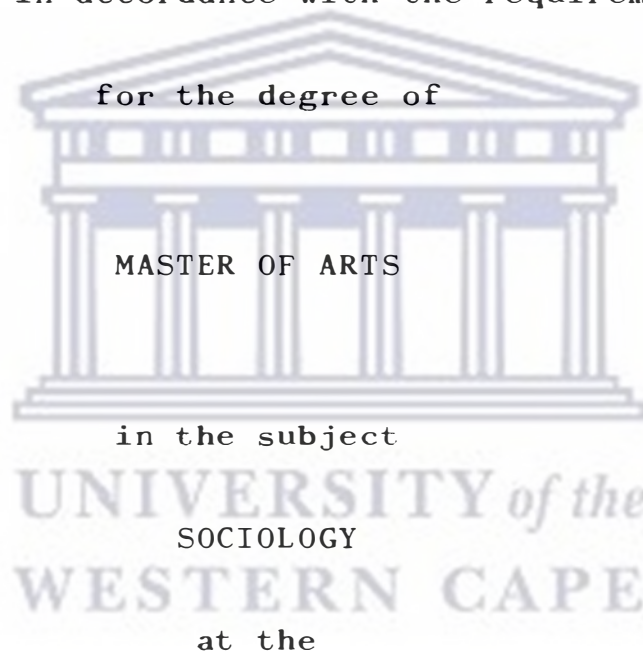


A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF IDEOLOGY
AMONG THE HERERO OF CENTRAL NAMIBIA

by

JOHANN WILLEM FRIEDRICH VAN ROOYEN

submitted in accordance with the requirements



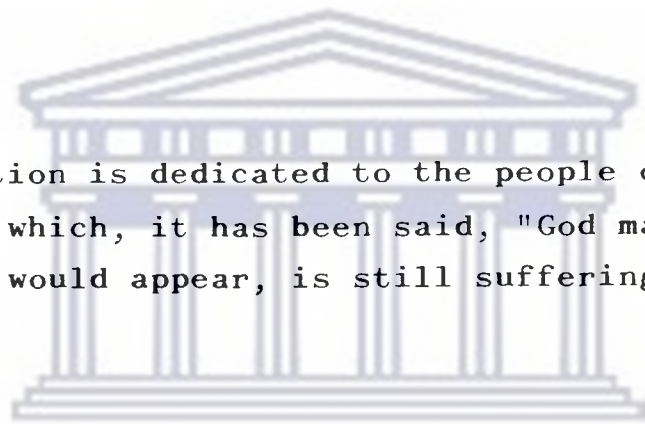
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: MRS S.E. WELZ

JOINT SUPERVISOR: MR A. DU PISANI

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This dissertation is dedicated to the people of my native land - a land which, it has been said, "God made in anger" and which, it would appear, is still suffering the consequences.



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ABSTRACT

The concept of ideology, as portrayed in the works of various social theorists, is comprised of a wide, yet related, range of meanings and connotations. Despite its lack of semantic precision, the concept is of value for sociological analysis and is of special relevance in the theories of Marx and Weber, both on a descriptive as well as explanatory level.

In an attempt to test these two theorists' postulates in a substantive setting, the chief ideological and material influences which have affected the socio-cultural development of the Herero of central Namibia are surveyed and related to some modern social structures peculiar to them.

The study indicates that ideological and material factors have indeed both variously been responsible for significant social adaptations that have occurred in Herero society in recent times. The findings suggest that material impulses have far outweighed ideological stimuli in importance for the greater part of recorded Herero history. It is only since the end of World War II that ideological variables seem to have predominated as causal agents of social change.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General

Ideology has been defined as "a pattern of beliefs and concepts (both factual and normative) which purport to explain complex social phenomena with a view to directing and simplifying socio-political choices facing individuals and groups" (Gould and Kolb, 1964:315). Slightly different is the definition of the concept employed by Geiger (1969:143) who maintains that "a statement may be called ideological if, by virtue of its grammatical form and its expressed meaning, it appears to be a theoretical statement of fact while at the same time containing nontheoretical elements, i.e. elements which do not pertain to objective, empirical reality ..."

Obviously ideology is a difficult concept to pin down precisely, taking on as it does varying meanings and connotations in different circumstances. Nevertheless, from a heuristic point of view, the concept provides an invaluable aid for sociological analysis. For, as has been recurrently noted by theorists in the past, a close relationship exists between the underlying value-systems of the members of society and prevailing socio-political forms.¹⁾ Elements of the value-systems upon which such forms are based are usually incorporated into the society's ideological structure.

1.2 Purpose of study

One manner in which to approach an examination of socio-political forms or structures is thus to consider the role of ideology as both a dependent and an independent variable. For such consideration to be meaningful, it is thus necessary simultaneously to take cognizance of the material factors involved and to consider the interdynamics between the two classes of phenomena. For this purpose it should additionally be borne in mind that to a large extent the present is but a reflection of the cumulative effect of sig-

nificant influences of the past.

1.2.1 Theoretical orientation

In the present study an attempt has been made, first, to obtain greater clarity about the concept of ideology within a sociological frame of reference. For this purpose the analysis is essentially based on the theoretical postulates of Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Max Weber (1864-1920) as representing poles of a continuum which has dominated sociological discourse since the nineteenth century. Marx's basically materialistic stance is compared with Weber's more idealistic approach, with the emphasis placed on their respective explanations of social causality.

Another reason for basing this study on Marx and Weber is that they have remained among the most influential theorists in sociology up to the present day. Furthermore, both were deeply interested in the phenomenon of modern capitalism - attributing no small role to ideology as a variable in its genesis and continued existence. In addition, both theorists have a relatively broad, inclusive view of ideology which coincides with the approach adopted in the present study. Here we are looking at the relative role of ideas in society from an essentially holistic sociological viewpoint which in significant respects transcends the purely political, economic, religious, et cetera. A more restricted definition of ideology as preferred by some theorists would ipso facto limit the study to only those facets of society incorporated in such a definition.

1.2.2 Substantive reference

Second, in addition to serving as a theoretical point of departure for an analysis of the concept of ideology, the Marxian and Weberian conceptions of social causality are subjected to a comparative appraisal of their respective validity within a substantive setting. To this end a delimited segment of Namibian society was selected to serve as the focal point of a sociological case-study. The chief

ideological and material influences which have affected the group's socio-cultural development over an extended period (from pre-history to the present day) are surveyed and related to some modern social structures peculiar to it.

The group chosen for this purpose is the Herero of central Namibia, who comprise what has been termed "the Herero proper". It excludes other Herero-speaking units such as the Herero of Southern Angola, the Herero of Botswana, the Ovahimba of north-western Namibia, and the eastern Mbanderu. The Herero depicted in this study performed a vital role in Namibian affairs even before the arrival of the first Europeans, and have stood at the vanguard of black aspirations for much of the time since then. Together with some other indigenous groups the Herero have borne the brunt of consecutive socio-cultural upheavals, and in order to survive they have had to adapt extensively to cope with the exigencies of a relentless modernization process in the greater Namibian society.

The Herero have maintained a pronounced ethnic identity based on language, kinship ties, common traditions, a shared historical experience and so forth. They therefore constitute a relatively homogeneous, accessible segment of Namibian society. At present, some of their distinctive institutions and associations bear evidence of an historical intermixture of numerous ideological and material determinants. In various ways the Herero thus exemplify certain traits which facilitate sociological inquiry into the role of ideology in the development of social structures. Other significant groups in Namibia did not perform such key roles in the history of the country, are in some instances less uniform in composition and socio-cultural traits, and have also not developed their own modern social structures comparable to those of the Herero. They are therefore less suitable as case-study subjects for the present purpose.

As will be appreciated from the foregoing remarks, this study, in addition to its theoretical considerations, is of relevance also on an essentially substantive level: a

particular significant theme relating to Namibian society is, for the first time, subjected to formal analysis. The systematic treatment of the subject, though not exhaustive, should nevertheless promote a sympathetic understanding of some of the dynamics underlying Namibian society which have contributed to the problematical socio-political situation currently existing in that country.

1.3 Methodology

The method of investigation consists mainly of theoretical analysis and the use of the historical procedure supplemented by qualitative research. Primary and secondary written material from various sources, both published and unpublished, was consulted. Comprehensive personal interviews were conducted with leading Herero and other knowledgeable spokesmen, and, by means of participant observation, firsthand knowledge was obtained at political rallies, discussion groups, religious and ceremonial gatherings, et cetera.

A special effort was made to include sources and individuals from different persuasions and philosophical inclinations and thus to achieve a representative, balanced perspective. It will be appreciated, however, that in a task of this nature the attainment of objectivity is inevitably fraught with difficulties. Apart from the bias of sources and the researcher's own subjectivity (choice of material, manner of presentation and interpretation), terminology also presents a special problem because of the varying connotations of key words. A case in point is the designation "Namibia". As employed in this study the term refers solely to a geographical entity and is used in preference to the formerly more common "South West Africa" owing to its preponderate application in modern literature and academic discourse. Nevertheless (despite its aptness) the new title is undeniably tinged with ideological overtones, as is the old.

1.4 Organization of chapters

Following upon the first chapter of the dissertation, this introduction, the second chapter examines the development of the concept of ideology in its historical context, culminating in the theories of Marx and Weber and related theorists. A critical comparison of Marx and Weber on the subject is followed by a general statement and concluding remarks on ideology.

The third chapter presents a concise view of the Herero of central Namibia, sketching their historical background and ethnography and the more important ideological/material influences which have impinged upon their society since precolonial times. The chapter ends with an examination of modern socio-political and religious associations substantively unique to the Herero. They are the Red Band Organization (Otjiserandu), the major Herero separatist church (Oruвано) and the two largest predominantly Herero political parties, NUDO and SWANU.

Chapter IV gives a short typology of relevant ideologies, concentrating on aspects which are not sufficiently elucidated in the preceding discussions.

The final chapter is concerned with an application of Marxian and Weberian theoretical postulates to the Herero experience, ending with a presentation of general conclusions.

Footnotes (including translations of foreign-language quotations) appear at the end of each chapter. The list of sources is followed by an annexure containing a supplementary discussion of interpretations of ideology as appearing in the works of significant theorists not considered in Chapter II.

FOOTNOTE TO INTRODUCTION

- 1) This study operates with the assumption that to a large extent a society's socio-political forms are based upon its prevailing value-system. Cognizance is, however, taken of the fact that a contrary view can be argued. (See also 1.2 (p 1) and pp 12-31.)



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CHAPTER II

THE CONCEPT OF IDEOLOGY

2.1 Historical development of the concept of ideology

2.1.1 Philosophical background

The historical antecedents of the sociology of politics, in which the concept¹⁾ of ideology, under various guises, forms one of the main analytical cornerstones, are varied and complex: a number of different intellectual currents can be recognized which have all had a fundamental influence on its development.

In the first instance, going at least as far back as Greek antiquity, there is the dichotomy between utopian and pragmatic political conceptions. It corresponds roughly to the rationalism versus empiricism and idealism versus utilitarianism debates of later ages. These philosophical traditions should not be seen as isolated, separate systems of thought but rather as constituting the opposing poles of dialectic arguments that often veered in either direction and have in fact never been fully resolved.

In general the legitimacy of existing hierarchies of premodern occidental society was seldom questioned and to a large extent society and state were viewed as synonymous. The socio-political turmoil and breakdown of traditional values occasioned by the Renaissance and more especially by the Reformation forced man to take stock of himself and the society in which he lived. A dawning recognition consequently developed of the fundamental difference between society and state in terms of their structure, dynamics and relation to the individual. This distinction led to an inquiry into the principles involved in the reconciliation of conflict and order in society which is a prerequisite for the adequate functioning of state authority.

A variety of arguments were tendered in answer to the problems concerned but none seemed to solve them satisfactorily. At the beginning of the nineteenth century a new

approach came to the fore when attempts were made to fuse organicism and positivism, both of which were philosophical forms which had previously been in opposition. Organicism constructs its conception of the world on an organismic model and is anchored in the idealistic philosophies of the West, whereas positivism follows the opposite direction and believes empirical data (sensory experience) to be the sole basis of knowledge. Positivism had become linked to predominating socialist doctrines, and idealism as embodied in organicism was an important element of the social reaction which followed the disruptions of the French Revolution. With some notable exceptions, leading theorists therefore retained the idealistic, conservative image of society but simultaneously strived to employ an empirical methodology in their researches. Through this synthesis of the two approaches an intellectual framework was created within which a more penetrating analysis of social phenomena became possible.

2.1.2 Forerunners of the concept of ideology

There were several post-Renaissance and post-Reformation theorists who to a greater or lesser degree delved into questions related to ideology without actually using the term. Of these Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527), in his well-known work Il Principe, was probably one of the earliest to spell out explicitly the role of ideas in the mechanics of government and in the realm of political subterfuge. Larrain (1979:18-19) identifies three aspects of his postulates which can be related to ideology. First there is the bias of human judgements when subjected to changing interests. As people's interests vary their perceptions of their circumstances are adapted accordingly. Secondly, Machiavelli recognizes religious thought as having definite social functions. He maintains that through religious education man is conditioned to accept the ideals of humility and contemplation as worth striving for rather than those of self-assertion and vengeance. Lastly, Machiavelli dwells

upon the usefulness of fraud and deceit to those who wish to retain their political dominance. He advocates the use of fraud as opposed to the application of force and emphasizes the distinction between appearances and reality. This latter aspect is one of the fundamental ingredients of most later conceptions of ideology.

Another important forerunner to the modern conception of ideology was Francis Bacon's (1561-1626) theory of the idola. Bacon challenged the Aristotelian-medieval approach to the explanation of natural phenomena and sought a new methodology which would facilitate a more precise and unbiased knowledge of the world. In his Novum Organon he examines the false notions which hitherto had preoccupied human understanding and acted as obstacles in the path of true knowledge. The idola represent the false notions; they are the "idols" or "phantoms" of the mind. Bacon examines four classes of idols: the idols of the tribe, the idols of the cave, the idols of the market-place and the idols of the theatre. All of these represent sources of error which are either due to human nature or to deliberate volition or are derived from traditional usages.

Whereas Machiavelli examined the role of false ideas predominantly in the socio-political sphere, Bacon extended this inquiry to the field of science. Larrain (1979: 22-23) states that Bacon's influence upon the philosophy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had been decisive. He is acknowledged as the father of modern science and philosophers such as Hobbes, Locke, Holbach and Diderot all bear the marks of his insights. But whereas Bacon's materialism had still been compatible with the existence of God, other positivist philosophers of the Enlightenment, especially in France, became increasingly critical of religion itself.

Claude Helvetius (1715-1771), for example, developed the notion of "prejudices" (roughly the equivalent of Bacon's idols) and worked in the direction of a rudimentary sociology of knowledge. He maintained that ideas, including theological concepts, are the consequences of the so-

ciety in which one lives. These prejudices can, however, be counteracted by reason. For him "The cure for popular superstition is pedagogy on a national scale" (Lichtheim, 1967:9).

Georg Hegel (1770-1831), probably the most eminent representative of German Idealism, took a contrary view and postulated the universal and unabated development of the "Absolute Spirit", a spirit which transcends individual societies and which can be thought of as the sum-total of knowledge or reason. Every stage in the development of reason (the thesis) has some imperfections and bears the seeds of an emergent opposition (the antithesis). The two are eventually reconciled on a higher rational plane thus forming a synthesis. The synthesis nevertheless still being imperfect soon takes the place of the former thesis and the whole process is repeated.

The ideological component (in the sense of false or imperfect consciousness) inherent in Hegel's system exists in the fact that he views individuals and societies as instruments in the unfolding of history: actors in a foreordained drama which they only partially comprehend. History has its own logic in spite of the irrationality of its constituent elements. Imperfect reason which is the underlying cause of antitheses is ideological reason. Ideological reason is capable of approaching perfection and therefore true reason only through the dynamics of the ongoing dialectic process.

2.1.3 First explicit application of the term

The word "ideology" initially had no ontological significance and included no decision as to the value of different spheres of reality. Historically the term made its first appearance at the end of the eighteenth century and was coined by one of the Enlightenment philosophers, Antoine Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836), to denote the science of ideas. In his major work Les Eléments de l' Ideologie he states that "The science may be called ideology, if one

considers only the subject-matter; general grammar, if one considers only the methods; and logic, if one considers the purpose. Whatever the name, it necessarily contains these three subdivisions, since one cannot be treated adequately without also treating the two others. Ideology seems to me to be the generic term because the science of ideas subsumes both that of their expression and that of their derivation" (Mannheim, 1976:63-64).

At its conception the word ideology had a positive connotation since Destutt de Tracy, like Helvetius and Holbach, considered education (based upon the science of ideas) to be the key to the liberation of mankind from ignorance and suffering. It follows that there was a divergence in the early meaning of the word and the concept which had been foreshadowed in "idols" and "prejudices" and which was later to prevail again. The negative connotation of the word first appeared when Napoleon Bonaparte, finding that Destutt de Tracy and his companions were opposing his despotic imperial excesses, contemptuously labelled them "ideologists". This conveyed a derogatory meaning that accused the group of being unrealistic doctrinaire intellectuals, ignorant of the intricacies of political practice (Larrain, 1979:27-28).

Lichtheim (1967:5) considers Destutt de Tracy's attitude to be ideological in the twofold sense of being concerned with ideas and of having ideals which he placed ahead of the material interests of the post-revolutionary society of his time. In fact, Destutt de Tracy's version of ideology never managed to establish itself beyond the narrow confines of its inception.

The philosophical critique of religion and metaphysics in general continued to develop without being formally associated with the term, but "ideology", in the sense of futile thought when it comes to practice, gained increasing currency especially with regard to political matters. This implies that the politician's feeling for reality often took precedence over intellectual deliberations. The pro-

blem implicit in the concept of ideology - what really is reality? - henceforward became the focal point of wide-ranging debate. While the question itself was not new, its transfer to the public arena certainly was. Whereas erroneous ideas had formerly been rectified by appeal to divine revelation or to pure contemplation, the criterion of reality from then on was to be found primarily in an ontology derived from pragmatic political experience (Mannheim, 1976:65).

2.2 Marx and the concept of ideology

Since one of the main purposes of this study is to examine the validity of Marx's and Weber's conceptions of ideology, it will be necessary to investigate their respective positions on the matter in some detail. For a proper understanding it will also be useful to establish what part the concept plays in the total theory of society of each. The indebtedness of Karl Marx's system to the philosophies of especially Hegel and Feuerbach (1804-1872) will be examined by way of introduction.

2.2.1 The Hegelian and Feuerbachian foundations of Marxian theory

At the outset of his career Marx was associated with a group of disciples of Hegel known as the Young Hegelians. The most prominent among them were Arnold Ruge, Bruno Bauer, Max Stirner and Ludwig Feuerbach. Hegel had taught that the State is the embodiment of the "Absolute Mind" of the ideas of Freedom, Justice and so on, yet upon closer examination they found this not to be the case in practice. The Young Hegelians consequently became increasingly critical of society and its supporting ideas. They postulated that true, valid knowledge should be substituted for prevailing notions in order to facilitate social reform. Religion became the focus of radical criticism. The views of Feuerbach in this regard, as set forth in his Das Wesen des Christenthums in which he claims that religion represents an in-

verted picture and imagery satisfaction of the real interests of man, became widely influential (Pascal in Marx and Engels, 1966:ix-x).

While retaining the dialectic method and historicism of Hegel, Feuerbach altered Hegel's philosophy of the "Absolute Spirit" in which man occupies only the periphery to an anthropological philosophy with man the creature at the centre of things. Löwith (1932:179-180) quotes Feuerbach on the matter:

"Gegenwärtig (1843) handelt es sich noch nicht darum, den Menschen darzustellen, sondern darum, ihn aus dem (sc. 'idealistischen') Morast, worin er versunken war, herauszuziehen." The task was: "... aus der Philosophie des Absoluten, d.i. der (sc. philosophischen) Theologie, die Notwendigkeit der Philosophie des Menschen, d.i. der Anthropologie, abzuleiten und durch die Kritik der göttlichen Philosophie die Kritik der menschlichen zu begründen".²⁾

Feuerbach attacked idealism since it separated thought from being, whereas the two according to him formed a unity; thought being the predicate of a real being, namely man. His anthropological reinterpretation of Hegel and his proposition that thought proceeds from being, not being from thought, formed the materialist foundation upon which Marx and his close associate Friedrich Engels were to build.

However, Marx disagreed with the abstract version of Feuerbach's anthropological conception of man. Marx and Engels (1966:37) contend that Feuerbach "... remains in the realm of theory and conceives of men not in their given social connection, not under their existing conditions of life, which have made them what they are, he never arrives at the really existing active men, but stops at the abstraction 'man' ... and therefore when, for example, he sees instead of healthy men a crowd of scrofulous, over-worked and consumptive starvelings, he is compelled to take refuge in the 'higher perception' and in the ideal 'compensation in the species', and thus to relapse into idealism at the very point where the communist materialist sees the necessity, and at the same time the condition, of a transforma-

tion both of industry and of the social structure".

Feuerbach's abstract materialism serves as Marx's point of departure. Marx turns Feuerbach's somewhat vague concept of man into something more concrete by seeking to draw on empirical reality instead of on conjectural philosophy. This was the decisive step which allowed him to attempt to link theory and practice, as he did when linking his theory of "scientific socialism" and the "struggle of the proletariat". What is of sociological significance here is the fact that Marx had succeeded in progressing from a natural to a social definition of man. Combining this insight with economic theory, Marx believed that man was not merely a product of nature but also a product of human social labour. According to him it is not only consciousness that distinguishes men from animals but the fact that they produce their own means of existence (Jakubowski, 1976:21-25).

The final point of difference between Marx and Feuerbach is that not only is Marx's theory related to empirical referents, it is also explicitly activist. Feuerbach, although believing in human progress, is basically fatalistic in his approach, whereas Marx believes that man can take an active hand in speeding up the dialectic process to achieve its logical (Marxian) conclusion. For "... the alteration of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a revolution; this revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class overthrowing it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew" (Marx and Engels, 1966:69).

2.2.2 Methodology

Marx never presented a systematic analysis of methodology in his otherwise comprehensive works. His views in this regard are, however, clearly revealed through the con-

tent of his theories and by the manner in which he attempted to substantiate them. Larrain (1979:35) states that, although Marx can be located within the tradition of the Enlightenment, he purposefully strove to avoid the ontological idealism and the mechanical materialism which had developed from the philosophy of consciousness and the scientific rationalism of his time. Although he integrates elements of both currents he tries to overcome their shortcomings: "From the philosophy of consciousness Marx draws the idea of the active subject, but this subject becomes historically concrete. The Kantian consciousness as such and the Hegelian 'folk spirit' are replaced by the historical class and its practice. From the new scientific rationality Marx takes the concern for material reality as the real starting-point of science and the critique of religion, but this material reality is conceived as historically made by men and, therefore, susceptible to be changed by their practice."

This leads us to the two most important elements of Marx's methodology, namely those reflected in his "scientific socialism" and in his "historical materialism". The former refers to the high standards of scholarship and the detailed factual evidence which he sought to present in support of his various economic, social and political formulations. Thus according to Colletti (1979:374-375) Marx, in being a scientist, has to measure his ideas and those of others against facts and to test hypotheses experimentally against them. The criterion of his critique of other theorists is not based on the ideal but must be drawn from and rooted in reality.

Historical materialism, the guiding thread of Marx's studies, had its origin in German historicism which holds that social existence is a process and that each epoch and society is unique and to be understood by laws referable only to itself. Marx, while retaining historicism's sense of process and transformation, rejected the predominantly idealistic interpretation of the content of social processes. In his opinion the decisive events occurred in the

sphere of social relationships and not in the realm of the evolution of ideas. Social relationships in turn were chiefly influenced by the factors of production and hence Marxian historicism has a decidedly economic and therefore materialistic foundation (Birnbaum, 1953:126). It is precisely this overbearing materialistic element which has important implications for Marx's interpretation of the concept of ideology, as will be illustrated presently.

2.2.3 Main theoretical postulates

Philosophically, as we have seen above, Marx built on the foundations of Hegel and Feuerbach. Sociologically, he was stimulated by the ideas of Claude Saint-Simon and the Utopian Socialists, while economically he was indebted to the insights of Adam Smith and especially to those of David Ricardo. In synthesizing these strands of thought Marx arrived at his distinctive materialist conception of history which is the key to his entire theoretical system. His various interrelated doctrines group themselves around this central conception which can be regarded as the organizing principle of his thought (Wolfson in Marx, 1978:xiv-xx).

As sociological theory, and in briefest outline, Marx's system can be reduced to two basic postulates and a number of corollaries. The first postulate is that of economic determinism, that is, the view that the economic factor is the primary (not necessarily the only) determinant of the structure and development of society. According to Marx the technological means of production determines the social organization of production inherent in the division of labour. This "economic substructure" of society not only limits but also largely shapes most of the superstructure present in a given society. The superstructure comprises the various institutions, values, modes of thought, and so on.

The second postulate concerns the mechanism of change and is based on an inversion of Hegel's dialectical scheme consisting of the three stages of affirmation, negation and

reconciliation. By combining the two propositions Marx arrives at certain corollaries. He states that every system of economic production begins by being an affirmation, the most adequate system possible at that period. In the course of time the system, after having become socially entrenched, becomes an obstacle to progress and the application of new and more efficient means of production. This nascent negation of the existing society eventually leads to its overthrow and the establishment of an order consisting of compatible elements of the old and the new (Tima-sheff, 1967:49-50).

Turning to contemporary Western society, Marx employs the concept of "surplus value" as his catalyst of change and class struggle. In a well-adapted society every worker, as an integral part of the production process, not only shares in the fruits of his labour for his mere sustenance but also in the surplus value thereof. Surplus value refers to the excess produce attained over and above the input of labour and is gained through superior efficiency incumbent in the division of labour and the application of capital in the form of technology. Sharing in the surplus value enables the individual to take part in politics, pursue the arts and in general lead a satisfying human existence.

Marx found that in the nineteenth century the means of production and accruing surplus value were in the hands of a minority, the industrial bourgeoisie or capitalists, to the detriment of the majority, the proletariat. He predicted that the disenchantment of the proletariat would gradually consolidate itself into a new class-consciousness and an objective appraisal of their position. The ensuing conflict would end in the overthrow of the existing system and the installation of a classless, socialist order characterized by the collective ownership of the means of production and an ever-diminishing role for the state in the functioning of society.

2.2.4 The role of ideology

In Die deutsche Ideologie Marx and Engels wrote that "The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life. Conceiving, thinking, the mental intercourse of men, appear at this stage as the direct efflux of their material behaviour" (1966:13-14).

According to Marx, therefore, consciousness is the equivalent of the conscious existence of men in their normal day-to-day lives. Consciousness is a reflection of actual life processes and Marx takes these concrete phenomena as his point of departure for its analysis. He commences the analysis by positing a number of basic premises.

The first premise is that men must be in a position to live in order to be able "to make history" and in order to live they must satisfy their primary organic needs. The first historical act for Marx, then, consists in the production of the means to satisfy the needs of material life. The second premise refers to the fact that needs are never finally satisfied and that, in addition to the ongoing recurrence of existing needs, new needs are constantly created which also demand satisfaction. Thirdly, men, in daily remaking their lives, also propagate themselves and establish families. The family represents the first social relations of man. Later man's increased material needs create wider social relations, eventually culminating in a full-fledged division of labour.

In this manner Marx sought to demonstrate that there had existed from the start a materialistic connection between the individual members of society which is determined by their needs and their mode of satisfying them. Consciousness arises directly from man's being or material existence. Language, like consciousness, develops from the necessity of intercourse with other men and is really nothing more than practical consciousness.

