

From the 12 Principal Appointed German Colonial Perpetrators of the First Holocaust in Namibia (PAGCPFHN) through the 18 British Settlers South African Racist Minority Agents (BSSARMA) to the 7 United Nations Appointed Commissioners Related to the Namibian Question (UNACRNQ) and Independence at the Down of the Cold War 1883-1990

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| Received: 26.09.2022 | Accepted: 04.11.2022 | Published: 13.11.2022 |

Abstract: This paper covers a period of 107 years (1883-1990) dealing with the identification of 37 diplomatic agents in South West Africa there after Namibia with 12 Germans from 1883 to 1915, 18 British South African racist administrators from 1915 to 1990 and intervention with 7 United Nations Commissioners 1966-1988. The country became one of the most interested historical Sub-Saharan African country throughout the history of European colonization of Africa and an African country obtaining the League of Nations Mandate over another African country but dragging her feet for 75 years to grant independence spanning from 1915 to 1990. It also brings out the strategies used by the U.N to halt all the colonial racist apartheid system and hegemony of the minority regime of South Africa and coincidentally making the end of such inhuman torturing activities with power handed over to black majority in 1990 coupled with the reunification of the former colonial master Germany as important signals marking the end of the Cold War. In the teaching of histories related to the challenges Africa, Germans, British, America, Soviet Union and World Affairs in general, attention have to be focus on connectivity of related events of the 20th Century concerning the Namibia Question whose colonial problems were very much considerable by the international community for the liberation of the last African colonial territory subdue by the so-called British White Settlers of the Apartheid System in the Republic of South Africa. In fact, the scrutiny of specialized sources, documentaries and websites related information permitted us to adopt a historical approach with three clear illustrative tables identifying the main actors in their different portfolios who were involved in the colonial brutalities from the Germans and British White African Settlers on one hand and attempted solutions put forth by the United Nations to handle the Question of Namibia as one of the last African country to be liberated out colonialism thereby marking the end of Africa's colonial history and the re-birth of intensive mechanisms neo-colonialism towards the last decade of the 20th Century. Henceforth, the re-awakening for the demand of reparations of colonial atrocities, massacred, looting and the like in the 21st Century calls for accurate evidence spotting those colonial administrators who were responsible in their different ranks and have to be justly acknowledge by their present governments for what their predecessors did in the course of manipulating the tactics of Exploration, Expropriation and Exploitation (3Es).

Keywords: Colonialism, first holocaust, perpetrators, racist, minority, agents, hegemony, Cold War, Namibian Question, last Independent Country.

INTRODUCTION

Namibia is located in the south-western Atlantic coast of the African Continent and is covered by two of Sub-Saharan Africa's largest deserts: the Namib and the Kalahari. There is a diversity of original peoples in Namibia. The most famous, Bushmen (also

called San) are generally assumed to have been the earliest inhabitants of the region comprising today's Namibia, Botswana and South Africa. The Bushmen were hunters and gatherers with a nomadic lifestyle. The most important part of their diet consisted of fruits, nuts and roots, but they also hunted different kinds of

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Citation: Njuafac Kenedy Fonju (2022). From the 12 Principal Appointed German Colonial Perpetrators of the First Holocaust in Namibia (PAGCPFHN) through the 18 British Settlers South African Racist Minority Agents (BSSARMA) to the 7 United Nations Appointed Commissioners Related to the Namibian Question (UNACRNQ) and Independence at the Down of the Cold War 1883-1990. *Cross Current Int Peer Reviewed J Human Soc Sci*, 8(9), 115-139.

antelopes. Over time, many different ethnic groups of immigrants settled in Namibia (Namibia profile (Timeline, 8 May 2018). In 1488, the Portuguese explorer Bartolomeu Dias visited the area and between 1886 and 1890 after the Berlin Colonial Conference (BCC) international boundaries established by German Treaties signed with two Western European Great Powers namely, Portugal and Britain that gave the Germany full guarantee for the annexation of the territory as German South West Africa (GSWA). Under South African rule, the title was Administrator (1915–1977) and Administrator-General (1977–1990). After the United Nations terminated South Africa's mandate and Trusteeship System, to govern South West Africa, the UN appointed commissioners of its own. They had no authority and South Africa refused to recognize them thereby continued to appoint their administrators in the SWA. As indicated on table No. 2.

The country has been well endowed with natural resources, including a diversity of wild fauna and flora, diamonds, uranium, lead, copper, zinc, natural gas as well as fisheries. These resources have significant socio-economic development potential attached to them, especially through the agriculture, fisheries, tourism and mining sectors. These resources contribute to a significant part of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) and are increasingly under threat from unsustainable practices such as overgrazing, land degradation, desertification, population pressures, overfishing and inefficient use of water resources. Climate change has also had a significant impact on the nation's resources, leaving many vulnerable to the effects of droughts and floods. Many people in Namibia fall below the poverty line but sustainable, green development that makes use of the nation's resources could better the lives for thousands. Beyond Namibia's prosperity in striking landscapes, wildlife and fisheries, the country is also rich in minerals. In 1908 Namibia experienced a diamond rush when it was discovered that the precious stones could just be simply picked up off the sands of the Namib Desert. Since then Namibia has remained one of the most important countries for diamond mining, both onshore and offshore. Other minerals are commonly mined in Namibia including uranium, copper, zinc, lead, magnesium, cadmium, arsenic, pyrites, silver and gold. One resource that is lacking in Namibia though is water due to Namibia's arid nature. Water scarcity has challenged development in the country. Namibia has been successful in establishing strong public awareness and water conservation practice. Therefore, the GSWA from 1883 to 1914 and SWA under SA have their distinctive challenges under 12 and 18 colonial agents respectively in their different ranks as appointed. There is a diversity of original peoples in Namibia. The most famous, Bushmen (also called San) are generally assumed to have been the earliest inhabitants of the region comprising today's Namibia, Botswana and South Africa. The Bushmen were hunters and gatherers with a

nomadic lifestyle. The most important part of their diet consisted of fruits, nuts and roots, but they also hunted different kinds of antelopes. Over time, many different ethnic groups of immigrants settled in Namibia. According to David Olusoga (2015), Germans atrocities in SWA thereafter Namibia was the first holocaust of the 20th Century before the outbreak of the First World War.

Germany's overseas empire was dismantled following defeat in World War I. With the concluding Treaty of Versailles, Article 22, German colonies were transformed into League of Nations mandates and divided between Belgium, the United Kingdom, and certain British Dominions, France and Japan with the determination not to see any of them returned to Germany — a guarantee secured by Article 119. The treaty of Versailles attributed war guilt to Germany, but most Germans did not accept this and many saw the confiscation of the colonies by the Allies as a theft, especially after the South African premier Louis Botha stated that all allegations which the Allies had published during the war about the German colonial empire were, without exception, baseless fabrications. German colonial revisionists spoke of a "Colonial Guilt Myth" (Von Strandmann *et al.*, 1970). After the Nazi seizure of power, various efforts were undertaken to revoke the terms of the Treaty of Versailles relating to colonies and to return the colonies to German control. In 1934, the Nazi party established its own Office of Colonial Policy, which was led by Heinrich Schnee, and then Franz Ritter von Epp and was a very active organisation. The Reichskolonialbund, established in 1936, under Franz Ritter von Epp absorbed all colonial organizations and was meant to raise pro-colonial sentiments, public interest in former German colonies, and take part in political agitation. However, no new overseas colonial enterprises took place and with the onset of World War II the organization entered a decline, before being disbanded by decree in 1943 for "activity irrelevant to the war". The role that colonialism actually played in Adolf Hitler's policy is disputed in scholarship. Representatives of the Herero and Nama, whose ancestors were killed in their thousands in German-administered Southwest Africa between 1904 and 1908 having taken legal action against Germany in the American courts (Elazar Barkan, 2000). In January 2017, a class action against the German government was submitted to a court in New York. The statement of claim speaks of over 100,000 fatalities. In March 2017, it became known that the Namibian government was considering an action against Germany in the International Court of Justice in The Hague. It was said that damages were sought in the region of 30 billion dollars (Kaya de Wolff, 2017).

Von Trotha issued the so-called "extermination order" (Vernichtungsbefehl), under which the surviving

Herero were driven into the wilderness. 1800 of the survivors had reached British Bechuanaland by the end of November 1904, while thousands more fled to the northernmost parts of South West Africa, and into the desert. The Herero population is estimated at around 50,000, of which around half had died by 1908 [84]. The Nama suffered 10,000 deaths, also around half of their population. They had fought on the German side against the Herero until the end of 1904. This was the first genocide of the 20th century. Exposés followed in the print media throughout Germany of the Herero rebellions in 1904 in GSWA) where in military interventions between 50 to 70% of the Herero population perished, known as the Genocide. As a result of the colonial wars in South West Africa and East Africa, which had been caused by poor treatment of native peoples, it was considered necessary to change the German colonial administration, in favour of a more scientific approach to the employment of the colonies that improved the lives of the people in them. Therefore, the highest authority in colonial administration, the Colonial Department (Kolonialabteilung) was separated from the Foreign Office and, in May 1907, it became its own ministry, the Imperial Colonial Office. The creator of the new colonial policy was a successful banker and private-sector restructurer, Bernhard (J.B. Gewalt, 2004) Dernburg from Darmstadt, who was placed in charge of the Colonial Department in September 1906 and retained the role as Secretary of State of the revamped Colonial Office until 1910. Entrenched incompetents were screened out and summarily removed from office and "not a few had to stand trial. Replacing the misfits was a new breed of efficient, humane, colonial civil servant, usually the product of Dernburg's own creation, the Colonial Institute at Hamburg." In African protectorates, especially Togoland and German East Africa, "improbably advanced and humane administrations emerged." Dernburg went on tours of the colonies, to learn about their problems first-hand and find solutions. Capital investments by banks were secured with public funds of the imperial treasury to minimize risk. Dernburg, as a former banker, facilitated such thinking; he saw his commission to also turn the colonies into paying propositions. He oversaw large-scale expansion of infrastructure. Every African protectorate built rail lines to the interior. Dar es Salaam evolved into "the showcase city of all of tropical Africa," Lomé grew into the "prettiest city in western Africa", and Tsingtao in China was, "in miniature, as German a city as Hamburg or Bremen". Whatever the Germans constructed in their colonies was made to last (De Mads Bomholt Nielsen, October 2009), Scientific and technical institutions for colonial purposes were established or expanded, in order to develop the colonies on these terms. Two of these, the Hamburg Colonial Institute and the German Colonial School are predecessor organisations of the modern universities of Hamburg and Kassel. Dernburg declared that the indigenous population in the

protectorates "was the most important factor in our colonies" and this was affirmed by new laws and initiatives. Corporal punishment was abolished. Every colony in Africa and the Pacific established the beginnings of a public school system, and every colony built and staffed hospitals. In some colonies, native agricultural holdings were encouraged and supported. In January 1909, Dernburg said "The goal must be colonies closely bound to the Fatherland, administratively independent, intellectually self-sufficient, and healthy." Wilhelm Solf, who was Colonial Secretary from 1911 until 1918, also undertook tours in Africa in 1912 and 1913. The resulting impressions informed his colonial program, which included an expansion of the powers of the governors and a ban on forced labour for Africans. As governor of Samoa, he had referred to the islanders as "unsere braunen Schützlinge" (our brown charges), who could be guided but not forced. Similarly, Heinrich Schnee, governor of East Africa from 1912, proclaimed that "the dominant feature of my administration will be ... the welfare of the natives entrusted into my care." Solf also advocated a network of motorways in the colonies. He secured support for this comparatively peaceful colonial policy, instead of the highly militarised approach that had been taken up to this point, from all parties in the Reichstag, except for the right. Jeremy Sylvester, (J.B. Gewalt, January 2004).

