

Archives of Anti-Colonial Resistance and the Liberation Struggle (AACRLS): An integrated programme to fill the colonial gaps in the archival record of Namibia

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Abstract

National archives inherited from former colonial regimes suffer from a distorted record that marginalised the colonised people, and ignored or misrepresented their efforts for self-determination. The Archives was further depleted by the removal of vitally important records to the colonizing metropolis. As a result, the value of the archives as the memory of the entire nation is diminished. The article describes the efforts by the National Archives of Namibia to rectify this situation through a programme of repatriating or copying migrated, displaced and shared archives, collecting private records and oral history, and popularizing the history of anti-colonial struggles. It concludes that despite considerable successes, the task at hand is far from accomplished and needs further sustained effort.

Introduction

Namibia, the second-last country in Africa to be liberated from White supremacist rule, has a well-established National Archives with a seemingly quite comprehensive set of colonial government records spanning the period from the beginnings of German colonisation until the final demise of apartheid in Namibia in 1990. Its holdings of government records of the independent Republic of Namibia are still small, as the Namibian Archives Act (Act 12 of 1992) requires the transfer to archives only 20 years after the closing of files. This archival treasure, which has been inherited from the two colonial governments (Germany, 1884-1915 and South Africa, 1915-1990), today constitutes about 95% of the total collections held by the National Archives of Namibia (in the following referred to as NAN) and is well used by about 2000 local and international researchers annually. It appears well organised, and large sections of its holdings can be retrieved through electronic databases providing easy access to 415,000 individual records.

In the pre-literate past Namibian people had ways of preserving memories of their society and passing them on to future generations, even though they did not establish archives as institutions. The much celebrated /Ui://aes (Twyfelfontein) rock art site was inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List based on the authenticity and integrity of its engravings and paintings which forms a coherent, extensive and high quality record of ritual and economic practices of hunter-gather communities over at least two millennia (NAN: Accession A.0862). Another important rock art site, the Dâures (Brandberg) has been extensively documented in modern times (NAN: Accession A.0816).

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The more recent societies of pastoral herders and agriculturalists established formalised accounts in the form of praise poems relating to persons, ancestry, localities, and cattle that were memorised and passed over generations, some of which were collected, transcribed, translated and published, for example by Heywood (1992).

Modern written records and archival collections in Namibia were started in the mid-19th century by missionaries. Such record creation activities were rapidly integrated into the governance structures of some indigenous communities well before colonialism. Written records were usually highly respected by these communities, as can be exemplified by the Maharero Papers which consist to a considerable extent of correspondence which the Herero leader Maharero kaTjamaaha captured during his wars with other indigenous communities (NAN: Accession A.0002).

This respect of records by indigenous communities was not shared by the colonizers. Many papers of the lively correspondence between indigenous leaders must have perished during the colonial wars when entire settlements were burnt down in scorched earth tactics, while others were looted as mere curiosities and disappeared in private hands. One salient example of such looting concerns the fourth letter-copy book of Hendrik Witbooi, which was apparently dismembered and shared among German soldiers after its capture in 1904, and remained completely unknown until a fragment surfaced in Germany hundred years later and could be repatriated (Goebel 2000; NAN: Accession AACRLS.117). Not only the well-known war of 1904-1908 (the so-called Herero and Nama uprising) but altogether ten colonial wars are documented in Namibia between the periods 1893-1914 by Drechsler (1980). Some of these written records have nevertheless survived the colonial onslaught that disrupted the African governance structures, uprooted and displaced entire communities. Most of the surviving indigenous records are today kept in the NAN, such as the letter-copy books of Hendrik Witbooi (NAN: Accessions A.0002, A.0177, A.650, AACRLS.117), the Maharero Papers (NAN: A.0003), the 1858 Treaty of Hoachanas (NAN: A.0178), and the Ancestral Laws of Rehoboth (NAN: A.0219), while other important records such as the Laws of the Zwartboois were mentioned in missionary correspondence but have apparently been destroyed.

The German colonial government (1884-1915) instituted an extensive system of record-keeping for their activities, but during their 30-year rule they did not establish an archival institution in Namibia (then “German South West Africa”), although such a move had been considered (NAN: ZBU, A.II.u.3).

