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## **Jeremy Silvester, ed. 2015. Re-Viewing Resistance in Namibian History. Windhoek: University of Namibia**

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policies and institutions, building upon the legal doctrine of odious debt, that would lift the currently existing burden of servicing debts from which the public has no benefit, up to conducting major changes in the international financial architecture to help the promotion of responsible behaviour with regard to both lenders and borrowers. The authors emphasise that the diversion of foreign borrowing into capital flight does not have much to do with a few corrupt officials and a few complacent or complicit bankers. It is rather the product of systemic flaws in the international financial arrangements that govern borrowing and lending; therefore, the solution requires a fundamental reform. Concerning the crucial question of how to bring about this uneasy reform, there is no workable offer the authors are ready to sell. Generally, the book is a progress in the sense of explaining the African debt problems; however, the realisation of some of the solutions it has suggested demands more elucidation.

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**Jeremy Silvester, ed. 2015. *Re-Viewing Resistance in Namibian History*. Windhoek: University of Namibia. 315 pages. ISBN 978-99916-42-27-7.**

The experienced expert in Namibian history, Jeremy Silvester (let us remember, at least, his work *My Heart Tells Me That I Have Done Nothing Wrong: The Fall of Mandume*, 1992, and the annotated 1918 *Blue Book* reprinted and commented, this time together with Jan-Bart Gewald, 2003), gathered 19 articles and papers (20 with one commentary) dealing with the Namibian resistance. Contributions of diverse size and contents cover various aspects and time periods of several types of resistance. Historians present important themes from the precolonial period through the period of German and South African administration until contemporary efforts to venerate and glorify the resistance against the colonial oppression of various African ethnic groups, chieftains, regions and communities. A pleasant fact consists in the participation of many young Namibian scholars and researchers, largely from the University of Namibia, producing high level scholarly work.

***Transforming the Traumatic Life Experiences of Women in Post-Apartheid Namibian Historical Narratives*** (pp. 22-37) by Ellen Ndeshi Namhila (University of Namibia) is primarily an instruction how to find and elaborate archival sources in order to complete the oral history concerning “everyday” history. As the author personally knows how burdensome the exile and resistance is for a woman, her details on the tragic life of some Namibian families and women are an important contribution to the understanding of “internal” or “private” forms of resistance.

***Hendrik Witbooi and Samuel Maharero: The Ambiguity of Heroes*** (pp. 38-54) by Werner Hillebrecht (the former Head of the National Archives of Namibia) goes back to the precolonial and German period. The paper supports with newly published documents all forms of mutual hostility and/or alliance of the two most important Namibian chiefs as well as their resistance to and/or co-operation with the colonial power.

***The Vagciriku-Lishora Massacre of 1894 Revisited*** (pp. 55-70) by Shampapi Shiremo (Hochland High School, Windhoek) stresses the anti-colonial character of events occurring in Kavango in 1892-94. This almost forgotten conflict between the BaTawana and Vagciriku people in the Angola-Botswana-Namibia border region illustrates how deeply the European “cutting of the African cake” affected some African communities.

***Revolutionary Songs as a Response to Colonialism in Namibia*** (pp. 71-88) by Petrus Angula Mbenzi (University of Namibia) deals with the use of a typical African source divided into political, anti-propagandist, SWAPO leaders glorifying, unifying and incitement songs. The theoretical background and many examples are connected to the archive of Namibian liberation songs currently under construction.

***Of Storying and Storing: ‘Reading’ Lichtenecker’s Voice Recordings*** (pp. 89-104) by Anette Hoffmann (University of Cape Town) offers another interesting primary source thus far hardly exploited by historians: voice-recordings made by Hans Lichtenecker from 1931 on among diverse population groups in Southern Namibia, which reflect the oppression and resistance frame of mind.

***Colonialism and the Development of the Contract Labour System in Kavango*** (pp. 105-126) by Kletus Muhena Likuwa (University of Namibia) contributes to researching the labour recruitment among the Kavango people by German, South African and international agencies. A new approach makes it possible to elucidate, among others, the role of missionaries and, particularly, of native recruiters or local labour headmen, who co-operated with OMEG, NLO and SWANLA recruiters.

***Liberals and Non-Racism in Namibia's Settler Society? Advocate Israel Goldblatt's Engagement with Namibian Nationalists in the 1960s*** (pp. 127-147) by Dag Henrichsen (Namibia Resource Centre) analyses Goldblatt's vision for an independent Namibia and his encounters with Namibian nationalists. By introducing substantial parts of the book on Goldblatt published in 2010 (Henrichsen-Jacobson-Marshall eds.) and by presenting many quotations the paper emphasizes a very minor (?) tradition of advocating non-racism in Namibia's white settler society and the impossibility of an alliance across racial lines despite the moderate activity of Goldblatt.

***The Caprivi African National Union (CANU) 1962-1964: Forms of Resistance*** (pp. 148-159) by Bennett Kangumu Kangumu (University of Namibia) examines why the administration of the then South West Africa enforced a harsh clampdown of CANU activities and activists, preventing the movement from operating freely within the Caprivi region. In contrast to the historical mainstream the author argues that CANU played a central role in Namibia's liberation struggle.

***Brendan Kangongolo Simbwaye: A Journey of 'Internal Exile'*** (pp. 160-169). The same author provides a historical study of the life of Brendan Kangongolo Simbwaye (born in 1934), the founding President of CANU, between 1964, when he was arrested, and 1972, when he presumably disappeared without a trace in the east of the Caprivi Strip.