The rot (if that is the right word) started at the 1911 Imperial Conference, the first of several meetings of the British Prime Minister and his counterparts in the four "dominions" (Australia, Canada, South Africa and New Zealand). These were all countries of white settlement, territories to which Britain had exported population since the end of the Napoleonic wars. Some went as "explorers", more as traders, and some (notoriously to Australia) were dispatched as convicts. The majority went to make a new life, many escaping hunger and misery at home. Fearful of a repeat of the loss of their American empire, the British governments of the day conceded "self-government" to British settlers, albeit in fits and starts. An early marker was laid down with by the North America Act of 1867 which created confederation in Canada. As dominions, such settler states enjoyed "self-government" over their internal affairs. But, they lacked total independence as Britain continued to control their foreign affairs, and notably, the right to take them into a war. South Africa had become a "dominion" at Union in 1910, and Prime Minister Louis Botha attended the imperial conference of the following year. In response to the growing assertiveness of the four dominions, the British government made a significant concession. It retained the right to declare that the dominions would join it in declaring war against an enemy state. But it conceded that they would have the right to decide their level of support for the war effort (Stoecker Helmut, 1987). The British were wholly confident that Australia, Canada and New Zealand would display their loyalty for "the

mother country” in any European conflict. However, a question hung over South Africa. Its government headed by Botha and Jan Smuts, two former Boer generals who had recently been fighting against the British. This was answered in 1914. When it came to the crunch, Botha and Smuts threw South African troops into the First World War without any hesitation. They subsequently took to the field in uniform to crush an Afrikaner Nationalist rebellion against fighting “Britain’s war”. Yet when the war was over, a Nationalist government led by another former Boer general, Barry Hertzog, led the way in securing a further concession from the British at the Imperial Conference in 1926. This time round, the dominions gained the right to run their own foreign policies, to have separate diplomatic representation in countries around the world, and importantly, to decide for themselves whether to side with Britain in the event of another war. All this was confirmed by the Statute of Westminster of 1931. Come 1939, Smuts won a critical vote in the Union Parliament to lead South Africa into the Second World War against Nationalist opposition. But, they took their revenge by defeating him in the 1948 election. Although Nationalist desire for South Africa to cut ties with Britain and become a republic ran deep, caution initially prevailed, and formally, the Queen remained head of state, represented by a governor-general as her viceroy. But when faced with hostility to apartheid by African states, Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd led South Africa out of the Commonwealth. In the UK the Queen’s official title is: Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of Her other Realms and Territories Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith (Roger Southall, June 6, 2022).

In 1966, the Assembly declared that South Africa had failed to fulfil its obligations under the Mandate. It terminated that Mandate, and placed the territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. In 1967, the Assembly established the United Nations Council for South West Africa to administer the Territory until independence. It thus became the only Territory which the United Nations, rather than a Member State, assumed direct responsibility. In 1968, the Council was renamed the United Nations Council for Namibia, when the Assembly proclaimed that, in accordance with the wishes of its people, the Territory would be thenceforth known as Namibia. Later that year, in the face of South Africa’s refusal to accept the Assembly’s decision and cooperate with the Council for Namibia, the Assembly recommended that the Security Council take measures to enable the Council to carry out its mandate. In its first resolution on the question, the Security Council, in 1969, recognized the termination of the Mandate, described the continued presence of South Africa as illegal, and called on South Africa to withdraw its administration immediately. In 1970, the Security Council declared for the first time

that all acts taken by South Africa concerning Namibia after the termination of the mandate were “illegal and invalid”. This view was upheld in 1971 by the ICJ. The Court stated that South Africa’s presence was illegal, and that South Africa was under obligation to withdraw its administration. South Africa, however, continued to refuse to comply with the United Nations resolutions, and continued its illegal administration of Namibia, including the imposition of apartheid laws, the bantustanization of the Territory, and the exploitation of its resources (Kaya de Wolff, 2017). The Council for Namibia enacted in 1974 a Decree for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, under which no person or entity could search for, take or distribute any natural resources found in Namibia without the Council’s permission. Any person or entity contravening the Decree could be held liable for damages by the future government of an independent Namibia. Also in 1974, the Council established the Institute for Namibia, located in Lusaka, Zambia. The Institute, which operated until after independence, provided Namibians with education and training equipping them to administer a free Namibia. In 1976 the Security Council for the first time demanded that South Africa accept elections for the Territory under United Nations supervision and control. In the same year, the General Assembly condemned South Africa for organizing so-called constitutional talks at Windhoek, Namibia’s capital, designed to perpetuate the colonial oppression and exploitation of Namibia. It decided that any independence talks must be between South Africa and the South West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO), which the Assembly recognized as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. The Assembly also launched a comprehensive assistance programme in support of Namibia’s nationhood, involving assistance by United Nations organizations and specialized agencies (Williams C.A., 2009). In 1977, the Assembly declared that South Africa’s decision to annex Walvis Bay -- Namibia’s main port and vital economic avenue -- was illegal, null and void and an act of colonial expansion. At a special session on Namibia in 1978, the Assembly expressed support for the armed liberation struggle of Namibian people, and stated that any settlement must be arrived at with the agreement of SWAPO and within the framework of United Nations resolutions.

In 1978, Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States submitted to the Security Council a proposal for settling the question of Namibia. According to the proposal, elections for a Constituent Assembly would be held under United Nations auspices. Every stage of the electoral process would be conducted to the satisfaction of a Special Representative for Namibia appointed by the Secretary-General. A United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) would be at the disposal of the Special Representative to help him supervise the political process and to ensure that all parties observed

all provisions of an agreed solution. The Security Council requested the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative for Namibia and to submit recommendations for implementing the settlement proposal (U.N Basic Facts, 1998). By resolution 435 (1978), the Council endorsed the United Nations plan for Namibia and decided to establish UNTAG. In 1980, South Africa accepted the plan proposed by the five Powers and in 1981 participated in a pre-implementation meeting at Geneva. However, South Africa did not agree to proceed towards a ceasefire, one of the conditions set by the United Nations for implementing resolution 435. Negotiations were again stalled when South Africa attached new conditions which the United Nations did not accept, in particular one which linked the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. In the following years, the Secretary-General and his Special Representative travelled extensively throughout southern Africa, discussing problems, clarifying positions, exploring new concepts and exchanging views with all parties (Kaya de Wolff, 2017). Various countries promoted talks on the issue -- among them the five Western sponsors of the 1978 proposal and Zambia. Gradually the unresolved matters yielded to the give and take of negotiations. The Secretary-General reported in 1987 that all outstanding issues relevant to the United Nations plan, including the choice of an electoral system, had been resolved. Only the condition linking independence to troop withdrawal remained an obstacle. On 22 December 1988, a tripartite agreement among Angola, Cuba and South Africa, mediated by the United States, was signed at United Nations Headquarters. The agreement committed the signatory States of a series of measures to achieve peace in the region, and opened the way to the United Nations independence plan. Under the agreement, South Africa undertook to cooperate with the Secretary-General to ensure Namibia's independence through free and fair elections. At the same time, Angola and Cuba signed an agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. In accordance with this agreement, the United Nations sent an observer mission -- the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) -- to Angola to verify the withdrawal of Cuban troops. The starting date for the implementation of the independence plan was 1 April 1989. UNTAG was made up of people of 124 nationalities. The authorized strength of its military component was 7,500 all ranks (maximum deployment 4,493 all ranks), supported by almost 2,000 international civilian and local staff. UNTAG's 1,500 police officers ensured a smooth electoral process and monitored the ceasefire between SWAPO and South African forces, and the withdrawal and demobilization of all military forces in Namibia. During the elections, UNTAG was strengthened by some 1,000 additional international personnel who came specifically for the elections. Namibia was divided into 23 electoral districts. Registration centers were set up all over the country. Some 2,200 rural registration points were

covered by 110 mobile registration teams (U.N Basic Facts, 1998). Registration of voters began on 3 July 1989. When the process ended on 23 September, 701,483 Namibians had registered, and more than 34,000 had been helped to repatriate by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees -- of some 41,000 registered with that agency. The elections, held from 7 to 11 November 1989 to choose the 72 delegates to the Constituent Assembly, saw a voter turn-out of 97 per cent. UNTAG monitored the balloting and the counting of votes. On 14 November, the Special Representative for Namibia declared that the elections had been free and fair. SWAPO obtained 41 Assembly seats. The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance obtained 21 seats, and five smaller parties shared the remaining 10. By 22 November 1989, South Africa's remaining troops had left Namibia. The Constituent Assembly met for the first time on 21 November to draft a new Constitution, which was unanimously approved on 9 February 1990. On 16 February the Assembly elected SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma as President of the Republic for a five-year term. Namibia became independent on 21 March 1990 with the Secretary General administering the oath of office to Namibia's first President (U.N Basic Facts, 1998). On that day, in Windhoek, the United Nations Secretary-General administered the oath of office to Namibia's first President. On 23 April 1990, Namibia became the 160th member of the United Nations (South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO, <https://www.sahistory.org.za › article>).

According to Ronald Gordon Rogo, in 1995, Britain and Germany had expansive colonial agendas in Africa from the mid to late 1800s, and both the British authorities in Kenya and the German authorities in Namibia were responsible for the commission of state crimes. This article explores reparations for state crimes committed during the colonial period and specifically examines how reparations should be afforded for crimes committed during. In January 1904 the 'Onjembo', the Herero-German war, broke out. During the course of seven months the Herero were driven back from their ancestral homes and lands and forced to retreat into the northeastern reaches of the then German colony of South West Africa, the present-day Republic of Namibia. Following their defeat at Hamakari in August 1904, the surviving Herero were driven northeastward (J. B. Gewald, November 2007).

