation, aware that the maintenance of this understanding constitutes the basis for lasting peace and reconciliation between the two parties, intending to uplift the social and economic development of the Ovambanderu and Ovaherero victims of the German colonial era, and forgiving the Germans for genocidal atrocities committed in the former German colony, have agreed as follows:

Article 1

1. This Memorandum of Understanding shall establish a framework in which the Six Royal Houses Ovambanderu and Ovaherero and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany will work together towards resolving the dispute resulting from the period of German colonial occupation which was characterised by the following unforgettable events:

- a) genocide such as the decree for the extermination of Hereros and Mbanderus by General Von Trotha In 1904 and the execution of Mbanderu and Herero leaders in 1896,
- b) displacement of the Herero and Mbanderu people which forced many of them to flee their native country to become refugees in neighbouring countries;
- c) lost or dispossession of large hectares of land;
- d) humiliations through acts such as confinement to concentration camps, and sexual abuse which resulted into many fatherless offsprings;
- e) and seizure of vast amount of wealth (cattle) which formed the backbone of their survival.

Article 2

1. There were two parties who should be accountable to those past conflicts and wars namely, the German Government and Six Royal Houses of Ovambanderu and Ovaherero who led the war of resistance against the German occupation under particularly the following houses:

- a) Nguvauva Royal House,
- b) Tjamuaha Royal House,
- c) Otjikaoko Royal House,
- d) Onguatjindu Royal House,
- e) Otjimaruru Royal House,
- f) Vita Royal House

2. By virtue of their historical inheritance of those authorities, the current German Government and the current Royal leadership should be the legitimate partners to find amicable solutions to those conflicts in order to rehabilitate and console the victims of the war.

Article 3

As a result of that war of resistance against the German occupation, the current generation of Hereros and Mbanderus are finding themselves in degrading underlying conditions:

1. having to live in infertile, dry and overcrowded reserves which results in less comfortable living conditions and threatens their livelihood;
2. lost of ancestral lands which is now mostly in the hands of German settlers;
3. lost of cultural identity and traditional values as result of imposition of German language and religion;
4. psychological trauma emanating from sexual abuse of our women by German nationals to the extent that their offspings do not have paternal tracing such as „oruzo“;
5. worst of all the numerical minimisation of our groups', for example having to cope with the fact that only quarter (1/4) of us survived and whereas three quarter (¾) died in that war of resistance;
6. and to resettle refugees who fled from the extermination order of 1904 to Botswana in the Gam area which is a virgin region with no developed infrastructure such as housing, fencing and water supply.

Article 4

In view of all those facts it is the strong desire of the Six Royal Houses to start engaging into dialogues with the German President and Chancellor in order to identify some areas of compensations for the benefit of restoring severe damages or losses and healing agonies. This dialogue would be centred around the following three criteria:

1. acquisition of lost properties and wealth
2. restoration of culture
3. and humanitarian assistance.

1. Acquisition of los properties and wealth

The German Government to financially assist the Hereros and Mbanderus to acquire farms which are mostly situated in lands taken away from them during the colonial era. In

the same breath the German Government shall -purchase cattle for the Hereros and Mbanderus, which were the major component of wealth taken away from them during the colonial administrations.

2. Restoration of culture

In collaboration with German nationals, the Six Royal Houses would venture into rebuilding of Herero/Mbanderu culture in order to revitalize and preserve it for future generations. First of all the current state of Mbanderu/Herero culture would be catalogued with the help of information in German museums concerning the Mbanderu/Herero history, literature and traditions.

3. Humanitarian assistance

a) Apart from cultural deprivations, Hereros and Mbanderus are experiencing economic hardships and lack of human development. As a contribution to human development, the German Government shall assist Mbanderu and Herero communities with establishment of educational institutions in their regions and awarding of scholarships to their youth. In addition the Royal Houses shall obtain assistance for the development of infrastructures in their current areas of residence as a tool for boosting their economies. The German Government shall help in the repatriation and resettlement process of Herero and Mbanderu refugees from Botswana.

b) The modality of how to go about all those solutions could and should be determined by the German Government and the Herero/Mbanderu communities through the Namibian Government.

Article 5

1. This Memorandum of Understanding is effective upon signature by both parties, here referred to as the Six Royal Houses of Ovambanderu and Ovaherero, and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany

2. The Memorandum of Understanding notes that the Six Royal Houses of Ovaherero and Ovambanderu are not party to the Hosea Kutako Foundation. Hence, the interest of the communities led by the Six Royal Houses of Ovaherero and Ovambanderu is not represented by the said foundation.