When the South African government took over after the 1st World War, first by military occupation and then under mandate of the League of Nations, many (although not all) German records were kept, but not systematically organised. Among the German records that were wantonly destroyed by South African officials are many district office records and the entire customs records (NAN: ARG 1). Finally, in 1939 an “Archives Depot of the Territory” was established with assistance of the South African State Archives in Pretoria, as is briefly related in National Archives Service (1987, p. 3, 35-37). This institution first consolidated the surviving German records, and eventually began to archive records of the South African colonial administration as well as private collections. The Archives in the capital Windhoek continued to exist as a subsidiary depot of the apartheid South African State Archives until 1987 when it was placed by an Archives Act of the (still colonial) “National Assembly of SWA/Namibia” on its own footing (Official Gazette no.5351). In 1992, independent Namibia instituted the NAN by a new Archives Act (Official Gazette no.421).

In the racially divided society of colonial Namibia, where Blacks had very limited access to education and development resources, the National Archives was almost exclusively

used by overseas researchers and White settlers, as shown by the visitors book (NAN: ARG Other Archives C.3.1), although the use by “non-Europeans” was in principle allowed and did indeed take place occasionally, as is testified by a file about the introduction of racial segregation at the archives (NAN: ARG 8/2). After independence in 1990, the Archives’ staff intensified efforts to change this pattern and to popularize the use of archives. The Head of Archives Brigitte Lau (1993) outlined a program of opening up the archives to a wider clientele.

A distorted and one-sided record

But the records inherited by the NAN represent a seriously skewed picture. They are the records of colonial governments who oppressed and marginalised the vast majority of the population. Records of traditional African authorities, which were de facto suppressed after the German colonial wars, and only re-introduced by the South African administration with heavy Government interference as agencies of “indirect rule” by the Administrator of South West Africa (1922), found their way into the archives only filtered through the “Native Affairs” bureaucracy - if at all.

Archives generally consider material from private hands as a necessary addition and corrective to the governmental records, but the non-governmental records collected by the NAN before independence as “Private Accessions” came also almost exclusively from the White settler population and again represented their views and experiences. Interestingly, most of the few exceptions to this rule such as the Witbooi and Maharero Papers were ingested into the archives between 1949-1954, while throughout the period when the modern liberation movement was formed and the independence struggle intensified from 1959 onwards, until the 1980s when this colonial mind-set started to change, the archivists seemed to be only interested in documenting white settlement. This is evident from the chronologically arranged register of private accessions.

During the last 30 years of South African rule, which had been declared illegal by the International Court of Justice (1971), the liberation struggle of the Namibian people took the form of military and diplomatic offensives. It was waged with increasing intensity by a growing number of Namibians who went into exile to flee from repression, to find educational opportunities that were denied to them at home, as well as to take up the armed struggle and to influence world opinion. This struggle was ultimately successful and led to the UN-supervised first free and fair general elections in Namibia in November 1989, and independence on 21 March 1990.

This independence struggle created substantial records, mostly outside Namibia’s borders. None of these developments were documented in the National Archives as found at independence, except some records of the repressive measures which the South African government took against the liberation movement – but even many of those records had been destroyed or taken out of the country before independence. It is on record by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1998, vol.1, Ch.8) that in South Africa itself, the same destruction happened before finalizing the negotiated democratization process, as was documented by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Records were systematically destroyed in massive quantities between 1990 and 1994. The Commission reported that the National Intelligence Agency was still destroying records as late as 1996 and that “swathes of official documentary memory, particularly around the inner workings of the apartheid state’s security apparatus, have been obliterated” (*ibid.*, p.236). The National Archives of Namibia has not been able to secure pre-independence records of the Security Police, which were allegedly destroyed, while the records of the military were removed to the Military Archives in Pretoria before independence and have not been returned.

Of course, it is nothing new that government archives represent the views and protect the privileges of the rich and powerful, while the views and aspirations and the daily lives of the powerless and the oppressed are not documented. This is the reason why archives have often been destroyed during revolutionary upheavals – for example, in 1792 the French National Assembly ordered the burning of all genealogical records of the French nobility (Lokke, 1968). This is also the reason why movements of oppressed or marginalised sectors of society tend to create their own archives – such as the labour movement archives that were established in many European countries during the early 20th century, or in more recent times the various Afro-American archives in the US, feminist archives established by the women’s movement, or the gay and lesbian archives in several countries.