1. The Roots of Europeans in the Namid Skeleton Coast

The first European to set foot on Namibian soil was the Portuguese Diogo Cão in 1485, who stopped briefly on the Skeleton Coast, and raised a limestone cross there, on his exploratory mission along the west coast of Africa. The next European to visit Namibia was also a Portuguese, Bartholomeu Dias, who stopped at what today is Walvis Bay and Lüderitz (which he named Angra Pequena) on his way to round the Cape of Good Hope. The inhospitable Namib Desert constituted

a formidable barrier and neither of the Portuguese explorers went far inland. In 1793 the Dutch authority in the Cape decided to take control of Walvis Bay, since it was the only good deep-water harbour along the Skeleton Coast. When the United Kingdom took control of the Cape Colony in 1797, they also took over Walvis Bay (Moses A. Dirk, 2008). But white settlement in the area was limited, and neither the Dutch nor the British penetrated far into the country. The first territorial claim on a part of Namibia came when Britain occupied Walvis Bay, confirming the settlement of 1797, and permitted the Cape Colony to annex it in 1878. The annexation was an attempt to forestall German ambitions in the area, and it also guaranteed control of the good deep-water harbour on the way to the Cape Colony and other British colonies on Africa's east coast. One of the first European groups to show interest in Namibia was the missionaries. In 1805 the London Missionary Society began working in Namibia, moving north from the Cape Colony. In 1811 they founded the town Bethanie in southern Namibia, where they built a church, which was long considered to be Namibia's oldest building, before the site at Khauxa!nas which pre-dates European settlement was recognized (Perras Arne *et al.*, 2004). In the 1840s the German Rhenish Mission Society started working in Namibia and co-operating with the London Missionary Society. It was not until the 19th century, when European powers sought to carve up the African continent between them in the so-called "Scramble for Africa", that Europeans – Germany and Great Britain in the forefront – became interested in Namibia. Between 1886 and 1890 the present international boundaries of the country was established by German Treaties with Portugal and Britain and Germany annexed the territory as German South West Africa (GSWA). From 1892 to 1905 the German colonial administration was intensively occupied with the suppression of uprisings staged by the Herero and Namas which resulted to dangerous holocaust during the beginning of the 20th Century with an estimated 60,000 inhabitants death from different hardship placed under representing about 80 percent of the total population of the Herero 15,000 starving refugees (Perras Arne *et al.*, 2004).

The defeat of Germany during the First World War of 1914-1918 by the Allied forces of Britain, France and Belgium especially in the African soil by 1915 ended up with the seizing of all German protectorate, annexed territories and overseas possessions around the World. This gave an advantage to the racist apartheid whites' minority domination of the Black Africans in South Africa (S.A) with the Namid becoming victimized under South Africa whose administrative setting were under the British settlers. The problem of South West Africa was discussed during the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 with the War Guilt Clauses (WGC) inflicted on Germany after signing the Treaty of Versailles. Later in 1920, the League of Nations (LON) granted to South Africa the

Mandate to govern South West Africa (SWA) which continued till the outbreak of the 1939-1945 Second World War. The creation of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) to replace the defunct LON once more came up with the International Trusteeship System (ITS). In 1946, UNO refused to allow South Africa to annex SWA while she refused to place SWA under UN Trusteeship was a dangerous move to implement racist regime of apartheid. Later in 1958 an elite, Herman Toivo Ya Toivo and others created the opposition Ovamboland People's Congress, (OPC) which becomes the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) in 1960 which encouraged the U.N General Assembly to vote in 1961 demanding South Africa to terminate her mandate and sets SWA's independence as an objective. How could South Africa still until this time be talking of a Mandate instead of the ITS of which the LON which granted the Mandate in its Mandatory System (MS) was no longer in existence as the unique World Mechanism or International Organisation. The refusal of S.A provoked SWAPO in 1966 to launched armed struggle against South African continuous occupation of their territory and in 1968, SWA was officially renamed Namibia by the U.N General Assembly which in 1973 recognised SWAPO as "sole legitimate representative" of Namibia's people. Until 1988 the White racist South African agreed to Namibian independence in exchange for removal of Cuban troops from Angola. Then in 1989, U. N supervised elections for a Namibian Constituent Assembly (NCA) which was won by SWAPO. More remarkable, in March 1990, the first president of Namibia Sam Nujoma officially greeted each other shaking their hands with the S.A President F. W de Klerk as the symbol of the country gaining full independence after seventy five years of crude racist domination. This marked the end of the end of what is often known in history as the Namibia Question thereby opening a new page of neo-colonialism as well as in other Black African countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA).

2. Manifestation German Radical Colonial Evils in GSWA under the Chancellorship of Kaiser William II with his Colonial Governorial Agents

By the time of the Scramble for Africa, the area which was occupied by the Herero was known as Damaraland. The Nama were pastorals and traders and lived to the south of the Herero. In 1883, Adolf Lüderitz, a German merchant, purchased a stretch of coast near Lüderitz Bay (Angra Pequena) from the reigning chief. The terms of the purchase were fraudulent, but the German government nonetheless established a protectorate over it. At that time, it was the only overseas German territory deemed suitable for white settlement. Chief of the neighbouring Herero, Maharero rose to power by uniting all the Herero. Faced with repeated attacks by the Khowsesin, a clan of the Khoekhoe under Hendrik Witbooi, he signed a protection treaty on 21 October 1885 with Imperial

Germany's colonial governor Heinrich Ernst Göring (father of convicted war criminal Hermann Göring) but did not cede the land of the Herero. This treaty was renounced in 1888 due to lack of German support against Witbooi but it was reinstated in 1890. The original inhabitants of what is now Namibia were the San and the Khoekhoe. Herero, who speak a Bantu language, were originally a group of cattle herders who migrated into what is now Namibia during the mid-18th century (Gross Daniel A. 28 October 2015). The Herero seized vast swaths of the arable upper plateaus which were ideal for cattle grazing. Agricultural duties, which were minimal, were assigned to enslaved Khoisan and Bushmen. Over the rest of the 18th century, the Herero slowly drove the Khoisan into the dry, rugged hills to the south and east. The Hereros were a pastoral people whose entire way of life centred on their cattle. The Herero language, while limited in its vocabulary for most areas, contains more than a thousand words for the colours and markings of cattle. The Hereros were content to live in peace as long as their cattle were safe and well-pastured, but became formidable warriors when their cattle were threatened. According to Robert Gaudi, "The newcomers, much taller and more fiercely warlike than the indigenous Khoisan people, were possessed of the fierceness that comes from basing one's way of life on a single source: everything they valued, all wealth and personal happiness, had to do with cattle. Regarding the care and protection of their herds, the Herero showed themselves utterly merciless and far more 'savage' than the Khoisan had ever been (Gross Daniel A. 28 October 2015). Because of their dominant ways and elegant bearing, the few Europeans who encountered Herero tribesmen in the early days regarded them as the region's 'natural aristocrats.'" Central figure Lieutenant General Lothar von Trotha, the Oberbefehlshaber (Supreme Commander) of the protection force in German South West Africa, in Keetmanshoop during the Herero uprising, 1904. In 1890 Maharero's son, Samuel, signed a great deal of land over to the Germans in return for helping him to ascend to the Ovaherero throne, and to subsequently be established as paramount chief. German involvement in ethnic fighting ended in tenuous peace in 1894. In that year, Theodor Leutwein became governor of the territory, which underwent a period of rapid development, while the German government sent the Schutztruppe (imperial colonial troops) to pacify the region (Tilman Dederling, 1999).

The Herero leaders repeatedly complained about violation of this treaty, as Herero women and girls were raped by German soldiers, a crime that the German authorities were reluctant to punish. In 1890 Maharero's son, Samuel, signed a great deal of land over to the Germans in return for helping him to ascend to the Ovaherero throne, and to subsequently be established as paramount chief. German involvement in ethnic fighting ended in tenuous peace in 1894. In that

year, Theodor Leutwein became governor of the territory, which underwent a period of rapid development, while the German government sent the Schutztruppe (imperial colonial troops) to pacify the region. The Herero and Namaqua genocide or the Herero and Nama genocide was a campaign of ethnic extermination and collective punishment waged by the German Empire against the Herero (Ovaherero), the Nama, and the San in German South West Africa. It was the first genocide of the 20th century occurring between 1904 and 1908. In January 1904, the Herero people, who were led by Samuel Maharero, and the Nama people, who were led by Captain Hendrik Witbooi, rebelled against German colonial rule (Tilman Dederling, 1999). On January 12, they attacked more than 100 settlers in the area of Okahandja, and quite notably, they spared women and children, as well as all British people who were their allies at the time. In August, German General Lothar von Trotha defeated the Ovaherero in the Battle of Waterberg and drove them into the desert of Omaheke, where most of them died of dehydration. In October, the Nama people also rebelled against the Germans, only to suffer a similar fate. Between 24,000 and 100,000 Hereros, 10,000 Nama and an unknown number of San died in the genocide. The first phase of the genocide was characterised by widespread death from starvation and dehydration, due to the prevention of the Herero from leaving the Namib Desert by German forces. Once defeated, thousands of Hereros and Namas were imprisoned in concentration camps, where the majority died of diseases, abuse, and exhaustion. In 1985, the United Nations' Whitaker Report classified the aftermath as an attempt to exterminate the Herero and Nama peoples of South West Africa, and therefore one of the earliest attempts at genocide in the 20th Century (Schaller, Dominik J. 2008). In 2004, the German government recognised and apologised for the events, but ruled out financial compensation for the victims' descendants. In July 2015, the German government and the speaker of the Bundestag officially called the events "genocide". However, it refused to consider reparations at that time. Despite this, the last batch of skulls and other remains of slaughtered tribesmen which were taken to Germany to promote racial superiority were taken back to Namibia in 2018, with Petra Bosse-Huber, a German Protestant bishop, describing the event as "the first genocide of the 20th century" (German-Herero conflict of 1904–07 African history Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com › topic>).

Both the colonial authorities and settlers were of the opinion that native Africans were to be a lower class, their land seized and handed over to settlers and companies, while the remaining population was to be put in reservations; the Germans planned to make a colony inhabited predominately by whites: a "new African Germany". Political and economic subjugation of Herero and Nama was envisioned. So the native population was forced into unequal treaties by the

German colonial governments (Ronald Gordon Rogo, March 1995). Under German colonial rule, colonists were encouraged to settle on land taken from the natives, with that land stocked with cattle also taken from natives, and taking care of by natives turned into slave labourers causing a great deal of resentment. Previously ruling tribes and natives such like Hereros lost the most. They lost in status: from rulers, to the same status as people they previously ruled over; sometime even turned from free herders and slave owners to slave laborers. They lost in property: the land, the cattle, and the slave workforce (when slavery was partially outlawed in 1905 by Germany) that were essential to Herero and Nama lifestyles, passed into the hands of German ranchers arriving in South West Africa. This caused a great deal of resentment and led eventually to the revolt. Major Theodor Leutwein, the Governor of German South West Africa, was well aware of the effect of the German colonial rule on Hereros. He later wrote: "The Hereros from early years were a freedom-loving people, courageous and proud beyond measure. On the one hand, there was the progressive extension of German rule over them and on the other their own sufferings increasing from year to year" (Ronald Gordon Rogo, March 1995).