Initially consciousness consists only of an awareness

of the immediate sensory environment similar to animal consciousness. Gradually, with the development of secondary social relations, consciousness becomes more complex until it finally takes on its mature social character. With the division of labour, moreover, there also appears a division between material and mental labour. From this point onwards consciousness can divorce itself from its material precursors and proceed to occupy itself with "pure" ideas such as those contained in theology, philosophy, ethics, and so on.

These ideas nevertheless have no independent existence, even if externally they may appear to have. Marx regards them as mere detached sublimates of the material life process. In concrete reality it is man who, in developing his material production, changes along with the circumstances of his existence and thus alters his thinking and the products thereof to follow suit (Marx and Engels, 1966:14-21).

It is at this point that Engels introduced a new postulate which was also to be adopted by Marx, that of false consciousness. "False consciousness" consists of a process in which men incorrectly assess the source of their ideas and believe them to have originated from the history of thought or to have a priori existence, rather than tracing them to their real origin, the economic base of society (Birnbaum, 1953:131).

Built upon or extending from the economic base is the superstructure of society. This embraces all social life apart from the direct relations of production. In Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte Marx provided a vivid example of his view of the connection between material conditions and the superstructure:

"Upon different forms of property, upon the social conditions of existence rises an entire superstructure of distinct and characteristically formed sentiments, illusions, modes of thought and views of life. The entire class creates and forms them out of its material foundations and out of the corresponding social relations ... If Orleanists and

Legitimists, if each section sought to make itself and the other believe that loyalty to their two royal houses separated them, it later proved to be the case that it was rather their divided interests which forbade the uniting of the two royal houses. And as in private life one distinguishes between what a man thinks and says of himself and what he really is and does, still more in historical struggles must one distinguish the phrases and fancies of the parties from their real organism and their real interests, their conception of themselves with their reality. Orleanists and Legitimists found themselves side by side in the republic with equal claims. If each side wished to effect the restoration of its own house against the other, that merely signifies that the two great interests into which the bourgeoisie is split - landed property and capital - sought each to restore its own supremacy and the subordination of the other" (Orum, 1978:23-24). Although Marx did not hold the superstructure, including ideas, politics, law, religion, art and philosophy, to be directly and solely reducible to economic motives, he did try to demonstrate the economic conditions which shape them and account for their rise and fall.

In explaining the relationship Jakubowski (1976:40) employs a three-stage conceptual model linking the superstructural components:

- (i) The economic base conditioned by productive forces.
- (ii) The legal and political order.
- (iii) The ideological superstructure which crowns the model.

He admits that the distinction is crude and that the three stages actually form an inseparable, interrelated unity. In the Marxian system, moreover, the second and third stages really form complementary aspects of a single entity, the superstructure - both being integral parts of it. The distinction nevertheless is of methodological me-

rit and facilitates analysis.

Thus Marx regarded ideology as part of the societal superstructure. For him "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e. the class, which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. ... hence [the rulers] among other things rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age: thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch" (Marx and Engels, 1966:39 - italics mine).

Through the division of mental and material labour the ruling class appoints some of its members to the role of thinkers (ideologists) whose task it is to perfect the illusion of the class about itself. The other members of the class, concerned with the more mundane matters of society, act as passive receptors of the ideological output. On the whole, however, the ruling class imagines itself as representing certain moral maxims such as industriousness, equal opportunity, loyalty and liberty without concerning itself with the origin and function of these ideas. In order to maintain its position of dominance the ruling class will furthermore endeavour to represent its own interests as the common interests of the entire society and will give its ideas the aura of universality. The impression that the rule of a certain class is the rule of certain absolute ideas or moral imperatives ceases with the ultimate revolution and the establishment of a socialist "classless society" (Marx and Engels, 1966:39-41).

For Marx ideology, in its manifestation as false consciousness, leads to the problem of establishing true consciousness. The answer for him is found in the concealed rational content of history which has to be discerned in

the logic of the material process. Once true consciousness is attained, once the historical dialectic is properly understood, it becomes the means of transcending man's alienation which set the historical process in motion in the first place. In other words, true consciousness reflects a truly rational order in which thinking determines being and man is free to produce his own circumstances. Ideology, on the other hand, represents the historical circumstance in which men are not in possession of true consciousness and therefore do not yet understand the dialectical process (Lichtheim, 1967:18-22).

Jakubowski (1976:103-104) points out that the concept of ideology in the works of Marx also has a wider, more comprehensive meaning than that of false consciousness. The concept does not merely represent a subjective fantasy but is also a conscious expression of the objective appearance assumed by capitalist reality. It corresponds to real existence on the surface as opposed to the correct total consciousness which sees beyond appearances to the essence of social relations. In fact, the very notion that individual spheres of consciousness and thought exist independent of each other and their socio-economic base is ideological and helps to maintain the status quo of bourgeois society.

2.2.5 The genesis of capitalism: primary accumulation

Marx's explanation of the rise of capitalism contrasts sharply with that of Weber and in so doing touches on the question of social determinism.

This of course also has relevance for the present investigation of the role of ideology (or ideas subsumed by ideology) as a causal factor in social development.

Referring to the reciprocal relationship between surplus value and capital, Marx (1978:790) observes that "The whole movement, therefore, seems to turn in a vicious circle, out of which we can only make our way by the assumption that, as a prelude to capitalist accumulation, there has been a process of primary accumulation ... an accumulation

which is not the outcome of the capitalist method of production, but the starting point thereof."

Marx states that the prerequisite for the development of capitalism is a state of divorce between labour and the ownership of property. This process eventually transforms the social means of subsistence and the social means of production into capital and the actual producers into wage earners. The break-up of feudal society set free the elements which made the transformation possible. Through the expropriation of their lands large numbers of peasants were forcibly turned away from the means of their subsistence and put at the mercy of the labour market. In the absence of large-scale industry it was initially mostly the relatively well-to-do tenant farmers who were able to enrich themselves by exploiting the cheap labour-pool.

In his deep-delving historical analysis Marx also mentions various other contributory factors which led to primary accumulation of capital. Among these were the fact that tenant farmers paid fixed rents laid down in long-term contracts (up to ninety-nine years). The rent paid by them to the landlords thus declined in real terms through currency depreciation over the course of the years. Usurers' capital, merchant capital, taxation, national debt, the creation of markets, the dispossession of journeymen by guildmasters and the many facets of colonialist exploitation were all factors contributing to primary accumulation. This initial capital formation, in conjunction with the technological innovations of the time, was according to Marx the underlying cause for the development of industrial capitalist society from the seventeenth century onwards (Marx, 1978:790-843).

From the foregoing it is evident that Marx's materialist conception of history served as his sole frame of reference in his search for the genesis of modern capitalism. While not explicitly denying the possible role of other factors such as ideas and volition he maintains an essentially monistic position, namely that of economic determi-

nism.

2.2.6 Summary of Marx

To summarize the concept of ideology as portrayed in the thought of Marx as well as his interpretation of the role of ideas in social development, the following tentative generalizations may be ventured.

Marx regarded consciousness as closely knit with material existence or being. Mature consciousness is gained through participation in advanced social relations. The most significant social relations are those concerned with economic production and therefore the dominant ideas pervading consciousness are those reflecting the mode of production or matters related to it. Once the stage has been reached where manual labour and mental labour can be separated, ideas can be formed and transformed seemingly independently from the economic base upon which society rests. Nevertheless, all ideas can eventually be traced back to some material aspect, no matter how far removed or sublimated they may be.

Ideological thought is comprised of all those ideas which distort reality. This distortion may either be intentional and partial or unintentional and total, thus reflecting an entire Weltanschauung. In the historical dialectical process the rulers over sources of production will tend to rationalize and justify the existing socio-economic and political institutions which they recognize to be to their advantage. The societal superstructure including the legal, educational, political and religious systems will be geared to condition members of all classes to accept the status quo. Their actions and the ideas emanating from them are ideological in that they do not reflect the true nature of things, even if the members of the ruling class believe in their validity and do not regard them solely as a means of retaining privilege and power.

As long as the individual (or an entire class) accepts the prevailing ideas of his time he suffers from "false

consciousness". This can only be rectified by gaining insight into the underlying truth of the dialectical process and into the reasons for man's alienation in a society hampered by outmoded economic relations. Ideas therefore have no independent existence as such nor can they be regarded as possessing primary causal functions in social development.

It is evident that Marx had a very broad definition of ideology. Not only does the concept feature prominently in his general theory, forming an integral part of it, but it also serves as one of his main analytical constructs. Indeed it is the idealistic component of the concept which most strongly relates Marx to his philosophical forbears, for it was mainly in reaction to the metaphysical idealism of Hegel and German Historicism in general, and to the anthropological materialism of Feuerbach, that he was moved to construct his own version of the historical process. As a theoretical model, Marx's sociology, including his propositions concerning ideology, has had a profound influence on other theorists from the start. Apart from its value as a in many respects plausible theory in its own right, Marx's work introduced a much needed element of concreteness to the subject. There are, however, some weaknesses in his system and conception of ideology. These, together with the positive aspects, will be considered later.

2.3 Subsequent contributions by some Marxist theorists to the concept of ideology

2.3.1 Bernstein

The Marxian conception of ideology underwent little change after the death of Marx until the turn of the century. In 1899 Eduard Bernstein (1850-1932) published his controversial work Die Voraussetzung des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie. This led to the so-called (and still continuing) "revisionist controversy" in

which most Marxian postulates were re-examined in the light of actual social developments. Orthodox Marxists concentrated their attention upon defending the revolutionary core of the doctrine against reformism while the revisionists wished to adapt Marxian theory to empirical reality. For his part, Bernstein concluded from his findings that society's transition to socialism would mainly take place gradually, by the permeation of capitalism by socialist ideas and institutions. In contradistinction to Marx he regarded ideas and ideology as having positive causal attributes in addition to their mere superstructural aspects (Bottomore, 1979:17-23).

2.3.2 Lenin

Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924), although ardently antirevisionist, also had a somewhat different notion of ideology from that of Marx. He believed that it was necessary to organize the proletariat into a political party and to prepare or educate its members for revolutionary change. To succeed in its aim revolution must be guided by theory. Theory can only be developed by representatives of the intelligentsia and does not appear spontaneously among the masses (Lenin, 1963:1-16).

A pragmatist, Lenin recognized the indoctrinatory value of ideas: it takes an intellectual, "the professional revolutionary", to explain to the worker his alienation in existing society and to inculcate within him a desire for radical socialist change. Lenin stressed the fact that more than one ideology could exist side by side and that conflicting ideologies compete for the individual's allegiance. In his guidelines for communist revolutionaries, Čto delat'? (What Is To Be Done?) Lenin admonishes that "All those who talk about 'over-estimating the importance of ideology', about exaggerating the role of the conscious element, imagine that the purely worker movement by itself can and will work out an independent ideology for itself, if only the workers 'tear their fate from the hands of the leaders'.

But this is a profound mistake ... Since there can be no question of an independent ideology being worked out by the working masses in the very process of their movement, then the only question is this: the bourgeois ideology or the Socialist ideology. ... Hence any belittling of the Socialist ideology, any withdrawing from it, means by the same token the strengthening of bourgeois ideology" (Lenin, 1963: 71).

What Marx regarded as a state of "true consciousness", to be arrived at somewhat obscurely through the historical dialectical process, Lenin bluntly terms "Socialist ideology", and in so doing puts it on par with ideology in general. He explicitly advocates the use of ideas as a political weapon in the struggle for domination and comes much closer to the general modern version of the concept of ideology than does Marx.

2.3.3 Lukács

Georg Lukács's (1885-1971) most important contribution to the development of the concept of ideology was his penetrating analysis of proletarian class-consciousness. He agreed with Lenin that socialist class-consciousness has to be implanted in the workers from outside - a process very close to indoctrination. He realized that this idea deviated from Marxian thought but argued that orthodox Marxism refers to a distinct methodology (dialectical materialism) rather than to any specific theory. The latter can and should be improved upon within the proper methodological framework. In fact, while conventional science furthers knowledge of the natural world, its application to social phenomena (as in Western sociology) has proved to be an ideological weapon of the bourgeoisie:

"The path of consciousness throughout the course of history does not become smoother but on the contrary ever more arduous and exacting. For this reason the task of orthodox Marxism, its victory of Revisionism and utopianism can never mean the defeat, once and for all, of false tendencies. It is an ever renewed struggle against the insi-

dious effects of bourgeois ideology on the thought of the proletariat" (Lukács, 1971:24).

Although Lukács professed that an adequate insight into the historical process is attained only by the proletariat because of its position in society, the superficial nature of this "insight" is demonstrated by his statement that the form taken by the class-consciousness of the proletariat is the party.

"... the Party is assigned the sublime role of bearer of the class-consciousness of the proletariat and the conscience of its historical vocation" (Lukács, 1971:41). In other words, the party consists essentially of a small group of ideologues and political commissars whose chief task is to develop, preserve and disseminate socialist doctrine.

Other eminent post-First World War Marxist theorists such as Karl Korsch and Antonio Gramsci had a conception of ideology somewhat similar to that of Lukács. A quite different trend of thought can, however, be detected in the works of the influential Frankfurt School. Its theorists, including Fromm, Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse and Habermas, confronted by a situation in which the Western working-class had ceased to be revolutionarily inclined, were led back to the Young Hegelian notion of change as the product of a revolutionary critical consciousness or greater awareness (Bottomore, 1979:42-45). More particularly, Marcuse and Habermas had definite ideas on the nature and role of ideologies in modern society. Because of the relevance of these ideas to contemporary society their postulates will be treated in slightly more detail than those of the preceding Marxist theorists already discussed.

2.3.4 Marcuse

According to Herbert Marcuse the base of domination has gradually altered from personal dependence (of subjects on higher-ranking individuals) to dependence on objective determinants (economic and scientific laws, the market, etc.) Domination is seen to generate a higher rationality,

that is, of a society which sustains its hierarchical class structure while exploiting ever more efficiently natural and mental resources. The new ideology expounds the idea that men must live rationally and productively, that destruction is the price of progress as death is the price of life, that renunciation and labour are the prerequisites for gratification and that any alternatives are utopian.

It is under this guise that the hierarchical structure and accompanying domination is presently sustained. The success of science and technology in the realm of nature gave rise to the same rational approach to human affairs. Scientific management and scientific division of labour led to vastly increased productivity in the economic, political and cultural fields, resulting in a higher standard of living. But this rational approach in all possible fields has caused a pattern of thinking and behaviour in which even the most destructive and oppressive features of the social system are justified. It is thus proposed that scientific-technical rationality and manipulation have been welded together into new forms of social control (Marcuse, 1964:144-159).

2.3.5 Habermas

Jürgen Habermas, who may be regarded as belonging to the last generation of the Frankfurt School before its virtual dissolution at the end of the 1960s, is critical of Marcuse's conclusions regarding the inherently oppressive nature of scientific-technical rationality. He observes that in terms of Marcuse's analysis, social emancipation would not be possible without a complementary revolutionary transformation of science and technology. A "new science" would have to be developed involving not only different modes of theory but also a different scientific methodology in general. The aim of the technical, rational control of nature, and by analogy that of society, would be replaced by one of "preserving, fostering and releasing the potentialities of nature". Habermas goes on to remark that

"To this view it must be objected that modern science can be interpreted as a historically unique project only if at least one alternative project is thinkable. And, in addition, an alternative New Science would have to include the definition of a New Technology" (Habermas, 1971:86-87).

Notwithstanding the above criticism, Habermas nevertheless largely agrees with Marcuse regarding the ideological facet of science and technology in modern mass society. His approach to the problem, however, is somewhat different. He uses as his categorical framework the basic distinction between work and interaction. By work he understands purposive-rational action i.e. instrumental action combined with rational choice. Such action he sees as governed by technical rules based on empirical knowledge. By interaction he understands communicative action and symbolic interaction, which is governed by consensual norms defining reciprocal expectations about behaviour. Social systems are distinguished according to which of these two types of action predominates. While the institutional framework of a society is comprised of norms that guide symbolic interaction, there are also subsystems in which primarily sets of purposive-rational action are institutionalized. With the advent of capitalism a level of development of the productive forces came into being that made permanent the extension of subsystems of purposive-rational action and thereby called into question the traditional (symbolic interaction) forms of legitimation of power. Thus the older mythic, religious and metaphysical worldviews are confronted with the rationality of means-ends relations associated with instrumental action. When this happens the traditional forms of legitimation break down. Capitalism provides such a new legitimation of domination which is no longer founded on cultural tradition but is instead based on the rational necessity for the division of labour. In this fashion the legitimation of the institutional framework is linked directly to the system of social labour which in turn is an emission of scientific-technical rationality.

In his analysis Habermas implies that the democratic principle of sharing in the decision-making process, the professed ideological foundation of Western societies, has actually been replaced by mere plebiscitary decisions about alternative sets of leaders of administrative personnel. All actual and potential governments are alike in that they represent technocracies. The background ideology supporting the technocracies has almost completely penetrated the consciousness of the depoliticized masses, thus conferring legitimizing power on governments. Through this process the former manifest domination of the authoritarian state has given way to an indirect form of domination characterized by manipulation through technical-operational administration. It is therefore no wonder that among conditioned individuals adaptive behaviour is increasingly taking the place of normative behaviour based on internalized cultural values. Indeed, there has been a steady weakening to the point of disappearance of the difference between purposive-rational action and symbolic interaction from the consciousness of man. The concealment of this difference alone already provides an indication of the ideological power of technocratic consciousness (Habermas, 1971:81-107).

2.4 Weber and the concept of ideology

If Karl Marx's sociological depiction of capitalism was inspired by the unique socio-economic configurations and human misery of a specific historical epoch, that of mid-nineteenth century industrial Europe, Max Weber's sociology can only be properly grasped within the context of Wilhelmine Germany. The country had only recently become a national state, was ruled by an absolutist monarchistic bureaucracy and was not yet fully industrialized. More important, Weber was subjected to the influences of an eclectic philosophical climate representing most strands of Western European thought of the time.

2.4.1 Intellectual orientation

Of the various intellectual currents already mentioned, the Kantian revival in German idealism in the latter part of the nineteenth century probably had the strongest influence on Weber's epistemology. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) divided reality into two separate compartments: the noumenal and the phenomenal world. The latter encompassed all empirical physical aspects of existence, while its antithesis, the noumenal, referred to the ideal or spiritual order of being. Man participated in the phenomenal world as a knowing subject as well as an object - a physical body. As a spiritual entity, a purposive actor, he also took part in the world of ideas. This aspect of man could not be dealt with by the conventional methods of science: recourse had to be taken to speculative philosophy and the techniques of controlled intuition (Parsons, 1968:473-475).

The Kantian dichotomy between the natural and the cultural sciences encouraged theorists to seek more efficient ways of investigating social phenomena. One of these was the phenomenological technique of Verstehen, developed by Dilthey, which was to become a major ingredient in Weber's sociology.

The second most important intellectual influence on Weber was the historical materialism of Marx as evidenced in the socialist ideology of the German Social Democratic Party. This party, founded by Ferdinand Lassalle and home to Karl Kautsky and August Bebel, was built around the belief in an approaching apocalyptic upheaval more devastating than that of the French Revolution of 1789. These extreme views and their materialistic bias had a profoundly unsettling effect on many German intellectuals of the time. Apart from challenging the dominant idealistic tradition, the creed was also regarded as a threat to liberalism and the freedom of the individual. Counter-approaches to the problems raised by the materialistic school were attempted, and on the substantive level Werner Sombert published his Moderner Kapitalismus in 1902, a widely influential work

that endeavoured to establish the socio-cultural foundations of capitalism (MacRae, 1979:55-61).

Weber's thought took a similar direction, initially being chiefly concerned with historical studies and evidencing a definite materialistic preference. Gradually, however, he became engrossed in other dimensions of socio-cultural causality, particularly the role of ideas and values in society. Thus, according to Bernstein, "As he Weber became clearer about the limits of social science, he became more concerned with its moral and social consequences" (1976:46).

2.4.2 Methodology

Weber's methodology can be traced to the ideas of Christoph Sigwart, Wilhelm Dilthey, Georg Jellinek, Wilhelm Windelband and Heinrich Rickert. He classified the sciences as either nomothetic or idiographic in character (which coincides with the Kantian phenomenal-noumenal duality of knowledge). The natural sciences, being largely nomothetic, are concerned with the establishment of regularities, while the idiographic sciences seek knowledge of unique events. In Honigsheim's words, in Weber's view "The unique individual is one of the factors that determines the development (Werden) of a unique historical situation. The individual's decision in a given situation cannot be predicted with certainty and hence it also cannot be taken into precise account. For this reason, future development cannot be predicted, at least not with the precision that many natural scientists claim to be able to attain within their sphere" (Honigsheim, 1968:114-115).

The social sciences can, however, approximate to reality by employing the method of Verstehen already mentioned. While, as in the case of the natural or physical sciences, one can observe the external manifestations and detect elements of uniformity in social behaviour, one can also ascribe meaning in the form of Verstehen to such behaviour. By empathic means cognizance can be taken of the subjective ele-

ment of human behaviour for a better understanding of individual and group motives. Predictions attempted on the strength of information thus obtained (as well as by other means adequate to the purpose) should preferably take place on the level of chance or probability.

Weber postulated the use of the comparative method in sociology, which can be considered as the methodological equivalent of experimentation in the natural sciences. By controlled comparison of various cases which are similar in some respects, but different in others, one is able to arrive at logical deductions regarding the causality of some of the factors involved (Weber, 1949:1-188).

Weber's work provides outstanding examples of the painstaking research and study of concrete phenomena that must be conducted before valid sociological formulations may be attempted. Although he did not attempt to develop a general all-encompassing theory on the basis of his findings, he made significant theoretical contributions on a wide front.

2.4.3 Systematic theory

Weber defines sociology as "... a science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effects. In 'action' is included all human behaviour when and in so far as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to it. Action in this sense may be either overt or purely inward or subjective; it may consist of positive intervention in a situation, or of deliberately refraining from such intervention or passively acquiescing in the situation. Action is social in so far as, by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it by the acting individual (or individuals), it takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course" (Weber, 1964:88).

His substantive sociology was concerned mainly with the origin and development of the religious, political,

economic and legal institutions of the Western world. In his religious studies he examined the reciprocal influence of economic conditions and social situations on the one hand and religious creeds on the other.

2.4.4 The role of ideology

Various aspects of ideology are evidenced in Weber's work, although the concept itself does not feature prominently in his theory. Foremost among these is the role of values contained in or conveyed by any given ideology. These values can be thought of as ideas pertaining to definitions of the worth and desirability of components of the socio-cultural environment. An ideology in this conception can refer to any belief-system, whether political, religious philosophical or otherwise. In so far as the ideas comprising the belief-system have behavioural relevance, they function normatively with regard to individual or group action.

A central theme pervading Weber's work throughout his lifetime was the development of rationalism in occidental civilization. He endeavoured to trace its beginnings to ancient Judaism as reflected in the events recorded in the Old Testament. The notion of a single omnipotent God who metes out punishment or reward for human actions stimulated man to act rationally within given precepts in an effort to escape His wrath. Man's wellbeing and his material interests were thereby linked with ideas and ideals and his actions could only be understood in terms of both these determinants.³⁾

Weber's view of rationality and his conception of the causality of ideas and values, determining not only the nature of social action but also the character of social institutions, can best be illustrated by turning to his theory of the origin of modern capitalism as set out in his Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus.

Apart from favourable environmental considerations such as climate, geographical setting, natural resources,

population, etc., Weber specified various socio-economic factors, largely unique to the European experience, which he regarded as necessary conditions for the emergence of modern capitalism. These included:

- (i) The separation of economic enterprises from their earlier domestic settings.
- (ii) The development of semi-autonomous cities.
- (iii) The inherited tradition of Roman law with its rationalized judicial practices.
- (iv) The development of nation-states resting on rational-legal principles and administered by bureaucracy.
- (v) The development of more efficient methods of accountancy.
- (vi) The formation of a large labour pool resulting from the massive displacement of the peasantry (an effect of the agricultural revolution of drawn-out wars among the European nations) (Weber, 1976:7-8).

The most important factor according to Weber, however, was the distinctive work-ethic adopted by members of some Protestant denominations during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Weber traces the origin thereof to the Calvinist doctrine of predestination as set out in the Westminster Confession of 1647. According to its articles, God has, in His infinite wisdom, predestined some individuals to everlasting life and foreordained others to eternal death after their earthly sojourn. No action on the part of man can alter God's immutable decision, yet all men, both the blessed and the damned, are required to pay homage to Him. In accordance with this, each man has a vocation on earth and a duty to perform it to the utmost of his ability.

Since salvation was the focus of people's lives, they were interested in knowing whether they were among the chosen few or not. Success in the secular calling was believed to be an almost infallible indication of grace and favour

in the sight of God. The individual was, however, forbidden to indulge in the fruits of his labour and was expected to lead an ascetic, self-disciplined life. His personal advancement and material wealth were to be promoted exclusively to the greater glory of God.

Weber maintained that adherence to these maxims of religious and secular conduct had resulted in unprecedented economic activity, capital accumulation and industrial development in the regions inhabited by Puritans. These growth points formed the nuclei of Western capitalist society. Where the population was predominantly Catholic or Lutheran, economic activity was much less pronounced, as is evidenced by commercial statistics for the relevant areas. Weber ascribed this to the fact that Catholics in general are more otherworldly orientated and that their salvation ultimately depended on the Church's intercession on their behalf. The concept of predestination is also absent from Lutheran dogma and its members are enjoined to accept their lot on earth in anticipation of compensatory rewards in the hereafter. Consequently neither Catholics nor Lutherans were sufficiently motivated to simultaneously excel at work and minimize consumption.

In this manner Weber tried to demonstrate that one of the fundamental elements of the spirit, or ethos, of capitalism was rational conduct born from the moral injunctions of Christian asceticism. But whereas the conduct which led to the inception of capitalism was initially voluntary and based on religious considerations, it had ceased to be so.

"The Puritan wanted to work at a calling; we are forced to do so. For when asceticism was carried out of monastic cells into every-day life, and began to dominate worldly morality, it did its part in building the tremendous cosmos of the modern economic order. This order is now bound to the technical and economic conditions of machine production which today determine the lives of all the individuals who are born into this mechanism, not only those directly concerned with economic acquisition, with irresis-

tible force" (Weber, 1976:181).

What Weber had done with his examination of the role of Protestant ethics in the development of capitalism was not so much to attempt to provide an alternative explanation to that of Marx but to illuminate the multidimensional and reciprocal nature of social causality. What is also of importance for the present study is the fact that he provided strong evidence for the deterministic potential of ideas in general and ideology in particular. One of the reasons for the effectiveness of ideology in mobilizing social action is that it represents a multitude of interlinked, mutually reinforcing ideas. An isolated idea on the other hand rarely has the power to induce significant behaviour. Weber's conception of ideology was therefore not limited to its negative role, its concealment of reality, nor to its neutral aspect as a mere reflection or consciousness of an epoch, but in addition he recognized the positive dynamic nature of ideas which could contribute to major structural changes in society.

In discussing the dynamic component of Weber's theory, Birnbaum (1953:125-151) notes that in effect Weber stressed the psychological of ideology. Ideology bestows upon the individual a coherent world image and an explanation of his life situation. It is this psychological need-fulfilling property of ideology that acts as the fundamental motivational mechanism in human behaviour.