***The Kavango Legislative Council*** (pp. 170-177) by Aaron Nambadi (City of Windhoek Museum) is a history of the tribal body created in 1970 as a consequence of the Report of the Odendaal Commission (1964) for the Kavango homeland. Some schools in Kavango East and Kavango West still bear the names of tribal chiefs, who were members

of the Council. Contemporary Regional Councils followed with almost the same powers.

***The 1978 Election in Namibia*** (pp. 178-191) by Timoteus Mashuna (New Era newspaper) is an analysis of the first multiparty election organised in “a festival mood” under the South African administration. SWAPO, however, did not participate because South Africa had refused to allow the United Nations to supervise and control the elections.

***Waking the Dead: Civilian Casualties in the Namibian Liberation Struggle*** (pp. 192-206) by Jeremy Silvester (Museums Association of Namibia) and Martha Akawa (University of Namibia) is perhaps the most important contribution. As the victims of the Namibian Liberation Struggle were mostly civilians, the Civilian Casualties Project, based on exhaustive archival research, corrects the official interpretation of the war presented, e. g., by the construction of the Heroes’ Acre near Windhoek.

***Okongo: Case Study of the Impact of the Liberation Struggle in the Ohangwena Region*** (pp. 207-220) by Lovisa Tegelela Nampala (Uukelo School) is a history of the Okongo village affected by wars against the Portuguese, and, above all, by the clashes between SWAPO’s guerrilla fighters and the South African Defence Force. After using many oral history sources the author recommends her domicile to become a heritage site commemorating the period of the liberation struggle.

***The Liberation Struggle Inside Namibia 1966-1989: A Regional Perspective from the Kavango Regions*** (pp. 221-239) by Herbert Kandjimi Karapo (Mupini School) gives important information on the uKwangali District affected by the liberation struggle, militarisation and activities of the South African Security Forces within the period stipulated.

***The Gendered Politics of the SWAPO Camps during the Namibian Liberation Struggle*** (pp. 240-251) by Martha Akawa (University of Namibia) analyses the shift of the gender patterns in Namibia from traditional ceremonies and conditions of migrant labour in the colonial state to the SWAPO “Laws Governing the Namibian People’s Revolution”.

***Solidarity with Liberation in Namibia: An Analytical Eyewitness Account from a West German Perspective*** (pp. 252-265) by Reinhart Kössler (University of Freiburg) compares the approach of both German states for supporting the SWAPO movement and struggle, and explains attitudes of the unified Germany in favour of Namibia, including the apology for the 1904-1908 genocide.

***Finnish Solidarity with the Liberation Struggle of Namibia: A Documentation Project*** (pp. 266-275) by Pekka Peltola (University of Helsinki) explains, first of all, profound Finnish historical motives for supporting the SWAPO endeavour. Then, the paper focuses on a large documentation project of gathering archival materials, microfilms, private photographs and oral sources.

***Colonial Monuments in a Post-Colonial Era: A Case Study of the Equestrian Monument*** (pp. 276-292) by Helvi Inotila Elago (University of Kent) describes manoeuvres with the “hot potato” among historical objects, the infamous German *Reiterdenkmal* in Windhoek. The dilemma whether to maintain or to remove ideologically unwelcome monuments from the colonial past (like, e. g., the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria and other iconic statues) is made clear by the ***Comment: Colonial Monuments – Heritage or Heresy?*** (pp. 292-297) by André du Pisani (University of Cape Town). This expert on Namibian history stresses, above all, the necessity of a well-considered cultural policy.

***Heritage Education in the School Curriculum: A Critical Reflection*** (pp. 298-306) by Gilbert Likando (University of Namibia) discusses the main topics and notions in the school curriculum that are used in the heritage education in Namibia.

For any Africanist the new wave of Namibian historians participating in this inspiring book offers new information, an overview of new sources and new approaches well based on heuristic preparation. Resistance as the main theme has diverse faces covered mostly in an impartial way. However, new forms of resistance appear: the internet sites of the Rehoboth Basters proclaim the period 1979-89 to be the most free in their history – Is this not a sign of resistance against the contemporary solution of the political representation of some minor Namibian communities? Perhaps Namibian historians will have to

distinguish more clearly between contributing and/or destructive forms of resistance in order to avoid a non-realistic picture of overall glorifying armed resistance as a unique *raison d'être* of national liberation. The annotated book edited by Jeremy Silvester offers a responsible and professional collection of mature and promising contributions that demonstrate, at the same time, the high level of Namibian historiography.

Jan Klíma

**Christian Thibon, Marie-Aude Fouéré, Lidred Ndeda and Susan Mwangi, eds. 2014. *Kenya's Past as Prologue: Voters, Violence and the 2013 General Election*. Nairobi: Twaweza Communications. 264 pages.**

The East African state of Kenya has always attracted a great deal of attention from experts on Africa. One of the largest economies in the region as well as a popular tourist destination, Kenya has in recent years featured on the front pages of international news not only due to frequent, bloody attacks by Somali terrorist militias connected to Al-Qaeda, but also to ethnic violence, which has occurred regularly in Kenyan society since the implementation of the democratic process and the return to the multiparty system in 1991. Ever since colonial times Kenya has struggled with peacefully integrating more than 40 ethnic groups, with the largest of these groups, the Kikuyu, only comprising 22 % of the total population according to estimates.

In the period of British colonial rule, a one-party state led by president and KANU chairman Jomo Kenyatta managed to keep these conflicts more or less under control, however, after 1992 they flared up again in full force. Ethnic violence then regularly emerged during election periods, particularly during election campaigns of individual political parties and their candidates, at voting booths and most of all after the announcement of election results. Practically all elections have been affected, whether presidential, parliamentary, regional or local. Violent clashes even took place due to non-ethnic conflict between candidates from the same political party in primaries to determine the party's list of candidates.