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9. ABSTRACT

The manpower problems facing Namibia in the transition to majority rule are primarily the result of colcnization, the ideology of "apartheid" and "under-development" as it pertains to the concept of LDCs. All three of these phenomena have affected the development of educational processes and the resulting manpower training efforts. The present assessment of human resource requirements will also have to respond to two widely different possible situations: a negotiated settlement for Namibia as a whole, and a partitioned Namibia in which the area of concern would be the northern segment, consisting of Ovamboland, much of Damaraland and the Caprivi Strip. The agriculture, fishing, mining, transportation and communication, and government and administration sectors are analyzed separately. In the situation of a negotiated settlement for Namibia as a whole, the opportunities for U.S. technical assistance would be far greater than if guerrilla warfare continued or civil war broke out. The areas of critical high level training needs will be in central administration and policy making in agriculture, mining and resource development, communications, health, and education planning and operation. In the short run situation, relatively large numbers of middle level skilled technicians and supervisory personnel will need to be imported, with on-the-job training programs for Namibians. If Namibia is partitioned, the U.S. will be forced to choose sides and very little programmatic involvement can be envisaged.

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### FINAL REPORT

# AN ANALYSIS OF THE MAIN ASPECTS OF MANPOWER AND EDUCATION NEEDS FOR NAMIBIA IN A SITUATION OF TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE

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EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

AN ANALYSIS OF THE MAIN ASPECTS OF MANPOWER  
AND EDUCATION NEEDS FOR NAMIBIA IN A SITUATION OF  
TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE

Introduction

At the outset it must be emphasized that there are only superficial human resource parallels between a nascent Zimbabwe and Namibia. This is in spite of the similarities in the coincidental timing of their struggle for independence from white dominated political regimes and some significant similarities in certain segments of the economic structures of the two countries. Essentially the geographical and demographic aspects of the two regions are very different, and it is because of this that there will have to be different approaches to human resources development both in the long term and in the possible crisis situations that might occur during the period of transition to majority rule.

In the case of Namibia the magnitude of the manpower and educational problems to be faced by a new government, while likely to cause very serious dislocation and human suffering, is much less than that confronting Zimbabwe. This is a reflection of the smaller population of concern and the relatively less sophisticated economy, in particular the absence of a significant industrial and manufacturing sector.

There is no dearth of African models to compare the Namibian situation to, in the sense that there have been several occasions in which there has been successful transition to African rule from previous colonial patterns of political control. Kenya, Zambia, Botswana and Tanzania spring to mind. However, although each of these countries faced the same kind of training and educational readjustments that Namibia will encounter, this will be the first time that the variable of the Republic of South Africa as the colonizing power has been encountered. The need to cope with the psychological as well as human infrastructure damage caused by Apartheid will be an added burden.

Of crucial importance when projecting manpower training and educational needs in the near future for Namibia will be an analysis of the imposed adverse conditions and their supportive policies and practices. Among those conditions and others that have been identified are: the continuing presence of the Republic of South Africa in Namibia itself; the "homelands" policy; the existence of apartheid; the inhuman system of contract labor; repression (Terrorism Act, police torture, etc.); and the draining of economic resources.<sup>1</sup> The above analysis of conditions in Namibia will, in turn,

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<sup>1</sup>The Lutheran Council and the Johnson Foundation, "Namibia" Report on the Wingspread Conference, May 1976, p.19.

depend on an analysis of the postures that the RSA government and the SWAPO/National Convention groups will take. If Vorster's proclaimed intention to give self-determination to the people of South West Africa is only an extension of his "Bantustan" policy there will be implacable opposition from the nationalist groups.

In 1964 the Odendaal Commission advocated the creation of ten separate black units covering just under 40% of the land area. Its recommendations were as official government policy. All the black population would acquire citizenship in their Homeland and, in theory at least, all would be domiciled there. Apart from the three northern Bantustans (Ovamboland, Okavango land and Eastern Caprivi) the majority of Africans do not live in 'their' Homeland. Considering that Ovamboland possibly contains over 50% of the estimated population, the effects on the rest will be tremendous. Some 95% of the Damara people and 75% of the Herero people live outside their designated areas.

Of the 150,000 Africans living outside the reserves roughly 44% are living in the urban centres (the mines, the industries in Windhoek, the fishing industry in Walvis Bay) and 56% live in rural areas, working on the white owned farms. If anything the reserves of Namibia present an even more forbidding and hopeless prospect than the ones in South Africa.<sup>2</sup>

Recent population transfers and administrative measures that have followed this Commission's recommendation to extend the "homelands" policy to SWA would lend credence to this interpretation.<sup>3</sup> In these circumstances any negotiated settlement,

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<sup>2</sup>African Publications Trust, "Uprooting a Nation: The Study of Three Million Evictions in South Africa," March 1974, p.31.