But the difference in (former) colonial countries in Africa is that the (formerly) oppressed indigenous population now holds the state power – at least formally. (The issue, problematic and impact of neo-colonial relations is beyond the scope of this paper.) Why should the majority resort to creating own segmental archives? It rightly expects the National Archives to be representative of its history from pre-colonial times through liberation struggles to the present, to document its citizenship rights, its identity. Unfortunately, this is rarely the case.

In Namibia, it was even found through empirical observation at the NAN that many requests by Black Namibians for civil and legal records such as estates, marriages or divorce orders could not be served despite intensive time-consuming searches, while the same type of requests by white Namibians can be served without problems within minutes. The issue of lacking person-related records of the colonised people, such as birth, death, marriage, divorce, adoption, and estate records, seems to have been entirely un-researched (Namhila, 2014b). This is currently the subject of a forthcoming PhD study by the author.

This paper, however, is not concerned with person-related records but describes the efforts by the National Archives of post-independence Namibia to deal with one aspect of archival gaps, the lacking record of the anti-colonial struggles, in a holistic way, through a project with a rather long-winded name, “Archives of Anti-Colonial Resistance and the Liberation Struggle” or not much shorter “AACRLS”. The name of the project was chosen to indicate clearly that not only the modern nationalist independence struggle but also the “primary” early anti-colonial struggles and the many forms of resistance to colonial rule should be documented. The AACRLS Project was jointly funded by the Federal Republic of Germany and the Government of the republic of Namibia to the tune of about N\$ 8 million.

The AACRLS Project

Efforts to collect and preserve the record of the more recent liberation struggles have been made by several decolonized nations. Well-known examples are the oral history efforts by the National Archives of Zimbabwe described by Manunge and Peet (1988), and of Mozambique. In South Africa, several such efforts have been initiated outside the space of the National Archives by civil society and tertiary education institutions, for example by the Robben Island Museum/Mayibuye Centre (University of the Western Cape), the South African History Archives SAHA (Wits University), and the National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre (including the ANC Archives) at the University of Fort Hare. Some African nations have made efforts to obtain copies of migrated archives or archives of the central imperial administration, such as Botswana or Kenya who were copying at great cost in British archives (Mnjama, 1982). This list is by no means exhaustive but merely serves to illustrate the fact that there is widespread acknowledgment of the need to collect and consolidate records of the liberation struggles.

While most such initiatives were built around a certain core collection attempting to agglomerate more material, the AACRLS project was established in 2001 with the idea of a comprehensive planned effort to identify, collect, secure and popularize original source material on the history of Namibia, with a focus on material which has been relegated, ignored or out of reach by the archiving processes during the colonial period. The project was prepared by a series of workshops to identify the gaps in the national memory, and it set out to recover not only material of certain periods, movements and genres but to attempt a comprehensive coverage, although with a particular focus on neglected topics (such as the role of women) and regions (Ministry of Basic Education and Culture & GTZ, 2000a, 2000b, 2002).

This ambitious project was jointly financed as a cooperation project between the Republic of Namibia and the Federal Republic of Germany. Although initially ideas of a separate documentation centre had been put forward, it was eventually agreed to base the project at the NAN, where the collected and repatriated documentary material would be accommodated as a special collection. While the funds were administered by German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) and the Namibia Library and Information Council (NLIC), the approval of individual project funding was in the hands of an autonomous National Steering Committee appointed by the Namibian Cabinet on the basis of individual expertise (Namibia Cabinet, 2000). It was initially chaired by the Hon. Ben Amathila, and later by the Hon. Andimba Toivo ya Toivo. The executive secretariat of the project was supplied by the National Archives.

Under this model, the project worked from 2001 until the end of 2010, when the initially agreed funds had been spent. Those funds were initially meant to be spent within three years, but it soon became obvious that many collection and repatriation projects required much more time. International connections and mutual trust had to be built, resource persons to be identified, bureaucratic hurdles to be overcome. As these conditions could be made plausible to the donors, they agreed to several “cost-neutral” extensions of the project - meaning that although no additional funds were allocated, the period to disburse the agreed funding was extended, instead of the usual practice to return unspent funds.

Although there would clearly be a need for a second phase of the project, as many of its activities had to be left unfinished, it has currently come to a stop except for what can be done from the meagre operational budget of the National Archives (Weidlich, 2012).