In January 1903, a German trader named Dietrich was walking from his homestead to the nearby town of Omaruru to buy a new horse. Halfway to Dietrich's destination, a wagon carrying the son of a Herero chief, his wife, and their son stopped by. In a common courtesy in Hereroland, the chief's son offered Dietrich a ride. That night, however, Dietrich got very drunk and after everyone was asleep, he attempted to rape the wife of the chief's son. When she resisted, Dietrich shot her dead. When he was tried for murder in Windhoek, Dietrich denied attempting to rape his victim. He alleged that he awoke thinking the camp was under attack and fired blindly into the darkness. The killing of the Herero woman, he claimed, was an unfortunate accident (Wolfram Hartmann *et al.*, 1999). The court acquitted him, alleging that Dietrich was suffering from "tropical fever" and temporary insanity. According to Leutwein, the murder "aroused extraordinary interest in Hereroland, especially since the murdered woman had been the wife of the son of a Chief and the daughter of another. Everywhere the question was asked: Have White people the right to shoot native women?" Governor Leutwein intervened. He had the Public Prosecutor appealed Dietrich's acquittal, a second trial took place before the colony's Supreme Court, and this time Dietrich was found guilty of manslaughter and imprisoned. The move prompted violent objections of German settlers who considered Leutwein a "race traitor". In 1903, some of the Nama clans rose in revolt under the leadership of Hendrik Witbooi.^[33] A number of factors led the Herero to join them in January 1904. One of the major issues was land rights. In 1903 the Herero learned of a plan to divide their territory with a railway line and set up reservations

where they would be concentrated (Wolfram Hartmann *et al.*, 1999). The Herero had already ceded more than a quarter of their 130,000 km² (50,000 sq mi) territory to German colonists by 1903, before the Otavi railway line running from the African coast to inland German settlements was completed. Completion of this line would have made the German colonies much more accessible and would have ushered a new wave of Europeans into the area. Historian Horst Drechsler states that there was discussion of the possibility of establishing and placing the Herero in native reserves and that this was further proof of the German colonists' sense of ownership over the land. Drechsler illustrates the gap between the rights of a European and an African; the Reichskolonialbund (German Colonial League) held that, in regards to legal matters, the testimony of seven Africans was equivalent to that of a colonist. According to Bridgman, there were racial tensions underlying these developments; the average German colonist viewed native Africans as a lowly source of cheap labour, and others welcomed their extermination. A new policy on debt collection, enforced in November 1903, also played a role in the uprising. For many years, the Herero population had fallen in the habit of borrowing money from colonist moneylenders at extreme interest rates. For a long time, much of this debt went uncollected and accumulated, as most Herero had no means to pay (David B *et al.*, 2007). To correct this growing problem, Governor Leutwein decreed with good intentions that all debts not paid within the next year would be voided. In the absence of hard cash, traders often seized cattle, or whatever objects of value they could get their hands on, as collateral. This fostered a feeling of resentment towards the Germans on the part of the Herero people, which escalated to hopelessness when they saw that German officials were sympathetic to the moneylenders who were about to lose what they were owed. Racial tension was also Central figure Lieutenant General Lothar von Trotha, the Oberbefehlshaber (Supreme Commander) of the protection force in German South West Africa, in Keetmanshoop during the Herero uprising, 1904. In May 2021, the German government agreed to pay €1.1 billion over 30 years to fund projects in communities that were impacted by the genocide exercised by the twelve German Colonial Agents (GCA) for thirty one years as indicated on table No. 1.

1. The First Phase: 31 Years of Human Torturing and Slaughtering by the GCA in GSWA and challenges of Reparations of the 21st Century

The shift in Bismarck's policy on the acquisition of colonies began as part of his 1878 Schutzollpolitik policy on the protection of the German economy from foreign competition. German South West Africa was the only German colony in which Germans settled in large numbers. German settlers were drawn to the colony by economic possibilities in diamond and copper mining, and especially farming. German-Herero conflict of 1904–

07, the conflict between the Herero people and German colonial troops in German South West Africa in 1904 and the ensuing events of the next few years that resulted in the deaths of about 75 percent of the Herero population, considered by most scholars to be genocide. The Germans used direct rule in order to maximumly exploit the resources of Tanganyika. 2. The Germans had enough personnel or manpower to administer their territory of Tanganyika. In 1883: Adolf Lüderitz, one of Germany's first prominent colonialists, signs an agreement with Chief Joseph Frederick of Bethanie in what is now southern Namibia. Germany initiated a genocide of the Herero and Namaqua people from 1904 to 1907, resulting in the deaths of 65,000 Herero (80 percent of the total Herero population), and 10,000 Nama about 50 percent of the total Nama population. The colony was ruled until 1915 when it was conquered by troops from the Union of South Africa (Jan-Bart Gewald *et al.*, 1 June 2003). In fact, Germany has officially acknowledged committing genocide during its colonial occupation of Namibia, and announced financial aid worth more than €1.1bn (£940m; \$1.34bn). German colonisers killed tens of thousands of Herero and Nama people there in early 20th Century massacres. Colonialism in the territory of then South West Africa resorted to brutal crimes, culminating in genocidal practices to force people off their land. Today's commercial agrarian sector in Namibia remains heavily associated with that violent land theft (Patrick Mielke, on line 2022). Some 30 years after the massacre in German South West Africa, Nazis murdered six million Jews. The two genocides are related. For it was in southern Africa that Eugen Fischer, later a prominent Nazi eugenicist, pioneered the pseudoscience about "racial hygiene" used to justify the slaughter of people Germans saw as an obstacle to Lebensraum — first the Herero and Nama, and later the Jews. Some techniques of slaughter, too, were first used in the colony: Victims were sent to concentration camps in cattle cars, tattooed and issued numbers, as they later were in Europe. Between the two atrocities, South West Africa was the colonial predecessor of the modern day Republic of Namibia from when the territory was controlled by the German Empire as German South West Africa and later by South Africa. The title of colonial agents changed a number of times. Under German rule, the title of the position went from Commissioner from 1884 to 1893) later to Provincial Governor from 1893 to 1898 and lastly to Governor between 1898 and 1915 (Bause Tanja, 30 January 2012) when the Germans exercised much colonial atrocities and later got their waterloo in all overseas colonies around the World due to the outbreak of the First World With Germany been

the principal provacator when Royalty Archduke Ferdinand was shot death.

The atrocities committed have been described by historians as "the forgotten genocide" of the early 20th Century, in what was then known as German South West Africa. The UN defines genocide as a number of acts, including killing, committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. Skulls of victims were sent back to Germany for eugenics research. The genocide began in 1904 after a Herero and Nama rebellion over German seizures of their land and cattle. The head of the military administration there, Lothar von Trotha, called for the extermination of the population in response (Germany officially recognises colonial-era Namibia genocide, 28 May 2021). Survivors from the Herero and Nama population were forced into the desert and later placed in concentration camps where they were exploited for labour. Many died of disease, exhaustion and starvation with some subject to sexual exploitation and medical experimentation. It is thought up to 80% of the indigenous populations died during the genocide with a death toll in the tens of thousands. Captives taken after the Herero rebellion were either killed or subjected to appalling brutality (Tejas Aditya, July 9, 2015) which called for our attention in this paper to exposed those German diplomatic agents as simple representatives of the Country did everything possible to put Namibians as Sub-set of Human Beings (SSHB) with the first ever massive colonial atrocities during the first decade of the 20th Century. It is true that Western European Great Powers (WEGP) in their different possessions in Africa committed series of genocide but those of the Germans in Namibia was too rampant with much exaggeration by slaughtering humans as wide animals which also have the rights to be protected. Therefore, Commanders, the actors and agents 3Es activities including high degree of pitiless colonial brutality and genocide are listed below counting 12 in number between 1883 to 1915 which marked the beginning and the end of the Germans dreams of Namibia thereby giving chances to Dominion South Africa of the Commonwealth manipulations.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED ON TABLES

M: Magistrate
 IC: Imperial Commissioner
 AIC: Acting Imperial Commissioner
 Ad. : Administrator
 G: Governor
 AG: Acting Governor
 MG: Military Governor
 Ad. Gr.: Administrator-General

Table 1: Identification of 12 Germany Imperial Agents in German South West Africa 1883-1914

No	Names of Agents	Year in Office	Rank
1	Heinrich Vogelsang de	09 / 04 / 1883 - 12 / 05 / 1883	M
2	Adolf Lüderitz	12 / 05 / 1883 - 7 / 10 / 1884	M
3	Gustav Nachtigal	07 / 10 / 1884-20 / 04 / 1885	IC
4	Heinrich Ernst Göring	20 / 04 / 1885- 08 / 1890	AIC
5	Louis Nels	08 / 1890- 03 / 1891	AIC
6	Curt von François	03 / 1891- 11 / 1893	IC
7	Theodor Leutwein	15 / 03 / 1894-27 / 06 / 1895 27 / 06 / 1895-18 / 04 / 1898	Ad.
8	Theodor Leutwein	18 / 04 / 1898-19 / 08 / 1905	G
9	Lothar von Trotha	19 / 08 / 1905- 11 / 1905	AG
10	Friedrich von Lindequist	11 / 1905-20 / 05 / 1907	G
11	Bruno von Schuckmann	20 / 05 / 1907- 20 / 06 / 1910	G
12	Theodor Seitz	28 / 08 / 1910- 09 / 07 1915	

SOURCES: With information from diverse sources: List of colonial governors of South West Africa, <https://www.wikinone.com> > List_of... Namibia: A timeline of Germany's brutal colonial history – DW, <https://www.dw.com> > namibia-a-ti... German-Herero conflict of 1904–07 African history Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com> > topic

The reparation question of the 21st Century is very important as the government of Germany fully acknowledged what their colonial representative agents did in GSWA for thirty one years. At the same time it has been posing serious problems of compromising the nature of compensation to the population and or specific family or in terms of financing specific developmental projects in Namibia as a whole. But the present families of the victims of those regions of the country feels more than any other citizens and have to be taking into consideration. Germany apologised in Berlin on Friday May 28, 2021 for its role in the slaughter of Herero and Nama tribes people in Namibia more than a century ago and officially described the massacre as genocide for the first time, as it agreed to fund projects worth over a billion euros. (Opinion: Germany's Namibian genocide apology could miss ..., <https://www.dw.com> > opinion-germ...).

Namibia's President Hage Geingob welcomed the "historic" move, but Herero paramount chief Vekuii Rukoro dismissed a deal agreed by the two governments as "an insult" because it did not include payment of reparations. Instead Germany will fund 1.1 billion euros (\$1.3 billion) of reconstruction and development projects in Namibia, which German Foreign Minister Heiko Maas said would directly benefit the genocide-affected communities. "That's a black cat in the bag instead of reparations for a crime against humanity," Rukoro told Reuters. "No self-respecting African will accept such an insult in this day and age from a so-called civilized European nation. "German soldiers killed some 65,000 Herero and 10,000 Nama people in a 1904-1908 campaign after a revolt against land seizures by colonists in what historians and the United Nations have long called the first genocide of the 20th Century (Opinion: Germany's Namibian genocide apology could miss ..., <https://www.dw.com> > opinion-germ...).