<sup>3</sup>"The Namibians of South West Africa," Minority Rights Group Report, Number 19, pp. 32-34.

whether leading to shared power or indigenous African rule, would be highly unlikely. Given the strong and unwieldy postures of both parties the continuation of guerrilla war in Kaokaveld in the North West below the Cunene River, in Okavango, a "native reservation" and Grootfontein, a "white area," in the Caprivi Strip between the Zambezi and the Okavango Rivers and in the Ovambo region near the Angola border, is inevitable. The possibility of massive South African retaliation in such circumstances cannot be ruled out..

Several motives exist for the RSA to take a hardened line against Namibian independence. The following quotations indicate the main reasons:

In the past, South African propaganda has always depicted Namibia as a howling wilderness-peopled by handfuls of nomads and herders with scrub cattle. However, in fact, the territory has been paying South Africa rich dividends for many years.<sup>4</sup>

Namibia is an extremely wealthy country--both in natural resources and Gross Domestic Product (which primarily amounts from earnings of resource exports). It has over 50 known substantial deposits of minerals, including copper, lead, zinc, diamonds, silver, uranium, semi-precious stones and various specialized but valuable minerals.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Vigne, Randolph, "A Dwelling Place of Our Own: The Story of the Namibian Nation," International Defense and Aid Fund. 1975, p.36.

<sup>5</sup>"Economic Development in Namibia," BA-NAG, 1976, p.5.

Other important influences prolonging RSA resistance include: The will to resist of the Afrikaner and German settlers, who comprise 12% of the present official RSA estimate of total population (which is disputed as being far too small by Sean McBride, the UN Commissioner on Namibia); the open nature of the country, which would enable the use of modern weaponry; and the existence of good communications between the RSA and South West Africa. Strategically it makes excellent sense for the RSA to "write off" the more heavily populated areas of northern Namibia and to retain the southern portions, where most of the economic wealth lies and where the nationalist resistance is more fragmented. The question must be asked in these circumstances: "In the event that partition is envisaged by the RSA, could the nationalists wrest complete political control of the whole of Namibia?" The answer lies in the realms of speculation, but it is doubtful, at least in the short run, that the nationalists could succeed.

As a result of these postulated political scenarios this present assessment of human resource requirements in Namibia will have to respond to two widely different possible situations:

- (a) A negotiated settlement for Namibia as a whole, and
- (b) A partitioned Namibia, in which the area of concern would be the northern segment, consisting of Ovamboland, much of Damaraland and the Caprivi Strip, where most of the Okavango live.

1. General Indicators of Current Manpower Training and Education Facilities for Non-Whites.

The problems facing Namibia in the transition to majority rule are primarily the resultants of three kinds of phenomena, which totally affect the socio-political and racial-ethnic dimensions of the country and they are: colonization, the ideology of "apartheid," and "underdevelopment" as it pertains to the concept of developing countries. All three of these phenomena have directly influenced the development of educational processes and the resulting manpower training efforts in the country. Thus a brief review of the underlying philosophy of education as it has affected "Blacks" or Africans and "Whites" or Europeans in Namibia is appropriate, together with a short analysis of the educational opportunities and job availabilities for the two groups.

A. Philosophy and Aims of Education Presently Existing in Namibia.

It must be clearly and unequivocally expounded that current inequalities in education generally and specifically in vocational-technical training are definitely socio-politico-economic philosophy imposed on Namibia by the RSA. From this overall philosophical stance of South Africa has come the resultant philosophies, policies and practices in education. The primary purpose of education for blacks has been to

educate these groups in such a way that it will preserve the separate racial development "system" of South Africa, "which has resulted in demanding that the average black child become an efficient and uncomplaining common labourer, insulated from foreign ideas and, if possible, even from too much communication with blacks from other homelands."<sup>6</sup>

The official educational policy in South West Africa is no different from that pertaining in the RSA. It is strictly in accordance with the Nationalist Party's "Apartheid" ideology. The authors of the Handbook on South Africa refer to this in the following words:

The stated aim was to educate the pupils to fit into, and make the greatest possible contribution to, his own racial or ethnic group. In line with this objective the government has established three educational systems: one for Whites, one for Coloreds, and one encompassing the indigenous Africans, Hottentots and Bushmen.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, as a result:

. . . education in Namibia seems to have at least three very important characteristics: (1) It does not go beyond secondary school and/or teacher training; (2) It is segregated by "race" (color) and, in the case of non-white "Blacks," further segregated by "national" group, and; (3) It obviously discriminates against non-whites.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Landis, Elizabeth S., "Human Rights in Namibia," International Conference on Namibia and Human Rights. Dakar, January 1976. p.50.

<sup>7</sup>Handbook on South Africa, Appendix, South West Africa, p.774.