Weber employs the concept of elective affinity to further elucidate the function of ideology as an independent variable in the process of social change. The concept implies that initially no direct correspondence need exist between ideas and interests. Ideas are formed by intellectuals, exist autonomously in the intellectual sphere and do not necessarily express or reflect material conditions. The constituting members of a society select from the existing repertoire of ideas those ideas or aspects thereof which are seen by them to fit the prevailing circumstances at any given time. That is, they select (elect) and popu-

larize those ideological components with which they have an affinity, or which are of relevance to their specific social, cultural and material (economic) situation. In the words of Gerth and Mills (1977:63) "... by distinguishing the phases of the personal and charismatic origin of ideas and their routinization and social impact, Weber is able to take into account a number of complications, which are reflected in changing shades of meaning. Both the ideas and their publics are seen as independent; by a selective process elements in both find their affinities."

Lichtheim (1967:30-34) suggests another, more concealed aspect of Weber's conception of ideology. He observes that for Weber science was both autonomous and morally neutral. Despite his commitment to the advance of rationality, Weber had no illusions regarding the over-all progressiveness of history. His pessimistic outlook, especially in so far as the future of individual freedom was concerned, made it possible for him to achieve a radical divorce between normative judgements and factual statements. He held that every culture has its own norms and values which to it represent reality. Hence ideology really ceases to be relevant as an analytical construct since consciousness is relative and has no absolute points of reference. What may be universally accepted as valid within a given cultural context may be totally rejected in another, yet who is to judge the ultimate truth of either position?

2.5 Contributions by Weberian theorists

Weber's theory lacked a single central postulate equal, for example, to that of Freud's psycho-analytical unconscious, Darwin's biological evolutionism or Marx's economic determinism. Partly because of this no Weberian school as such developed after his death. Nevertheless, his work has been widely influential, both in Europe and in the United States.

In Europe interest in Weber was reawakened with the publication of Lukács' Die Zerstörung der Vernunft in 1953,

part of which accuses Weber of having promoted the imperialistic designs of Germany. This was followed by Wolfgang Mommsen's Weber und die deutsche Politik in which Weber's academic theories were treated as an ideological expression of his political views. In addition, his work was linked to the rise of German fascism in the thirties. Commenting on Weber's analysis of legitimate authority, Mommsen, for example, maintains that "Webers 'Führer-demokratie' galt nicht der Wahrung der Grundwertordnung oder gar der 'Minimierung der Herrschaft', sondern dem Gegenteil, der Machtsteigerung des nationalen Machtwesens und der freien Führerstellung des charismatisch Begabten inmitten einer in blossen Legalismus erstarrten Gesellschaft. Demokratie war für ihn im institutionellen Sinne ... ein Gebilde 'purer Zweckmässigkeit' (Mommsen, 1959:419).⁴)

Mommsen's work led to vehement protests by various academics such as Reinhard Bendix, Karl Löwenstein and Paul Honigsheim.

These scholars had been occupied in analysing, ordering and publicising Weber's work and felt themselves called to protect his academic reputation from being sullied by criticism on an essentially politico-ideological level. The debate on Weber thus continued and reached a climax during the 1964 centenary celebrations of his birth. These were held in Heidelberg and took on the form of a conference organized by the German Sociological Association. The arguments concerning the role of personal politics in Weber's sociology, his philosophy and methodological orientation have still not abated. However, his insights, especially regarding the nature of economic rationalism with its ideological implications, are increasingly recognized. Even one of his otherwise staunchest critics, Herbert Marcuse, is compelled to admit that "... als geronnener Geist ist die Maschine nicht neutral; technische Vernunft ist die jeweils herrschende gesellschaftliche Vernunft: Sie kann in ihrer Struktur selbst verändert werden. Als technische Vernunft kann sie zur Technik der Befreiung gemacht werden. Für Max Weber war diese Möglichkeit Utopie. Heute sieht es so aus

als ob er recht hatte" (Aron, 1980:255-250).⁵⁾

In the United States Weberian thought was mainly introduced through translations of his works by Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills and by Talcott Parsons. The latter had studied in Germany, where he became acquainted with the sociology of Weber. He is probably the most eminent theorist to have incorporated Weberian postulates within his own work and to have expanded on them.

Parsons's voluntaristic theory of action was founded on his attempt to follow "... the development of a particular coherent theoretical system, as an example of the general process of immanent development of science itself" (Parsons, 1968:12). Parsons saw the development of this theoretical system in the works of a number of leading social theorists (Marshall, Pareto and Durkheim) culminating in Weber's postulates regarding society's value-orientation and its effect on social change.

In short, the voluntaristic theory of action maintains that social action results from the interplay of physical and situational conditions (such as heredity and the environment), normative elements, means-ends motivation, and a basic drive or effort on behalf of the actor. The crucial element in determining what kind of action will take place depends on the actor's orientation to the situation in which he finds himself. His orientation again basically consists of motivational and value components. Parsons therefore regards values and ideas (or ideology) as contributing causal factors of social action.

Parsons goes further and examines the relationship between social action and social systems. For present purposes it is sufficient to note only his postulates concerning institutionalization as far as this aspect of his theory is concerned. Institutionalization involves the structuring (patterning) of value-orientations in the social system as well as the internalization of value systems in the personality of the individual. It forms a link between society, culture and the personality. The degree to which role pat-

terns (patterns of culturally appropriate or normative behaviour) are institutionalized may vary from complete integration or social solidarity to a state of total anomie.

Robert Merton, a student of Parsons, gave additional impetus to the expansion of Weberian thought in the United States with the publication of his essay Puritanism, Pietism and Science in 1938. In it he presents an independent study of the relationship between religion and economics. Merton comes to the conclusion that at some stage secular ideas are an extension of the prevailing religious ideas in a community. As far as the development of scientific thought was concerned, Protestant dogma reinforced the quest for knowledge of the natural world set in motion during the Renaissance.

"Empiricism and rationalism were canonized, beatified, so to speak. It may very well be that the Puritan ethos did not directly influence the method of science and that this was simply a parallel development in the internal history of science, but it is evident that through the psychological compulsion toward certain modes of thought and conduct this value-complex made an empirically-founded science commendable rather than, as in the medieval period, reprehensible or at best acceptable on sufferance" (Merton, 1968: 633).

Merton (1968:11-100) also examines the role of ideology in sociological functional analysis and denies that it necessarily implies a conservative orientation toward society. He notes for example that the Marxian view implicitly affirms a causal relationship between religion and behaviour, religion being the "opium of the masses". Functionalism similarly regards religion as a social mechanism influencing human behaviour. One can therefore conclude that both approaches, in as far as religion is concerned, to a greater or lesser degree admit the potential causality of certain ideas. According to Merton, functionalism and Marxism differ in this respect only in so far as the evaluation of the causality or function of religion is concerned. For "... it is the evaluations which permit the pouring of

ideological content into the bottles of functionalism. The bottles themselves are neutral to their contents, and may serve equally well as containers for ideological poison or ideological nectar" (Merton, 1968:99-100).

2.6 A critical comparison of the Marxian and Weberian theories

(Including a general statement and summary of the concept of ideology.)

The discussion to follow in this section is not intended to be an all-inclusive critique. It is limited to only those aspects of Marx's and Weber's theories which are relevant to the analysis of the concept of ideology and the process of social causation. A comparative examination of the respective explanations of social causation by Marx and Weber will first be undertaken, since the major differences between the two theorists, as far as the question of ideology is concerned, revolve around the issue of causality.

2.6.1 Social causation

The works of Marx and Weber are often presented as diametrically opposed attempts to explain the causal factors of social phenomena. More to the point, Weber's relationship to Marx is popularly considered to be a refutation of the latter's "base" materialistic determinism and as a vindication of the "lofty" idealistic conception of human historical development. Thus, for example, in sketching Weber's intellectual background, Parsons (Weber, 1964:6) relates that "... Weber's earlier development took a course which brought him into close contact with the Marxian position. But he soon recoiled from this, becoming convinced of the indispensability of an important role of 'ideas' in the explanation of great historical processes."

It is one of the objectives of this study to demonstrate that, while both Marx's and Weber's postulates concerning social causation are deficient in varying degrees, the ex-

tent of their agreement is much greater than the extent of their differences. In fact, as Giddens (1970) demonstrated, their theories in this regard largely complement each other, albeit in some respects only implicitly. Nonetheless, there are also important conflicting elements in their assessment of social causation. One of these, the deterministic property of ideology (which Marx denied), is to be the subject of the substantively-related discussion presented in Chapter III.

In our discussion of their general theories we have seen that both Marx and Weber profess the importance of material factors as social determinants. But whereas Marx devoted most of his energies to elaborating upon the theme, Weber only referred to it in passing, probably accepting that it had been sufficiently elucidated by his predecessor.

While appreciating the relevance of material factors in social causation (including economic causality and class conflict), some of the more serious shortcomings of Marx's distinctive conceptions thereof need to be mentioned.

The most fundamental difficulty with Marx's version of causation is of an ontological nature, namely his application of the Hegelian dialectic. As observed by MacIver and Page (1964:558-565), the methodology of historical or evolutionary dialectics rests on a purely dogmatic assumption of the process of history. And just as Hegel had thought to have discovered the final dialectical stage in the synthesis of the nation-state, so Marx portrays capitalist society as the penultimate social order preceding the synthesis of socialism. At this stage, according to Marx, the dialectical process, which had operated throughout history, ceases to function and material forces no longer initiate social change. This is a questionable assertion which in its teleological metaphysical origins seriously undermines the valid aspects of Marx's economic determinism.

A further ontological objection to Marxian theory is that he stresses social assumptions while largely ignoring

other kinds of assumptions. But as Parekh (1982:221) points out, "A body of thought rests on the epistemological, methodological, ontological and other kinds of assumptions which cannot all be explained in terms of social assumptions." Referring more specifically to Marx's use of "ideology" in this respect, Carlsnaes (1981:81-82) submits that the concept as used by Marx is evaluatively predeterminative, because the yardstick which he uses in judging ideas as ideological or not is his own philosophical system, which categorizes ideas in terms of their conformity or nonconformity to the dictums of this system. Marx's evaluation of ideas is thus necessarily normative or even doctrinaire in the strict sense of the word. Since the concept of ideology forms an integral part of his system of thought, it ipso facto takes on the character of a predeterminative criterion.

Some theorists such as Bottomore (1979:73-75) blame Marx's personal commitment to the ideal of socialism for the anomalies in his work. In this respect his theory assumes "... the characteristics of sociology as a moral science which, as Durkheim claimed, naturally prolongs itself in philosophical reflection and indeed has its starting point there."

Even an avowedly orthodox Marxist such as Karl Kautsky can become sufficiently confused by the contradictory aspects of Marx's dialectics as to attempt a restatement of its nature. According to Jakubowski he consequently described the dialectical process as only one among several laws of natural and historical development. Man responds to changes in his environment and the dialectic simply refers to "the adjusting of thoughts to facts" or "the adjusting of thoughts to each other" (Jakubowski, 1976:68).

A further criticism (Birnbaum, 1953:129-132) of Marxian theory is its failure to present an adequate analysis of motivation. It deals with two kinds of motivatory factors: external pressure and class-oriented ideology. Marx does not, however, explain the mechanism operative in the gene-

ration of ideology, nor does he recognize the psychological function of ideology. It has therefore consequently been argued that the theory falls short in satisfactorily explaining how material interests are translated into the distinctive behaviour necessary for the achievement of social change. Plamenatz (1975:227) also points to this shortcoming when he observes that, save for the uncritical repetition of widely held opinions, Marx and Engels did not explain how ideas belonging to the ideological superstructure originated and developed. This was of course so because they were primarily concerned with the social functions of concepts relating to religion, morality, law, government, and so on. Nevertheless it does represent a serious gap in Marxian theory when it is viewed in its totality.

Related to what has just been said is Marx's failure to substantiate a dominant theme permeating much of his work: the societal superstructure as a reflection and expression of underlying economic relationships. While his interpretation of the inhibiting effect of class-related ideology upon social change is acceptable, the view that all social institutions and cultural forms are the direct or indirect consequences of the existing economic order fails to take account of other basic causal variables. Adler, for example, correctly notes that "... it is possible to consider other aspects of life as equally or more important than the economic aspects; or the relation between the mental and existential elements of culture may be seen in a relation other than one-way determinism" (Adler, 1957: 406).

In all fairness to Marx one has, however, to agree with Lever (1982:18) that the argument that Marx denies that ideas, or the spiritual side of man in general, play no role in the historical process is a crude interpretation of historical materialism. As Lever concludes, this conception is probably due to the various meanings of the term "materialism". Marx, for example, certainly did not employ the

mechanistic interpretation of the word which was popular in 18th-century materialist doctrine. This was probably also the reason why Marx used the term "naturalism" in preference to "materialism" in his earlier work to escape the latter's generally-held mechanistic connotation.

An allied misconception regarding Marx's doctrine of economic determinism is that which implies that humans act out their lives under pure economic compulsion. To this Lever (1982:19) fittingly replies, "For Marx there is no all-embracing factor standing outside of humanity which determines exactly how men and women will behave. As he [Marx] put it: 'Men make their own history ...' adding, however, the qualification which a moment's reflection suggests is highly reasonable, '... but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past'.

Engels, too, took pains to make clear that, although in the Marxian system the economic base was ultimately decisive in shaping the superstructure (including its ideological components), the latter could in its turn become a secondary determining factor and react upon the base. Thus in the totality of socio-cultural dynamics, the economic factor is only one among several, and the Marxian concept of determination can in fact in a sense be regarded as multidimensional (Larrain, 1983:180-193).

In evaluating Marx's use of the concept of ideology, especially with regard to its role as a possible causal agent, it is important to bear in mind that his thought bears evidence of a qualitative change from his earlier to his more mature works. Carlsnaes (1981:86-87), for example, dwells upon some conflicting elements in Die deutsche Ideologie, notably those concerning an apparent admission by Marx as to the function and necessity of ideas in social change. Mephram (1979:144) similarly refers to the camera obscura metaphor employed by the early Marx to explain the origin of ideology. To this he remarks that Marx had not

at that stage achieved sufficient clarity in the matter, and that Kapital, for instance, represents a great advance in explaining the origin of incorrect ideas.

Notwithstanding the above and other criticisms of Marx's historical-materialism and analysis of ideology, his in-depth treatment of socio-historical evolution remains the most exhaustive account to date of man's dependence on his material environment and the powerful influence which it exerts on most provinces of his existence. As such, Marxian insights, considered in conjunction with the postulates of some other theorists, justifiably form the basis of large areas of modern sociological enquiry and explanation.

To illustrate what has just been said, it can be noted that Weber's explanation of social causation complements Marxian theory in precisely those areas where its limitations are most evident. For one thing, Weber did not agree with the dialectical conception of history nor with the notion of the progressive development of mankind. Consequently he was in a position to conduct extensive comparative studies of several civilizations, including premodern China and India and ancient Palestine and Rome, which had developed in relative isolation from each other. In doing this he assessed the relative causality of ideological factors in each while holding constant the material variables. The Marxian frame of reference precluded such sociological experiments since these societies were regarded as "arrested" or "preliminary" variants of capitalism (Birnbaum, 1953:137).

In adopting an explicitly multi-causal approach, Weber was able to develop a theory which made adequate allowance for the role of ideological determinants of social phenomena, including social structure, process and change. Furthermore, Weber recognized the psychological functions of ideology; that it provided the individual with the necessary motivation and impetus for his actions which was usually congruent with his world image and life-situation. According to the tenets of Weber's methodology, these motivational considerations could be sympathetically grasped by the quasi-phenomenological process of Verstehen. More specifically, he con-

vincingly demonstrated that the development of capitalist ventures required a distinctive set of values and psychological qualities in addition to generally favourable material conditions. As Bottomore (1979:97) correctly concludes, "... the Protestant ethic which at the very least contributed to the selfconfidence and determination of the bourgeoisie, promoted a climate of opinion favourable to its activities, and hastened its triumph". Or in the words of Abercrombie (1980:105): "The 'Protestant ethic' so formed matched the forms of behaviour required for capitalist activity and provided thereby one of the essential preconditions for the emergence of capitalism. Ideology, in the form of Protestantism, is a precondition of capitalism."

Later, as we have already mentioned, other theorists were able, whether intentionally or not, to embroider upon Weber's theme of the relevance of man's value-orientations in society. In stressing the normative implications of non-logical actions as opposed to logical actions, Parsons, for example, effectively criticized earlier theories which ignored man's dependence on values and susceptibility to normative pressures in every-day life. And as Brand (1977: 10) points out, even most elements of Popper's theory of understanding are akin to those of Weber.

Needless to say, Weber's findings too have not been able to escape extensive criticism from several quarters. Marxist theorists, for example, predictably take exception to his view of the social causality of religion. Critics have also maintained that his analysis of capitalism is based upon unsatisfactory empirical facts and that his sources are chiefly Anglo-Saxon. He is accused of having misrepresented both Protestantism and Catholicism and of not being justified in contrasting modern capitalism and preceding types of capitalistic activity to the extent he did. Some critics such as Macrae (1979) consider him an idealist, implying that he overemphasizes the causality of ideas, much in the way in which Marx is often labelled a materialist for overemphasizing economic determinism.

Others in addition doubt the methodological and episte-

mological premises upon which Weber's theories are based. Abel (1948:49), for example, goes to great lengths in an effort to demonstrate that the operation of Verstehen lacks the fundamental attributes of scientific method and maintains that it can therefore not serve as the basis of sociological research and theory.

Whereas Marxian thought is in effect coupled to socialist doctrine, Weberian theory can similarly be regarded as revealing ideological bias, albeit in an opposite direction. Thus Ashcraft (1972:162) asserts that Weber produced a bourgeois counterpart to historical materialism: it is the main reason for Weber's popularity, especially in the United States, since to many his rejection of Marx appears to be a confirmation of the independent causality of ideas in the course of history (a claim which Weber never in fact made). The accusation of ideological bias, incidentally, is of course also one of the main criticisms directed at Parsonian sociology and an important reason for its declining influence in recent years.

Houghton (1977:162) laments the lack of systematic theory in Weber's application of the concept of ideology. He maintains that "When ideology and action are seen in Weberian terms, as they are by most sociological students of ideology, they tend to dissolve into an all but ineffable flux of meanings, values, beliefs, ends, means, and 'types' of actions. The relationship of ideology, conceived mentalistically, to action is left unspecified and it is significant that no coherent theory of ideas, values, and beliefs has emerged."⁶⁾

In summing up the respective positions of Marx and Weber on socio-historical determination, one arrives at the conclusion that although each had his own, distinct point of view, their conceptions of causality are nevertheless remarkably related and in fact quite compatible if not complementary. Lever (1982:27-28) puts it very concisely when he says that Marx does not suggest a straightforward causal determination. Rather he maintains that po-

litical life and ideologies will tend towards conformity with established relationships of production. With Weber we have a shift in emphasis and one can well go along with Abercrombie (1980:105) when he maintains that Weber "... rejects any assertion that economy or ideology have a causal primary". The relative of either element in a given situation cannot be determined a priori but depends entirely on substantive circumstances.

2.6.2 Ideology

The analysis of the Marxian and Weberian positions regarding causality simultaneously clarifies the most significant discrepancies of their respective interpretations of ideology. Marx, as we have seen, had a very definite theory of ideology, largely equating it with false consciousness as Eyerman (1981:43-55) points out, and the concept is applied to intellectuals and capitalists (the bourgeois) who have lost touch with the "natural unfolding of the laws of history" and thus strive to maintain the status quo. Weber, again, as is clear from the preceding discussions, did not develop a theory of ideology as such, but instead applied the term to any group of related ideas and beliefs. It now remains to formulate a more abstracted general statement of the chief constituent elements of the concept.

First, we have seen that both Marx and Weber, and virtually all other theorists, agree that ideology consists of a set of interrelated ideas. This system of ideas can pertain to a limited segment of perceived reality such as society, religion, politics, economics, nature, the individual, or even to science itself. The system of ideas can also encompass the entire universe of human existence, permeating all levels, in the sense of Mannheim's total ideology. Indeed, with respect to inclusiveness, ideological thought can be situated at any point along a continuum, the poles of which are a single dominating idea at the one extreme and an all-inclusive pattern of thought at the other.

Second, ideological ideas variously comprise definitions of value, existentialist interpretations, normative prescriptions, explanations of behavioural conduct and epistemological assumptions. These cognitions are symbolically conveyed in oral or written linguistic utterances, semantic structures, artistic creations, behavioural expressions, occupational or recreational activity and by all other vehicles of communication present in a culture which are subjectively and/or objectively meaningful.

The third dimension inherent in ideology is that of proximity to reality. Ideas can either reflect an existing situation more or less accurately, or be complete misrepresentations in the extreme sense of the Engelsian false consciousness, Baconian idols or Machiavellian deliberate deception. Related to this is the characteristic that ideologies vary in the extent of their internal logical consistency, for factual elements incorporated within an ideology usually consist of specially selected features of reality which appear to be in agreement with and support its basic propositions. Objective phenomena which contradict these are either overlooked or explained away by resort to metaphysical conjecture. As a result, ideologies are often based on principles which by their very nature, or because of the terms in which they are couched, make any empirical verification or rejection impossible. It is this moralistic and elevated character of some ideologies which makes allegiance to them more a matter of faith than honest conviction. It does not necessarily follow that all such ideas are invalid but merely that these principles, presented as absolutes, are usually not amenable to empirical tests.

Non-ideological thought by contrast represents an accurate depiction of substantive phenomena within the framework of scientific epistemology. Arguments are variously brought forward to the effect that even such ideas are ideological since they rest upon certain philosophical assumptions which in themselves defy positive proof. This point of view puts our entire grasp of existence into ques-

tion and can only be considered in purely philosophical terms beyond the scope of the present study.

Fourth, ideologies are related to the societies in which they are found. As Helvetius, Marx and Mannheim asserted, there is a positive correlation between ideology and the social structure, ideas often being the consequence or reflection of certain dominant features of the social structure.

Fifth, ideologies vary in regard to their psychological characteristics. These may be subdivided into:

- (i) Psychological origin - some ideologies initially evolve in response to and as sublimations of basic psychological conditions. Freud's psycho-analysis and Pareto's sentiments represent attempts to come to grips with the problematics of this process.
- (ii) Internalization - ideology, when imposed from without through the normal process of socialization or through deliberate indoctrination, is eventually incorporated into and becomes part of the individual's psychological disposition. The degree of internalization depends on the vigour of inculcation and the pliability of the subject. It can vary from a vague awareness of the ideas in question to a complete identification with them and their subsequent absorption into the personality structure.
- (iii) Emotive content - in the majority of cases ideologies elicit an emotional response in the individual.
- (iv) Psychological function - ideology answers to the individual's need for a coherent world-image and explanation of his life-situation as variously described by Durkheim, Weber, Freud and Mannheim.
- (v) Behavioural proclivity - ideologies either induce or inhibit distinctive behavioural patterns in response to certain stimuli.⁷⁾

Sixth, ideologies are of functional consequence (other than those of a purely psychological nature referred to above) for the societies in which they exist. These can be negative in the Marxian and Marcusean sense of inhibiting socio-historical "progress", or positive as portrayed in Durkheim's collectivistic-ideological conception of the origin of institutions. More in particular, a number of theorists including Machiavelli, Marx, Marcuse, Habermas and in certain respects also Weber, consider domination, control and exploitation to be a primary constituent and objective of ideological postulates.

Seventh, ideological thought is relativistic since, as Weber indicated, criteria of validity depend on the cultural context in which they are applied. Mannheim concurs in his usage of total ideology as a relational concept and Merton stresses the role of divergent evaluations of identical phenomena.

Finally, ideological systems are either open or closed permitting social experiment and change to a greater or lesser degree. Bourgeois capitalist society as depicted by Weber, for example, adheres to some fundamental assumptions and values but allows for developmental variations in its structure and the self-realization of its members. Orthodox Marxist-Leninist society on the other hand is subject to the centralized dogmatic interpretation of the inviolable laws of "scientific socialism" which regulate most spheres of existence.

This discussion should be sufficient to make clear that any endeavour to formulate a short, concise sociological definition of the concept of ideology is bound to be thwart with difficulties. The concept is of such complexity and richness in connotation that an abridged definition would unavoidably prove simplistic, incomplete and misleading. Needless to say, substantive ideologies do not always manifestly incorporate all the properties enumerated above, while one or other may be totally lacking. All the properties, however, are readily identifiable when thought-sy-

systems which are commonly or selectively categorized as ideologies by sociologists are examined in their entirety. Furthermore, in the interests of research an inclusive, detailed presentation of the concept of ideology has undeniable heuristic value providing a paradigm or model, as it were, for the selection, description, comparison and general analysis of significant traits of different ideologies.



FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

- 1) A concept has no independent existence as such: it is a human construct, being the consequence of the mental manipulation of perceptions and other concepts through the processes of interpretation, association and abstraction. It is a generalization referring more to classes or categories than to single objects and is universal inside a given communication area. Concepts are relatively stable and are inclined to be consistent in their meanings. Being generalizations, they normally include only the essential characteristics of the referents and this purposeful selection and integration of the main characteristics of a class imbues a concept with a measure of formality.

The referents of a concept have or at least are assumed to have concrete or empirical existence whether this is directly discernible or not. These referents, moreover, are infinitely variable, having only a limited number of common characteristics, and while even these characteristics can vary in any number of ways, it is to them that a concept refers. All concepts form part of one or more conceptual systems in which they are logically integrated, the amount of integration being dependent on the type of concept and the success achieved in efforts at systematizing the concept logically (Joubert, 1964:19-20).

Merton (1968:143) stresses the importance of concepts in theory-formation yet warns that conceptual analysis, while indispensable for this purpose, should not be confused with theory as such. Only systemically interrelated concepts which have their origin in empirical phenomena should be thought of as comprising theory. It is evident that concepts help to create order out of confusion: they provide a means of mentally stabilizing various aspects of reality and are the basis of

communication and logical analysis.

- 2) "At present (1843) the concern is not to depict man, but rather to retrieve him from the (Sc. 'idealistic') quagmire into which he had sunk." The task was: "... to deduce the necessity for a human philosophy, i.e. an anthropology, from the philosophy of the Absolute i.e. (Sc. philosophical) theology and to establish a human philosophy upon the critique of divine philosophy" (Löwith, 1932:179-180).
- 3) In Weber's own words, "Interests (material and ideal), not ideas, directly govern man's conduct. Nevertheless, 'views of the world' created by 'ideas' have frequently acted like switchmen indicating the lines along which action has been propelled by the dynamic of interests" (Brand, 1977:6).
- 4) "Weber's 'leadership democracy' did not exist for the protection of basic rights or even for the 'minimization of authority' but, on the contrary, for the increased power of the State and an independent leadership position of the charismatic talented in the midst of a society engrossed in pure legalism. For him democracy in the institutional sense ... was a creation of 'pure expedience' (Mommsen, 1959:419).
- 5) "... viewed as congealed spirit the machine is not neutral; technical rationality corresponds to the predominating societal rationality: its structure can be altered. Technical rationality can thus be utilized as a liberating technique. For Max Weber this possibility was Utopia. Today it would seem that he was right" (Aron, 1980:255-256).
- 6) Mullins (1972:502) regards this ubiquitous characteristic of ideology (i.e. as frequently reflected in the concept's application in sociological treatises) as a "... problem of boundaries in the conceptualization of ideology [which] arises from the failure to maintain distinctions between ideology and other cultural

phenomena (especially myth and utopia) with which ideology is often confused". Indeed he prefers a more concise, socio-political usage for the concept, defining it as "... a logically coherent system of symbols which, within a more or less sophisticated conception of history, links the cognitive and evaluative perception of one's social condition - especially its prospects for the future - to a program of collective action for the maintenance, alteration or transformation of society". While this is certainly a very promising definition from a political-science point of view, Mullins's conception of ideology would probably be viewed as too restrictive by most sociologists. See also the remarks in the final paragraph of Chapter II in this regard.