While Germany has previously acknowledged "moral responsibility" for the killings, it had avoided making an official apology for the massacres to avoid compensation claims. In a statement announcing an agreement with Namibia following more than five years of negotiations, Maas said the events of the colonial period should be named "without sparing or glossing over them". "We will now also officially call these events what they were from today's perspective: a genocide," he added (Reuters, Berlin, May 28, 2021). "In light of Germany's historical and moral responsibility, we will ask Namibia and the descendants of the victims for forgiveness. "Namibian media reported on Thursday that the funds promised by Germany would support infrastructure, healthcare and training programmes over 30 years. more Namibia's president Geingob welcomed the move as a "step in the right direction", his spokesman told Reuters. "The apology on the part of Germany and acceptance there was genocide is in itself historic and speaks to the moral responsibility Germany has towards Namibia and the communities affected by the first genocide of the 20th century," Alfredo Hengari told Reuters. On the question of human dignity, Germany, which lost all its colonial territories after World War One, was the third biggest colonial power after Britain and France. However, its colonial past was ignored for decades while historians and politicians focused more on the legacy of Nazi crimes, including the Holocaust. Sima Luipert, 52, who identified herself as of Namibia's Nama people, said Germany should not have directed its apology to the Namibian state, which did not exist at the time of the genocide and was given no mandate to speak to Germany on behalf of traditional authorities. "Germany must come to the Nama people, and to the Herero people, and to ask for forgiveness," she said. "It is up to us to decide if that apology is genuine or not. "This is not about money, it is about the restoration of human dignity." Between 1904 and 1908 tens of thousands of

Ovaherero and Nama people were murdered Germany's long-awaited apology for last century's mass killing in Namibia has opened fresh questions about how Europe confronts its colonial past in Africa, argues Namibian analyst Emsie Erastus (Image Source commentary from National Archive of Namibia).

Following the completion of negotiations with Namibia, German Foreign Minister Heiko Maas made the announcement that the slaughter his country carried out in its former colony was genocide. There was also the promise of development aid worth more than €1.1bn (£940m; \$1.34bn). German colonisers killed tens of thousands of Ovaherero and Nama people in Namibia between 1904 and 1908. This amounted to some 80 percent of the Ovaherero and over 40% of the Nama. Their land and livestock were also confiscated. This was punishment for taking part in an uprising. Captives taken after the Ovaherero rebellion were either killed or subjected to appalling brutality. The media announcement on Friday was stage craft at its best: a carefully compiled statement seemingly to avoid any legal culpability. It came as the largest factions within the Ovaherero community continue to pursue attempts to sue the German state for the genocide. The message was intended for a skeptical German audience that, according to multiple studies, has little remembrance of the killings or of the country's past as a powerful colonial force with dominion over modern-day Togo, Namibia, Burundi, and Tanzania. 'Hollow declaration' In terms of fully acknowledging its colonial past in Namibia, Germany has always been reluctant to do so. This is despite providing development support to successive administrations since Namibia's independence in 1990. A half-hearted apology delivered by a German development minister in 2004, on the 100th anniversary of the start of the genocide, was roundly criticized (Information from Getty Image, online 2022). A monument for victims of the genocide has been built in Namibia's coastal city of Swakopmund. The clamour from the devastated communities for an unequivocal acknowledgement of the genocide, an apology, and compensation became louder. As a result, the two governments had no choice but to address the elephant in the room. The negotiations may have resulted in the recognition of the genocide, but the declaration is hollow. To begin with, the statement was made in haste for domestic and other political reasons. As a result, everyone, including the Namibian government, was caught off guard. When the news of the statement made its way around the world, local chiefs representing the affected communities in Namibia were still being consulted on the conclusion of the recent round of discussions. Second, the settlement has been widely rebuked for failing to achieve the principle reparations demand. The money Germany will give, which is much smaller than some had hoped, is very specifically meant for reconstruction and development projects (Information from Getty Image, online 2022).

Some traditional leaders have voiced their opposition to the deal (file photo). It is still not clear who will benefit. The agreement was made without the direct participation of the communities affected by the genocide at the negotiating table. But the development aid itself is also problematic. Germany made it clear that it is willing to atone for its colonial crimes "without sparing or glossing over them". But the country also needs to come to terms with the origins of a racialised view of the world, placing Western authorities at the top and Africans at the bottom. In the colonial era, Africans were regarded as "barbarians" who lacked the abilities to bring about economic and technological change, justifying the intervention of the imperial powers. This view defined how the West perceived and presented Africa in the past, and the echoes of that view may be found today. Development aid can still be presented in a patronising way, maintaining an unequal relationship. If it is being seen as an alternative to reparations, with fewer legal ramifications, it does not dismantle the relationship that allowed the genocide to happen in the first place. The Ovaherero and Nama people are not alone in their demand for compensation from former colonial powers. While statements of regret and apology are becoming more regular, paying reparations is still uncommon. The legal ramifications, as well as the global scope of claims, have made former colonial powers hesitant (Information from EPA Image, online 2022). The deal follows years of efforts toward reconciliation. In Namibia, the descendants of those killed have been displaced from their homelands with their cultures and customs uprooted. Some are living in Botswana and South Africa, far away from their ancestral homes. Jewish victims have been given reparations for the Holocaust, and Ovaherero and Nama communities are grappling with how they can secure the same. It should come as no surprise that Germany's announcement has been roundly rejected by most of the traditional chiefs, including those who are thought to be supportive of the Namibian negotiators. Chief Manase Zeraeua of the Zeraeua, speaking on behalf of a group of five government-aligned chiefs, released a statement rejecting the arrangement for falling short of their expectations. No consultation given the severity of the genocidal murders perpetrated, the amount offered by the Germans for reconstruction work over a 30-year period has been deemed unacceptable by the chiefs. They are also asking how the German government arrived at that figure. According to the chiefs, descendants of the Ovaherero and Nama victims were not consulted during the talks, which took place behind closed doors (Why Germany's Namibia genocide apology is not enough – BBC, <https://www.bbc.com › news › worl...>).

To ensure a successful outcome, it is necessary to examine the harms inflicted by colonialism by hearing directly from the individuals who were affected. This is the lesson for the former colonial powers if they truly want to find reconciliation.

2. Second Phase: Seventy Five Years of Intensive Exercise of Human Torturing Through the System of British White Settlers Minority Apartheid Practices in SWA 1915-1990

The second phase of the challenges concerns the presence of South African (SA) occupation which was entirely the British minorities in their practices of Apartheid system with Whites British Minority Apartheid System (WBMAS) extending from the unending Mandatory System (MS) of the League of Nations (LON) and more intensively with the United Nations Organisation (UNO). From 1915 henceforth, South Africa attacked the Germans and took over the territory during the First World War which in 1920 the LON granted SA the mandate to govern South West Africa (SWA) while in 1946, the UNO refused to allow SA from annexing SWA while SA equally refused to place SWA under UN Trusteeship. This was already the beginning of total colonial challenges provoked by the Racist British White Minorities (RBWM). Proceeding in 1958, Herman Toivo Ya Toivo and others created the opposition Ovamboland People's Congress, (OPC) which became the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) in 1960. As continuous moves in 1961, UN General Assembly demands SA to terminate the mandate and sets SWA's independence as an objective. To no avail, SWAPO launched armed struggle against SA occupation in 1966 and in 1968 SWA was officially renamed Namibia by UN General Assembly thereby recognizing SWAPO in 1973 as "sole legitimate representative" of Namibia's people (Vigne R., 1987). Consequently, SA agreed in 1988 to recognize Namibian independence in exchange for removal of Cuban troops from Angola as the Cold War became more relaxed due to détente and

rapprochements policies between the Communist and Capitalist camps dominated the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) and the United States of America (USA). The end result to such colonial challenges were the organization and supervision of the 1989 elections for a Namibian Constituent Assembly (NCA) which was overwhelmingly won by SWAPO. In the following year on March 1990, a political elite known as Sam Nujoma became the first President of independent Namibia while stretching hands with President Frederick W de K of the white minority Apartheid regime in the Republic of SA. This very year 1990 was very significant in World history due to the collapsed of the Soviet Union which was opened with the fall of the Berlin Wall of the divided Germany early in September 1989, the reunification of the two Germanies-Federal and Democratic Republics after forty five years, the end of Apartheid in SA with black majority rule becoming primordial as the former political elite known as Nelson Mandela was released from Prison after twenty seven years, while becoming the first black President in that country. Table No.2 brings out eighteen British White South African Colonial Agents (BWSACA) who were appointed to exercise sub-colonial activities in conjuncture with conflicting stance of the U.N. The U.N appointed administrators as indicated on table No. 3 for Namibia as measures to terminate SA endless mandate in SWA which the white racist minority government still rejected and go a long way to subdue Namibia to what is frequent known as the Namibia Question. In spite of all attempts with several UN resolutions condemning SA actions over Namibia, the later resisted until 1990 when the colonial territory of SWA finally gained independence as Namibia.

Table 2: Identification of 18 BWSACA in SWA 1915-1990

No	Names of Agents	Year in Office	Rank
1	Louis Botha	09 /07/1915 - 11 / 07 / 1915	MG
2	Percival Scott Beves	11 /07/1915 - 30 / 10/ 1915	MG
3	Sir Edmond Howard Lacam Gorges	31 / 10 / 1915 - 01 / 10/ 1920	Ad.
4	Gysbert Reitz Hofmeyr	01 / 10 / 1920 - 17 / 12/ 1920	Ad.
5	Gysbert Reitz Hofmeyr	17 / 12 / 1920 - 01 / 04 / 1926	Ad.
6	Albertus Johannes Werth	01 / 04 / 1926 - 01 / 04 / 1933	Ad.
7	David Gideon Conradie	01 / 04 / 1933 - 01 / 40/ 1943	Ad.
8	Petrus Imker Hoogenhout	01 / 04 / 1943 - 06 / 12 / 1951	Ad.
9	Albertus Johannes Roux van Rhijn	06 / 12/ 1951 - 01 / 12 / 1953	Ad.
10	Daniel Thomas du Plessis Viljoen	01 / 12 / 1953 - 01 / 12/ 1963	Ad.
11	Wentzel Christoffel du Plessis	01 / 12 / 1963 - 01 / 11/ 1968	Ad.
12	Johannes van der Wath [de]	01 / 11 / 1968 - 01 / 11/ 1971	Ad.
13	Barend Johannes van der Walt	01 / 11 / 1971 - 01 / 09 / 1977	Ad.
14	Marthinus T. Steyn	01 / 09 / 1977 - 07 / 08/ 1979	Ad.Gr.
15	Gerrit Viljoen	07 / 08 / 1979 - 04 / 09/1980	Ad.Gr.
16	Danie Hough	04 / 09 / 1980 - 01 / 02 / 1983	Ad.Gr.
17	Willie van Niekerk	01 / 02 / 1983 - 01 / 07/ 1985	Ad.Gr.
18	Louis Pienaar	01 / 07 / 1985 - 21 / 03 / 1990	Ad.Gr.