<sup>8</sup>Landis, Elizabeth S., "Higher Education in Namibia," 1975, p.1.

Because the RSA has consistently viewed South West Africa as a de facto fifth Province descriptive sources and statistical data specifically relating to Namibia are difficult to obtain. Additionally official Pretoria information is definitely slanted to view RSA policies in their best light. Consequently it has been treated with circumspection. The following data is, to the researchers' knowledge, reasonably accurate, and does reflect a recent growth in educational opportunity for Africans in the area.

Table 1. Education Colored and Black Sectors.

<u>Year</u>	<u># of Schools</u>	<u># of Teachers</u>	<u># Pupils</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
1960	313	1310	43,624	452,540
1966	415	2071	78,295	514,100
1970	526	2713	112,006	671,601
1973	592	3453	138,890	735,000 <sup>9</sup>

Source: South West Africa Survey 1974, Dept. of Foreign Affairs, RSA, Pretoria and Cape Town, 1975, p.62.

#### B. Apartheid in Employment.

The manning of the labor force in Namibia depends heavily on Africans. Africans provide a cheap labor pool for the white-owned mines, farms and industries. They are brought in from the reserves to do the work under a system which guarantees they will remain transients, isolated from their family

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<sup>9</sup>The Namibians of South West Africa, United Nations, August, 1976, p.6-7. The demographic data quoted here is disputed by SWAPO, who claim that the true figure for the indigenous population is nearer to 1.5 million. In addition the official white population of 90,638 is artificially inflated by the large numbers of transient government officials. (Source: The Namibians of South West Africa).

in the white areas where they are needed, confined to their place of work or to other segregated compounds, barred from continuous employment in the same job, and sent back to the reserve after a fixed period to be replaced by others.<sup>10</sup>

Here again the apartheid philosophy ensures that the migrant workers are regarded as temporary employees and residents in white areas. "The logical conclusion of this process (the "homelands" policy) is to produce an almost exclusively migrant black labor force to serve the needs of the white community."<sup>11</sup>

Apart from some on-the-job training performed by such government agencies as the Post Office and South African Railways in semi-skilled areas as telephone electricians, track layers and bus drivers, and by some mining companies, the only formal training institutions in SWA are the seven boarding training institutes set up by the government. In 1973, 2,620 Africans and Coloreds were receiving teacher and trade training in these institutions.<sup>12</sup> Given the paucity of training

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<sup>10</sup>"A Trust Betrayed: Namibia," United Nations, August, 1976, p.15.

<sup>11</sup>The Namibians of South West Africa, *ibid.*, p. 34

<sup>12</sup>South West Africa Survey, *ibid.*, p. 64

opportunities outlined above, it is difficult to comprehend the claim made in the official RSA document. The South West Africa Survey, that 44.6% of the posts in the category of Professional, Technical and Related Workers are filled by blacks.<sup>13</sup> The training effort becomes even more suspect when it has been reported that the occupation economy relies very heavily on indentured or contract labor. Over one half of the labor force are migrants.<sup>14</sup> "No other country has such a high proportion of migrants -- even in South Africa only 30% or so of the workers are migrants."<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, independent evidence indicates that, even those Africans who are employed are not paid enough "to cover even the minimum essential living costs for themselves and their families."<sup>16</sup>

## II. Assessment of Manpower Needs by Sector.

### A. Agriculture.

As in most African countries the attachment of the people to the land is very strong. This is why the iniquity of the present distribution of productive land between black and white

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<sup>13</sup>South West Africa Survey, United Nations, August, 1976, p.58.

<sup>14</sup>"Economic Development in Namibia," *ibid.*, p.3.

<sup>15</sup>"The Namibians of South West Africa," Minority Rights Group (Report No. 19), London, Benjamin Franklin House, 1974.

<sup>16</sup>Landis, Elizabeth S., "Human Rights in Namibia," *ibid.*, p.44

inhabitants of Namibia is so emotional and important an issue in African eyes. Professor Wellington has calculated that, while the white farmer has an average of 2,008 hectares, the average African has only 68 hectares.<sup>17</sup> This situation is worsened when the usefulness of the land is considered. The Report of the Minority Rights Group puts the situation into perspective:

. . . only 10.3 million hectares of the "Native Areas," as proclaimed in 1960, could be counted as useful, compared with over 39 million ha. of generally better quality white farmland. Thus, the whites dependent on farming for a living - about 19,500 people - could use sixty times as much land per person as the indigenous black population.<sup>18</sup>

In Ovamboland, the most crowded area of Namibia, the situation is even more disastrous, with the average subsistence farmer having only 9.6 hectares per person. The result is dust-bowl conditions and the perennial risk of drought and famine.