What did this project achieve?

First and foremost, it collected over 300 individual accessions from inside and outside Namibia. The number is still growing, as donations from contacts and research initiated by the project are continuing to come in – another indication that such programmes cannot be confined to a tight time-frame. These accessions can range from a single precious item (such as the only existing photo of the resistance hero Anna Kakurukaze Mungunda, shot dead by the colonial police in the 1959 Windhoek Old Location Massacre; it was found through a nationwide radio appeal) to massive amounts of documentation (such as the 900 microfilms with the entire German Colonial Office records). In the following, some highlights from this material shall be detailed.

Repatriation from abroad

- The National Archives received microfilm copies of the entire records of the German Colonial Office in Berlin, being the counterpart to the local colonial records that had been preserved in Namibia. This makes it possible to reconstruct the colonial policies and decision-making processes in detail. As also the records concerning the other German colonies were included in this resource, it allows comparative studies of German colonialism.

- It further received microfilm copies of the archives of the former Rhenish Mission, the most influential German mission society in Namibia which had been active before and during formal colonisation, providing a different angle on the historical process.
- A highlight of the repatriation efforts was the donation of the original, previously privately owned, fragment of the “Hendrik Witbooi Diary IV” that includes Witbooi’s letter of 3 October 1904 to Governor Leutwein where he motivates his uprising against German colonial rule. This consolidated the holdings of the Hendrik Witbooi Papers at the NAN, which had already been inscribed on UNESCO’s “Memory of the World” register. The Nama leader Hendrik Witbooi (c.1830-1905) was the foremost antagonist of German colonial occupation. His correspondence was inscribed into the “Memory of the World” chiefly because of Witbooi’s deep insight into the nature of colonialism.
- Digital copies of the “Lichtenecker recordings” from 1931, the earliest sound recordings of Namibians speaking of colonial oppression, that had been laying forgotten in a Berlin sound archives over 80 years.
- Diverse selected materials from the United Nations Archives, which however still houses thousands of poorly organized and undiscovered records on Namibia.
- Photos, publicity materials, and correspondence from individuals and worldwide solidarity organizations supporting the Namibian liberation struggle, some dating far back to the 1940s and 1950s, particularly from the Nordic countries (especially Finland and Sweden), the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and the two Germanys.
- Restituted archives that had been illegally removed from Namibia to South Africa during the transition to independence, such as the records of the Administrator-General 1978-1989.
- Restituted archives of parts of Namibia that had been administered separately through South Africa, such as Walvis Bay and the Eastern Caprivi (Zambesi region).
- Copies from South African archives that shed more light on the early anti-colonial struggles.

When listing these successes one should not forget that much more in this line of work needs to be done. The NAN still has very little material documenting in detail the vital support that was given to the Namibian liberation from other African countries all over the continent, in particular the “Frontline States”, from the Eastern Bloc, or from countries like India and Cuba, and even from small brotherly nations such as Guyana which sometimes played a vital role. There is still very little information on the important involvement of other international organisations, such as the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees. Neither have the military files removed by South Africa been returned, nor much of the entangled archives from the time when much of the Namibian administration was run directly from Pretoria. Likewise, although informal agreements between the national archives of both countries have been achieved, bureaucratic delays have so far prevented an exchange of copies with Botswana which holds highly important records as a country of exile since 1896.

Collecting scattered and privately owned material

- Several earlier oral history recordings that were previously inaccessible in uncatalogued government or NGO collections or in private hands were donated to the Archives. These recordings span over the entire history of resistance, from oral traditions of the earliest anticolonial wars in the 1890s to life story interviews reaching into the present. A particular highlight is the collection of over 100 videotapes from a filmmaker who, shortly after independence, recorded the people’s voices about the land question, a still unresolved legacy of colonialism.

- Documentary evidence collected in Namibia includes the remainder of the archives of the student organisation NANSO (that had unfortunately already been abandoned and vandalized), and the records of “NPP-435”, an anti-colonial organization of liberal Whites.
- Quite a number of documents, leaflets, autobiographical manuscripts, correspondences, posters and photos could be obtained from various individuals, both from persons prominently involved in the struggle as well as “grassroots” activists.