SOURCES: With information from diverse sources: List of colonial governors of South West Africa, <https://www.wikinone.com> › List_of... Namibia: A timeline of Germany's brutal colonial history – DW, <https://www.dw.com> › namibia-a-ti... , Gewalt J.B., 2000.

In SWA, the National Party increased its control in the territory between the 1950s and 1960s. Long governed as part of South Africa, in 1949 South West Africa became South Africa's fifth province, and its white population was swollen by about 3,000 immigrants. The economy grew dramatically, increasing the mobility of black workers and creating an urban-based black intelligentsia for the first time. Apartheid was extended to South West Africa, however, and in the mid-1960s its reserves were also consolidated into seven ethnically defined homelands under tribal authorities. The small political associations in South West Africa after the war were profoundly influenced by their South African counterparts, but the first mass organization to protest against South Africa's policies was formed only in 1958; in 1960 this organization became the SWAPO (SWAPO Party of Namibia [https://www.britannica.com/topic](https://www.britannica.com/topic/South-West-Africa)). Launched by Ovambo contract workers, SWAPO came to represent most black South West Africans in opposing apartheid, racial inequalities, and economic subordination to South Africa. After years of fruitless peaceful protest, SWAPO began a military campaign against the government in 1966. Although South Africa did not recognize the authority of the UN, the issue of South African rule in South West Africa came before the UN regularly, and in 1966 the UN called for complete South African withdrawal. This decision was upheld by the International Court of Justice at The Hague in 1971. In 1973 the UN appointed its own commissioner for Namibia (as the territory became known in the 1970s); despite the presence of the UN commissioner and the intensification of SWAPO's military campaign, it was only after Angolan independence in 1975 and increasing international pressure that South Africa's policies began to change. The independence of Angola prompted changes in South African strategy toward Namibia during the late 1970s, as South Africa attempted to transform the territory into a quasi-independent buffer against more radical change by proposing complex constitutional arrangements for a transitional government. The strategy, based on the co-optation of a local black elite as a moderate alternative to SWAPO, was intended to placate international opinion while leaving control of Namibia in South African hands and keeping its military options open. (South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) <https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/...>) The constitutional proposals were rejected by the international community, however, and in 1978 the UN Security Council passed Resolution 435, which set out proposals for a cease-fire and UN-supervised elections. South Africa did not move to implement this resolution, though it had accepted similar proposals earlier. By the second half of the 1980s—in part because South Africa once more had been drawn into invading Angola—the war in Namibia was becoming

increasingly costly for South Africa in military, political, economic, and diplomatic terms. A turning point occurred in 1988 when the South African Defense Force's inability to take Cuito-Cuanavale in Angola revealed South Africa's lack of superior airpower and its inadequate weapons technology. Under joint pressure from the Soviet Union and the United States, South Africa finally agreed to implement Resolution 435, and democratic elections in 1989 were won by SWAPO, led by Sam Nujoma. In 1990 Namibia finally achieved independence (P Miškařík 2019). Along the struggles, the UN did everything possible to appoint a total of seven commissioners for SWA from 1966 to 1988 within a period of twenty two years before independence was granted in 1990 by the apartheid regime of SA.

3. U.N Hot Actions to Terminate SA Racial Hegemony in SWA to Namibia

In order to bring SA to its reasoning, the U.N used different General Assembly Resolutions from late 1960s and a very consistent approach by appointing seven Commissioners and Acting Commissioners to SWA which later became Namibia. The United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa (UNCSWA) was a post created by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in 1966 to assert the UN's direct responsibility for South West Africa which was then under illegal occupation by apartheid South Africa (UN General Assembly Resolution 2248 of 19 May 1967). UNGA renamed the post United Nations Commissioner for Namibia in 1968 (UN General Assembly resolution 2372 of 12 June 1968). Finally, Namibia eventually achieved its independence from South Africa on 21 March 1990. Martti Ahtisaari returned to Namibia in April 1989 as the UN's Special Representative to head up the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), which supervised the South African appointed Administrator-General, Louis Pienaar, and to oversee the decolonisation of one of Africa's last colonies. On 1 April 1989 — "D-Day" for the peace plan — UNTAG units had not been fully deployed and those that were (mostly civilians and monitors) lacked equipment for both transportation and communication. Despite this, hopes were high, as an informal ceasefire had held for nearly seven months. However, in the early morning, SADF reported that heavily armed groups of SWAPO militants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) had begun crossing the border and establishing positions in northern Namibia which, if true, would have been a clear violation of the agreement that they should be confined to their Angolan bases. SWAPO denied that it had violated the terms of the agreement and claimed that its fighters had been going to turn in weapons to UNTAG and had been attacked by the SADF. UNTAG's head, Martti Ahtisaari, came under pressure from British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, who was visiting Southern Africa at the time, and from South African foreign minister, Pik Botha, to

allow SADF forces to leave their bases and repel the SWAPO incursions. Ahtisaari quickly decided to allow a limited deployment, and would later describe this decision as his most difficult. He told *The New York Times*: "We were in a restraining business, not releasing troops but trying to restrain them. Otherwise, the entire South African military might have gone after the Namibian guerrillas, and I think they might have gone into Angola. By limiting South African retaliation to half a dozen army battalions and police units, the transition process was ultimately saved" (*New York Times*, 1989).

A period of intense fighting followed with the SWAPO forces sustaining over 350 fatalities. Hurried negotiations took place and a new agreement was reached on 20 April 1989 when SADF forces withdrew to base for 60 hours, allowing SWAPO militants to withdraw peacefully. The SADF were then given two weeks to confirm that SWAPO had indeed left Namibia and also to capture any weapons caches discovered. This agreement was stuck to by both sides, though Ahtisaari and the UN Secretary-General were nervous about the length of time the SADF were out of their bases, and pushed hard to get them back to barracks. Despite these reservations, the withdrawal and verification passed without incident and by the end UNTAG was almost fully deployed, albeit a month behind schedule. In October 1989, under orders of the

UN Security Council, Pretoria was forced to demobilise some 1,600 members of Koevoet (Afrikaans for crowbar). The Koevoet issue had been one of the most difficult UNTAG faced. This counter-insurgency unit was formed by South Africa after the adoption of UNSCR 435, and was not, therefore, mentioned in the Settlement Proposal or related documents. (UNTAG, August 29, 2009). The UN regarded Koevoet as a paramilitary unit which ought to be disbanded but the unit continued to deploy in the north in armoured and heavily armed convoys. In June 1989, the Special Representative told the Administrator-General that this behaviour was totally inconsistent with the Settlement Proposal, which required the police to be lightly armed. Moreover, the vast majority of the Koevoet personnel were quite unsuited for continued employment in the South West African Police (SWAPOL) according to UN General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) The Security Council, in its resolution 640 (1989) of 29 August, therefore demanded the disbanding of Koevoet and dismantling of its command structures. South African foreign minister, Pik Botha, announced on 28 September 1989 that 1,200 ex-Koevoet members would be demobilised with effect from the following day. A further 400 such personnel were demobilised on October 30. These demobilisations were supervised by UNTAG military monitors (Profile of Martti Ahtisaari Archived July 19, 2010).

Table 3: U.N 7 Appointed Commissioners in SWA (Namibia) 1966-1988

No	Names	Nationality	Years in Office	Ranks
1	Anton Vratuša	Yugoslavia	27 /10/ 1966 -13 /06/1967	C
2	Konstantinos Stavropoulos	Greece	13 /06/ 1967 -1 /12/ 1969	AC
3	Agha Abdul Hamid	Pakistan	01 /12/1969-18 /12/ 1973	AC
4	Seán MacBride	Ireland	18 /12/1973 -01 /01/ 1977	C
5	Martti Ahtisaari	Finland	01 /01/1977 - 01 /04/1982	C
6	Brajesh Mishra	India	01 /04/1982- 1 /07/ 1987	C
7	Bernt Carlsson	Sweden	01 /07/ 1987 - 21 /12/ 1988	C
1990:Independence of Namibia				
SOURCES: Namibia: A timeline of Germany's brutal colonial history – DW, https://www.dw.com › namibia-a-ti...				
A/RES/2248				
Fifth Special Session				
UN General Assembly, Question of South West Africa, 19 May 1967, A/RES/2248, available at: https://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f048c.html [accessed 19 September 2022]				

There were seven occupants of the post of United Nations Commissioner for Namibia (UNCN). South Africa refused to recognize any of the UN Commissioners.

Independence Day on 21 March 1990 was celebrated in Windhoek's sports stadium which was attended by numerous international representatives, including the main players, the UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and President of South Africa F W de Klerk, who jointly conferred formal independence on Namibia. Sam Nujoma was sworn in as the first President of Namibia watched by Nelson Mandela (just

released from prison) and representatives from 147 countries, including 20 heads of state.

4. The Acceptance of Committing Human Slaughtering by Germany and the Wayforward for Conflicting Reparation Issues among different Families of the Victims

Germany has previously acknowledged the atrocities but ruled out paying reparations. In 2018 they repatriated some human remains to Namibia which had been used as part of now-discredited research attempting to prove the racial superiority of white Europeans. The latest deal was reportedly agreed during a round of negotiations held by special envoys in

mid-May. A declaration is expected to be signed by the German foreign minister in the Namibian capital, Windhoek, next month before being ratified by each country's parliament, German media reports say. President Frank-Walter Steinmeier is then expected to travel to the country to officially apologise. In fact, campaigners are very much concerned with the reparation issue. For example, Laidlaw Peringanda, a Herero activist and chairman of the Namibian Genocide Association, said the offer of development aid was not enough. "We're actually not accepting that offer because our people have lost lands, they have lost their culture and a lot of them have fled to Botswana, South Africa and some of them were taken to Togo and Cameroon," he told BBC World Service. He insisted that Germany should buy back ancestral lands now in the hands of the German-speaking community, which reportedly makes up less than 1% of the population. "People are getting impatient, especially the minority black people who [don't] have a piece of land," he said. "And from what I'm hearing from some of the people, there will be a land revolution. People will grab the land by force. So we must actually try to avoid these things." Mr Maas said the negotiations had aimed to find "a common path to genuine reconciliation in memory of the victims" with members of the Herero and Nama communities closely involved in talks. Another point of contention is around language. The agreed deal focuses on the idea of reconciliation over formalised compensation, with Mr Maas describing the aid package as a "gesture" rather than reparation (Getty Images). Mr Rukuro (pictured) told local media the deal was "not enough for the blood of our ancestors". Jürgen Zimmerer, professor of global history of University of Hamburg, told the BBC World Service a great number of descendants of the victims of the genocide felt excluded. "This is quite a problem if reconciliation is the aim," he said. "How do you reconcile with the victims if the victims feel left out of the entire process?" Tim Whewell, writing for the BBC earlier this year about the negotiations, said the discussions were the first of their kind by a former colonial power. He wrote that many Herero and Nama living in overcrowded areas or informal settlements had hoped the deal would go some way to restoring land access and some of the prosperity their ancestors enjoyed before the genocide. What's the right price to pay for genocide? People hold banners during a protest in Windhoek, Namibia, on Friday May 28, 2021. Germany has reached an agreement with Namibia that will see it officially recognise as genocide the colonial-era killings of tens of thousands of people and commit to spending 1.1 billion euros (\$1.24bn), largely on development projects (Sonja Smith/AP, 24 November 2021) From 1904 to 1908, German colonisers waged a brutal extermination campaign against the Herero and Nama people in present-day Namibia. Now, more than a century later, the German government has officially recognised the genocide, and has offered Namibia an aid package. But many Herero and Nama people say Germany's

announcement does not come close to providing justice. (D. W's Okeri Ngutjinazo, Opinion: Germany's Namibian genocide apology could miss the mark (A. Dirk Moses, online, 2022).