The aridity of the bulk of Namibia precludes any form of intensive farming in most areas. "Water is scarce. The coastal desert region receives practically no rainfall; rains are very light in most of the territory. Long periods of

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<sup>17</sup>Wellington, "South West Africa and the Human Issues," Oxford, p. 387.

<sup>18</sup>The Namibians of South West Africa, *ibid.*, p. 32.

drought are common, and agricultural and industrial development has been hampered by the limited water resources."<sup>19</sup> Only in the north and north east is there an annual rainfall of over 400 mms, an amount which is critical for crop cultivation. Consequently there are only two major agricultural areas: a) The pastoral ranches of the central plateau, which are largely alienated to settlers of Afrikaner and German origin, and b) the arable and pastoral subsistence farming areas of the Cunene Valley, the margins of the Okavango Swamp and the edges of the Kalahari Desert. Even in the relatively well watered regions the incidence of rainfall is capricious, and there are no known sources of underground water to compare with the substantial aquifer that underlies much of the southern plateau.

With regard to manpower in these two very dissimilar regions the problems are a function of the differences in organizational structure of the farming and the differential pressures of population on the land. The European ranches specializing in beef production and karakul pelts utilize large numbers of migrant workers, particularly Ovambos. Although no precise numbers have been discovered, it would seem reasonable to suppose that between one third and one

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<sup>19</sup>"A Trust Betrayed: Namibia" UN Publication, No. E. 74. 1. 19. 1974. p.13.

half of the estimated total of 75,000 contract workers are employed in this area.<sup>20</sup> In the event of a partial or total pullout of white farmers there would still be a need for this manpower, but training for upper level management and upper- and middle- level technical personnel would be critical, since "commercial farming is largely confined to European areas."<sup>21</sup>

The problems facing the subsistence farming regions are those that are familiar throughout Africa, but have been compounded by the fact that "Africans in the northern reserves have not been permitted to sell agricultural products outside their areas."<sup>22</sup> The main difficulties, however, are related to improving the productivity of the land by the introduction of modern scientific methods. Manpower training needs here revolve around increasing the supply of agrarian planners, economists, marketing specialists, transfer of technology<sup>24</sup> experts, agronomists, community development leaders and agricultural extension agents. Trained manpower will be required to fill upper-level posts in the policy making sector of the central government administration and in the various widely different geographical regions. The incidence of over-population in some areas and the need to introduce conservation practices adds another dimension to the problem.

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<sup>20</sup>First, Ruth, "The Economy," in The World of Learning, (Namibia: South West Africa) p.581.

<sup>21</sup>"A Trust Betrayed," *ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>22</sup>*idem.*

It is extremely difficult to assess the precise numbers of personnel that will be required to maintain agricultural production in both the commercial and subsistence sectors of the agricultural economy. Since whites now occupy all decision making positions in government, the prime need in the immediate future will be to train selected Namibians in agricultural planning, organization and administration, whether it would be for a united country or for a truncated northern Namibia.

In terms of priorities within the whole Namibian economy, agriculture takes second place to mining. The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) has estimated that agricultural products provide only a quarter of total export earnings:

Table 2. Exports by Value (in Rand 1000), 1972

Karakul Pelts .....	32,500
Livestock .....	35,000
Canned Fish .....	45,000
Diamonds .....	90,000
Lead/Copper/Zinc concentrates .....	31,000
Total Exports	<u>238,000</u>

Source: ECA, quoted in African Contemporary Record.

Almost the entire earnings (99%) come from the European sector,<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Handbook on South Africa, *ibid.*, p. 777.

while the subsistence sector accounts for only about 3.5% of the entire country's GDP.<sup>24</sup> Manpower training responses should reflect this secondary importance of agriculture generally and the need to maintain the commercial sector after independence.

#### B. Fishing

The cold waters of the Benguela current have ensured that this area is one of the World's main fishing grounds. Although there has been over-fishing recently, South Africa has imposed restrictions on annual catches. Fish canning, oil extraction and the manufacture of fish meal are important for Namibia's economy. "thus making fishing the second largest current industry in Namibia, with gross sales averaging \$77-91 million annually for the last several years."<sup>25</sup> The fishing industry is centered on the major port of Walvis Bay, logically a part of Namibia but legally claimed by the RSA. An important future consideration for the fishing industry is as a major source of protein for the indigenous population

Contract workers are employed seasonally in the processing plants of Luderitz and Walvis Bay, and to some extent as laborers on vessels of the fishing fleet. Only white and colored crewmen on the South African owned vessels, which

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<sup>24</sup>Handbook on South Africa, *ibid.*, p.775.