- 7) The preceding discussion of social causality (Section 2.6.1) is an elaboration of this. Apart from Marx's and Weber's contributions, the postulates of Parson's voluntaristic theory of action represent the most thorough attempt to date to relate ideas and values with behaviour.

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CHAPTER III

THE HERERO OF CENTRAL NAMIBIA

3.1 Historical background3.1.1 Origins

It is generally accepted that the Herero participated in the large-scale Bantu migrations from the African lacustrine area which took place from the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to Seligman (1978:117), the Bantu peoples are differentiated from true Negroid peoples in that the former have a partially Hamitic ancestry. Ethnologically, Bantu are defined on the basis of purely linguistic criteria. It can nevertheless be surmised that the nomadic pastoralism of the Herero is also indicative of erstwhile Hamitic influences.

Attempts at piecing together the early history of the Herero have thus far been based mainly on oral evidence and genealogical computation. Among the better-known accounts are those of Hahn (1869) Dannert (1906), Irle (1906) and Vedder (1928 and 1934). There is general agreement that the Herero entered the territory which was to become known as South West Africa and later as Namibia along various routes in small, essentially self-contained groups. The majority appear to have arrived in north-western Namibia around 1550 and after a sojourn in the Kaokoveld they resumed their southward push in search of new pastures about 1750.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Herero eventually inhabited an area that stretched from the Erongo Mountains in the west to the Black Nossob in the east and from the Auas Mountains just south of the present-day Windhoek to the Otavi Mountains in the north.

Given the aridity of the climate, the Herero soon found themselves competing for scarce land and water resources with the original inhabitants, the Dama and the San. The marginal ecology of these groups' existence did not permit them to continue their accustomed life-style in co-existence

with the Herero herdsmen and they were compelled either to seek refuge in the more inhospitable mountain and desert regions or to accept servitude.

Throughout most of their wanderings the Herero left behind small groups who had found the various environments to their liking. Today one encounters Herero or Herero-related communities as far-flung as Southern Angola, Kaokoland, Central Namibia and Botswana. According to Estermann (1976:xxvii), the Herero in Angola comprise seven tribes. He notes that "... in the South are the Himba and Tyavikwa, then the Zimba and Hakavona, and still further north the better known Kuvale, with whom may be grouped the Kwanyoka and Ngendelengo". The Namibian Herero consist of four major divisions: the Himba and Tjimba in Kaokoland, the Mbanderu in the east and the Herero proper in the central parts. The Herero of Botswana are mainly the descendants of the group which fled after the battle of Waterberg and managed to seek refuge in the former British Protectorate. The forbears of some Botswanan Herero, however, had already migrated into Ngamiland about 1896 (Vivelo, 1974:40).

3.1.2 Pre-colonial history

The overlordship of the Herero in their new country did not go unchallenged for long, for they soon encountered another pastoral people in the vicinity of the Swakop River, members of the Khoi¹⁾, and friction soon arose between the two. In fact the history of the Herero for the greater part of the nineteenth century was characterized by a seemingly interminable series of feuding, skirmishes and cattle-raiding between these adversaries.

The first serious clash occurred in 1830 when drought conditions prevailed and induced the Herero herdsmen to invade traditional Nama grounds with their cattle. The Red Nation Nama tribe, unable to withstand the superior Herero forces, turned to the Oorlam leader Jonker Afrikaner for help. Afrikaner, who had entered Namibia with his father Jager Afrikaner from the Northern Cape some years before,

was in possession of fire-arms and easily defeated the Herero in three successive battles (Vedder, 1934:181-187).

Having driven his adversaries into the mountainous regions near Okahandja, Jonker returned to Windhoek where he established his new headquarters. While devising methods for the eventual subjugation of the entire region the Oorlam leader preyed upon Herero cattle to meet his expenses. It was during this time that the first European contact was made with Herero individuals, for they had previously been known to the white man only through reports deriving from Khoi tribesmen.

Sir James Alexander undertook an overland journey from Cape Town to Walvis Bay in 1836-37. From there he travelled eastward up the Kuiseb River, calling upon Jonker Afrikaner along the way. In Jonker's kraal he saw a number of captured Herero and made a study of their language and customs (Alexander, 1838:163-179). However, it was only with the arrival of the missionaries Carl Hugo Hahn and Franz Heinrich Kleinschmidt, who were dispatched by the Rhenish Mission Society at the request of Jonker, that Westerners first became acquainted with the Herero in their own cultural setting. After witnessing the conclusion of a peace treaty between Jonker and the Herero chieftains Tjamuaha and Kahitjeni in Windhoek in December 1842, Hahn visited the tribal kraal at Okahandja in February the following year (Vedder, 1934:215-218).

Hahn and Kleinschmidt presently established a mission station at Otjikango (the present-day Gross Barmen) not far from Okahandja. Hahn worked among the Herero with great dedication and learned their language but nevertheless had to wait fifteen years for his first Christian convert (Vedder et al, 1928:158).

Jonker Afrikaner continued raiding and extended his sorties northwards into the domain of the Ovambo. As a consequence, by the time of his death in 1861 the Herero had suffered extensive losses in both life and property. Jonker was succeeded by Christian Afrikaner and his vassal, Tjamuaha, who died in the same year, was succeeded by Ma-

harero.

This was to be the turning point in the fortunes of the Herero people. Maharero and his brother, Wilhelm, managed to escape from Okahandja to Otjimbingwe where they were attacked by Christian Afrikaner in 1863. The Namas suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Herero (who were aided by European traders) and Christian lost his life in the battle. His brother Jan Jonker, who took over the leadership of the Afrikaner tribe, was determined to avenge the setback but never quite succeeded (Goldblatt, 1971:29-32).

The next seven years were characterized by intermittent strife between the two parties with Maharero's people gradually gaining the ascendancy. The Herero successes were mainly due to the fact that they had been steadily supplied with fire-arms by the white traders and missionaries who wished to undermine the former Nama hegemony. In 1870 a peace treaty was concluded through the instrumentality of the missionaries and a period of relative calm followed that was to last for ten years. During this time missionary activities were stepped up and increasing numbers of white traders, hunters, miners and farmers mainly of British, German and Dutch extraction entered the country. In 1880 Nama tribesmen drove off a large herd of sacred cattle belonging to Maharero. He promptly ordered the execution of all Namas residing near his royal kraal at Okahandja and other Herero-occupied areas. Once again the country was in the grip of general turmoil and bloodshed, a new peace between the warring parties being concluded only in 1892 (Malan, 1980:57-58).

3.1.3 German colonization

In contrast to the other major European powers of the nineteenth century, Germany for a long time showed no interest in obtaining colonies. Chancellor Otto von Bismarck in particular had no colonial ambitions and preferred in-

stead to pursue a policy of free trade. However, under the increasing pressure of the Mission and various commercial entrepreneurs who demanded imperial protection for their overseas ventures, Bismarck eventually yielded and launched his country on a course of colonialism (Gann & Duignan, 1977:1-25).

Thus the area between the Orange and Kunene rivers was proclaimed a German Protectorate in 1884 and Heinrich Goering was dispatched as special Imperial Commissioner to the territory the following year. His task was to establish order and consolidate Germany's position through the conclusion of protection treaties with the various tribal leaders. Bley (1968:21-22) states that "Die Verträge, oft unter Druck und vagen Versprechungen abgeschlossen, zielten zunächst mehr auf einen völkerrechtlichen Rechtstitel als auf eine staatsrechtliche Neuordnung. Dementsprechend wurden die Stammesstruktur und die Häuptlingsgewalt in ihnen garantiert. Nur das Recht auf Kriegsführung wurde aufgehoben, die Europäer der Rechtsprechung der Häuptlinge entzogen und die Freizügigkeit für Europäer verlangt."²⁾

At first Goering was partially successful in accomplishing his objectives, but in 1888 Maharero repudiated the agreement with the German Government when he realized that the protection treaty in itself was insufficient to put an end to tribal strife. It became apparent that a show of armed force was necessary for the assertion of German authority and in view of this Captain Curt von François was sent to the Protectorate with a small military contingent in 1889.

In 1890 the ailing Maharero was pressured into reviving the former treaty with Germany. Hendrik Witbooi, the Oorlam chieftain who had taken over leadership of the main Nama elements from Jan Jonker Afrikaner, repudiated Maharero for his action. In a letter to Maharero he rendered an analysis of the then existing political situation and showed extraordinary insight into the course of future developments in his country.

He wrote from Hornkrans on 30 May 1890: "... gy zult eeuwig berouw hebben, dat U Uwe land en regeringsreg in de handen der witte menschen afgegeven hebben, ... want ik weet niet of U genoegzaam, dat Woord nagedacht en goed verstaan hebt, dat U in Deutsche Bescherming zich ingegeven hebt, ik weet niet of U en uw Herrero Natie de zetten en wetten, en gedraag van die Regeering zal verstaan, en langer daarin staan met gerustheid en vrede want gij zult de werken van Geuring niet verstaan en niet met de vrede zyn want hij zal niet naar uwen wil en gewoonte wetten handelen en wandelen maar het zal voor U te laat zyn want gij hebt hen reeds de volle regt gegeven en hij zal nu niet meer onder U zicht beugen, en U zal zicht ook niet onder hem laten beugen maar het zal u Niet helpen want gij hebt zicht reeds onder zyn magt gegeven, ..." (Witbooi, 1929:79-81).³⁾

Maharero died in the same year and was succeeded by his son Samuel Maharero who was appointed Paramount Chief by Von François in 1891. In 1894 Major Theodor Leutwein arrived in Windhoek eventually to replace Von François (who had experienced difficulty in subjugating Witbooi and had thus fallen into disfavour with the colonial office in Berlin) as Governor of German South West Africa. After finally defeating the Witboois in the Naukluft Mountains in the south, the government set about colonising and developing the country. According to Bley (1968), Leutwein's land policy was directed essentially at the gradual transfer of land from the Africans to the European settlers by peaceful means. He contrived to stabilize land-ownership by securing fixed boundaries and by altering land-laws in Herero territory to enable settlers to buy land on a permanent basis. By being deprived of their economic base, Africans would concomitantly become available as labourers.

The German government also lost no time in consolidating its position by establishing growth-points, reinforcing its defences, improving communications and constructing a railway line from Swakopmund to Windhoek. It was furthermore decided to demarcate an area of crown land which

was to be out of bounds for Herero cattle. On this point agreement was reached between Leutwein and Samuel Maharero that the White Nossob (from its source to where it turns south) would constitute the southern boundary between Herero territory and the German crown land (Pool:1979:23). It was only when the first cattle were confiscated after having crossed the demarcated line that the ordinary Herero came to realize the full implications of the measure. In what was to become known as the "War of the Boundary" the Herero leaders Nicodemus and Kahimemua, both rivals of Maharero, rose against the Germans in the east in 1896.⁴⁾ German troops, aided by Oorlam, Nama, Baster and Herero horsemen (including Samuel Maharero among their number), quelled the uprising and its leaders were apprehended and executed in Okahandja (Goldblatt, 1971:124-126). This was but a prelude to the events that were to follow shortly, the reverberations of which can be felt to the present day.

3.1.4 The revolt of the Herero

Much has been written as to the causes of the Herero uprising of 1904, ranging from attempts to justify either the German or Herero actions at the time to more disinterested analyses of the mutually reinforcing, multiple factors which cumulatively led to the final conflagration. Thus the official report of the German General Staff maintains that the Herero's "... eigentlicher Charakter ist ein wenig erfreuliches Gemisch von Grausamkeit, Habgier, Verschlagenheit und Selbstüberschätzung, welche letztere sich vor allem in einer masslosen Verachtung aller Fremden, gleichviel ob schwarz oder weiss, ausdrückt. ... Es lag auf der Hand dass jede ernsthafte Kolonisation an solchen starken Eigenschaften der eingeborenen Stämme Widerstand finden musste. In deren kriegerischer und freiheitsliebender Art ist deshalb auch wohl die vornehmste Ursache des allgemeinen Aufstandes vom Jahre 1904 zu suchen.

"Alle anderen grossen und kleinen Ursachen, denen man später in Deutschland die Schuld zuschob, verschwinden da-

gegen. Der grosse unvermeidbare Kampf mit den Eingeborenen musste früher oder später kommen, wollte anders Deutschland nicht auf eine wirtschaftliche Erschliessung des Landes verzichten. Wer hier kolonisieren wollte musste zuerst zum Schwert greifen und Krieg führen - aber nicht mit kleinlichen und schwächlichen Mitteln, sondern mit starker, Achtung gebietender Macht bis zur völligen Niederwerfung der Eingeborenen" (Kriegsgeschichtliche Abteilung I des Grossen Generalstabes, 1906:4).⁵⁾

On the other hand, Bridgman (1981:60) notes that "In the opinion of present-day East German scholars, the naked economic exploitation of the natives was the sole reason for the rebellion, and they mock bourgeois historians who claim that the conflict grew out of irreconcilable racial and cultural differences. Yet the economic explanation is too simple."

Samuel Maharero, again, justified his move to have whites in the country killed (in a letter dated 6 March 1904, addressed to Leutwein) as follows:

"... This was not begun in this year by me, rather has it been started by the Whites (yourself). You know yourself how many Hereros have been killed by White people, particularly traders, with guns, and in prisons and whenever I took these matters to Windhoek the blood of my people was compensated for by a small number of small stock, namely 50 (or even 15). The traders increased the hardship by pressing my people to accept articles on credit; thereafter they robbed us (secured payment for themselves) and they went so far as to secure payment by taking away by force 2 or 3 head of cattle for a debt of £1 sterling.

"These are the matters that have given rise to the war in this country ..." (Goldblatt, 1971:133-134).⁶⁾

It would probably be fair to summarize the main contributory factors to the Herero uprising as follows:

(i) German meddling in the Herero succession question

According to Herero custom Nicodemus should have

been the lawful successor to Maharero. German support for Samuel Maharero in his efforts to establish himself as paramount leader alienated a large portion of the Herero.

(ii) Leutwein's policy of divide and rule

By conceding to Samuel's request that his territory be expanded to the Seeis River in 1896 while refusing a similar request by Nicodemus for the inclusion of Gobabis in his territory, Leutwein succeeded in compounding the estrangement between the two and thus caused further bitterness against his policies.

(iii) The great rinderpest of 1897

During the great rinderpest of 1897 the Herero lost the greater part of their herds. They subsequently accused the authorities of taking insufficient steps to have their cattle vaccinated against the disease.

(iv) The land question

By 1903 fully $3\frac{1}{2}$ million ha of the original 12 million ha which had formerly belonged to the Herero were in the hands of white settlers. Concerned about this trend, Leutwein toyed with the idea of creating reserves, much to the consternation of the Herero. They feared losing what land still remained in their possession and thus finally being forced into servitude. The construction of the Otavi railroad through the heart of Hereroland, whereby the Otavi Minen und Eisenbahn Gesellschaft, the company which was financing the undertaking, demanded title to a wide strip of land (20 km) on either side of the railroad plus all water rights in the area, reinforced Herero apprehensions in this regard.

(v) The unscrupulous actions of traders

Payment for goods sold on credit was often secured by resorting to violent measures and in amounts out of all proportion to the debts incurred.

(vi) Differing conceptions of jurisprudence and the administration of justice

According to Herero tribal custom for example, all land was held in common and neither the chief nor any other member had any special rights over it. The signing away of large tracts of land by Samuel Maharero to the Germans was therefore considered illegal and was consequently not generally recognized by the Herero. Regarding the administration of justice, the Herero were accustomed to swift trial and punishment of offenders. German court cases, however, were often drawn-out affairs and when the accused was a white who had transgressed against a black, this caused the Herero to doubt whether the authorities intended to punish the offender at all.

(vii) Unequal treatment of black and white transgressors by the courts of law

One could in fact argue a case for the total disregard of law and due process on the part of the colonial authorities when it came to black transgressors.

(viii) Racial tension

Racial tension caused primarily by a white-supremacist consciousness on the part of the settlers and their generally contemptuous attitude to the customs and human worth of the indigenes. The solemn promise embodied in Article 3 of the protection

treaty with the Herero (in which the Germans undertook to respect Herero customs) was thus really completely ignored. Related to this were opposing existential values (such as those regarding work ethics) which aggravated often already poor labour relations, since employers were in the habit of extending the right of "fatherly chastisement" to their employees. Sexual abuse of indigenous females also caused smouldering resentment.

(ix) The desire for an unfettered independence

The Herero's yearning to regain their independence and their refusal to live under the yoke of a foreign power or to submit to its uncongenial culture was reinforced by the cumulative effect of the aforementioned factors. (cf. Bley, 1968:160-188; Bridgman, 1981:57-66; Pool, 1979:14-54; Sollors, 1972:137-146; and Wellington, 1967:187-200).

The opportunity to revolt arose when the Bondelswarts Nama tribe rebelled against the German authorities in the south in October 1903. Leutwein sent the greater part of the colonial troops to suppress the unrest and later went to join them himself. Taking advantage of the military vacuum thus created, Samuel Maharero gave the signal to attack on 11 January 1904. He explicitly ordered that all Englishmen, Basters, Bergdamara, Nama and Boers were to be spared. The Herero began the uprising the following day by falling upon various farms, settlements and outposts killing 123 Germans (Leutwein, 1906:466). Contrary to custom, the lives of women and children were preserved, as were those of all missionaries.

After recovering from the initial shock of the uprising, which had caught the Germans totally by surprise, the troops regrouped and relieved the besieged towns and forts. In the first four months of the war the Herero warriors main-

tained the initiative and made off with most of the livestock owned by whites, destroying numerous farms, bridges and portions of the railway line in the process. In six battles and a number of skirmishes they gained victory over their adversaries as often as they themselves suffered loss. In desperation the German High Command replaced Leutwein with General Lothar von Trotha, a man who had gained a reputation for his ferocity in East Africa a decade before. Von Trotha immediately ordered troop reinforcements to be sent to the colony in preparation for a final onslaught.

The Herero withdrew to their Waterberg stronghold, where they, numbering about 50 000 men, women and children and as many cattle, were eventually partially surrounded and severely defeated by superior German fire-power on 11 August 1904. In desperation they managed to break through a gap in the encirclement during the night and were allowed to escape eastwards into the waterless Omaheke (western Kalahari) where the overwhelming majority perished of thirst. Those who could not flee were put to death (Bridgman, 1981:66-127).

Von Trotha's genocidal intentions became evident when he promulgated his notorious Schiessbefehl on 2 October 1904 at a time when the Hereros had already been utterly vanquished:

"Osombo-Windembe, 2. Oktober 1904

Ich, der grosse General der deutschen Soldaten sende diesen Brief an das Volk der Herero. - Herero sind nicht mehr deutsche Untertanen. Sie haben gemordet, gestohlen, haben verwundeten Soldaten Ohren und Nasen und andere Körperteile abgeschnitten und wollen jetzt aus Feigheit nicht mehr kämpfen. Ich sage dem Volke: Jeder, der einen der Kapitäne an einer meiner Stationen als Gefangenen abliefert, erhält 1 000 Mark; wer Samuel Maharero bringt, 5 000 Mark. Das Volk der Herero muss jetzt das Land verlassen. Wenn das Volk dies nicht tut, so werde ich es mit dem "groot Rohr" (Geschütz) dazu zwingen. Innerhalb der deutschen

Grenze wird jeder Herero mit oder ohne Gewehr, mit oder ohne Vieh, erschossen. Ich nehme keine Weiber und keine Kinder mehr auf, treibe sie zu ihrem Volk zurück und lasse auf sie schießen. Das sind meine Worte an das Volk der Herero. Der grosse General des mächtigen deutschen Kaisers v. Trotha" (Rust, 1905:385).⁷⁾

Von Trotha was compelled by higher authority to lift the order some weeks later and captured Herero were henceforth put in chains and sent to concentration camps, where the able-bodied were obliged to do forced labour on various projects. In the course of time all tribal lands were confiscated, strict pass-regulations enforced, tribal chieftainships prohibited and the ownership of large stock forbidden (Bley, 1968:204-212). The Hereros had ceased to exist as a tribal entity and their numbers had decreased from an estimated 80 000 before the war to approximately 20 000 after it (Goldblatt, 1971:200).⁸⁾ Until the arrival of the Union troops under General Louis Botha in 1915, after the outbreak of World War I, the surviving Herero continued to lead a precarious existence under the harsh conditions imposed by their German masters.

During this period of social disorganization the Herero accepted Christian baptism in significantly large numbers for the first time in their history. In being deprived of land and cattle they had also lost their spiritual and material succour. They thus turned to the missionaries in whom they saw a substitute means of providing for both their religious needs and their material well-being. The missionaries could not adequately cope with the situation which was suddenly thrust upon them and necessarily had to disappoint the Herero's expectations. This led to a crisis of confidence which was aggravated by the missionaries' gradual closer alignment with the colonial authorities (Sundermeier, 1973:86-88).

3.1.5 Under South African rule

On the whole the period of South African military oc-

cupation passed off peacefully and the indigenous population generally welcomed the presence of the Union troops. The authorities soon took steps to liberalize labour legislation and to ensure more humane penalties for transgressions. All inhabitants were allowed to possess cattle once more and preliminary grazing reserves were set aside for this purpose. In February 1918 the Herero became the recipients of the first official reserve (Otjohorongo) to be created by the new rulers (Schoeman, 1975:68-96). According to Wienecke (1967:74-75), the return of some of their former land was interpreted by the Herero as a token of ancestral magnanimity.

This led to a revival of traditional religious practices in gratitude to the forefathers for their generosity. Sundermeier (1973:88-89), however, is of the opinion that this process had already begun with the disillusionment of the Herero with their Christian mentors in the closing years of the German regime, which was compounded by the military government's censure of the Rhenish Mission's alleged collaboration with the colonists.

At the conclusion of World War I, General Jan Smuts was in favour of annexing the former German colony as a fifth province of the Union of South Africa. In this Smuts could count on the support of Lloyd George (Great Britain), Massey (New Zealand) and Hughes (Australia). President Woodrow Wilson of the United States of America, however, was strongly opposed to the annexation of former German colonial possessions and eventually a compromise mandate system was agreed upon whereby South West Africa was placed under the tutelage of the Union by the League of Nations (Wessels, 1938:134-135). Article 2 of the Mandate, which was signed in Geneva on 17 December 1920, stated that "The Mandatory shall have full power of administration and legislation over the territory subject to the present Mandate as an integral portion of the Union of South Africa, and may apply the laws of the Union of South Africa to the territory subject to such local modifications as circumstances

may require.

"The Mandatory shall promote to the utmost the material and moral wellbeing and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory subject to the present Mandate" (Rosenow, n.d.:2-3).

The initial land grants by the new government raised hopes among the Africans that most of their former rights and possessions would be returned to them. These were frustrated when it became evident that, in line with established South African policy, only limited areas were to be reallocated to the indigenes. Nevertheless the Africans concentrated on recovery and endeavoured to wring what concessions they could from the authorities. Their social activities were characterized by religiosity, both Christian and atavistic, and efforts at tribal revivalism (Ngavirue, 1972:246-249). Hosea Kutako was elected unofficial Paramount Chief in 1917 after the exiled Samuel Maharero had requested him in writing to take care of Herero interests in Namibia. Kutako, who was related to Maharero through his mother, had fought in the Herero-German war and was highly regarded for his leadership qualities (Du Pisani, 1977:64-65).

In the 1920s the first elements of modern pan-Africanism spilled over into Namibia through the vehicles of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and the American Methodist Episcopal Church (AME). The UNIA, also known as the Monrovia movement, was founded by the West Indian politician Marcus Aurelius Garvey and strove for a world-wide renaissance of all black peoples. The emigré movement, which counted 6 million members at its peak, spread its message by various means including the dispatch of envoys and the publication of a weekly periodical Negro World. In Namibia offices were established in Windhoek and Lüderitz and large sums of money were collected among the inhabitants. It soon became evident, however, that the movement's ideals were largely beyond practical implementation, and when Garvey was arrested for the misappropriation

tion of funds in 1925 and later deported from the United States the UNIA rapidly lost its former attraction.

The Ethiopian influence of the AME under Bishop H.M. Turner reinforced black-nationalist yearnings, and as in South Africa it contributed to the later development of separatist churches in Namibia. For the time being, however, the disappointment incurred by the non-realization of Garvey's visions inclined the Herero to adapt to the existing political system and rather to resort to petitioning the government for the improvement of their condition (Ngavirue, 1972:255-258 and Van Rensburg, 1979:118-123).

In 1923 the Administrator granted permission for the remains of Samuel Maharero, who had died in exile in Botswana, to be reinterred in the ancestral cemetery at Okahandja. The mourning procession comprised some 2 500 Africans (of whom most men had donned German or British uniforms), including 170 horsemen and a brass band (Courtney-Clarke, 1923:1-3). The symbolic event has been ceremonially commemorated annually ever since and is generally regarded as the origin of the Herero quasi-military Otji-serandu or Red Band Organization. It also marks the reawakening of a national consciousness and self-pride among a people who had come close to being obliterated in the course of their history.

The inwardly turned reconstruction process continued unobtrusively until the end of World War II. In 1946 Smuts requested permission of the recently created United Nations Organization for the formal annexation of South West Africa by South Africa. In support of his request he claimed that, in addition to the white inhabitants, the vast majority of blacks had indicated in a referendum that they too were in favour of incorporation. The referendum, however, had merely included various government-appointed headmen and, although not citing this as a reason, the General Assembly turned down the request (Goldblatt, 1971:249-250). The Herero in particular took strong exception to the idea.

Under the leadership of Hosea Kutako they repeatedly petitioned the United Nations to take over the government of the Territory from South Africa. In this the Herero enjoyed the support of significant sections amongst the Nama including the Bondels of Warmbad, the Witboois of Gibeon and the groups of Berseba and Soromaas.

After the fall of the United Party government in South Africa in 1948, the National Party took over the reigns of power in Namibia too in 1950. This heralded a new era in the Territory's history with explicit apartheid or separate development becoming the cornerstone of official policy.

In response to National Party doctrine, as well as to other influences such as those of the United Nations or those represented by the new political concepts brought into the country by students and labourers who had spent some time in South Africa, political awareness among the Herero intensified. This, and the increasing disenchantment with the Rhenish Mission, led to the establishment of the independent Oruano religious movement in 1955. The Rhenish Mission Church was reconstituted as the independent Evangelical Lutheran Church (ELC) in 1957. It too became a vehicle for the promotion of black nationalism, although with a more orthodox ecumenical and far less ethnically orientated approach than that of the Oruano. In 1959 the first black nationalist political party to consist mainly of Herero members, the South West African National Union (SWANU), was founded, to be followed by the creation of the equally militant anti-South African but more traditionalist National Union Democratic Organization (NUDO) in 1964.

The much disputed findings of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs (Odendaal Report) was published at the end of 1963. In respect of the Herero the report (pp. 95-97) recommended among other things that a homeland (5 899 680 ha in size - much of it in the Omaheke) be created by consolidating and expanding a number of existing reserves and abolishing others. Those areas to be either ceded to other homelands or turned into govern-

ment land were identified as the Otjihorongo, Aminuis and Ovitoto Reserves. Herero residents of these areas were to be encouraged to move to the proposed consolidated homeland. This was largely rejected and most residents refused to be removed. The Report furthermore provided for the establishment of separate legislative councils and executive committees for the main ethnic groups of Namibia.

In 1975 the leader of NUDO, Clemence Kapuuu, who had been elected Paramount Chief of the Herero after the death of Hosea Kutako in 1970, allowed himself to be persuaded to participate in negotiations with other ethnic leaders in what became known as the Turnhalle Constitutional Conference. Kapuuu participated in the Turnhalle not only primarily to consolidate his leadership position amongst his people, but also in the hope that Herero land-claims would be addressed by the Conference. The Turnhalle deliberations were ostensibly aimed at the achievement of equal social, economic and political rights for all inhabitants and the eventual attainment of a democratic independence for the country. The exercise was terminated in 1977 at the insistence of the five Western powers - the United States of America, Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Canada - when it became known that South Africa was to consider a draft constitution for an interim government for Namibia submitted to it by the Turnhalle conferees.