In addition, Germany has said it will officially apologize for its colonial-era atrocities against the Nama and Herero people. But this apology could fail to placate the anger felt among the descendants, writes Okeri Ngutjinazo (D. W's Okeri Ngutjinazo). Germany's apology may fall on deaf ears among the descendants of the genocide victims who feel it doesn't go far enough. Growing up, I knew little about the Nama and Herero genocide that took place between 1904 and 1908, which wiped out nearly 80% of Herero people. A group I belong to. Some may consider Germany's colonial history in Namibia as "short-lived" in comparison to other European powers but the bloody aftermath of German colonialism, and the destruction it wrought on Herero and Nama communities, went far beyond the 1904-1908 time frame that Germany has said it is apologizing for: it changed the trajectory of how Nama and Herero groups would exist up to the present day in Namibia. After German forces put down the Herero and Nama rebellions, and even after Germany's colonial empire crumbled as a result of World War I, German settlers remained in Namibia, on land they had conquered, while most of the Nama and Herero people were displaced with a few remaining working under them as a conquered people. My parents spared me the details, but I knew I had a small percentage of German in my blood from my great-grandfather who was born in 1914. His mother was raped while she worked as a kitchen help for a German master. Words matter according to DW's Okeri Ngutjinazo. The apology and admission of the genocide makes some strides in healing the wounds. Germany is revisiting its role in colonial era crimes (as opposed to other colonial powers) and agreeing to a deal which is by many accounts the first of its kind between a colony and its former colonial power. But Germany seems to be taking more steps backwards by refusing to call the aid "reparations." Although the Namibian government has detailed what the aid would be used for (building rural roads, water supply and land acquisition), for some Hereros it falls far short both in terms of actual money, but more importantly, in meaning. Calling the €1.1 billion (\$1.3 billion) package financial aid makes it equivalent to the considerable amounts of money Namibia has been receiving from Germany since independence. Such terminology sanitizes the seriousness and nature of the crimes the German government is admitting to. It raises the question: how can Germany really be ready to accept its role in Namibia's colonial past if it refuses to call this financial settlement "reparations?" Germany's unwillingness to use the term "reparations" for legal reasons are well-documented. But the affected groups are not interested in Germany's foreign policy strategy to avoid setting a legal precedent for further claims: They want to be sure

Germany is genuine in its apology for crimes it says it committed (DW's Okeri Ngutjinazo). Exclusion hurts healing process. Many Chiefs representing the Herero and Nama people have rejected the offer by the German government saying the amount offered was "an insult." Additionally, the strategy of both governments to negotiate bilaterally rather than Germany directly with the Herero and Nama groups has created a sense of exclusion for the descendants of the victims This will hinder any reconciliation between Germany, the Nama and Herero groups, and the descendants of German settlers that in many cases still own land acquired during colonial times. There is also a lack of trust from the Herero and Nama people that the aid will fully be used for its intended purposes and not be siphoned off for nefarious purposes. Considering the immense economic and political leverage that Germany enjoys over Namibia, the financial aid Germany is offering could be interpreted as a patronizing and charitable "gift" to all the victims of the genocide. This is something Germany says it wants to avoid. Germany's apology could be a step in the right direction, but there should be no illusions that it could be enough to close this painful chapter. Far from it: There are plenty of young Namibians today like myself whose families' trajectories were directly and irrevocably made worse by the brutal actions of colonial forces. There will be pain for generations to come. The feeling of exclusion by the victims, and the reference to "aid," ruins the chance of Germany's apology making real amends to the victims of its colonial conquest. Unless both parties meet on an equal footing, this apology may ring true for Germany, but remain hollow for Nama and Herero communities (Christian Mang, August 29, 2018).

Germany has apologised for its role in slaughter of Herero and Nama tribes people in Namibia more than a century ago and officially recognised the massacre as genocide for the first time, agreeing to fund projects worth over 1 billion euros. German soldiers killed some 65,000 Herero and 10,000 Nama members in a 1904-1908 campaign after a revolt against land seizures by colonists. Historians and the United Nations have long called this the first genocide of the 20th century. While Germany has previously acknowledged "moral responsibility" for the killings, it has avoided making an official apology for the massacres to avoid compensation claims. In a statement announcing an agreement with Namibia following more than five years of negotiations with its government, Foreign Minister Heiko Maas said the events of the German colonial period should be named "without sparing or glossing over them". "We will now also officially call these events what they were from today's perspective: genocide," Maas said. "In light of Germany's historical and moral responsibility, we will ask Namibia and the descendants of the victims for forgiveness," he said. Congratulations to the persistent efforts of the likes of Joshua Kwesi Aikins

(Berlin #Germany #Herero <https://t.co/rc13RepO41>, Shikwati James, May 28, 2021). Germany provided Over a billion euros in support fund. As a "gesture of recognition of the immeasurable suffering" Germany caused, Maas said it would set up a fund amounting to 1.1 billion euros to be used in reconstruction and development projects that would directly benefit the genocide-affected communities. Namibian media reported on Thursday that the money would fund infrastructure, healthcare and training programmes over 30 years. The foreign minister said that representatives of the Herero and Nama communities were closely involved in the negotiating process. Paris exhibition on 20th century's first genocide: the massacre of Namibia's Herero and Nama. German minister describes Namibian slaughter as genocide. The declaration is expected to be signed in the Namibian capital, Windhoek, in early June, before being ratified by the parliaments of both countries. Germany, which lost all its colonial territories after World War One, was the third biggest colonial power after Britain and France. But its colonial past was ignored for decades while historians and politicians focused more on the legacy of Nazi crimes, including the Holocaust. In 2015, it began formal negotiations with Namibia over the issue and in 2018 it returned skulls and other remains of massacred tribes' people that were used in the colonial-era experiments to assert claims of European racial superiority. Germany's announcement of the agreement with Namibia came a day after French President Emmanuel Macron stopped short of apologising for France's role in the 1994 Rwandan genocide. Did however, in an echo of Maas' words "ask for forgiveness." "Only those who crossed the night can maybe forgive; give us the gift of forgiving us," he said, addressing himself to the victims at the memorial in Kigali (Lyons Clare *et al.*, August 14, 2004).

More than a century ago, Germany carried out a systematic massacre. From 1904 to 1908, in what is now Namibia, the German colonial government killed about 80,000 Herero and Nama people. In May, 113 years later, Germany at last acknowledged this massacre as genocidal. "In light of Germany's historical and moral responsibility," said Germany's foreign minister, Heiko Maas, "we will ask Namibia and the descendants of the victims for forgiveness." With this request for forgiveness came a "gesture" of \$1.35 billion, to be spent on reconstruction and development projects and health care and training programs over 30 years (Germany apologises for colonial-era genocide in Namibia, <https://www.reuters.com › africa › g...>).

The Namibian government accepted. But many Nama and Herero feel it is nowhere near enough. Nandiasora Mazeingo, chair of the Ovaherero Genocide Foundation, called the agreement "an insult." After all, the sum is comparable to German development aid to Namibia over the past 30 years —

and the negotiations largely excluded Herero and Nama people. More than a century after the massacre, Germany's apology falls far short. One of us, Mr. Hambira, is a descendant of Herero survivors, while members of Ms. Gleckman-Krut's Jewish family were killed in the Holocaust. We have a personal sense of the devastation Germany has wrought. To begin to atone for its Namibian genocide, it must negotiate directly with descendants of survivors — and commit to wide-ranging reparations. Toward the end of the 19th century, German leaders sought what would soon be called "Lebensraum," a "living space" outside their industrializing and overpopulated homeland. The Berlin Conference in 1884, where European colonizers divided up the African continent, provided an opportunity: Germany officially claimed the regions, which it called German South West Africa, where roughly 80,000 Herero and 20,000 Nama people lived. Nama and Herero leaders such as Hendrik Witbooi and Samuel Maharero marshaled their people's resistance to the colonizers (Elazar Barkan, 2000). In 1903, a full-fledged revolt broke out. Brought in to quash the rebellion, Gen. Lothar von Trotha won a decisive battle at Hamakari in August 1904. Then, in October, he issued an extermination order. Authorized by Berlin, German troops used machine guns, rifles, cannons and bayonets to massacre unarmed women, children and men. Families were forced to flee into the scorching Omaheke desert, where troops cornered them and poisoned their water holes. Soldiers killed parents in front of their children. Von Trotha confined surviving Nama and Herero to camps, where captives were worked brutally hard and subjected to medical experiments. Some were sterilized; others were injected with arsenic and opium, or deliberately infected with smallpox, typhus and tuberculosis. An all-female camp was established for the purpose of sexual violence. Death was no reprieve: Germans sold the skulls of the people they had slain to research institutions overseas. By 1908, the German colonial government had killed 80 percent of the Herero and 50 percent of the Nama populations. This was the first genocide of the 20th century. Kavena Hambira and Miriam Gleckman-Krut, violence, gender and the state (Kavena Hambira and Miriam Gleckman-Krut). But to truly seek forgiveness and address the disaster it caused, Germany must first do something simple: Look Herero and Nama people in the eye, and listen to what they say.