<sup>25</sup>"Foreign Investment in Namibia," United Nations Council for Namibia, New York, March 5, 1975.

constitute the bulk of the fleet, can hold certificated positions. Although some of the fishing boats operate out of South West African ports, there has been growing competition from floating factory ships, based in South Africa. Based on this trend it would seem that in a post independence situation there would be an almost complete withdrawal of fishing vessels from SWA. This would require the building of a new Namibian fleet from scratch, and the putting into effect of concentrated training programs for crewmen of all levels from Captains downwards, and for the training of management and operatives for the processing plants. In the short term also, it would seem extremely doubtful if Namibia could prevent RSA vessels from poaching in Namibian territorial waters, whatever limit is claimed. The outlook in this sector is, therefore, pessimistic, given any scenario other than eventual shared power. Immediate attempts to train manpower would be futile without the simultaneous injection of large amounts of capital to build up a new fishing fleet.

### C. Mining

The wealth of Namibia lies mostly in the earth. Exploitation of the territory's mineral resources provides the major source for foreign investment and contributes 50-60%

of the economy's GDP.<sup>26</sup> The production of diamonds, copper and lead are the mainstays of the mining industry, although the recent exploitation of uranium has added a new and important dimension. Namibia also produces significant amounts of manganese ore, zinc concentrate, tin concentrate, tungsten, lead-vanadium concentrate, silver, cadmium, beryllium, molybdenite, and other minerals. As a result "Namibia is one of the richest countries in Africa in terms of GNP per capita."<sup>27</sup>

Table 3. Namibia: Mineral Production, 1970-74  
(metric tons)

	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>
Cadmium	205	159	142	104	114
Copper (mine production)	22 800	25 900	21 500	28 300	26 100
Copper (smelted)	27 300	28 100	26 100	35 400	45 800
Diamonds (carats)	1 865	1 648	1 596	1 680	- -
Lead (mine production)	70 500	73 200	59 000	61 700	47 600
Lead (refined)	67 900	69 800	64 700	66 700	64 200
Tin (mine production) <sup>a/</sup>	1 000	1 000	900	700	700
Zinc (mine production)	46 900	48 900	41 900	33 900	44 900

Source: Metallgesellschaft, AG, Metal Statistics, 1964-1974, 62nd edition (Frankfurt Am Main).

a/ Weight of recoverable tin.

<sup>26</sup>United Nations General Assembly Report, Chapter IV (Taken from the working paper on Namibia), September 29, 1976 - Annexes - p.2.

<sup>27</sup>The Namibian of South West Africa, *ibid.*, p.32.

In 1970, total exports were valued at R.220 million, imports at R.150 million. South Africa purchases about 50% of Namibian exports, while providing about 80% of all Namibian imports, mainly fuel, food produce and manufactured goods.

The mining industry becomes most crucial as the move towards majority rule is contemplated. Blacks supply the unskilled and some of the semi-skilled workers in the mines, while the white foreign investors supply the initial capital and the management and technical personnel to operate. Not only is there a disparity in the job classifications open to whites and blacks, but there is an acute wage differential following racial criteria for equal work performed. A UN report makes the following observation in this regard:

Wages paid to whites are vastly higher than those paid to African workers. In 1973, Tsumeb paid cash wages to its 1,350 white employees averaging \$US 685 per month, more than 18 times that paid to Africans, while non-cash benefits given to white employees included housing, free schooling, hospital and recreational facilities. The total average earnings of Tsumeb's African employees, including non-cash benefits and cash earnings, was 10.4 per cent of cash wages paid to whites.

Table 4. Monthly Earnings of Africans in the Mining Sector  
(In Rands)

	Average Monthly Wages	Non-cash Payments	Total
Africans employed in mining sector	87.37	25.09	112.46
Tsumeb	36.63	34.78	71.41

Source : UN General Assembly Report, Sept., 29, 1976.

The black male labor force which works on contract terms, mainly of Ovambos coming from the north to be employed in the southern areas, is a viable group. They have organized and struck against the mining industry before and the living conditions and work they perform have been categorized as deplorable by many eyewitnesses. This source of cheap labor has the potential for becoming militant if a peaceful overall settlement for Namibia is not negotiated. They must be integrated into the system and upgraded by training into positions of management.

It is felt that if a peaceful settlement is reached, the new government will have no other option but to persuade Consolidated Diamond Mining, South West Africa Company and others to provide serious training schemes for blacks at all levels. This would be a sine qua non of continued mineral exploitation.

During 1973, the South African Minister of Mines announced that existing conditions of prospecting and mining grants were to be amended so that foreign companies would be able to take up to 75% participation instead of the previous limit of 50%. It is highly likely that a future Namibian government would reverse this policy.

The critical nature of manpower training for the mining sector cannot be overemphasized. In addition, training for planning and policy making within the central administrative structure must be a high priority, and would probably not fall within the general recommendation that the mining companies should be responsible for the major elements of training programs to cater for the actual operation of the mines and processing plants.