An Administrator General (Mr. Justice M.T. Steyn) was thereupon appointed by South Africa later in the same year. His task was to abolish all discriminatory measures, govern the country in the interim and generally prepare the way to an internationally recognized independence. This was to be attained through elections to be held in terms of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 in which all contesting parties, including those basically antagonistic to South Africa such as SWANU and the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), could freely participate.

Several parties, including these, refused to take part in the internal polls which were finally conducted at the

end of 1978 under the auspices of the South African government. The election was won by the newly created Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) but the results were not recognized by the international community. In spite of this a Constituent Assembly (later to be changed into a National Assembly with wide legislative powers and an executive Council of Ministers) was brought into being on the strength of the election.

NUDO constituted one of the principal parties of the DTA and also gained the upper hand in further interim elections held for the creation of an ethnically based Representative Authority for the Herero in 1980. Clemence Kapuuu was killed by unknown assassins on his business premises in the black township of Katutura in 1978 and was succeeded as Paramount Chief of the Herero by Kuaima Riruako. Chief Riruako was thereupon elected leader of NUDO, President of the DTA and Member of the Council of Ministers.

The brief interlude during which a significant faction of the Herero co-operated in the internal Turnhalle government came to an abrupt end when the white Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Dirk Mudge, resigned his post in January 1983 in protest against South African meddling. Thereupon the Administrator General (Daniël Hough) summarily abolished the entire National Assembly, thus terminating the South African-orchestrated internal settlement effort which had (presumably) served its purpose.

Towards the end of 1983 the DTA and several other significant "internal" political parties sought to break the Namibian political deadlock by joining forces and forming a multiparty conference (MPC). In 1984 the MPC initiated negotiations with various interest groups involved in the independence issue, including the South African government, SWAPO, various African states and the United Nations. New progress towards a long-awaited peaceful settlement had thus been achieved - and once again Herero leaders, including the president of SWANU (Moses Katjiuongua), played a major role in directing the affairs of their country.

3.2 Traditional institutions and beliefs

Prior to their acquaintance with Christian teachings in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Herero possessed their own distinctive existential ideology. This consisted of a central core of religious ideas and related beliefs which formed the basis for the interpretation of and response to virtually every life-situation. In Herero society family matters, religion, law, politics and the material culture were intertwined in a closeknit system. In fact it is often difficult to demarcate the one from the other or to regard any institution in isolation. Of prime relevance here is the Herero system of double descent whereby all members belong to two lineage systems: their ancestry is reckoned along both patrilineal as well as matrilineal lines. As we shall see further on, the system formed the core of an intricate social structure, well-adapted to the nomadic lifestyle of the Herero. But it was especially their religion that provided the integrative fabric and most institutions were in some way related to its observance.

3.2.1 Religion

The Herero believed in a celestially based supreme being known to them as Ndjambi, the creator of life and bestower of all blessings. He is a god of infinite kindness and as such need not be feared nor supplicated. Of greater consequence was their belief that man is endowed with a soul, and that this is evidenced in the continued spiritual existence of their ancestors. The ancestors were known as the Ovakuru (the old ones) and a chief was usually the patrilineal descendant of one of the more distinguished among these. As such he was also called Mukuru (old one) and was in fact a living ancestor. In addition to his other roles the chief performed all priestly rites and functions. In extending the idea of an immortal soul the Herero believed that there were three parallel lines

of existence: that of the preborn, that of the living and that of the dead.

The ancestors were of a more human bent than Ndjambi and were inclined to cause hardships to bear upon their descendants if affronted. Since the ancestors virtually co-existed with the living this could easily happen; strict rules of conduct consequently governed most activities in order to maintain a congenial relationship with the ancestors.

Cattle played a central role in both secular and sacred matters. This becomes evident in the totemistic mythological account of the creation of the original Mukuru and his wife Kamungarunga. The couple were believed to be the offspring of the imposing Omumborombonga tree (Combretum imberbe Waura): cattle were derived from the same progenitor.

The principal responsibility of each Herero was towards the well-being of the tribal cattle, since they were inherited from the ancestors who continued to take a vital interest in them. Apart from being the Herero's chief source of sustenance cattle, or their products, played a significant role in most religious rites and customs.

Referring to the syntrophic relationship between men and animals under the special conditions of nomadic existence, Wagner (1954:117) observes that "The deep sentimental attachment which pastoralists have for their cattle and which derives from their mutual dependence would also explain the close association between the religious systems of most pastoral tribes and their cattle ...".

The sacred fire or Omuroiro Omurongerero, situated near the centre of the kraal and never allowed to die down completely, was regarded as a gift from the ancestors and affirmed the chief's legitimacy. If the sacred fire should go out through some mishap, only the chief as the living Mukuru might rekindle it by twirling one of the sticks representing the ancestors (which were obtained from ancestral arrow-shafts preserved as relics) in the hollow of

another stick. The fire was tended by the chief's principal wife and her eldest daughter, and allowed to form a blaze only on ceremonial occasions.

In addition to sacrificial offerings and certain routine rituals (such as the obligatory milk-tasting by the chief before its consumption), all important tribal deliberations were held in the sacred fire's proximity. Discourse with the ancestors was also held at the fire and on such occasions the sticks representing the ancestors were placed nearby. Only in times of dire need were offerings and prayers brought to the ancestral graves, which were otherwise largely avoided. Apart from the influence of the Ovakuru upon their daily lives, the Herero in addition believed in the power of sorcerers and divination by soothsayers (Andersson, 1856:221-224; Irle, 1917:337-367; Köhler, 1956:80-85; Vedder, 1928:164-175).

3.2.2 Law and politics

To a large extent Herero law was based upon the highly intricate cross-cutting lineage systems of the Oruzo (Otuza pl.) and the Eanda (Omaanda pl.) and related institutions. Stated very generally the Oruzo can be regarded as a religious system based on paternal right, the father bequeathing his Oruzo to all his children. There were about twenty different Otuza or family groups representing separate residential, economic and ceremonial units. Each Oruzo or its sub-divisions had its own property (mainly sacred cattle) which was administered by the priest-chief. It also had its own set of laws and prohibitions referring mainly to food taboos, religious practices, inheritance and matters concerning the succession to chieftainship.

The matrilineal Eanda (of which there are six principal divisions) is complementary to the Oruzo. Each Eanda has its own secular property which may not be voluntarily disposed of by the head of the family. Furthermore, strict laws of inheritance govern Eanda property, and these, together with the rules governing marriage alignments, serve

to promote economic co-operation and security for the members concerned (Vedder, 1928:185-187).

In a structural-functional analysis of double descent and its correlates, Gibson (1956:136) comes to the conclusion that the system "... permits a society such as the Herero, highly fractured into scattered and politically independent local groups, to maintain cultural uniformity and social cohesion". He points out that it provides the mechanisms which regularize a necessary minimum of social interaction among the dispersed segments of Herero society. For while Oruzo-related institutions tend to have a disjunctive effect, most Eanda-related institutions (especially those pertaining to marriage, childrearing, and inheritance) provide for interaction between the patrilineal components. They thus function as a conjunctive force countervailing the disjunctive tendencies of the independent (yet exogamous) units of the Otuzo.

In his role as a priestly mediator between the members of his group and the ancestral spirits, the chief of the Herero clan also officiated as judge in criminal and civil law-suits. In this he was aided by a number of counsellors. The laws and customs relating to the Oruzo and Eanda, as well as those which were essentially of a common-law nature, originated with the ancestors and the living Mukuru was thus in the best position to interpret them. Once a decision had been taken punishment was normally swift and commensurate with the transgression, although additional recourse to sorcery or vendetta on the part of the aggrieved party or his family was not uncommon (Dannert, 1906:4-11).

The institution of chieftainship among the Herero originally referred to the head of an Onganda (consisting of "... an economic and social unit formed around a patrilineal extended family practising virilocal residence" (Gibson, 1956:112)) or patri-clan. To be accepted as the head of an Onganda a particular individual had to be regarded as an Omuhona, that is, have strong personal leadership qualities, be the possessor of many cattle, be in con-

trol of a large tract of grazing land and have the ability to come into possession of new pastures should the need arise. He also had to be a Mukuru by birth or had to take the necessary ritual steps (kindle an own sacred fire) to become one. Through these characteristics and by the circumspet selection of wives from among the daughters of other minor chiefs a leader was able to accumulate a large gathering of followers and liegemen to consolidate his position. Should a chief lose his possessions through war or any other reason he reverted to the status of an Omutjim-ba (impoverished person), thus forfeiting his claim to chieftainship. The Herero therefore never existed as a unitary nation under a centralized leadership and their chieftainships were extremely fluid (Lehmann, 1955:28-34).

3.2.3 Material culture

Stock-farming was the mainstay of the Herero economy, although hunting and gathering of veld-foods also played a role. Cattle were kept at various cattle-posts and some were lent to needy relatives who enjoyed usufruct. Apart from their being able to utilize greater stretches of land in this manner, their method of farming also offered some security against large-scale stock-theft. According to Wagner (1954:119), "... the traditional Herero's effort of breeding cattle were not directed towards increasing the milk yield or the weight of their cattle but towards obtaining animals of a particular colour or with horns of a particular shape in accordance with dictates of the (totemic) Oruzu rules. It follows that in the traditional system of values which prevailed in Herero society the accumulation of cattle was the principle object ...".

The staple diet consisted of omaere (curdled cows' milk) and to a lesser extent of fresh goats' milk (especially for the nourishment of children). Butter was not eaten but mixed with red ochre and rubbed onto the skin or used to soften leather, while beef was only consumed on festive occasions or when stock was killed by accident.

Although land and watering places (except self-dug wells) were communally owned and could not be sold or given away, wealth and esteem were measured in terms of privately owned cattle.

Owing to a number of factors such as the aridity of the country, the life-supporting capacity of their herds, their nomadic life-style and disdain for most forms of labour, the Herero, alone among all the Bantu peoples of Southern Africa, practised no agriculture before the arrival of the missionaries.

Handicrafts consisted mainly of the processing of leather and animals skins for clothing and rugs, the manufacture of weapons, rudimentary implements and furniture and the construction of dwellings. The latter, stout, domeshaped huts which were used only for sleeping and storage purposes, were erected by the women from poles, branches, strips of bark, clay and cow-dung and remained the women's property until the group moved on to another locality.

The only labour considered worthwhile was the tending of cattle, in which the Herero were expert and spared no pains. In times of drought for example, great distances were covered daily in search of pasture. The digging of wells then too demanded much time and effort, but was taken as a matter of course with every able-bodied man doing his share.

Except for the manufacture of metal objects such as arrowheads, axes, knives, scissors and ornaments (which they obtained from Dama blacksmiths) the Herero were totally self-sufficient. There was therefore no economic necessity for them to trade and this reinforced the ritualistic character of their cattle and the Herero's aversion to parting with them.

3.2.4 Other behavioural aspects

As in other African societies of the time, polygamy was an accepted custom among Herero men of wealth. Marriages were exogamous, the sons of family-heads seeking wives

from compatible Omaanda from outside their own community. Courting and marriage followed a set pattern of which the morning-gift or "bride-price" formed an important element. The senior wife was distinguished from junior wives by title, status and role. Divorce was permissible with compensation payable in certain cases. Both wife-inheritance and the levirate were customary among the Herero but were not compulsory.

Apart from the circumcision of youths, initiation practices included nubility rites for girls and the chipping of a wedgeshaped gap in the centre of the upper incisors as well as the knocking out of the lower incisors in both sexes.

In a study of Herero marriages in Ngamiland (Botswana), Gibson (1958:33) comes to the interesting conclusion "... that the rite of female initiation, i.e. the social recognition of a woman's nubility, is at least as important as the marriage rite, i.e. the social recognition of a man's exclusive claim to uxorial rights in her, in reckoning the moral status of a child-bearing woman. Proper observance of these rites has greater moral force than the condition of pre-marital chastity ...".

There were dances for both men and women with much chanting, rhythmic hand-clapping and stamping of feet. During some dances members would mimic the antics of wild animals while in others the deeds of their heroes would be extolled in song. (This would sometimes take place to the accompaniment of music played on a musical bow which Anderson (1856:230) likened to "a kind of temporary rude Jewsharp".) But the dominating theme of most of their songs and orations was their esteemed cattle which they praised in seemingly endless variety. In fact, while the Herero language was originally found somewhat wanting in as far as abstract concepts were concerned, it had an extraordinary vocabulary for the description of livestock. All the nuances of colour, texture, pattern, size, form and shape were separately catered for. This also held true for re-

lated commodities such as milk, for which the Herero language has no fewer than fifteen different words to describe its quality (Rodenburg, 1971:73-74).

The Herero had various customs which were foreign to the Western way of thinking and which were the cause of much acrimony in later years. Allusion has already been made to their contempt for the white man's relentless preoccupation with work. To them it was pointless to be in a perpetual hurry and to toil beyond the satisfaction of basic needs.

Another often misunderstood custom was that of demanding favours. This would be practised by even relatively well-off individuals and was considered a courtesy - a way of acknowledging the superiority and graciousness of the person approached and giving him an opportunity to demonstrate his status. Related to this was the refusal to thank a benefactor for his gifts. This was not meant to be a sign of ingratitude: to give thanks would be an indication that a person's services would henceforth no longer be required, the relationship thus being terminated. By simply accepting, continued dependency is indicated and even the ancestors were never explicitly thanked for their largesse (Sundermeier, 1973:150).

Another custom curious to Western minds was that which the Herero called Okuramberia. This permitted a hungry individual to take a slaughter-animal from a neighbour's herd for food. Only the procurement of foreign stock for self-enrichment was punishable as a crime. Similarly, a man was permitted to use another man's tools if he had need of them without obtaining prior permission. This was not termed "stealing" but simply "taking". The owner was at liberty to retrieve the object in question but could not rightfully accuse the "borrower" of theft (Vedder, 1928:196).

Herero women showed remarkable fortitude and were in the habit of accompanying their men-folk in times of war. During battle they would urge the warriors on to the at-

tack by shouting and chanting and also assisted by conveying the dead and wounded from the field.⁹⁾

The Herero buried their dead wrapped in ox-hides seated in a crouched position facing north-east. It was customary to have the corpse's spine broken shortly after death in order to allow the soul to escape as a precaution against haunting. The wealthier the deceased the greater the lamentation and the longer the period of mourning. An allocated number of oxen were ritually slaughtered for the occasion, the skulls and horns of which were placed near the grave on poles or in a tree. Indigent persons and children were buried with little ceremony and no offerings.

3.3 External ideological and material influences

3.3.1 Pre-colonial period: early missionaries

The first harbingers of Occidental civilization to penetrate the domain of the Herero were the Oorlam warriors of Jonker Afrikaner who had come to the aid of their Nama kinsmen during the range-wars of the early 1830s. They were horsemen, fought with fire-arms, wore European apparel, could speak the Dutch language and had already absorbed the rudiments of Christian theology. White traders followed in the wake of the Oorlam commandos and brought with them a large assortment of artifacts hitherto unknown to the indigenous inhabitants. The very concepts of trading and the exchange-value of commodities received new significance. But the Oorlam influence also extended to the sociological level, and Sundermeier (1973:85), for example, intimates that the Herero adapted their institution of chieftainship along the lines of that of their Khoi neighbours.

It was, however, only with the commencement of missionary activity in Hereroland towards the middle of the nineteenth century that the process of acculturation began in earnest. The first missionaries to enter Namibia (among them the brothers Albrecht (1905) and Heinrich Schmelen (1915)) came under the auspices of the London Missionary

Society, whose declared intention it was to bring "... the Glorious Gospel of the Blessed God to the Heathen ..."
(Kritzinger, 1972:74).

The initial missionary work in the territory was performed mainly among the Nama of Great Namaqualand. Not long afterwards the Lutheran Rhenish Mission Society, which was founded in 1828, also arrived on the scene, and in response to a request by Jonker dispatched the missionaries Hahn and Kleinschmidt to Windhoek in 1842. Jonker, however, had also invited the Wesleyan Missionary Society to send missionaries to his headquarters, and with the arrival of the methodists Haddy and Tindall in 1844 Hahn and Kleinschmidt felt compelled to take their ministrations further north. This was the beginning of German influence and expansion among the Herero, a situation which ultimately indirectly led to their colonial subjugation sixty years later.

The German missionaries saw their task as a manifold one. While their primary concern was to convert the inhabitants to Christianity, they considered it necessary to simultaneously "civilize" the people and "uplift" their standard of living by inculcating Western values, customs and skills. To succeed in this it was essential to eradicate or at least fundamentally modify the existing socio-cultural system. In restructuring the traditional ways and thought of the Herero, they in particular had to be encouraged to give up their nomadic life-style and to form settled communities in order to become more accessible to the missionaries.

One of the methods employed by the Rhenish Mission to implant Western culture was by establishing mission colonies such as those at Otjikango and Otjimbingwe. Otjimbingwe in particular was intended to represent a model community. Here, besides receiving religious instruction and general education, the Herero were to be trained as farmers and craftsmen. In addition, they were to be provided with the facilities of a well-managed trading-post

to protect them against self-interested fortune-seekers.

Loth (1963) is of the opinion that the missionaries' trading activities were little else than a shrewd method of consolidating their hold on the indigenes. De Vries (1978:121), on the other hand, contends that commercial development was an essential part of missionary work in that it afforded the people an opportunity for improving their material condition. He asserts that "... trade undertaken by the mission does not therefore have to be condemned as exploitation. It was also the native's wish to participate in the advantage of the West." De Vries nevertheless is generally critical of the Mission's overall performance. He states that the Mission "... would permit the cultural upliftment of the native population of South West Africa only to a certain level. Thus, for instance, an educated black could act as an able servant, but his way was blocked if he tried to enjoy the same rights as his 'educator' ...

"The gap between European 'culture' and African 'practices and customs' grew larger rather than smaller, as the European deemed it beneath his dignity to really associate with the African world. ... The bitterness of the African over his cultural change, was not because of ingratitude - he enjoys the technical advantage that have come from the colonial period. It was because he was given a taste of the European's cultural discoveries without being allowed to drink deeply of this over-flowing cup" (De Vries, 1978: 196).

Along with their evangelizing and pedagogic functions the missionaries also believed that they had a duty as political mediators. In this regard Loth (1963) adopts the thesis that the main objective of the missionaries' political efforts on behalf of the Herero and smaller Nama tribes was to prevent the formation of an Oorlam hegemony which could be detrimental to the spreading of the Gospel and would tend to undermine the power of the missionaries. Co-operation between Maharero and Jan Jonker Afrikaner was

counteracted for similar reasons. Loth (1963:126) views the missionaries' role in this regard in a certain sense as "... ein antizipiertes ideologisches Gefecht zwischen Kolonialismus und Freiheit".¹⁰⁾

Another interesting postulate in Loth's work concerns the significance of religious sectarianism among some of the groups (mainly followers of Jonker Afrikaner and Hendrik Witbooi) at the time. According to him sectarianism provided these people with an Ethiopian ideology in their quest to achieve unity beyond tribal limitations. This represented the first stage in the development of a national-democratic consciousness. The sects were the source of the main opposition to the divisive influence of the foreign missionaries.

That the early missionaries in fact did facilitate the gradual expansion of German culture and political authority in Namibia has been extensively documented. Von François (1896:300), for example, declared that "Ohne die Pionierarbeit der Missionare wäre die Besitzergreifung des Landes ein völlig illusorischer Akt auf dem Papier gewesen".¹¹⁾ After sketching the positive role of the missionaries in securing the German protection treaties with the Herero, Mission-inspector Spiecker (1907:39) attests that "Die Missionare ... dachten offenbar, dass die deutsche Regierung für Ruhe und Frieden im Lande sorgen würde. Einzelne Stimmen, die zur Vorsicht rieten und vor allem warnten, dass die Missionare sich nicht mit politischen Dingen befassen sollten, wurden als unpatrotisch überhört".¹²⁾ Missionary Olpp (1914:5-6) states that "Jede neugegründete Missionsstation wurde vom ersten Tage ihres Bestehens an eine wenn auch am Anfang noch so bescheidene Pflanzstätte der Kultur, einer von der sich Zucht, Ordnung und Gesittung allmählich auch nach auswärts ins Land verbreiteten".¹³⁾ In another passage Olpp (1914:23) laments the accusations levelled against the Mission of having collaborated with the Herero prior to the 1904 uprising and declares that "Politisch gewirkt haben die Missionare unter ihren Eingeborenen, wie

schon erwähnt nur in einer Beziehung, nämlich zu gunsten der deutschen Oberherrschaft".¹⁴⁾

With the foregoing observations on the acculturation of the Herero serving as a general frame of reference, an attempt can now be made to determine what ideological aspects were present in the influence exerted by the early missionaries upon the Herero. In other words, what were the substantive ideological components in terms of the specific ideas and values which the missionaries expounded? It is immediately evident that these can be divided into explicit religious ideological components on the one hand, and ideological aspects relating to the more general socio-cultural milieu within which the missionaries had been socialized on the other. It would be beyond the scope of this study to give a detailed analysis of each but some of the more important ideas and values, especially those deviating from their counterparts in traditional Herero culture, need mentioning.

Lutheran theology affirms:

- (i) the existence of an omnipotent Creator who has an active interest in the affairs and well-being of mankind;
- (ii) the existence of an immortal soul in each human being (but not in the sense of ancestral spirits which meddle in the affairs of the living as conceived by the early Herero);
- (iii) the resurrection of the dead in conjunction with the concept of eternal salvation;
- (iv) the duty of the individual to bow to the will of God and to resign himself to his earthly lot in anticipation of compensation in the hereafter (Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms is of relevance here);

- (v) the universal brotherhood of man and equality before God;
- (vi) the moral imperative of the Ten Commandments; and
- (vii) the non-efficacy of magic, sorcery, divination and superstition-linked taboos.

General ideological components present in nineteenth century Protestant Europe include:

- (i) puritanical work-ethics;
- (ii) scientific rationalism;
- (iii) conviction of the importance of education, self-improvement and orderliness;
- (iv) conviction of the superiority of Western culture and its civilizing mission;
- (v) conviction of the greater inherent ability and worth of the white race; and
- (vi) conviction of the right of European nations to exploit foreign resources.

In order to establish the relative influence of these ideological variables, the material aspects of the missionaries' influence on the indigenes should also be mentioned. Briefly, these consisted predominantly of the introduction of agriculture, artisan crafts, literacy skills, modern medicine, Western housing, clothing, utensils and implements; the encouragement of permanent settlements and trade; and the development of communications, transport and administrative skills.

Before proceeding to the next major historical phase, some mention should be made of the other Europeans present in precolonial Namibia. These consisted almost exclusively of prospectors and copper-miners, trek-boers, explorers,

hunters and traders, and towards the end of the era a few British and German officials and some settlers. Compared to that of the missionaries, the cultural influence upon the local inhabitants of these individuals was negligible. They did, however, help to spread Western material culture. Since liquor, tobacco and fire-arms featured prominently among trading-items, their influence in this regard was not entirely beneficial. A few traders such as Andersson, Green and Lewis became quite influential among the Herero, but their endeavours were largely limited to political and military matters.

3.3.2 German colonial rule

German colonial rule in Namibia and its more significant consequences for the native inhabitants were discussed in some detail at the beginning of this chapter. In both material and ideological terms the period essentially represented an accelerated continuation of the acculturation process which had been set in motion half a century earlier. With Prussia dominating the German Empire, the Prussian ethos with its emphasis on efficiency, economy, military might and, to a lesser extent, intolerance of minority groups, pervaded the administrative practices of the Reich and thus also of its colonial government (Gann and Duignan, 1977:2-4). But generally speaking the colonists brought with them the same material and ideal culture to which the indigenes had already previously been introduced.

Although, as Gann and Duignan (1977:239) point out, Germany did not in fact gain much economic advantage from her trade with Africa (governmental expense in developing and maintaining the colonies between 1894 and 1913, for example, being 1 002 million marks compared to the value of German commerce with the territories - 972 million marks - for the same period), material gain nevertheless did represent the primary motive for colonization. Bley (1968:242) notes in this regard that "... in der Kolonial-geschichtsschreibung ̄wird̄ auf den Anspruch der "Kultur-

mission" verwiesen. ... Im ganzen spielt dieses oft hervorgehobene Argument in Südwestafrika aber nur eine geringe Rolle. Es ist in seiner Abstraktion auch mehr ein Thema der Kolonialpolitik im Mutterland. ... In dem Anspruch, zur Kulturmission verpflichtet zu sein, steckten meistens von aussen herangetragene Forderungen, die mit den sozialen Realitäten in S.W.A. wenig übereinstimmten".¹⁵⁾ Leutwein (1906:541) frankly admits that "Das Endziel jeder Kolonisation ist, von allem idealen und humanen Beiwerk entkleidet, schliesslich doch nur ein Geschäft. Die kolonisierende Rasse will der Urbevölkerung des zu kolonisierenden Landes nicht das von dieser vielleicht erwartete Glück bringen, sie sucht vielmehr in erster Linie ihren eigenen Vorteil".¹⁶⁾

As has been observed elsewhere, the purposive Westernization and Christianization of Namibian indigenes was a primary goal of white pre-colonial endeavour. With the German protection treaties the role of the missionaries was increasingly eclipsed by that of the colonisers who had come with a more self-interested intent. The process of acculturation was henceforth predominantly a by-product of colonial subjugation. Although most settlers had little regard for traditional native customs and agreed that these should be altered in a way that would make them more amenable to white labour and land needs, there was no underlying desire to impart to the blacks the benefits of Western civilization per se. Nevertheless, the socio-economic consequences of this epoch for the Herero and Nama culminating as they did in the 1904-1907 war of anti-colonial resistance, were truly profound.

Although both ideological as well as material factors contributed to the uprisings, the near-annihilation of the Herero must in the first instance be interpreted in material terms, i.e. in terms of a massive loss of life, the complete disappearance of an economic base, and a consequential situation of total social disorganization. Herero society and all its institutions had for the time

being simply ceased to exist overnight and a veritable societal tabula rasa had been created, with individual members forced into a state of anomie. Although subsequent developments led to the partial revival of traditional customs, beliefs and institutions, the comprehensive onslaught against these had caused permanent changes in major areas as will be demonstrated further on.

To reiterate, the ideological and material influence of the German colonial era in Namibia was largely similar to that of the early Mission in that both derived from a similar cultural background. There was, however, a change in emphasis: globally speaking, there was a shift from civilisatory and evangelical motives to economic interest and imperialistic self-assertion. This eventually led to the Herero uprising and it may thus be asserted that in terms of influence, material factors decidedly far outweighed ideological variables during the German period. All the same, less visibly, a variety of ideas, beliefs and attitudes originally implanted by missionary diligence continued to be nurtured and contributed to the distinctive character of the new, or partially altered, social structures which were to be evidenced in Herero society some years later.

3.3.3 Under South African rule

As already indicated, the relative material condition of the Herero improved rapidly after the defeat of the German Schutztruppe by the South African expeditionary force in 1915. Nevertheless, the Herero's expectations of being allowed to regain their former status were to be frustrated at an early stage. Troup (1950:57) quotes Friedrich Maharero, son of Samuel Maharero and heir apparent to the Herero chieftainship, in this regard: "There was a second occasion [the first being for work on the Transvaal mines] when my father had to give out men; this was for the war against the Germans. Thirty of us were sent to South-West Africa. We were told we would be paid only £3 each for our servi-

ces, but that if the country was taken from the Germans it would be given back to Samuel and his people. These Hereros were sent to South-West Africa to lead their people because they knew the country. Samuel asked that the promise that if the Germans were defeated the country would be given back to him be given in writing but he was told he would be given this at the end of the war. But that was not done up to the present time."