This collection effort has however proven to be more difficult than anticipated. Much material had during colonial times been confiscated by the police or been destroyed in fear of the police; some individuals and organizations had recently destroyed material because they did not realize its value or for lack of space; others cling to it as personal memory or to write their memoirs; others have unrealistic expectations of monetary reward. In particular, it has been difficult to obtain any material from SWANU, an initially important liberation movement which was later plagued by splits and lost much of its significance.

Recording oral history

A substantial effort went into the recording of oral history. Although the project boosted the previously small orature collection of the NAN to about 1500 recordings, it must be mentioned that in this field much more needs to be done. Considering that a variety of language skills would be needed, the project refrained from hiring permanent interviewers and relied on volunteers who would be supplied with recording equipment as well as subsistence and travel expenses. However, oral history interviewing is not something that can be learnt overnight. Despite holding workshops and giving advice, the lack of adequately trained researchers from some of Namibia’s major language groups has still left some very noticeable gaps of coverage.

Three major successes need to be highlighted:

- The intensive and repeated recording of the accounts of rural women involved in the liberation struggle, which resulted in a publication on these forgotten and marginalized heroines and their belated recognition (Namhila, 2009). The experience of this work has been elaborated in detail by Namhila (2014a).
- The very active and successful participation of a group of history student interviewers from the Kavango Region, a region which had played a significant role in the struggle but whose history had been poorly documented. This project is among those that could not be finalized during the life-span of the AACRLS, but is currently being prepared for publication with funding from other sources.
- The local initiative from Omaheke region to record oral history in the Ovambanderu community, with traditions dating back as far as the German war against Kahimemua Nguvauva in 1896.

Research

Apart from the oral history research, dedicated research projects covered, amongst others, issues such as the giving of personal names in response to colonialism and the documentation of civilian casualties of the liberation war (Akawa & Silvester, 2015). While there were only limited funds to give full scholarships, the research of several post-graduate students could be supported with travel grants for their collection of oral history and for archival research.

Physical capacity building

The program invested in critical issues of preservation at the National Archives, such as the provision of adequate storage cabinets for maps and posters; in the digitization of

critically endangered records (see below); and particularly in the provision of recording equipment for the oral history programme.

Human capacity building

Apart from short staff courses and conference participation, AACRLS introduced a Post-Graduate Scholarship program and two scholarships were made available for the post-graduate studies of Namibians in history and archival science. Both candidates successfully completed their studies, and one of them is today heading the National Archives of Namibia.

Digitisation

The AACRLS Project embarked upon a digitisation project mainly for three reasons:

- The National Archives is custodian of the most valuable records on Namibia's colonial history and there is a continuous high public interest in original records, especially on the German colonial period and the genocidal war of 1904-1908. As a result, the fragile original documents are endangered by frequent use and frequent requests for photocopies.
- Many original documents such as the original newspapers are very fragile, and are prohibited to photocopy because they are crumbling into dust.
- Many private donors are reluctant to part with their original documents, especially when it comes to photographs.

While it was recognised that microfilming is still the safest method for preserving information over long periods, a number of carefully considered factors, in particular the easier use by a wider public, prompted the National Archives to opt instead for a digitisation programme.

This program is based on the Digitisation policy of the NAN (2009), an internal document developed and used as a guideline by the National Archives of Namibia. The project procured digitising equipment, while additional equipment was obtained through another donor-funded programme (Aluka), and secured the service of a technical assistant. It achieved the digitisation of 24,000 pages of government records, 4,600 pages of AACRLS accessions, and 6,600 pages of the newspaper *The Namibian*. All of those are now available for research on the local server of the National Archives. The digitisation of printed or typewritten sources, such as the newspaper and some of the AACRLS accessions, also makes it possible to search the entire text of these resources.

The use of the collected material for education and general awareness-raising was a key ingredient of the project. It followed this aim by various means.

Publications: The Footprints series

While of the Archives of Anti-Colonial Resistance and the Liberation Struggle collects previously unheard, unrecorded or forgotten authentic voices, the **'Footprints'** publication series intended to make such voices heard by a larger audience. It included new publications, as well as an updated re-publication of a 'classic' first-hand account on the liberation struggle.

- Three books were published by the project (Shaketange, 2009; Namhila, 2009; Ndadi, 2009).
- Two books were published after the end of the project (Hango, 2014; Silvester, 2015). Several others are awaiting sponsorships for their publications after the end of the first project phase.