#### D. Transportation and Communications.

The transportation manpower sector is also a crucial area for training, especially in the short run. As with the mining sector, there is an enormous amount of interrelationship with the RSA system, especially in the southern parts of the country. The rail system is an extension of the one in South Africa and is owned and operated by the RSA government. "The railways are for the benefit of mining operations and white controlled farm areas."<sup>29</sup> It is interesting to note that the roads, telephones and radio installations follow virtually the same routes as the railroads. The rail system is a very comprehensive one, especially in the Police Zone, and there are good connections with the main RSA network in Cape Province from Windhoek, Walvis Bay and the other urban centers.

Currently there are no Africans employed in high level positions with the South African Railways and Harbours. In a negotiated settlement situation the fact of nationalization of the SWA segment of the system will be inevitable, but this need not preclude continued close working relationships with the RSA system, following the Maputo model. There will be a need to step up the already established training schemes for trackmen and bus drivers and to include a greater variety of necessary skills. All training, both theoretical and practical, should be done inside Namibia, possibly with the assistance of Africans from other countries.

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29. "Economic Development in Namibia," *ibid.*, p.10.

The importance of the road system, while evident throughout Namibia, is of special concern in the northern areas. In conditions of strife the only way of reaching the major populated parts of the country will be by road. Consequently the training of grader operators to maintain the large stretches of gravel all-weather roads is essential if another Sahel experience is to be avoided. The distribution of essential foodstuffs for a starving population must be foreseen. In this regard too the ability to operate the ports of Walvis Bay, Swakopmund and Luderitz will be crucial.

E. Government and Public Administration.

An analysis of manpower needs in this sector should be predicated by a brief statement of the political situation faced by Africans in present South West Africa :

... all important matters affecting Namibia and Namibians are decided by the South African Parliament and that blacks cannot be elected to Parliament, nor can they vote in parliamentary elections. Blacks are also barred from sitting in territorial Legislative Assembly and from voting for members of the assembly.<sup>30</sup>

In such circumstances, and with no data on the number of whites employed in this sector, it can confidently be assumed that all senior posts and most of the middle level positions in the civil service are presently occupied by whites, many of whom are not permanent residents of SWA. The need for crash training programs in administration is evident.

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30. Landis, Elizabeth S., "Human Rights in Namibia," *ibid.*, p.40

### III. An Assessment of Educational Requirements.

An objective analysis of the present effectiveness and future requirements of the formal educational system has been hampered by a serious lack of even the most rudimentary data. The following assessments, therefore, cannot be regarded as being anything more than general impressions and trends. A sectoral breakdown into elementary, secondary and higher education was found to be meaningless in the absence of reliable information from RSA sources. In its place an assessment by educational system area was attempted.

#### A. Enrollment

RSA statistics for the non-European area of the educational system have to be interpreted carefully : for example, the 1973 figures for total enrollment of Coloreds and Blacks gives no indication of distribution by grade, but it has been reported that at that time, "almost two-thirds of all African children at school were in the lower primary classes; and 94% of all African children at school were in primary classes."<sup>31</sup> Of the approximately 6000 students in secondary school no mention has been found of how many are indigenous blacks and how many belong to the numerically much smaller, but relatively more privileged Colored groups.<sup>32</sup> It can be postulated that very few blacks do indeed survive into the secondary sector:

The most recent statistics reflect a horrendous drop-out rate in African schools. Although the number of African children who enroll at some time appears to be increasing, over 50% of all pupils are in sub-standards A and B, while only 2.1% are found in the upper five standards. In 1974 only sixty percent of the small group of elite students who reached fifth form passed the Matric.<sup>33</sup>

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31. Troup, Freda, "Forbidden Pastures, Education under Apartheid," London, International Defense and Aid Fund, April 1976, p.32.

32. South West Africa Survey, *ibid.*, p.62

33. Landis, Elizabeth S., "Human Rights in Namibia," *ibid.*, p.49

It is also known that, in contrast to the situation for the indigenous African, most of the Colored pupils do go on to secondary schools, especially in the urban areas.

Given the accuracy of the official population figures ( the figures that generally appear in print) and assuming that about half the population is under 16 years of age, the most optimistic assessment of the percentage of school age children actually in school is between 40% and 50%. Also it appears that only 3-5% of the combined Colored and Black student enrollment is in the secondary sector. Freda Troup has estimated that the proportion of African school children in secondary classes only increased from 3.5% in 1955 to 4.7% in 1971.<sup>34</sup> The only positive comment on this situation is that educational opportunities for the indigenous black groups has expanded somewhat since 1964 when the 5 year government development plan was initiated.