In fact, two interrelated but distinct transnational processes at this moment can be identified on the question of reparation namely: The first process entailed a long series of interstate negotiations between the German and Namibian governments involving numerous meetings between diplomats in both Berlin and Windhoek. The negotiations lasted between 2015 and 2020, and concluded with their signing in May of this year. The ensuing agreement commits US\$ 1.3 billion in development aid to Namibia over a 30-year period for a set of development projects and a national

reconciliation initiative, and it has been widely reported in the news media. Germany also announced that it will describe the mass murder and racial dispossession using the term genocide and the Namibian state has declared that it will accept Germany's apology- over the heads of the activists who have been fighting for this cause for decades. What is an apology without the consent of those who are to be apologised to? The second is a process of litigation from non-state actors, namely diasporic and local Herero and Nama organisations such as the Association of the Ovaherero Genocide in the USA and the late Paramount Chief of the Ovaherero people Vekuii Rukoro. Together they sued Germany in a New York court partly in response to their clear exclusion from those above-mentioned negotiations (Kaya de Wolff, 2017). Their case was lost after various appeals, and they continued to be excluded from bilateral negotiations up until the signing of the agreement itself. Germany will apologise without the consent of the majority of the descendants of those it murdered and dispossessed. Moreover, the money offered will not be figured as reparation for the crime of genocide, and it will go through the Namibian state itself, which is accused by many sides of instrumentalizing the 'genocide cause' for their own coffers. A lot of the reticence of the German state to engage with representatives beyond the Namibian state has to do with arguments around temporality, statutes of limitations, and the question of the retroactivity of the genocide convention. It is crucially, too, however, about the rejection of the very concept of 'reparation' itself, a notion that the German state has steadfastly refused to utilise, including in the context of negotiations with the Namibian state itself. The German argument is that it has a moral and historical responsibility to Namibia, but not a legal responsibility (Elise Pape, 2016). The term 'reparation', it is argued, must remain specific to the 'Rechtsfragen' (legal questions) that emerged in the aftermath of the Holocaust. German negotiators prefer the term 'healing the wound' (die Wunde heilen) to 'reparations'. What is clear is that there has been a willingness to say the 'R' word in the context of the Holocaust on the part of German diplomats which has been almost completely absent in the context of Namibia and the Herero and Nama genocide – whatever form those reparations may take – and they certainly cannot only be monetary in a context where dispossession continues. There has been a recording of bilateral development aid as 'wound healing', but not a focus on the specific peoples and lands that were targeted by genocide. Whether or not Holocaust reparations are a useful template, the bilateral manner in which the process of postcolonial coming to terms with past (what could be described as a Postkoloniale Vergangenheitsbewältigung) has taken place continues to demote non-Jewish legacies of dispossession and murder – here in relation to diasporic and continental Africans, their histories, and their life worlds – at the hands of the German state. The question that the

German – and European – political class needs to answer to the satisfaction of their former colonial subjects making claims upon them today is this: can its ideology of ‘civilizational rupture’ as Germany and Europe’s moral foundation include the diversity of peoples who have been affected by the genocides and other forms of political violence committed in Africa? Need the centralization of the Holocaust – which Germans and Europeans naturally need to commemorate appropriately – exclude them? (Howard Rechavia-Taylor and A. Dirk Moses Aug 27 2021).

Between 1904 and 1908, over 100 000 people were killed in the first genocide of the twentieth century. Only 20 percent of the Herero and about 50 percent of the Nama survived the mass extermination committed under German colonial rule in today’s Namibia. The German government has never officially recognized the genocide as such. It was not until Namibia’s independence from South Africa in 1990 that protests by descendants of survivors began. Over the past two decades, these protests for the recognition of the Herero and Nama genocide have intensified. The first transnational conference of Herero and Nama took place in Berlin in October 2016. Its central aim was, among others, to develop a course of action for restorative justice concerning the genocide and its effects. The transnational dimension is central among Herero and Nama, who have lived in a widespread diaspora since the beginning of the twentieth century. Many survivors of the genocide were those who were able to flee Germany’s former colonial territory and reach Botswana and South Africa. (Nick Sprenger et al., 2017). Later, during South African rule, numerous Herero and Nama—and other Namibians fighting the apartheid system—left the country as refugees. A considerable number of these former migrants and their descendants still live in the diaspora today. Thus, the delegations of Herero and Nama who attended the Berlin conference in 2016 came from diverse countries, such as Namibia, Botswana, South Africa, Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. The Herero and Nama living in the United States seem to play a central role in the current struggle for recognition and reparation by the German government. Certain questions emerged: What was the role of the activists living in the U.S. diaspora in the struggle? How had their migration path evolved over time and how did it affect their strategies? What resources could they draw on in the U.S. context? Did their actions and experiences contribute to developing what Helmut König calls “post national memories,” memories that question the nation-state and address its more burdensome past? (Elise Pape). Since the end of apartheid in 1990, demands for recognition of and reparation for the genocide have intensified among Herero and Nama, with varied results. The genocide has become better known on an international level, leading to an increased interest of researchers in the topic since the 2000s. In 2011 and 2014, over fifty skulls of

Namibians found in German anthropological collections were repatriated to Namibia. In 2015, negotiations began between the German and the Namibian governments concerning a possible recognition of the genocide by the German government. Different actions led from the U.S. contributed to these milestones and formed important turning points in the struggle since 1990. Examples of such actions include the lawsuits filed in 2001 against the German government and German companies that benefited from the genocide in a district court in Washington, DC, and more recently in January 2017 in a district court in New York City. The lawsuit filed in 2001 aimed, above all, to raise international awareness of the genocide. It can be seen, in a way, as the opening event of the debates on the genocide that intensified in the following decade. This increased awareness among civil society of the consequences of German colonial rule contributed to the creation of a wave of “postcolonial associations” in cities throughout Germany that aim to “decolonize” German public spaces and that have also been strongly engaged in the recognition of the genocide (Howard Rechavia, 2021).

CONCLUSION

The present paper illustrated with clear identification of the former German colonial agents whom in one way or the other did their best as actors of 3Es to facilitate the occurrence of the first colonial holocaust of the 20th Century in Africa specifically in the country presently known as Namibia. It goes further to show how the premature defeat of Germany during the First and the Second World Wars further strengthened the imperialist tentacles of the British and French who found themselves as opportunist victory of the two great World Wars to while dictating their wills at the central of the LONs and UNO to swallow all German overseas possessions around the World and Africa in particular. This gave the South Africa as Dominions of the Commonwealth to unjustly occupied and colonized the SWA as her sub-colony while extending the strength of the Apartheid regime of minority whites of the British Settlers against the black majority until 1990. This issues make the history of SWA, German and South Africa very interesting in this study because the Germans themselves witnesses the division of Germany by the Allied powers into East and West Germany from 1945 to 1990 when the Federal and Democratic Republics were once more reunited thereby marking the end of the Cold War. Then followed, the end of Apartheid in South Africa with black majority role gaining it glory and South Africa’s termination of their harsh treatment of Namibians also granted independence in the same year.

Therefore, recalling German actions of the early 20th Century genocide and what they have been thinking and doing to wipe that image called the attention of the young African historians to know the main actors with new research works as guide to

demand of reasonable reparations from Western European imperialist and neo-colonialist agents and governments. For example, the German troops are said to have killed, raped and enslaved the Namids. The dispute relates to a period in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, when Germany was the colonial power in Namibia, then called GSWA. The suit claims damages on the basis that, as it states: from 1885 to 1903, about a quarter of Herero and Nama lands were taken without compensation by settlers with official oversight - German descendants still farm some of that land today colonial authorities ignored rapes of Herero and Nama women and girls as well as indigenous forced labour as many as 100,000 Herero and Nama people died after they rebelled in 1904 in a campaign led by Lieutenant General Lothar von Trotha. Studies also suggest that colonial rulers placed captives in concentration camps, and shipped off thousands of heads belonging to the dead to Berlin in an attempt to prove the inferiority of the defeated Africans in now discredited medical experiments (Job Shipululo Amupanda www.liquisearch.com). The plaintiffs say Germany's insistence it is making amends by paying development aid is unsatisfactory. "There is no assurance that any of the proposed foreign aid by Germany will actually reach or assist the minority indigenous communities that were directly harmed," the plaintiffs' lawyer Ken McCallion said in an email to Reuters news agency. "There can be no negotiations or settlement about them that is made without them." The case was lodged with the US District Court in Manhattan under the Alien Tort Statute, a 1789 law often invoked in human rights cases. The forcefulness with which the German colonial rulers imposed their claim to control led to ever more revolts by the indigenous population. The native population was forced into unequal treaties by the German colonial governments. This led to the local tribes and natives losing their influence and power and eventually forced some of them to become slave laborers. The result was several military and genocidal campaigns by the Germans against the natives. Both the colonial authorities and settlers were of the opinion that native Africans were to be a lower class, their land seized and handed over to settlers and companies, while the remaining population was to be put in reservations; the Germans planned to make a colony inhabited predominately by whites: a "new African Germany". Since the Germans were materially and technologically superior but had only a minimal military presence, the indigenous peoples largely adopted guerilla tactics. The German colonial forces reacted similarly to other cases of asymmetric warfare involving colonial powers: they waged war against the whole population. In a burnt earth strategy, they destroyed villages, prevented economic activity, and withheld any protection against wild animals. Through these actions, they forced the population to flee into inaccessible regions, where many starved to death. Through this conscious strategy, the Germans caused lasting changes to the whole landscape, making

it uninhabitable for decades (Jeremy Silvester *et al.*, January 2004).

Whatever the degree of misunderstanding amongst the Africans whose families were victims of the German holocaust of the beginning of the 20th Century and South Africa White Settlers extensions of sub-colonial ambitions using the mechanisms of 3Es, young African researchers should be embarked on bringing out as much evidence as possible with clear identified actors of the era of massive atrocities which can enable respective governments in Sub-Sahara Africa to lay their genuine claims of huge compensations and reparations in terms of investing on well profitable community projects which cannot be siphon by specific powerful political elites of those countries and Namibia in particular. The way forward is also to call the attention of traditional (local) authorities of regions of the African Continent to embark on the studying and mastering of their past histories in order to make great contributions to respective governments by working in collaboration with the existing intellectual elites who are interested in the field of studying as a means of identifying the different pre-colonial and colonial diplomatic agents who acted on behalf of their governments and countries with specific duration in office with all the offenses and atrocities that they committed against Africans by dragging human beings as lock of woods, chaining them as dogs with women breasts exposed, naked others and lynched on trees , tortured some with sexual violence on women, looted African natural resources deep in the hinterlands then transported the providence to their home countries are among such charges which the Germans have to look keenly in their negotiated reparation deals. Their ancestors were very well conscious of all the acts and they also have to pay back to Africans with all their consciences without regretting because African looted wealth contributed to their economic growth and development to the detriment of the Black Continent till the present day. This does not again goes with intimidation diplomacy but to see Africans today in their eyes widely open doubting where and how to start laying their claims against Western European mechanisms of imperialism to the eve of neo-colonialism with sporadic conflicts occurring with limited solutions in favour of positive negotiation and resolution as the former colonial governments and presently neo-colonial bilateral partners keeps maintain their strongholds with observer status instead of bringing or raising proposals to resolve the hiding problems they created in the previous decades of colonialism.

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