School competitions, exhibitions and conferences

- The School Clubs and Museum Exhibition (SCAMX) Competition was initiated in 2004 by the Museums Association of Namibia (MAN) and has taken place annually

for five years. The AACRLS supported this competition which aims to encourage Namibian youth, through school history clubs, to become actively involved in heritage development.

- A travelling exhibition about the first resistance fighter against German colonialism, Hendrik Witbooi (1830-1905) was conceived and first shown at Witbooi's home village Gibeon. Meanwhile, it has also been shown at the National Archives, the UNAM Library, at Okakarara, and again at Gibeon.
- The AACRLS Conference: Moments, Monuments and Memories: Tracing the Footprints to Independence had the main emphasis to showcase the vast amount of work which the project had done over the last previous years. Some of the most important outcomes were to encourage Namibian scholars to present their research, namely: exploring new aspects of Namibian history, covering undocumented Namibian history, encouraging the public to become interested in Namibia's history and to realize the importance of history, and also to identify research gaps which could still be filled. Meanwhile, the papers have been published by UNAM Press (Silvester, 2015).

Lessons learnt and the way forward

Certainly, only few other countries find themselves in a situation with multiple world-wide scattered historical sources to the same extent as Namibia. The closest parallels, when it comes to permanent UN attention, a long-term liberation struggle, a world-wide exile diaspora and a world-wide net of solidarity support, are South Africa and Palestine. But all countries that had to fight for their liberation have their unresolved issues of missing parts of the national memory, and the Namibian experience may be instructive.

One very important lesson is that it takes not only money but patience and long-term continuity and, in some cases, serious political backing to pull an archival repatriation project through. Archival transfers have to pass many bureaucratic channels before they can take effect, and they also demand substantial logistical efforts from both concerned archives. Some of the great successes of the AACRLS were only possible because they had already been put in motion a decade earlier, such as the microfilming of the German Colonial Office that was already mooted by the Treasurer of the International Council on Archives, Dr Oldenhage, in the early 1990s. Other projects had been envisaged by the first Head of the NAN after independence, Brigitte Lau, and were cut short by her untimely death in 1995 before they could be taken up again. The NAN requested the return of the abducted South African Administrator-General's records and military records immediately after independence, and was met with flat refusal from South Africa. Even when the democratically elected new South African Parliament intervened and the new leadership of the National Archives of South Africa was favourably inclined to the documents' return, it still took a good number of years until the original material really returned to Namibia after being microfilmed.

Even with oral history recording, it takes time to establish contacts, build trust, and follow up on open issues. It also takes time to build the expertise and experience. The author's own experience in this field, which has been described elsewhere (Namhila, 2014a), may serve as an example of the hurdles that oral historians are facing. The AACRLS experiences with some well-meaning but untrained volunteer interviewers who neither followed traditional courtesy rules nor had the background knowledge to ask the right questions, can only be described as disastrous.

As the AACRLS project phase ended without the envisaged follow-up phase taking shape, many important project parts remain unfinished and hang in the balance. One other lesson is that such tasks should actually be accommodated in the permanent structure and

budgeting of archives, and not be relegated to foreign-funded and therefore by nature time-constrained projects – although foreign aid is welcome and actually a moral obligation of the former colonial powers. It is encouraging that in this case both Germany and South Africa recognized their obligations and returned original records or copies free of charge, although the process is not yet complete. This should serve as an example to other former colonial powers.

However, while the AACRLS Project was a joint project between the Governments of Namibia and Germany, the Namibian side should also recognize that safeguarding and completing the historical record requires more than a temporary project effort. The understaffed NAN has put forward a proposed new structure which includes permanent posts for such tasks, including oral history programmes. It remains to be seen whether this will be approved.

Outlook

The AACRLS project would provide valuable historical research material for a recently launched Namibia History Project (NHP) based at the University of Namibia, focusing on researching, writing and publishing about the Namibian history on a wider scale. Although these archival records, interview recordings and other materials collected by the AACRLS project are by far not comprehensive, they would nonetheless help the NHP project to fill some of the past historical gaps. Therefore, despite considerable successes of the AACRLS, the task of identifying and filling the gaps in archival collecting remain incomplete. It is recommended that the National Archives of Namibia consider such task in its budgeting and staffing instead of relegating this national heritage collection responsibility to a project.

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