#### B. Finance.

South Africa has made some very big claims about educational improvement within its regular borders and also in Namibia. However, these claims are, in reality, very misleading. Comparative analyses of African and European education are nowhere more striking in their objectivity and the implications for imbalance between the systems than in the area of expenditures on education. One commentator has expressed this in the following terms : "Behind those misleading quantitative growth claims lies a sad picture of qualitative decline and cultural impoverishment."<sup>35</sup>

Landis has been able to abstract the most important information

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34. Troup, Freda, *ibid.*, p.34

35. *idem.*, p.30

on finance in education in Namibia :

The government spent an estimated 5-10 times as much per capita on the education of white children as it did on the education of African children. (1973 situation) <sup>36</sup>

and

In 1973-4 this amounted to an estimated R 375-750 per white child and R 75.75 per African in Namibia, of which the latter amount approximately R 50 represented the cost of books, stationary and hostels while the remainder covered teachers' salaries, school buildings and equipment and administration.

A different, but relevant, perspective on government spending as it relates to education can be seen in the following table, which divides total South African educational expenditures as they relate to different racial groups :

Table 5. Total Public Expenditure on Education, 1969-70

	Rand Million
The Provinces (White education)	241.6
Dept. of National Education (mainly white)	53.9
Other government departments (mainly white)	18.6
Dept, of Colored Affairs	41.9
Dept. of Indian Affairs	15.8
Dept. of Bantu Education	49.9
	<hr/>
	421.7

Source : Freda Troup.

The latest figure found that relates specifically to expenditure on the Namibian system of education for indigenous Africans was for 1970-71. The amount was 2.5 Million Rand, giving a per capita expenditure of approximately R 200. The disparity between this figure and that quoted by Landis above is striking.

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36. and 37. Landis, Elizabeth, "Human Rights in Namibia," *ibid.*, p. 49.

### C. Plant

Of the 592 schools listed as being operative in 1973, only thirteen are post-elementary. Another seven are combined teacher training and trade schools. The latter were designed mainly to serve the designated homelands, as their locations indicate :

Ongwediva Training Institute, Ovambo .....	658	students in 1973
Augustineum T.I., Windhoek .....	496	
Cornelius Goroseb T.I., Khorixas .....	303	
Rundu T.I., Kavango.....	348	
Okakarara T.I., Herero .....	286	
Caprivi T.I., .....	214	
Dobra T.I., Windhoek .....	359	38

### D. Instructional Staff

The number of practicing African and Colored teachers, according to the official South West Africa Survey, is 3,453. The Minister of Bantu Education indicated that "there were 343 Africans enrolled in lower primary teachers' courses, 149 in primary teachers' courses and four inspecial courses for teaching the deaf and the blind."<sup>39</sup> There is no mention at all of any Africans being prepared to teach at the secondary level, and the enigmatic statement that "bursaries are granted to all black and colored students qualifying for further studies after matriculation (senior school certificate) at a university or university college," does not assist in estimating whether or not any such teachers are under training.<sup>40</sup> In addition it should be borne in mind that in Namibia blacks may enter teacher training with a standard VI certificate. This allows individuals with very limited educational backgrounds to enter the profession, and it can reasonably be assumed that their competence is relatively low.

38. The World of Learning, *ibid.*, p.588

39. Landis, Elizabeth S., "Higher Education in Namibia," *ibid.*, p.11.

40. South West Africa Survey, *ibid.*, p.64.

### E. Curriculum

The curriculum of the elementary schools and the first three years of the secondary program for indigenous Africans is basically the same as that used in the African school system of the RSA

In the African schools for example, there are marked weaknesses in the teaching of the official languages, mathematics and science due to a shortage of equipment . . . , shortage of teachers and to difficulties caused by the environmental and cultural backgrounds. For instance at the primary school level, the curriculum for Africans appears to be designed with a bias against achievement in the sciences as well as the humanities. According to UNESCO on 'The effects of apartheid on education, science, culture and information, 1972, roughly 25% of the time is spent in religious instruction and health parades in the lower primary courses.<sup>41</sup>

In short there is, without a doubt, an emphasis on crafts and manual training at the expense of academic subjects, and the mother tongue instruction is strongly emphasized, especially in the early years of schooling -- at the expense of competence in the two official languages in which secondary, advanced education and all examinations are conducted. In Ovamboland, for example, the first four years of the teaching program is largely taught in Ovambo. For the final two years of secondary schooling prior to matriculation the same syllabus as that designed for the whites in the RSA is followed.