Troup (1950:57) cites Vedder in support of the Herero's claims: "At the conclusion of peace at Korab in 1915, South West was handed over to the Administration of the Union. The Hereros eagerly watched coming events. Lord Buxton, the Governor-General of the Union, visited South-West Africa. He addressed the natives at all important centres and on each occasion promised the Herero the old freedom along with great possessions of land and unlimited herds of cattle. That was all they longed for. They laid down their work on many farms in order to make sure of being in time, when South-West should be partitioned".

Their short-lived hopes dashed, the Herero returned to their former working-places or to the limited lands at their disposal. After the brief spell of Garveyan fervour had abated in the 1920s (vid. pp.73-74), they continued the laborious process of socio-economic recovery. Apart from the first elements of pan-Africanist thought, national-socialist ideology with its emphasis on German superiority and racial purity also made itself felt in the Territory. But in the main, as far as the indigenous population was concerned, the ideological constitution of their new South African masters differed little from that of their predecessors. Both practised segregationist colonial policies and subscribed to a racial doctrine. As Dugard (1973:83) puts it: "From the outset South Africa placed the interests of the White minority above those of the native peoples. White immigration from the Union of South Africa was actively promoted, and limited self-government was conferred on the White population in 1925. Throughout the League

period the mandatory power was more concerned with maintaining harmonious relations between the German settlers and the White South African settlers than with promoting just relations between White and Non-White and advancing the well-being of the indigenous inhabitants ...

"In short, the policy of white supremacy first introduced into South West Africa by the Germans was permitted to continue albeit in the more moderate South African form."

While Herero residing in the reserves lived mainly off the proceeds of their stock, the remainder were compelled to sell their labour on the white farms and in settlements. For these individuals the economic base of their existence proved to have been permanently altered by the ravages of the colonial wars. In contrast to their traditional pastoral subsistence economy, these individuals now had to rely on a money-based economy in which the means of subsistence were externally provided. Having acquired Western needs, the reserve Herero were also increasingly obliged to sell their cattle to external markets in order to buy such articles as clothing, flour, tobacco, etc.

Commenting on social change among the Botswana Herero, Vivelo (1974:4) remarks "I interpret the changes recorded in the institutions and overall social patterns of the Herero as due to changes in the resources they rely on. The resource upon which the Herero formerly relied was cattle as ritual (non-sale) property. The new resources on which the Herero rely are cattle as sale commodities and European goods ... When exogenous stimuli in the form of non-locally available resources impinged on Herero society, the Herero use of cattle changed to exploit these resources." Much the same can be said for the Namibian Herero, except that their institutional changes assumed a somewhat different pattern and the people remained more tradition-orientated than their Botswanan kinsmen.

Another important by-product of the Herero's greater

subjection to Western material culture was their realization of their extreme poverty. Their comparative deprivation was especially evident when their own meagre existence was set beside the wealth of the whites or the well-being of the few blacks who had been able to improve their position and to acquire larger homes, modern furniture, motor-cars and other Western paraphernalia. The disparate levels of consumption and life-style caused deep resentment. The burdens of poverty, compounded by a variety of socio-political discriminatory measures and the historic yearning for the return of their lost land, caused a gradual build-up of disaffection with the status quo and made the Herero more receptive to nascent ideological influences from without.

During the post-World War II period ideological factors took on a new significance in the stimulation of Namibian "black consciousness". In the first instance, during the war the black inhabitants were informed by the authorities that the war was directed against tyranny and oppression and that after the defeat of the enemy all men would regain their former liberty. When, after the cessation of hostilities, treatment of Namibian blacks did not change in any way, whereas Germans - the enemy - remained as well-off as before, the people once more felt deeply betrayed. Apart from General Smuts's abortive annexation attempts in 1946, this disillusionment was one of the contributory factors which induced the Herero to petition the United Nations Organization. The Herero had until then always considered Britain to be South Africa's real master and since Britain had won the war and was a prominent member of UNO they had hoped pressure would be exerted on their behalf on South Africa to accede to their demands.

The coming to power of the National Party in South West Africa in 1950 gave further impetus to black political stirrings. The apartheid doctrine was openly discussed and promoted at public meetings, in the press and on radio.

As far as blacks were concerned it represented a challenge not only to their human dignity but also to any chance they might have had of significant economic, social and political advancement in the foreseeable future.

The essence of the philosophy developed to justify white political supremacy is provided by Pretorius (1959) in an analysis of the Calvinist view of political participation. He submits that "Die politieke status van die nie-blanke is nooit los te maak van ons politieke geloofsbelydenis, ons christelike staatsbeskouing nie. ... daar bestaan oral en altyd 'n direkte samehang tussen religie, beskawingstoestand, staatsvorm en burgervryhede, waaruit dan ook blyk dat die waarborg vir ons burgervryhede nie maar net 'n kwessie van regeringstelsel is nie, maar ook van beskawingstoestand; en die wortel van die saak 'n kwessie van religieuse koers" (1959:151).¹⁷⁾ Although giving the policy a religious underpinning the emphasis is placed on the level of cultural advancement of the peoples concerned: "Beskawingsonmondiges kan nie beskawingsverantwoordelikhede aanvaar nie en indien stemreg aan sodaniges gegee word, sal hulle meehelp om alles te verongeluk en indien in die owerheidsamp geplaas, dit slegs te misbruik" (1959:157).¹⁸⁾

The more explicitly racial undertones of apartheid are evidenced in the following passage by the same author - "Die klag word so dikwels gehoor dat ons slegs op grond van kleur diskrimineer. Ons probleem gaan egter veel dieper as die vel, dit is nie slegs kleur wat die nie-blanke maak nie maar die innerlike verskille, biologies, psigologies en temperamenteel. Vir ons het hierdie kleurverskille die diepere betekenis van verskille ten opsigte van karakter, lewensbeskouing en beskawingseienskappe" (1959:159).¹⁹⁾

To sum up, and because of apartheid's pervasive influence on Namibian affairs to the present day, a final excerpt from this illuminating text would be apt:

"Aan die hand van ons gesagsbeskouing, beskou ons

christelike voorgedyskap as die uitvoering van 'n begrensde ampsopdrag met verantwoordelikheid by God. Daarom, alhoewel voor hom gelyk en ewe doemwaardig, is die Christenblanke tog met ampsgesag oor die nie-blanke beklee en in dié sin is hulle onderling ongelyk. Daarom moet die nie-blanke die blanke gehoorsaam wees, mits die blanke wat in die amp bly, in Christus is - Godsgehoorsaam optree, want 'slegs in en deur Christus is die Christenvolk 'n voog ('n dienskneg) oor die Bantoe, en dit is geen Herrenwaan nie, wel gehoorsaamheid aan hom wat ons deur sy Albestier tot hierdie hoogs verantwoordelike taak opgeroep het'" (1959:160).²⁰⁾

One of the most potent means by which National Party ideology was imposed upon all sectors of the population was through the opportunities afforded by the formal education apparatus, more explicitly the imported South African variety of Christian-National Education for white pupils, Bantu Education for blacks and Coloured Education for coloureds. Melber (1979:233) concludes in this regard that "... die gegenwärtige Situation im formalen Bildungswesen Namibias verdeutlicht, dass insbesondere die 'Bantu Education', letztlich jedoch alle drei Schulsektoren des Territoriums, Resultat der das gesellschaftliche System in seinen spezifischen Eigenschaften bestimmenden Apartheid-Politik des weissen Minderheitsregimes sind. ... Somit entspricht die Organisation des jeweiligen Ausbildungssektors mehr oder weniger funktional der Anordnung des Systems und trägt zur Aufrechterhaltung der herrschenden Verhältnisse bei. Auch die 'Bantu Education' definiert sich so über die für die Kolonisierten vorgesehene sozio-ökonomische und politische Stellung in der Gesellschaft. ... Komplementär dazu zielt die Erziehung weisser Schulkinder Hand in Hand mit den übrigen Sozialisationsagenturen der Gesellschaft auf die Verinnerlichung rassistischer Wertvorstellungen ab."²¹⁾

While apartheid mechanisms strove to reconcile the black man to his position of second-class citizenship, the

ideology, by negative example, also fired the political zeal of those who recognized its bigotry. Many regarded government measures as the chief cause of their people's backwardness, and their attention was increasingly focused upon means to circumvent them. In practical terms not much had altered in the socio-economic condition of Namibian indigenes with the installment of the National Party government. Segregationist practices had existed under the former government as well; but what was new was their statutory formalization and the propagandization of a specific white supremacist doctrine in justification thereof. Inevitably, the challenge was not left unanswered for long.

Much to the consternation of the authorities the first inimical impulses stemming from UNO made themselves felt in Namibia almost immediately after the organization's creation in 1948. At first anti-South African resolutions consisted mainly of criticisms of administrative practices employed in the mandated territory. Coupled to them, however, was the message of human rights, democracy and national self-determination.

From the African continent came the first tide of independence movements and efforts to cast off the yoke of white colonialism. "Seek ye first the political kingdom" went the slogan "and all else shall be added unto you" (Young, 1982:1). Communist ideology, originating from the Soviet Union and East European nations, proclaiming worker solidarity and world-revolution, started to filter through various avenues. Namibian students studying at South African centres such as Fort Hare, Wilberforce and Warmbaths came into contact with representatives of the African National Congress, and contract labourers in cities such as Cape Town witnessed the South African defiance campaign. Returning home they thus brought with them ideas of resistance and political mobilization. Propagandistic radio-broadcasts were beamed at Southern Africa from various parts of the world and subversive literature was clandestinely distributed.

Within the context of the Namibian historical situation,

exogenous ideological forces thus combined to foment a new black consciousness and nationalist fervour which found expression in the creation of the first black political parties and separatist churches. This was also the period of civil unrest in Windhoek which culminated in a clash between residents of the "Old Location" and the police in December 1959 which left eleven people dead. The Africans, especially the Herero, had protested over their enforced removal to the new township of Katutura and matters got out of hand (Pendleton, 1974:28).

The report of the commission instructed to launch an official enquiry into these events (Hall Report, published in 1960) gives further substance to the significance of exogenous ideological influences in Herero politics. The report cites a number of letters sent from New York to Windhoek which urge activist measures against the incumbent authorities. Two excerpts from these should suffice to illustrate the point.

In a letter dated 5 March 1959 the nationalist politician Getzen (alias Kerina) informs Muundjwa that "Our position should be made clear to the Whites. We want South West Africa back no more or less ... John, please help to organize an African National Congress in South West Africa which should represent all tribes in the country ... If we must have our freedom we must be strong and well organized; the Whites in South West Africa are in constant fear of what is happening in other parts of Africa. They know that South West Africa is next ..." (Hall Report, 1960:7).

In a circular letter dated 1 December 1959, the then SWANU leader Kozonguizi states that "We shall have to exert a lot of pressure on the African States to start working on the case; we shall have to work on a great deal of propaganda abroad whatever situation may arise at home by taking a firm stand on every issue e.g. the Location removal ...

etc." (Hall Report, 1960:9).

In South Africa, in the meantime, Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd started unfolding his Bantu-homelands policy which was to become the blue-print for the new policy of "separate development". A direct outflow of the Verwoerdian initiative was the appointment in 1962 of the Odendaal Commission to partition Namibia into eleven ethnic states. Henceforth the emphasis shifted steadily from matters concerning petty apartheid to matters concerning ethnic identity. The maintenance of ethnic distinctions was encouraged, and land was allocated to each group to enable it "to develop in its own unique way".

With the advent of the Turnhalle Constitutional Conference in 1975, ethnicity remained the cornerstone of discussion and decision-making. As far as the main body of the Herero was concerned, its preoccupation with the re-establishment of its former territorial possessions and independence made it largely amenable to the new ideological guise in which separate development was presented at the Turnhalle deliberations. Nevertheless, other ideological influences such as the premises of Western democracy and capitalism and African nationalism, played an important role in determining the distinct character of the political dispensation to which the Herero agreed in the first interim-government period (1977-1982). Important elements here are the principles of majority rule, constitutional government, territorial integrity, mixed economy and human rights which were accepted by all participants in the National Assembly. While ethnicity remained an important consideration, many of the former apartheid strictures were removed at the time.

It would probably be correct to assume that in all this overseas influence in the form of offers of foreign capital and the machinations of multinationals, similar to those mentioned by S. Cronjé et al (1976:241-248) in their analysis of Lonrho, also played a part in making the Herero leadership responsive to the ideals of the Turnhalle.

Of special significance was the role of the Kudu Foundation, an ostensibly charitable trust founded by an American, Jack Summers, in 1976 to raise funds in America, France and Germany for the financing of various developmental projects in Namibia. According to the Sunday Times (1979, 1980) the Kudu Foundation had links with the Mafia and the project was part of a plan to turn Namibia into a tax shelter for American dollars. While referring to what it regarded as "... an amazing bid to influence black politicians in Namibia", and stressing the close relationship between Summers and Herero leaders, the newspaper observes, however, that "It is unlikely that the black leaders involved were aware of all the strange business dealings of the American influence peddlers" (1980:1).

The fact that the Namibian National Assembly and the system of ethnic representative authorities were generally regarded by some important political parties such as SWAPO, SWANU and SWAPO-Democrats, as well as by most international observers, as a refined attempt at South African-inspired neo-colonialism does not belie the fact that great strides had been taken to put Namibian society upon the path of political independence. However, it was only a tentative initiative as the South African authorities eventually proved unwilling to make good their promise of bestowing genuine autonomy on the elected DTA rulers.

To summarize, the era between the two World Wars was marked by an internally-directed process of socio-economic reconstruction, during which material factors overshadowed ideological influences upon the Herero's development. After the Second World War the material circumstances of the majority of indigenes remained essentially unchanged. New ideological factors, however, gained rapidly in prominence and henceforth overwhelmingly determined the course of subsequent socio-political developments among the Herero.

3.4 Some modern Herero sociological components

The Herero have evolved various associational and institutional interest groups, either predominantly ethnically, politically or religiously orientated, which have resulted from their varied historical experience over the past 150 years. Some are the product of an admixture of traditional socio-cultural traits with elements originating from the colonial encounter, while others reflect a more universal influence. All represent a synthesis of ideological and material factors leading to the formation of unique sociological components within the greater Namibian society, at least in as far as substantive content and to some extent their structure is concerned.

It will be observed from the example to be discussed below that aspects of modern Herero institutions differ greatly from those which existed in traditional Herero society. These can be considered societal structural changes. Within the framework of their partially restructured society the Herero have developed certain associations which could not have existed in their original social structure but which were the outcome of the same forces which led to institutional change.

3.4.1 The Otjiserandu

As cattle-herding nomads in perpetual search of new (often already occupied) grazing lands and also occasionally forced to defend their prized possessions against marauders and wild beasts, the Herero had always been a proud and warlike people. The martial tradition is continued in the quasi-military Red Band Organization or Otjiserandu of the Herero which has its roots in the German colonial era. It is not quite certain how the movement originated but early sources such as Thomas (1917:2) are of the opinion that it started with the Herero troop trained by the German army or "Schutztruppe" (at Outjo and Karibib) prior to the Herero uprising. The black soldiers absconded with

their arms and uniforms at the outbreak of hostilities and employed their knowledge of military commands in the foreign tongue to confuse their enemy when on patrol in the dense bush. Herero warriors generally had a great respect for uniforms and drill, thinking that the former offered protection against firearms, and during the war they often clad themselves in the apparel of their slain foe.

Bowker (1946) relates that after the war the Herero were divided among themselves: there were those who fatalistically accepted their condition of servitude while others refused to accept colonialism. The former identified themselves with their masters by wearing partial uniform and participating in drill-exercises, copied from the Germans, in their free time. It is from these exercises that the members concerned became known as the Truppspieler (troop-players) and apparently the German colonial authorities had no objection to their fanciful indulgences.

The South Africans saw the Truppspieler in a different light, and, fearful of the possibility of a renewed armed insurrection, forbade them to wear uniforms or to do military drill. The reinterment of Samuel Maharero in Okahandja in 1924, however, led to a vigorous revival of the movement. Ngavirue (1972:261), for one, maintains that the huge uniformed escort at the burial represented "... a symbolic resurrection of the Herero army in the eclectic style which it had adapted before the risings of 1904 to 1907".

After the ceremonies were over it was decided to rename the association Otjiserandu or Red Band Organization after the token red band or scarf which was worn around the upper sleeve or peaked cap. The red colour represented the traditional symbol of the House of Maharero since the time, according to Sundermeier (1973:135), when the German police gave Maharero a red scarf in token of his authority. Ngavirue (1972:162-163) traces the symbol back to the time of the Witbooi wars. Today, while still representing the Maharero lineage, the colour red is accepted by most Otjiserandu members as symbolizing primarily the blood spilled

in the Germano-Herero War. In addition to the distinguishing band the organization also displays a red flag (hence the Afrikaans title "Roovlag Organisasie") which bears the letters MPSM, standing for Mukuru Puna ete Samuel Maharero or "God with us Samuel Maharero". Some variations in addition portray the emblem of a kudu (symbolizing the oruzo rwohorongo to which Maharero belonged).

Originally only German military uniforms were worn but later these were largely discarded for a motley of South African and British uniforms of various descriptions. Various badges, medals, rank insignia and other military decorations are worn on ceremonial occasions and surrogate weapons are carried while exercising. Female married members wear the traditional Herero Victorian-style dress and headdress in scarlet, usually supplemented by a black shawl. Young boys and girls are also permitted to participate but are only allowed to become full members upon attainment of adulthood.

The Otjiserandu has ranks approximating those of the military but with a strong German flavour. Thus one finds ooverloitnanta (first lieutenant), ohaupmana (captain) and generalovers (an approximation of a rank of general) (Buckack, 1977).

More fantastic rank designations of an earlier period included that of "Kaiser", "Gouverneur von Deimling" and "Schmetterling von Preussen" (Thomas, 1917). Ranks are bestowed by the leadership in recognition of services rendered, good character, period of membership and financial support given to the organization. Lehmann (n.d.:161) observes in this regard that "Alle Dienstleistungen sind ehrenamtlich, und somit sind die verschiedenen Rangtitel, die ueberhaupt nichts mit militaerischen Dingen zu tun haben, eine ideale Entschaedigung oder Anerkennung fuer diese geleisteten Dienste, wie die Ehrendiplome bei vielen Vereinen der Europaeer."²²) The Otjiserandu as an ethnic association cuts across political and religious barriers, but its members are nevertheless predominantly NUDO sup-

porters and belong to the Oruano Church. It performs various functions for the Herero. Originally these were probably mainly of a cathartic nature in which fantasy and make-believe played an important role. The rendering of supportive aid to needy members was a natural outflow of prolonged group membership, especially within the African socio-cultural context. Thus in time the payment of deceased members' funeral costs, aid to widows and the sick as well as payment of fines imposed by the courts for infringements by members (other than theft) became important considerations.

Since the burial of Samuel Maharero the annual August celebrations at Okahandja, organized by the Otjiserandu, have become a significant national focal-point for many Herero.²³⁾ The ceremonies at the graves of Tjamuha, Maharero, Samuel Maharero, Kutako, Kapuuu, and other revered leaders are conducted along both Christian and traditional lines and thus cater to a wide spectrum of religious preference. Maharero Day, similarly to the Otjiserandu, serves to reinforce group solidarity and national consciousness and to establish and maintain social relationships.

In catering for men, women and children on a wide front the Otjiserandu has acquired the character of an ethnic mass movement. While being neither fundamentally politically, culturally, religiously, militarily or welfare-orientated, it definitely evidences elements of each. Concerning its political nature, Lehmann (n.d.:156), for example, remarks that "Wenn die Red-Band-Organisation auch mit aller Deutlichkeit und nicht zu bezweifelnden Ehrlichkeit erklart, sie treibe keine "Politik" und haette nie welche betrieben, so ist damit stets, wie die dafür von den Vertretern dieser angefuhrten Beispiele beweisen, die grosse Weltpolitik, wie der Streit um die politische Zugehoerigkeit Suedwestafrikas, gemeint oder die Auseinandersetzung der Weltmaechte um die entscheidende Macht."²⁴⁾ Thus while until recently the Otjiserandu had little interest in world politics as such it certainly always was of

internal intra-Herero political significance. Ngavirue (1972:267) believes that the Otjiserandu in addition went through a stage of millenarianism during the inter-war (1918-1939) period. He considers the movement's defiance of external authority (both governmental and that of established Herero leaders such as Kutako), as well as the imaginary titles, to be evidence of this trait.

Werner (1982:28) is of the opinion that to the extent that the movement carried within itself the seeds of resistance, it can be hypothesized that the Otjiserandu embodied the contradiction of urban and rural or modern and traditional. He sees support for his supposition in the fact that more young and educated individuals than older ones joined the organization.

While membership has become much more generalized, it is probably correct to view the movement, or the evolutionary process leading to its present institutionalized form, as a kind of socio-psychological bridging mechanism which helped to maintain a measure of continuity and thus to alleviate some of the trauma of rapid modernization.

It is difficult to give an accurate assessment of the present ideology of the Otjiserandu. As already mentioned, its members come from all walks of life, both urban and rural, and its office-bearers contend that it is open to all parties, religious denominations and ethnic groups. Indeed, leaders of various persuasions agree that the movement played an important part in restoring self-confidence and solidarity to the Herero people as a whole, but some maintain that in recent years it has been manipulated for sectarian political advantage.

The Oruano plays a prominent role on Maharero Day and NUDO office-bearers are also very much in evidence. This may be a matter of coincidence but an analysis, for example, of leaders of local government in the Herero reserves indicates that virtually all headmen who are members of the Otjiserandu are also NUDO supporters (Budack, 1977). As these men are elected to office by majority

vote, one may conclude that the headmen reflect the predominating ideological affiliation of rural Herero.

On the whole, evidence suggests that NUDO, the Oruuno and the present Otjiserandu generally comprise identical members, all of whom largely share a common ideology. This sociological phenomenon has an analogy in South African society in which a "true" Afrikaner is popularly conceived of as a person who, in addition to being an Afrikaans speaker, is also simultaneously a Calvinist Christian and a supporter of the National Party or one of its splinter groups.

3.4.2. Political parties

The traditional political system of the Herero was totally abolished after their defeat by the Germans. Not only were they prohibited from engaging in any political activity whatsoever, but their members were deliberately dispersed country-wide to discourage any possible regrouping. It was under these conditions that many Herero turned to church attendance as the only permitted form of organized social activity. No doubt, apart from seeking a substitute to fill the vacuum left by the disappearance of their own religious system, the quest for a means of rebuilding and expressing intra-group solidarity played an important role in this phenomenon.

The situation was subsequently somewhat alleviated through the creation of reserves by the South African authorities. In particular Proclamations No. 9 of 1924 and No. 15 of 1928 provided for the election of headmen and their councillors who were entrusted with the administration of local tribal matters. Although the new dispensation remained a far cry from the Herero's original political autonomy it nevertheless fostered their cohesiveness and permitted a measure of traditional revivalism (Strauss, 1973:163). Had German rule lasted a few decades longer Herero culture would probably have met much the same fate as that of numerous other indigenous groups in Southern

Africa who have virtually vanished during the course of conquest. As it happened the partial revival of former traditions helped to preserve Herero identity and a sense of national purpose. Reinforced by the utopian ideal of Garveyism and the re-emergence of the Otjiserandu, a basic nationalism continued as an undercurrent in Herero socio-political strivings (even though outwardly they appeared primarily accommodationist) throughout the inter-war period.

Allied war propaganda, the creation of UNO and the annexation attempt by South Africa served to restimulate the political consciousness of significant groups in Namibia after World War II. Continuity and legitimacy of purpose was ensured by the fact that Friedrich Maharero, Hosea Kutako, Jacobus Beukes (an eminent nationalist Baster citizen) and Pastor Jodd (the leading Nama theologian of his time with roots in the German colonial period) stood in the vanguard of the new upsurge. It was also no coincidence that the first petition to UNO was signed on the eve of Maharero Day at Okahandja in 1946.

The first associational interest group to acquire the character of an incipient political party was the African Improvement Society. Founded in the 1940s, it was supported mainly by teachers and ex-pupils of the Anglican St. Barnabas School in Windhoek, among them the future Herero leader Clemens Kapuuo. The Society functioned as a cultural and educational body, but in addition also acted in an advisory capacity to the Herero leadership (the Chief's Council) and generally helped to politicize the people (Ngavirue, 1972:283-287).

In the early 1950s young Namibians studying in South Africa came under the influence of the African National Congress (ANC) and inspired by its aims and tactics they founded the nationalist South West African Student Body. The student organisation was reconstituted as the South West Africa Progressive Association (SWAPA) in 1955 when its base was broadened to include all indigenes (Serfontein, 1976:142-143).

The year 1959 witnessed the crises occasioned by the impending forced removal of Africans from the "Old Location" to Katutura or black township near Windhoek. Since SWAPA was still more a cultural organisation than a political party several ad hoc ethnic committees were formed to intercede on behalf of the inhabitants. Owing in part to their fragmentation the committees proved ineffective and failed furthermore to gain official recognition. Stemming from this dilemma came the impetus to establish the first fully-fledged, non-ethnic black political party in Namibia. As Ngavirue (1972:292) notes, "One of the basic reasons for which the first national organisation, the South West African National Union, was founded, was to shift the locus of politics from the ethnic to the national level."

Formed initially by SWAPA supporters, the leadership of SWANU was soon broadened to include the Herero Chief's Council, some Nama and Dama elements as well as members of the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO).

Although opposed to ethnicity, SWANU comprises mainly Herero-speaking members, especially since its breach with SWAPO (the former OPO) in the early 1960s. The party has a pronounced socialist, anti-South African policy and until recently advocated the violent overthrow of the colonial authority. In 1977 Töttemeyer described SWANU as "... the most radical political group in South West Africa ... (1977:88)" and asserted that "Judging from its public utterances, SWANU is receptive to all radical and socialist views, to anti-White attitudes, and to the eventual use of force as a means of change."

Indeed in an editorial in Freedom, a journal which is described as "... a mouthpiece of SWANU and an instrument for the distribution of revolutionary propaganda" (SWANU, 1965:18), the reader is informed that "The founding of SWANU marked the beginning of transition from tribal-reformist politics to radical and militant politics. It changed to a certain degree the balance of forces in favour of revolutionary practical politics against the years

old protest movement. New fighters have come to the forefront of the struggle. This situation aroused the enmity of Verwoerd and his flunkys" (SWANU, 1965:8).

Following the return of many of its leading expatriate members to Namibia, SWANU adopted a somewhat more pragmatic strategy. The party, however, is still directed by a Political Bureau (Politbureau) and a Central Committee as its principal organs of leadership and members are still on occasion addressed by the appellation "Comrade". SWANU'S objectives moreover remain "... the complete liberation of Namibia from the South African racist regime and the establishment of a genuine People's Republic where all power derives from and belongs to the people", and ultimately "... the elimination of all exploiting and parasitic classes and strata and the establishment of a society based on solidarity and reconciliation between individual self-interests and social awareness ..." (SWANU, 1982:17).

Recently an intense power struggle developed within the party for control of its leadership. Ideological differences among the competing factions appeared to be at the root of the disunity with the challengers insisting that the party remain "non-collaborationist" and that it should therefore withdraw from the MPC (cf. p.77) which they regard as reactionary. Supporters of this more radical group portray SWANU as "... a socialist, revolutionary liberation movement" (Windhoek Advertiser, 1984:5).