The curriculum system for the Colored groups such as the Rehoboth Bastards follows the pattern designed for the white and colored students of Cape Province, and is therefore significantly different from that used for the black population. However; though in terms of the Namibian black, the education that he receives is not directed at positive development of his personality or his self-

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41. Troup, Freda, *ibid.*, p.43

concepts, "those blacks who do attend school receive an inferior education designed to keep them subservient to whites and locked into the exploiting colonial economy of the territory."<sup>42</sup>

F. System Control and Administration.

Until 1960 most of the schools catering for indigenous Africans and the colored groups were operated by missions, especially German and Finnish Lutheran societies and the Catholic Church. In that year the RSA government decided to take over more direct control, which was designed to "bring about an end to the mission schools, which were providing most of the education for Africans, by subjecting them to registration at the government's discretion."<sup>43</sup> The result was that, especially in the north, most of the former mission schools were transformed into "community schools." Theoretically there is a lot of local decision making and supervisory input through parents' committees, following the apartheid philosophy of separate development and decentralization.<sup>44</sup> In fact this autonomy is illusory since the government retains ultimate control through such machinery as the corps of inspectors. Another means of control is through specifically designed laws which are administered by different government agencies. The central administration of the "provincial" system centered in Windhoek sets all educational policy and standards, reinforced by the influence on curriculum exerted by the South African Universities and Education Departments, who set and monitor the school leaving examinations.

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42. Landis, Elizabeth S., "Human Rights in Namibia," *ibid.*, p.49

43. Landis, Elizabeth S., "Higher Education in Namibia," *ibid.*, p.7

44. South West Africa Survey, *ibid.*, p.63.

### G. Conclusions

The main conclusions that can be drawn from the foregoing analysis are :

- (a) Only a minority of children in the African category are receiving a basic education. More schools (especially secondary), more teachers and more money is needed to expand the system.
- (b) The curriculum is an imposed curriculum, and doesn't reflect Namibian attitudes, values and needs. In particular there seems to be no real attempt to train the Africans in vocational and technical skills.
- (c) The whole structure and organization is reflective of apartheid aims and ideals. This would hardly be relevant to any future Namibian national system of education.

### IV. Programmatic Implications.

As stated in the introduction two political situations can be foreseen.

#### A. Negotiated Settlement for Namibia as a Whole.

In the situation of a negotiated settlement, the opportunities for US technical assistance in the areas of manpower training and education would be far greater than if guerrilla warfare continued or a civil war broke out. Selective programs designed to maximize impact on Namibia through the training of relatively small numbers of Africans would be feasible. The areas of critical high level training needs will be in central administration and policy making,

embracing such specialized areas as agriculture, mining and resource development, communications, health and education planning and operation.

With regard to middle level skilled technicians and supervisory personnel, the short run situation will probably demand the importing of relatively large numbers of expatriates. This is of particular importance in the mining sector. On-the-job training schemes for Namibians should form part of the function of these short-term contract expatriates. If at all possible recruits in this area should be sought from other African countries.

In the education field there will be a need to completely reassess the structure and organization of the system. This process of establishing a Sector Review of Education, with the specific task of producing a national educational plan that will be relevant for the Namibian people should be started immediately. US agencies and the IBRD have much experience in this field.

#### B. A Partitioned Namibia.

In many ways this scenario looks more likely than a negotiated settlement. If it is true that the RSA now has 45,000 troops in Namibia,<sup>45</sup> and is actively preparing a 1600 meter 'no-go' defoliated strip along the Angola border, together with such security measures as detention centers,<sup>46</sup> the likelihood of eventual partition will grow. In such a situation the US will be forced into a position of having to choose sides at best, or being forced by circumstances into a stance of supporting the RSA because of rejection by SWAPO and possibly by other nationalist groups. In such circumstances very little programmatic involvement can be envisaged, either in the north, where it would be most needed, or in the presently white

45. "Namibia : Military Escalation," Africa, Vol 60, August 1976, p.13  
 46. "Namibia after Turnhalle," Africa, Vol 62, October 1976,

dominated southern parts of the country.

V. Recommendations.

- A. To provide the Namibian government with a task force of advisers to perform an in-depth manpower needs survey, after the pattern of the recent World Bank survey of Botswana.
- B. To provide funds and personnel to develop a realistic educational plan for Namibian development. The Sector Review of Education performed for Ethiopia would serve as a useful model.
- C. To institute immediate plans to identify selected Namibians in exile or within the country for crash training in government and public administration. The channel of communication in selection could be through the Namibian Institute in Lusaka, an organization that has received favorable comment from even Windhoek newspapers.<sup>47</sup> Another approach could be through the representatives of nationalist groups in exile. The utilization of African universities and institutions of training would be preferable to the high cost of such programs in the US.
- D. To seriously consider the setting up of a training school for exile Namibians in Zambia, to train middle level manpower in agricultural skills, utilizing concepts of dry land agronomy and methods of transfer of technology.
- E. To enlist the support of US based corporations with Namibian operations, with a view to initiating and expanding crash

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47. "Development : Namibia," African Development, Vol. 10, No.2, February 1976, p.173.

training programs for mining technicians and supervisory personnel,  
and to select Namibians for high level managerial training.abroad.

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