At the inception of SWANU in 1959 a rivalry existed between young radicals and the more conservative members of the Chief's Council. In spite of the latter's competence in local matters and their dedication to the cause of independence, their lack of formal education put them at a disadvantage in as far as the composition of the party leadership was concerned. Nevertheless, through shrewd lobbying the traditionalists managed to have their candidate Jariretundu Kozonguizi elected as President in absentia (Kozonguizi was away in New York petitioning UNO on the instructions of Kutako at the time). The vice-presi-

dent, Uatja Kaukuetu, became the effective internal leader of SWANU and was determined not to be dictated to by the Chief's Council. Thus a rift developed between the two factions, and when Kozonguizi also moved so far left as to attack "Western imperialism" in an address over Radio Peking, the traditionalist elements of SWANU started planning for a new party which was to be more in alignment with their pace (Ngavirue, 1972:295-300).

The political party to fill this need was the National Unity Democratic Organisation (NUDO), founded in 1964 and supported at its inception by, among others, Kutako, Kapuuo, Beukes and Witbooi.

NUDO enjoys the support of the majority of the Herero and regards itself as a national liberation movement. It subscribes to the general principles of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance which it joined at its formation in 1977. These include independence for Namibia as a unitary state with the abolition of all vestiges of apartheid, a free-enterprise, but in some degree mixed, economy, pluralistic democracy (with the emphasis on strong central government but including nonetheless entrenched minority ethnic rights) and adherence to Western socio-political standards and forms.

Before its participation in the Turnhalle exercise, NUDO'S politics were primarily those of resistance (opposition to the South African Government in general and the Odendaal Plan in particular) and therefore it lacked a proper programme. Although the party wishes to modernize and is constitutionally open to all, in practice its members have to subscribe to Herero traditions and the party itself is dominated by the traditionalists of the Chief's Council.

NUDO rejects Marxist socialism as a foreign import and decries the doctrine of a classless society, maintaining that, as in all other societies, socialist states too possess privileged cliques in the upper echelons. Its leaders are of the opinion that one should rather regard all

men as equal subject to their ability and birthright (an indication of the continuing importance of kinship and ascriptive criteria in conservative Herero political convictions). To a large extent NUDO is motivated by a sense of insecurity: its supporters feel threatened by SWAPO which they fear will lead to a dictatorial Ovambo hegemony should that party be allowed to come to power in Namibia. By contrast apparently SWANU's main objection to SWAPO is that it lacks an adequate independent intellectual elite which consequently makes it amenable to foreign influence. NUDO thus embodies the yearnings of most conservative nationalist-inspired Herero who wish to maintain a sense of continuity with their historical heritage but simultaneously wish to secure for themselves meaningful roles in the attainment of Namibian independence along Western lines.

3.4.3 The Oruano

In line with the evolutionary elements resulting in the general sociological structure of the present-day Namibian Herero (regarded as an ethnic group with its own distinctive values, customs, associations, institutions and so forth), the real factors leading to the formation of the Oruano separatist church can to a large extent be traced back to the pre-colonial and early colonial era. The traditional religion of the Herero, as well as the various exogenous influences to which their culture was exposed from the middle of the nineteenth century, have already been discussed and need not be repeated. For present purposes it would therefore suffice to back-track to the 1920s and to examine only those aspects which have since had a specifically religious impact on the Herero.

The first impetus in the direction of ecclesiastical secession came from the Monrovia movement. In addition to propagating black solidarity and emancipation, Garvey's spokesmen promised the creation of a new church. A different God too would be worshipped, for the God of the

whites was suspect as far as blacks were concerned. Many Herero responded by agreeing that the Word of God had brought them only misfortune, and that the retrogression of their people over the past few decades was the result of their Christianization. They entreated their kinsmen to make a new beginning: to reintroduce polygamy and circumcision, to discard Western clothing and to return to their former religion. It can be objectively maintained that already at this early stage the underlying reason for the disenchantment with the Rhenish Mission was its constant emphasis on the hereafter. Little was done to improve the secular plight of the black man; instead, a philosophy of passive acquiescence was encouraged.

Another important factor was represented by the students who had gone to study in South Africa and had witnessed the existence of independent churches under black leadership. By comparison their own Rhenish Mission Church had evidently sorely neglected the proper training and advancement of indigenous ministers. Furthermore, students became aware of the prowess of black doctors and other university graduates in foreign countries and also blamed the lack of such highly trained persons in their own country on the shortcomings of the Rhenish Mission (Kandovazu, 1968:15-16). Although essentially contradictory to the atavistic yearnings awakened by Garveyism, the quest for better educational opportunities reinforced the estrangement from the established Church.

While many Herero, especially rural inhabitants, resumed some traditional religious practices, a complete reversal was never attained. This was due in part to the lack of legitimacy of the rekindled sacred fires, the absence of sufficient sacred cattle, the lack of tribal territorial groupings in comparison to the pre-1904 situation and, not least, to the permanency of the acculturation process which they had already undergone. Certain Western cultural traits had already by this time become so ingrained that they had to be accepted, willingly or not, as part of the Herero socio-cultural constitution

and could not be altered by a mere act of volition. Other Herero remained nominal Christians, concealing their slumbering discontent until later developments caused them finally to erupt.

Sundermeier (1973:96-111) discusses the most important catalysts that eventually led to the long-awaited creation of an independent Herero church.

In 1946 a significant faction of the Nama broke away from the Rhenish Mission and joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AMEC). The Herero were invited to follow suit but could not bring themselves to relinquish their traditions nor to accept a Nama church-hegemony. Nevertheless, from this point on, their leaders started openly probing the various avenues leading to a formal withdrawal from the Mission.

In 1948 the greatly revered evangelist Gottlieb Murangi died, provoking a national day of mourning. The Mission authorities, however, failed to buy their colleague a coffin of their own accord, causing much indignation among the Herero. To them such a gesture was regarded as a matter of course towards one who had applied himself with unfailing dedication to the cause of the Mission.

The contrasting effort by the Anglican priest Michael Scott to petition UNO on behalf of the Herero caused further ill-feeling among the parties. Whereas Scott endeavoured to promote genuine independence, the Mission collaborated with the authorities and denounced his efforts. To make matters still worse a leading member of the Rhenish Mission actually joined the South African political arena. About this Sundermeier (1973:101) relates that "Altpräses H. Vedder, Befürworter einer mild gehandhabten Apartheidspolitik - eine contradictio in adjecto - wurde 1950 von der Nationalen Regierung zum Senator ernannt. Das war ein weiterer Schock für die Herero und trug, gerade als Gegenbild zum Einsatz M. Scotts, zur weiteren Entfremdung von der Mission bei."²⁵⁾

Further resentment was caused by the refusal of a pass-

port to Hosea Kutako, who had been invited to address an Anglican conference in Britain and for which purpose over £2 000 had already been collected. Other causes of dissatisfaction which were mentioned in connection with the severance of ties with the Mission revolved around:

- (i) church buildings (which had been built with Herero resources but had been allowed to fall to ruin or were put at the disposal of whites);
- (ii) the sale of Mission farmlands, which the Mission had originally received on loan from the Herero chiefs;
- (iii) the collection of contributions for white war-orphans and widows;
- (iv) the missionaries' paternalism and lack of identification with their black congregations; and
- (v) the general inferior treatment of black religious leaders and other mission-workers in comparison with their white counterparts.

After much deliberation and drawn-out negotiations an independent Herero church was eventually founded in 1955. It was decided that it would be called the Okereka Jevangelie Joruuano, or simply Oruuano in short. The official English name was to be "The Protestant Unity Church".

Once a meaningful breakaway had been successfully accomplished the way was paved for the development of a more compatible religious system. Members could, for instance, now concentrate on those parts of the Bible with which they felt a greater natural affinity. According to Kandovazu (1968:5) the Old Testament is given preference "... omdat daar baie dinge voorkom wat volgens verkeerde interpretering min of meer dieselfde is by die heidense religie, byvoorbeeld, die besnyding, offerande, veelwywery, geeste aanroeping, lotwerping, roubedrywe en nog meer.

Die Ou Testamentiese slaafse gebondenheid aan die wet, word weer opgehef".²⁶⁾

The Oruвано is characterized by a syncretism which combines Christian (Lutheran) theology, liturgy and sacraments with traditional religious practices and beliefs. Thus baptism, for example, is performed in the name of the Holy Trinity, but the names of ancestors may also be uttered during the ritual. The ceremony can take place either as part of normal church services or at a sacred fireplace. Traditional Herero names are bestowed in preference to those of Western/Christian origin as had formerly been the custom. At funerals the souls of the departed are commended to the ancestors who, being with God, are thought to act as intermediaries. Traditional marriage rituals are acceptable and in addition to Christian prayers and hymns, the forefathers are addressed at the sacred fire or at burial sites on special occasions.

Reeh (1961:135) is of the opinion that the combination of Christian theology and ancestor-worship is not necessarily contradictory per se: "Wir müssen davon ausgehen, dass der Ahne in einer durch ihn bestimmten Religiosität nicht Objekt von Anbetung und Verehrung ist. Er gilt im Leben des einzelnen und des Stammes vielmehr als der Faktor, der zu fürchten ist, ... Es geht darum, ihn rituell zu versöhnen mit dem Ziel, ihn zum Bundesgenossen zu gewinnen".²⁷⁾ The ancestors, according to Reeh, are thus not thought of as gods or part of a theocracy but are really an extension of the family, although in possession of magical powers. This approximates the purely traditional belief, but in the modern Westernized version subscribed to by the Oruвано the ancestors take on a more elevated position similar to that of Catholic saints. The sacred fire (which nowadays is usually lit only for ceremonial occasions) is also mainly regarded only as a symbol of enlightenment similar to the candles on an orthodox Christian altar.

It is interesting to note, however, that Reeh (1961: 134) provides an essentially materialistic reason for the

Hereros' conversion to Christianity in the first place. He maintains that by defeating them at war the whites had proven that their religion was superior to that of the Herero's. By forsaking their old beliefs and placating "the other God" they hoped eventually to share in the benefits of the whites. When this failed to happen they reverted to their traditional beliefs in their disillusionment.

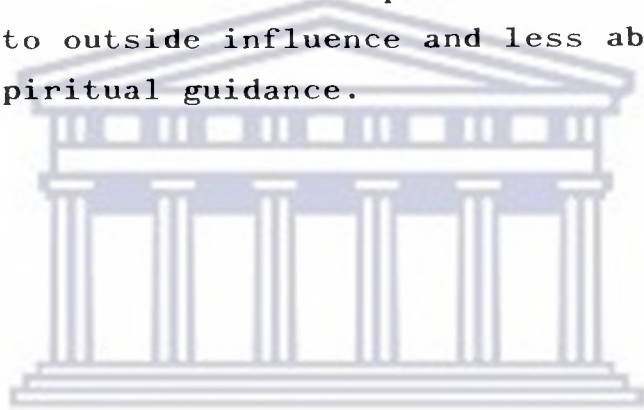
At present the main strongholds of the Oruuno are in Windhoek, Okahandja, Waterberg and Otjituuo (Hereroland West) and Aminuis. Hardly any of the so-called Western Herero (Zeraua group) and only a few of the Eastern Herero (Mbanderus) are members of the church. In fact, according to Pöllitzer (1978:62-63), the Oruuno, which he estimates to have a membership of between 30 000 and 50 000, is composed primarily of Maharero supporters.

With the death of Hosea Kutako in 1970 a trend towards the formation of small sects (differing essentially only in style from the Oruuno and emphasizing faith healing) became increasingly evident. Some ascribe this phenomenon to the fact that Kutako's successor, Clemens Kapuu, was less religiously inclined, while others regard it as a reaction to changed conditions, for with the reconstitution of the Rhenish Mission Church into the independent black Evangelical Lutheran Church (ELC) in 1957, one of the main reasons for the Oruuno's right of existence was eliminated. Furthermore, with accelerating urbanization, Herero were increasingly subjected to anomie-related stress-factors. The more zealous and intimate nature of the sects placed them in a position to offer such individuals greater religious escapism and security.

Nevertheless, according to some sources the Oruuno has recently shown signs of new growth as a result of the dynamic political leadership and traditionalist orientated policies of Chief Kuaima Riruako. In agreement with this it would appear that the main strengths of the Oruuno at present lie in its opposition to ELC'S alleged support of

SWAPO as well as its (i.e. the Oruano's) accommodating acceptance of Herero traditions.

Possibly the chief drawback of the Oruano in the long run is its strong ethnicity and politicization by NUDO. With the increasing Westernization of the Herero it can be expected that traditionalist considerations will gradually diminish and that individuals will instead want to concentrate more on spiritual succour within the purely Christian context. If the Oruano fails to provide adequately for this need its future may increasingly depend solely on the fortunes of NUDO. Its position in this regard is further weakened by the relatively poor theological training of its ministers at present which makes them more amenable to outside influence and less able to offer satisfactory spiritual guidance.



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FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

- 1) The Khoi comprise three groups of tribes, the Naman, the Oorlams and Nama-speaking San groups. Today all Nama and Oorlam tribes (who were formerly called Hot-tentots by whites) are generally classed together and collectively called Nama. The Oorlams consisted of those Khoi groups which crossed into Namibia from the Northern Cape during the early 19th century, whilst the Nama and the San groups had at that stage already been present in the Territory for many years.

Except where specifically stated, all further references to Nama will have this dual meaning as the two tribal groups Nama and Oorlams are closely related and often joined forces in the course of history.

- 2) "These treaties, often concluded under pressure and with vague promises, were originally intended to establish sovereign rights under international law rather than reshape the constitutional basis of the tribe. They [ostensibly] guaranteed the tribal organization and the power of the chiefs, and suspended only the right to wage war; Europeans were declared outside the jurisdiction of the chiefs, and their freedom of movement assured" (Bley, 1968:21-22).
- 3) "... you will eternally regret that you have handed over your land and your right to govern to the white people ... for I doubt whether you have sufficiently considered and thoroughly understood the consequences of having accepted German protection. I do not know whether you and your Herero nation will understand the customs, laws and conduct of the Government and will peacefully and confidently put up with them for long, because you will not understand the actions of Goering and not be satisfied for he will not act in accordance with your will and customs. However, it will then be too late for you because you have already given him

full rights and he will henceforth not be prepared to give way to you. You will also not give way to him, but it will be of no avail because you have already placed yourself in his power ..." (Witbooi, 1929:79-81).

- 4) The Herero were originally grouped in clans and constituted no unitary entity as such. Various clans might temporarily come together or disperse in response to political considerations or grazing conditions. They became acquainted with the institution of chieftainship only through their later contact with the Nama and Oorlam tribes. Three main tribal groups were eventually formed in the middle of the nineteenth century: Manasse Zerua, Maharero Tjamuaha and Kahimemua. After the battle of Otjimbingwe in 1863 these three chiefs divided the land amongst themselves: The western part (Otjimbingwe and Omaruru districts) was allocated to the senior ranking Zerua and the middle portion to Maharero, while the boundary of the Eastern Herero or Mbanderu under Kahimemua was east of Okahandja. There was no supreme ruler and the three chiefs recognized each other as equals. The German appointment of Samuel Maharero as Paramount Chief of the Herero in 1891 was never acknowledged by the other two and caused strained relations among the three groups. These tensions only ceased after the deaths of Kahimemua (1896) and Manasse (1898) and at the outbreak of the Herero uprising in 1904 all Hereros were spontaneously united under the command of Samuel Maharero (Sundermeier, 1973:85-86).
- 5) "... actual character is a little-pleasing mixture of cruelty, avarice, cunning and presumption, the latter of which is especially evidenced in a boundless contempt of all foreigners, irrespective of whether they are black or white. ... It was self-evident that any serious colonization [attempts] would elicit resistance from such pronounced characteristics of the native tribes. The most important cause of the general re-

volt of the year 1904 is therefore also probably to be sought in their warlike and freedom-loving nature.

"All other major and minor causes, which were proposed later on in Germany, vanish by comparison. The great inevitable battle with the natives had to happen sooner or later if Germany did not wish to forego the economic exploitation of the country. Whoever wanted to colonize here, first had to take up the sword and conduct war - not on a small scale but rather by using power to compel respect until the total subjugation of the natives [had been accomplished]" (Kriegsgeschichtliche Abteilung I des Grossen Generalstabes, 1906:4).

- 6) Full text of letter from Samuel Maharero to Governor T. Leutwein (dated 6 March 1904).

I have received your letter and have understood everything that you have written to me and my Counsellors. I and my Counsellors reply to you as follows:

This was not begun in this year by me, rather has it been started by the Whites (yourself). You know yourself how many Hereros have been killed by White people, particularly traders, with guns, and in prisons and whenever I took these matters to Windhoek the blood of my people was compensated for by a small number of small stock, namely 50 (or even 15). The traders increased the hardship by pressing my people to accept articles on credit; thereafter they robbed us (secured payment for themselves) and they went so far as to secure payment by taking away by force 2 or 3 head of cattle for a debt of £1 sterling.

These are the matters that have given rise to the war in this country. And now during this year when the Whites saw that you who have a feeling of affection for us and of freedom towards us (were absent) then they began to tell us "your Governor who loves you has

gone off to a heavy war and has been killed and because he is dead so you will die". They went so far that they killed 2 of Chief Tjetjo's people (yes) until Lieutenant Z... started killing my people in gaol. There died (were killed) 10, and it was said that they had died of sickness but they died (were killed) by the Labour Overseers (warders) and the cudgel. Finally Lieutenant Z... began to treat me badly and to look for an excuse to kill me, in that he said that Kam-bazembi's and Ouandje's people are making war, (and) he called upon me for an explanation. I replied truthfully namely "No". (It is not true.) But he refused to believe it.

In the end he placed and secreted in the fort, soldiers (from the Civilian Reserve) and he called me in order to shoot me. But I did not go to him. I saw through his intentions and therefore I fled. Thereupon Z... sent men with guns in order to shoot me. Thereupon I became angry and said - "Now I must shoot the Whites even though I die". For that I should die I had heard from a White man named Von M... Thus the war commenced.

It was started by traders and Lieutenant Z.., and seeing that I did not start it (I do not know it) I have nothing more to explain. You had better ask the traders and Lieutenant Z... They will be able to give you an explanation and when they have told you then you should ask me. Consequently the war is due to Lieutenant Z... These are my words. I am the Chief.

Samuel Maharero

(Taken from Goldblatt, 1971:133-134)

7) "Osombo-Windembe, 2 October 1904

I, the great general of the German soldiers, send this message to the Herero people - Hereros are no longer

German subjects. They have murdered and robbed and have cut off the ears and noses and other parts of the body of wounded soldiers, and now out of cowardice they refuse to fight. I say that any one who delivers any one of the chiefs at my headquarters, as a prisoner, will receive 1 000 marks. Whoever brings in Samuel Maharero will receive 5 000 marks. The Herero people must depart from the country. If they do not, I shall force them with cannons to do so. Within the German boundaries every Herero, whether armed or unarmed, with or without cattle, will be shot. I shall not accept /give shelter to/ any more women and children. I shall drive them back to their people, and have them shot at. These are my words to the Herero people. The great general of the mighty German Kaiser Von Trotha" (Rust, 1905:385).

- 8) There is some controversy regarding the population figure of the Herero before the war. While the figure of 80 000 is based on an estimate by Palgrave, Irle and Leutwein, and is the one mentioned in the British Blue Book of 1918, Sudholt (1975) accepts the much lower figure of 40 000 reached by the German officers Wecke and Volkman. The Missionary Bernsmann furthermore put up a convincing argument that the Herero people could not have numbered more than 35 000 at the outbreak of war (Mossolow, n.d.:42).
- 9) During the battle of Waterberg against the Germans in August 1904 the Herero women were heard to chant - "Ehi r0vaherero oraune? Ehi r0vaherero oretu!" ("To whom does Hereroland belong? Hereroland belongs to us!")
- 10) "... an anticipated ideological battle between colonialism and liberty" (Loth, 1963:126).
- 11) "... Without the pioneering efforts of the missionaries, the seizure of the country would have been a total illusory act on paper only ..." (Von François, 1896:300).

- 12) "... The missionaries ... evidently thought that the German government would see to order and peace in the country. Individual voices which advised caution, and in particular warned that the missionaries should not occupy themselves with political matters, were ignored as unpatriotic" (Spiecker, 1907:39).
- 13) "... From the first day of its existence, every newly established mission station became a nursery of culture, even if at the beginning still a modest one, from which discipline, order and morality gradually also spread outwards into the country" (Olpp, 1914: 5-6).
- 14) "As already mentioned, the missionaries operated politically among their natives only in one respect, namely in favour of 'German supremacy'" (Olpp, 1914:23).
- 15) "In colonial historiography attention is drawn to the claim of the 'civilizing mission' ... On the whole, however, this often cited argument only played a minor role in South West Africa. It is an abstraction mainly used in colonial circles in Germany. ... The claim of being pledged to a civilizing mission mostly reflected externally determined demands which had borne little resemblance to the social realities in SWA." (Bley, 1968:242).
- 16) "The ultimate goal of every colonization, stripped of its ideal and humane trappings, is after all only a matter of business. The colonising race does not wish to bring the indigenous inhabitants of the country concerned the happiness possibly expected by them, but rather seeks in the first instance its own benefit" (Leutwein, 1906:541).
- 17) "The political status of the non-white cannot be detached from our political creed, our Christian view of the state ... everywhere and always there exists

a direct relationship between religion, condition of civilization, form of state and civic liberties, from which it is evident that the guarantee for our civic liberties is not merely a question of system of government but also of condition of civilization; and the root of the matter a question of religious course" (Pretorius, 1959:151).

- 18) "Those who are minors in respect of civilization cannot accept the responsibilities of civilization and should the franchise be granted to them, they will assist in wrecking everything and if placed in a position of authority, they will merely abuse it" (Pretorius, 1959:157).
- 19) "The complaint is so often heard that we discriminate merely on the ground of colour. However, our problem lies much deeper than the skin, it is not only colour which makes the non-white, but the inner differences, biological, psychological and temperamental. For us the colour differences have the more profound meaning of differences in respect of character, outlook on life and attributes of civilization" (Pretorius, 1959:159).
- 20) "On the basis of our view of authority we regard Christian guardianship as the execution of a limited commission of office with responsibility to God. Therefore, while being equal before His sight, and just as damnable, the white Christian is nevertheless invested with the authority of office over the non-white and in that respect they are mutually unequal. Therefore the non-white must be obedient to the white as long as the white man remains in office, remains in Christ - acts in obedience to God, because only in and through Christ is the Christian nation a guardian (a servant) over the Bantu, and that is no master-delusion [Herrenwahn] but rather obedience to Him who appointed us for this highly responsible task through His omniscience" (Pretorius, 1959:160).

- 21) "... from the present situation in the formal education system of Namibia it is clear that 'Bantu Education' especially, but in the final instance all three school sectors of the Territory, are the result of the apartheid politics of the white minority regime which define the social system in its specific characteristics. Thus the organization of each education sector functionally corresponds more or less to the system's requirements and contributes to the maintenance of the prevailing conditions. 'Bantu Education' is thus defined according to the socio-economic and political position as intended for the colonized people in society. ... Complementary to this, the education of white school children aims, hand in hand with the society's other socialization agents, at the internalization of racist values" (Melber, 1979:233).
- 22) "All services are honorary, and thus the various rank-titles, which have nothing to do with military matters at all, are an ideal compensation or recognition for services rendered, such as the honorary diplomas of many European associations" (Lehmann, n.d.:161).
- 23) The Otjiserandu has two smaller sister organizations, the Otjigrine and the Otjizemba, which bear the same characteristics as the Otjiserandu. The Otjigrine is composed mainly of Mbanderus, who adopt green as their distinguishing colour and pay homage to the memory of the Mbanderu chief Nikodemus, who fled to Botswana in 1904 and took up the leadership of the Mbanderus residing there. Since his death and reinterment at Okeseta in the Gobabis district in 1947 the Otjigrine have held annual commemorative celebrations at his graveside (Otto and Tjatindi; 1979:127). It may also be mentioned that a large proportion of this organization's membership is sympathetic towards SWANU and belongs to the separatist "Church of Africa".

The Otjizemba's colours are black and white and the organization is mainly concerned with honouring the House of Zeraua. Since 1924 its members have held annual October grave-side celebrations at Omururu. Most of them belong to the Evangelical Lutheran Church. This may partially be due to the fact that Zeraua died a Christian while Maharero (Samuel Maharero's father) and Kahimemua (the pre-eminent Mbanderu contemporary of Maharero) both died heathens (Otto, 1979: 39-47).

- 24) "Even when the Red Band Organization declares clearly and with undoubted honesty that it practices no 'politics' and never did do so it always means, as evidenced by the examples quoted, greater world politics, such as the quarrel over who South West Africa belongs to or the altercation of the world powers over the decisive might" (Lehmann, n.d.:156).
- 25) "Former präses H. Vedder, advocate of mildly practised apartheid politics - a contradicto in adjecto - was nominated as a senator by the Nationalist Government in 1950. That was a further shock to the Herero and contributed, especially in contrast to M. Scott's efforts, to the further estrangement from the mission" (Sundermeier, 1973:101).
- 26) "... because there are many things which, when misinterpreted, seem more or less the same as is the case in pagan religion, for example circumcision, sacrifices, polygamy, invocation of spirits, divination, mourning activities and others. The Old Testament's slavish adherence to the law is elevated again" (Kandovazu, 1968:5).
- 27) "We must take as our point of departure that the ancestor is not the object of worship and veneration in the religiosity which is determined by him. In the life of the individual and of the tribe he rather counts as the factor to be feared, ... The object

thus is to appease him ritually with the aim of winning him as a confederate" (Reeh, 1961:135).



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CHAPTER IV

TYPOLOGIES OF RELEVANT IDEOLOGIES

4.1 Introduction

As has been repeatedly observed in various sections of the foregoing text, the Herero have been exposed to numerous ideological influences during the course of their history. The more significant among these ideologies have already been examined as an integral part of the relevant discussions. They include the indigenous religion and related belief-patterns which typified Herero cognition prior to their contact with European culture (although, as Plamenatz (1970:21-22) notes, the term ideology is usually reserved by sociologists for developed, literate societies, there is no reason why the expressed beliefs and belief-systems of less developed peoples should not also be considered as ideologies), Lutheran Protestantism and the tenets underlying German imperialism, Afrikaner nationalism and black nationalism. The elements of capitalism and Marxism-Leninism dealt with in Chapter II, considered as among the external influences evidenced in modern Herero thought, should certainly also be included here.

On a more generalized level, the political institutions of modern societies are characterized mainly by elements of two types of underlying legitimizing ideologies, namely democratic ideology and totalitarian ideology. Since aspects of these elements are also clearly present in varying degrees in the substantive ideologies mentioned above (as well as in other incidental ideological patterns impinging on the Herero), a brief consideration of the principles involved here will enhance our understanding and objective appraisal of ideology in the present study.

4.2 Democracy as ideology

Modern democracy is largely derived from the idea of the equal worth of all men as proclaimed in Christian dog-

ma. Each individual is seen as responsible for his own moral judgements and no one has the right on grounds of class, race, education or wealth to take such decisions for other people. Each responsible citizen should therefore be given a share, however small, in the fundamental decisionmaking process of political systems. It is recognized that not all individuals are equally competent to govern, or to air opinions on complicated matters, therefore it is the task of leaders to explain and administer so as to enable the electors to give their verdict at the polls. While an electorate can take a wrong decision, in the end truth will triumph. Related to the idea of the equality of all men, and the equal opportunity which should thus be accorded them, is the principle that while minorities must bow to the will of the majority, minority rights and interests should be protected and respected. Democracy can therefore be seen to rest on basic moral ideas and assumptions about the nature of men and reality and it is the enactment of these ideas which is seen as the legitimizing ideology of constitutional-pluralistic forms of government (Mackintosh, 1972:19-27).

It should be noted, however, that another important (although often ignored) element of democratic ideology present mainly in Western nations is class-related. There the existence of class hierarchies, in which the upper echelons have easier access to power, is justified by the premise that class differentiates people in terms of their ability and therefore the most able legitimately govern the society, as they are the most efficient and best equipped to do so.

A final dimension which should be remembered in the present context is that described by Marcuse and Habermas, namely scientific-technical rationalism, which assumes an ideological character and is intermingled with democratic tenets in Westernized societies.

4.3 Totalitarianism as ideology

In contrast to the essentially pluralistic nature of

democracy, totalitarian ideology generally postulates a basic idea and contends that all interests and efforts of an entire society should be regimented towards its attainment. The idea is usually intimately related to the notion of state or society as such and hence the individual is viewed solely in terms of his utility and his ability to serve the ends of the state or society. This being the case, the state confers upon itself the right to regulate much of his life to ensure that no energy is wasted on activities other than those which are seen to benefit the ideological cause. It is for this reason that totalitarian regimes are so highly centralized and as far as possible all social activities, whether political, economic, cultural or recreational, are state directed.

Of course, many of the actual governmental systems and policies in totalitarian societies cannot be explained by direct reference to the basic ideological premise, but rather by recourse to the derivatives thereof when it is logically extended. Indeed, extreme "... [totalitarian] ideological thinking orders facts into an absolutely logical procedure which starts from an axiomatically accepted premise, deducing everything else from it; that is it proceeds with a consistency that exists nowhere in the realm of reality. The deducing may proceed logically or dialectically; in either case it involves a consistent process of argumentation which, because it thinks in terms of a process, is supposed to be able to comprehend the movement of the suprahuman, natural or historical processes" (Arendt, 1967:44-45).

4.4 African nationalism

Modern Herero ideological thought contains various strands of the foregoing belief-systems in constantly changing combinations and intensities. But while different political and religious persuasions are emphasized by the various subgroups constituting Herero society, generally speaking Herero ideology can best be described as a heterogeneous

blend of Westernized African nationalism similar to that of most other black groups in Namibia. Indeed, it is the dominant basic ideological disposition prevalent in most parts of Africa.

Gerhart (1978) employs just such a model for the analysis of black power in South Africa. As a point of departure she identifies six main political ideologies constituting the South African ideological spectrum:

- (i) **Apartheid** - the philosophy of the ruling National Party of which the doctrine of racial segregation forms the main pillar. In recent years the emphasis has changed from micro- or petty-apartheid to macro-apartheid or separate development. This has resulted in the creation of quasi-independent black states presenting limited opportunity for group self-realization but leaving the basic structure of white power and privilege relatively unchanged.
- (ii) **White trusteeship** - the paternalistic ideology of many English-speaking conservatives. It holds that in the distant future the black population may have eventually developed sufficiently to warrant its full assimilation into the South African political system. Until such time white supremacy is to be maintained and the relationship between white and black should be analagous to that of guardian and ward.
- (iii) **Liberalism** - which unlike the foregoing essentially indigenous ideologies has its philosophical roots in European Christian and democratic traditions. Liberals stand for sweeping changes in race relations and for the elimination of the more blatant forms of exploitation. In general, however, they are not much concerned with altering the existing socio-economic structure.
- (iv) **Marxism** - in addition to total rejection of racial

policies its proponents advocate a complete dismantling of the capitalist economic order upon which they insist South Africa's gross inequalities are founded. Marxists deride optimistic liberal visions of gradual evolutionary change towards a more equitable society.

- (v) African nationalism - which can be roughly divided into two categories - orthodox or "Black Power" nationalism and pluralistic non-racial nationalism. Orthodox African nationalism does not recognize the right of whites to exist as a separate entity or indeed even their right of domicile as self-evident. Democracy is thought of as simple black majority rule. The unorthodox more tolerant strain of African nationalism foresees the creation of a more complex representative state in which all constituting groups have a share in the decision-making process.
- (vi) Fanonesque apocalypse - the ideological disposition (described in Frantz Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth, 1968) in which the colonized seek release through cathartic violence culminating in anti-colonial revolution. Truth and morality are regarded as synonymous with the cause of the oppressed and evil as everything pertaining to the ruling class.

Gerhart (1978:16) concludes that "Of all the ideologies on the spectrum, the one most likely to appear in hybrid form is African nationalism ... [hence] the lines of conflict have seldom been clear-cut, and the range of overlap between competing ideologies has sometimes been great."

In examining developmental performance in the African context, Young (1982) maintains that African political economies can be placed within three general ideological categories. From left to right these are Afro-Marxism (regimes that espouse an official state ideology of Marxism-

Leninism), populist socialism (socialist states that either do not stress or expressly reject Marxism) and thirdly African capitalism (pragmatically inclined regimes pursuing market economies though generally denying any ideological attachment).

Of populist socialist ideology (also known as African socialism), Young (1982:101-102) mentions five elements which are common to all concrete instances. It is intensely nationalist, radical, anti-capitalist (due mainly to capitalism's past linkage with imperialism and the flawed ethical principles upon which it is believed to rest), populist (the people, especially the rural mass, is exalted) and more or less socialist.

The overriding common factor in Young's typology is that of nationalism, as indeed it is in virtually all shades of African political thinking. In Namibia, as in other white-dominated African states of the present and past, an increasingly significant variable present in nationalist thought is that of black consciousness. This phenomenon is a response to the dragging pace of socio-political change and an impatience among the political aware for their country to assume a meaningful role as an independent nation. As such, black consciousness has become a major goal of nationalist politicizing and pan-Africanist propaganda.

According to a Spro-cas report (1979:44), the chief object of black consciousness "... is to overcome the 'dependence complex' which many blacks manifest in relation to whites, and to assert the black man's self-reliance and his sense of his own worth". Although commendable in itself, the doctrine contains within it the seeds of an anti-white radicalism which may take root to an ever-increasing extent as long as legitimate black aspirations are frustrated. For as the Financial Mail (1981:435) points out, "... even blacks who, asked to define their beliefs, might never even have heard of the concept, have gut reactions which are in effect the basis of BC thought. A strong reaction to racism and a rejection of ethnicity

as a 'divide and rule' tactic, provide common ground. More intellectual leaders use these emotions to gain support - and control."

In this process of politicizing and vying for power, some sectors of Namibia, with its multitude of political parties, have come to resemble a seething cauldron of diverse ideologies stirred alternately by a genuine desire for independence on the part of most inhabitants on the one hand, and by the struggle for influence in the country by the international community on the other. For through the protracted conflict over Namibia of the last four decades, ideologically the Territory has become a jousting ground of the First, Second and Third Worlds. An initially relatively unsophisticated, undemanding indigenous population has become the object of political propaganda and indoctrination on a scale seldom equalled before in Africa. In this respect the Herero represent a microcosm of the greater Namibian society, and although the majority are conservatively inclined, they do include among their ranks all shades of political ideology - from the extreme right to the far left.

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CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The dissertation was induced by a desire to explore some of the multidimensional intricacies of social causality in the Namibian situation. More in particular, an attempt has been made in this study to trace the relative causality of ideological and material influences and to determine to what extent each was responsible for significant sociological adaptations that have occurred in Herero society in recent times.

From the vantage point of Marxian theory one would expect that the findings of a study such as this would establish conclusively that factors of production and material conditions in general were responsible for the social change under consideration. Ideal elements would be expected to have been only of peripheral importance in the process - they themselves being of an a priori nature and thus evidencing only secondary causal characteristics. Ideology would have served an essentially negative role, that of having contributed to the suppression of the "natural unfolding" of historical process.

Weberian theory too, would postulate that material considerations would be found to have been of profound significance, serving as an adequate explanation for many of the new facets in Herero society. However, although while considering the matter from Weber's perspective, one would furthermore expect to find that material aspects have in fact in all instances constituted a sine qua non of social change, one would nevertheless in addition not preclude the possibility of establishing some instances in which ideal (ideological) elements have also been of primary causal import.

The socio-historical occurrences considered in the present study furnish examples which tend to confirm the validity of the major postulates of both points of view, depending on the contextual emphasis.

Certainly by far the major influence on the Herero from the time of their first encounter with Westernized elements until the end of World War II was of a material nature.

Fire-arms, Western modes of transport, housing, clothing and external trappings in general were among those aspects of Western culture which had a far greater impact on the Herero tribesman than the religious teachings and Western values which the missionaries endeavoured to impart. The Herero readily succumbed to these alluring material attributes whereas their acceptance of Western ideas was a much slower process and initially had little influence on their society and institutions. It took the devastating effect of their war with the Germans to accomplish the latter. In their consequent state of social disorganization and extreme anomie, they were more receptive to foreign ideas and had no alternative but to adapt to the social structure of their conquerors. But even these transformations proved largely to be of a transient nature as is evidenced by the atavistic developments among the Herero in the 1920s.

The period of South African administration between the two World Wars, while witnessing on the one hand the implantation of the first seeds of extraneous liberationist ideology, and on the other a partial return to former beliefs, values and customs, was predominantly characterized as an era of material reconstruction based on a return of numerous Herero to their former pastoral life-style.

Urban Herero, and those working on the farms and mines, nevertheless continued to be faced with the privations of relative penury and to be subjected to the pervasive influence of the settler population and their mode of living. These material conditions have been a major consideration in the lives of most blacks in Namibia up to the present.

The foregoing notwithstanding, the ending of World War II and its aftermath brought a new surge of ideas onto the African scene on an unprecedented scale. It would probably be correct to conclude that in the ensuing period the impact of ideological stimuli far outweighed material factors in affecting the momentum and character of social

change among the Herero. But it is important to stress that the existential circumstances in which the Herero found themselves made them receptive to ideological persuasion and provided the nurturing ground in which the ideas could come to fruition.

From the examples of modern Herero sociological components examined we have seen that the Otjiserandu far outdates the others. In agreement with the present findings that only in the most recent times have ideological factors gained in importance, the circumstances leading to the development of the Otjiserandu have also manifestly mainly been of a material nature. Here the military orientated origins of the movement, the role of an almost mechanical imitation, the external paraphernalia, the drill-exercises, the social-security functions, and so forth, are brought to mind.

On the other hand, while material considerations such as that of low income and the effect of ethnocentric segregationist policies were of undeniable import as motivatory factors in the creation of the more recent black political parties and separatist churches, these could hardly have been established without the impulse of foreign ideological influences. The very attribute of self-awareness in the Southern-African black-consciousness sense is a product of the interplay between the rival ideologies of apartheid and black nationalism respectively. This is especially so for political parties such as SWANU and NUDO, and to a large extent is their very raison d'etre. The ideological composition of the Oruвано is rather different in that it combines black nationalism with a syncretic religiosity. Nevertheless, it too was conceived in response to predominantly ideological stimuli and continues to rest on a similar foundation. The church's religious tenets, rituals and organizational structure - its very existence as an institution - bear witness to the causality of extraneous cognitive influences reacting on pre-existing religious conceptions and vice versa. Similarly the Oruвано's dif-

ferences with the more orthodox black Evangelical Lutheran Church also revolve mainly around ideological politico-religious issues.

It may be mentioned in passing that from casual observations made throughout the study it would appear that in other institutional areas of Herero society such as that of marriage, family relationships, education, judicial practice, animal husbandry, and so forth, the role of new ideas or the abolition of old ones is likewise of some significance.

For example, as Otto (1981:138) notes, it is often somewhat difficult to distinguish between a Westernized Herero marriage ceremony and an ostensibly traditional ceremony, since these occasions usually contain elements of both. Contact with Western culture, especially Christian religion, have in fact not only influenced the nuptial rituals but also greatly contributed to an almost universal acceptance of monogamy in place of the previously preferred polygamous life-style. This in turn has been of far-reaching consequence for family relationships, since the former predominating extended family-structure has been largely replaced by the nuclear family unit. The increasing acceptance of Western values has conferred a high status on educated persons in Herero society: formerly the Herero were sceptical about the advantages of schooling. Judicial practices have changed in as far as many Herero nowadays refuse to obey Eanda law in matters of inheritance and recourse to civil courts to enforce Western principles of inheritance is no longer rare. As far as animal husbandry is concerned, Vivello's (1974:4) findings in regard to the Botswanan Herero (ref. Chapter III p 96) apply equally to Namibia and cattle are presently only seldom used for religio-ritualistic purposes, but are mainly bred for the market.

In this study, examples of ideology (in the Weberian sense of a distinctive yet general outlook on life on a combined secular-metaphysical level) are provided by among others by the Weltanschauung of the early Herero, the Lutheran theological doctrine guiding the teachings and be-

haviour of the German missionaries, and by Afrikaner-Calvinist conceptions of the polity. In all three instances religious beliefs are in some degree brought to bear significantly on secular conceptions serving either as explanations for certain phenomena, justification thereof, or as normative guidelines for individual and social behaviour. Ideas and values incorporated in these thought-systems to some extent explain the differences evidenced by the social forms peculiar to the bearers thereof. The gradual transformation of traditional Herero institutions into their present form was in no small measure a result of the inculcation of elements of exogenous ideologies or their countervailing reaction to them. Apart from Lutheran and Calvinist principles, important aspects of various other foreign ideologies also contributed to this acculturation process as demonstrated in Chapter IV.

On the other hand, ideology as an inhibitive constituent of the societal superstructure, helping to maintain the socio-political and economic hegemony of the ruling class, is equally evident in the Namibian situation. Examples considered include that of the Lutheran Doctrine of the Two Kingdoms, the justificatory assumptions underlying Wilhelmine and Victorian/post-Victorian imperialism, and the principles of apartheid philosophy. Each in turn and at various stages of the country's history strove by various means to induce Namibian indigenes to succumb to the prevailing order and to accept their subordinate position in society as legitimate. That these persuasive efforts were only partially successful in suppressing repeated and ever-growing signs of an awakening self-consciousness among the Namibian people, is evidence of the perspicacity of Marxian sociological theory as an explanatory model for concrete socio-historical situations.

These conclusions regarding substantive instances and consequences of ideology in the Namibian context are in accordance with the general conclusions reached in respect of the nature of ideology on a more abstracted level at the end of Chapter II. They illustrate the wide range of meaning

and connotations lent to the concept of ideology in modern sociological theory: to insist on employing a more restricted definition would be to forego many useful applications of the concept.

Finally, this study has demonstrated once again that man, while substantially belonging to the animal kingdom, differs from his fellow creatures in being endowed with a highly developed mental capacity. Thus while his material being responds to his physical environment - is in fact constituted by it - his cognitive prowess in certain respects allows him to transcend the deterministic confines of matter. One example of this is the manner in which ideology is capable of becoming a powerful motivational force, sometimes inducing extremely irrational behaviour which may or may not be in the material interests of the actors. And, as we have seen from the foregoing discussions, ideological influences may not only determine individual or group actions but are also of definite relevance for socio-structural development.

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a stylized building with columns and a pediment.

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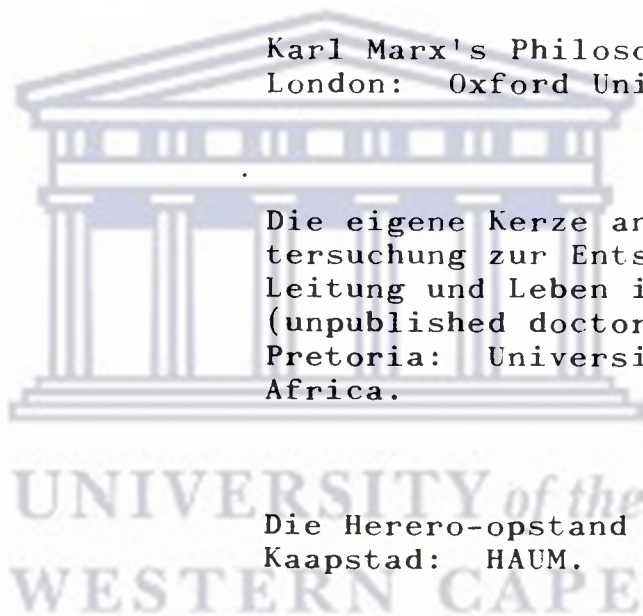
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ANNEXURE

FURTHER INTERPRETATIONS OF THE CONCEPT OF IDEOLOGY BY OTHER MAJOR SOCIAL THEORISTS

Pareto

Vilfredo Pareto's (1848-1923) approach to the analysis of society was basically psychological. He divided behaviour into logical and non-logical categories. Logical action employs the logico-experimental method and is aimed at an end which is objectively attainable. The means used must be objectively related to the end and represent the application of the best knowledge available at the time. Pareto's investigations convinced him that social behaviour is rarely logical in practice.

The predominating non-logical action is based on man's inborn sentiments which are manifested as mental abstractions of two varieties, either as a deep-seated psychological state, the residue, or as a more superficial variant thereof termed derivation. Action (usually irrational in nature) precedes rationalization, the latter being the derivations used to explain deeds in fact motivated by hidden residual sentiments. Explanations of either group or individual behaviour can therefore rarely be accepted at face-value.

In this manner Pareto considers large areas of socio-cultural phenomena as being illusory and therefore ideological. For him it is important that the scientist be aware of this if he wishes to interpret society correctly. The politician, moreover, should also take note of the ideological character of man's utterances and utilize such knowledge in the interest of sound government. Ideology for Pareto is therefore neither positive nor negative as such. It is merely an omnipresent social fact to be borne in mind constantly by those striving for a meaningful interpretation of society (Pareto, 1966:143-247).

Freud

In the works of Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) the psychological dimension of man's thought processes gained a new relevance through the application of the dictums of psychoanalysis. Freud held a basically Hobbesian view of human nature which was reinforced by Darwin's evolutionary postulates and notion of the survival of the fittest. In this he was opposed to the hypothesis of the basic goodness of man stemming from Locke and Rousseau (passed on to the United States by way of Jeffersonian democracy and to the Soviet Union by way of Marx, who prophesied a Rousseauque classless and stateless society to follow in the wake of the temporary dictatorship of the proletariat) (Brown, 1964:13-15).

According to Freud man's natural hostility is seated in his infantile emotions which are only successfully overcome in the course of socialization. This mastery, however, is achieved through repression, since the individual only unwillingly yields to the external pressures brought to bear upon him by his elders. The basic drives and instincts emanating from his animal constitution, conceptualized as the id, remain lurking in his unconscious. His ego, or conscious self, employs numerous devices to camouflage his true motives from himself and others. His rationalizations and various psychological defense-mechanisms thus take on a negative ideological aspect. As Larrain (1979:84) points out, Freud's conception of ideology in this respect is diametrically opposed to that of Marx: "In Marx an external contradiction receives a distorted solution in the mind; in Freud an internal contradiction receives a distorted solution by being transposed to the external sphere."

Freud notes that not all men evidence the same degree of destructive and anti-social tendencies. In the course of socialization certain values and behavioural norms, which later constitute its super-ego or conscience, are inculcated in the child. These values and norms, which are

internalized in varying degrees among various individuals, dictate their behaviour. But since values are relative within different cultural settings the dictates of the superego must also be regarded as basically ideological in character.

A third ideological variable present in a culture is its heritage of ideals and artistic creations, in other words its judgement as to what represents its most perfect and praiseworthy accomplishments. These are presented as goals worth striving for, the fruits of which are shared in different ways by all members of society. "The satisfaction the ideal gives to the members of the culture is thus of a narcissistic nature, it is based on pride in what has already been successfully achieved ... [it] can be shared not only by the favoured classes, which enjoy the benefits of this culture, but also by the suppressed since the right to despise those that are outside it compensates them for the wrongs they suffer in their own group" (Freud, 1949:22).

Finally, Freud examines the role of religious ideas in society. He regards religion as having evolved in response to the helplessness of man against the overwhelming forces of nature. It also reconciles him to the cruelty of fate, especially death, and furthermore makes up for the privations that communal life imposes upon him. The form of religious ideas are based mainly on childhood memories of the father figure and the love-fear relationship which this entails (Freud, 1949:24-32).

Freud maintains that it is of no avail to abandon religion in the hope of thereby attaining primacy of the intelligence over the instincts. Religion can only be expelled by being substituted by some other system of thought which would inevitably bear the same dogmatic characteristics as those of religion. One of the main reasons for this lies in the educational requirements of children which have to be guided by an ethos or Weltanschauung. This being the case, Freud concludes that "The doctrines made use of in their education will always confine the thought

of their riper years" (Freud, 1949:89).

Freud's psychological interpretation of ideology is similar to that of Pareto and in both cases the phenomenon presents an equally insoluble problem to the individual. Ideology is the outcome of the battle between man's innate, egoistical constitution and his unfriendly environment, both physical and social. In order to survive he is compelled to create or adopt numerous rationalizations and ideas which are often far removed from reality. Ideology is therefore a fact of life; part of the individual's mental make-up. Although it distorts reality every person is obliged to employ some aspects of it in order to function adequately in his given socio-physical environment.

Durkheim

Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) investigated ideological phenomena from two perspectives. In The Rules of Sociological Method he likened sociology to natural science in that both at some stage have to contend with preconceptions and illusions similar to Bacon's idols which hamper the recognition of reality. False ideas of our societal existence and man's place in the universe correspond to ideological thinking. In order to escape its distortive influence the scientist should resort to vigorous precautionary measures in his researches (Durkheim, 1966:14-46).

Ideology, however, not only has methodological implications for sociology but also constitutes an integral part of the discipline's subject matter. For sociology, according to Durkheim, is the science of institutions, of their genesis and functioning, and institutions he conceives of as consisting of beliefs and modes of conduct established by the collective life of the group. Ideology in this context (i.e., thought of as ideas, values and belief-systems) therefore has a definite functional role in society, depending on its institutional setting. It forms part of the collective consciousness which emanates from

group activity and to a large extent determines social behaviour. In fact Durkheim's monograph on suicide (published in 1897), in which he relates systems of thought to states of the collective conscience involved in egoistic, altruistic and anomic self-destruction, provides a vivid example of the intricate mechanisms of socio-ideological causation.

Durkheim regards new ideas as the product of the synthesis of pre-existing conceptions within a society and thus strictly speaking higher knowledge is a social creation. "Hence the individual at least obscurely takes account of the fact that above his private ideas, there is a world of absolute ideas according to which he must shape his own; he catches a glimpse of a whole intellectual kingdom in which he participates, but which is greater than he" (Durkheim, 1954:437).

Although taking a "sociologistic" point of view and regarding all socio-cultural phenomena (including language, religion and philosophy) as of supra-individual origin, Durkheim stresses the ideal character of such phenomena. But he too remains neutral in so far as the evaluation of ideology is concerned - he studies it as a social fact only and does not pronounce upon its desirability or otherwise. Indeed what some regard as the curse of mankind (religion) he considers to be a prerequisite for the development of most societal institutions (Durkheim, 1954:418-439). On a more abstract level he thus deviates sharply from Marx who, as we have already indicated, sees the object of politics as the liberation of man from limitation and oppression by external social forces. Durkheim's collectivistic view of course also differs from Weber's emphasis on individually motivated action.

Mannheim

Karl Mannheim (1893-1947) is probably the most eminent sociologist to have dealt with ideology as a primary topic. Although his work was influenced by both Marxian and Weberian thought he contributed significantly to the analysis of the concept in his own right. His formulations

are not only of import to political sociology but also led directly to the development of a new branch of sociology, the sociology of knowledge.

Mannheim proceeds by making a distinction between the concept of ideology and the concept of utopia. He describes the latter by noting that "A state of mind is utopian when it is incongruous with the state of reality within which it occurs" (1976:173). He qualifies his definition of utopia by going on to say that "Only those orientations transcending reality will be referred to by us as utopian which, when they pass over into conduct, tend to shatter, either partially or wholly, the order of things prevailing at the time" (1976:173). Marxism in this view belongs to the category of utopian thought.

He defines ideologies as "the situationally transcendent ideas which never succeed de facto in the realization of their projected contents" (1976:175). For analytical purposes a series of three basic types of ideological mentality can be identified. The first is characterized by the individual who is unable to realize the incongruence of his ideas with reality because of his complete immersion in a specific cultural ethos. In the second type the individual is theoretically in a position to recognize the incongruence of his ideas but chooses to conceal this in a self-delusionary manner in order to protect his personal interests. In the third, there is deliberate falsification or conscious deception, "... where ideology is to be interpreted as a purposeful lie" (1976:176). In practice ideological patterns present themselves in various transitional stages of these dimensions. Whether certain ideas are ideological or utopian depends on whether attention is focused on the preservation of the status quo in an unrealistic manner or whether it is directed at the achievement of more or less radical social change (Mannheim, 1976: 175-177).

Mannheim further distinguishes between the particular and the total conception of ideology. The former is basically equivalent to the second and third types of ideology

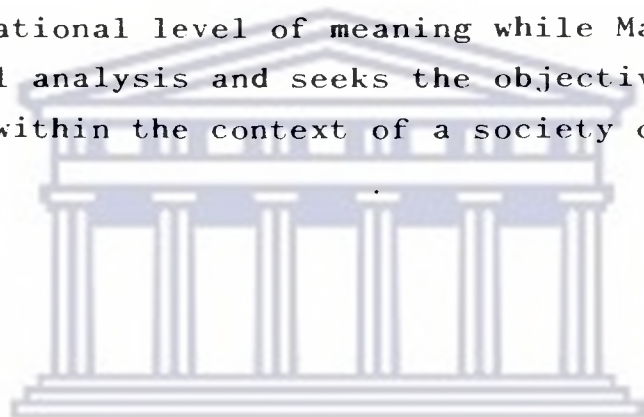
mentioned above and is limited to the purely psychological level. The total conception of ideology, on the other hand, refers to an all-inclusive system of perceived reality without any regard to motivation. Both the total and the particular conception of ideology are recognized by relating the thoughts in question to the existing social conditions in which they are expressed. Ideas, statements, explanations etc., should therefore be regarded as functions of existence; as being determined by a given socio-cultural and temporal situation and thus being relevant in that situation only (Mannheim, 1976:49-53).

With the formulation of a total non-evaluative conception of ideology the theory of ideology, according to Mannheim, develops into the sociology of knowledge. Attention can henceforth be directed to the analysis of intellectual history in general and not merely be confined to delimited categories of thought. To succeed in this, cognizance should be taken of the interplay between thought processes and the total social situation. Knowledge thus conceived is regarded by Mannheim as functional in man's adaptation to his environment and it consequently varies in accordance as this alters. For as he puts it, "Knowledge as seen in the light of the total conception of ideology, is by no means an illusory experience, for ideology in its relational concept is not identical with illusion. Knowledge arising out of experience in actual life situations, though not absolute, is knowledge none the less. The norms arising out of such actual life situations do not exist in a social vacuum, but are effective as real sanctions for conduct" (1976:76) [my emphasis].

Lichtheim (1967:37-41) observes that Mannheim's relational interpretation leading to the sociology of knowledge can be regarded as an amalgam of Weber and Lukács. Lukács, who in his early career sought to re-establish the pre-eminence of orthodox dialectics in preference to conventional science which he depicted as a bourgeois illusion, nevertheless subscribed to the Leninist view of neces-

sity of ideological education of the proletariat. In doing so he implied that consciousness is no fixed attribute and is in fact amenable to external influences. This is in accordance with both Weber's and Mannheim's relativistic conception of ideas. Contrary to Lukács, however, Weber did believe in the validity of scientific methodology, as did Mannheim.

Finally, it may be noted that the only fundamental difference between Weber and Mannheim is to be found in their opposing views concerning the primary source of social causation. As Timasheff (1967:308) correctly concludes, Weber seeks the factors of causality on the personal, motivational level of meaning while Mannheim resorts to functional analysis and seeks the objective meaning of ideology within the context of a society or culture as a whole.



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