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LETTER DATED 5 AUGUST 1968 FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF
THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to bring to your attention a message received by the Secretary-General from Mr. Clemens Kapuuo of Windhoek, Namibia, on 24 July 1968, stating that non-white Namibians were being forcibly removed from their homes in Windhoek to the new segregated area of Katutura, and requesting the Secretary-General to convene a meeting of the Security Council to consider the matter. According to the message, the deadline for their removal is 31 August 1968, after which date they would not be allowed to continue to live in their present areas of residence. On the same date the Secretary-General transmitted the message in a letter to the United Nations Council for Namibia as he felt that the Council might wish to give the matter urgent attention. A copy of the letter is attached herewith (annex I).

The Council considered the matter at its 34th and 35th meetings, held on 25 July 1968 and 5 August 1968 respectively. According to information available to the Council (annex II), the question of the removal of non-whites from their homes in Windhoek to the segregated area of Katutura first arose in 1959 and was the subject of General Assembly resolution 1567 (XV) of 18 December 1960.

At the aforementioned meetings, the Council concluded that the recent actions of the South African Government constitute further evidence of South Africa's continuing defiance of the authority of the United Nations and a further violation of General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI), 2248 (S-V), 2325 (XXII) and 2372 (XXII). The Council considers that these actions by the Government of South Africa are designed to consolidate its illegal control over Namibia and to destroy the unity of the people and territorial integrity of Namibia. It recalls that such actions have been specifically condemned under paragraph 7 of General Assembly resolution 2372 (XXII). It further recalls another instance of defiance of the authority and

resolutions of the United Nations by the Government of South Africa with respect to a matter which was the subject of Security Council resolutions 245 (1968) and 246 (1968).

Accordingly, the Council unanimously decided at its 35th meeting, pursuant to the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966, 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967 and 2325 (XXII) of 21 December 1967 as well as Security Council resolution 246 (1968) of 14 March 1968 by which the Security Council took cognizance of its special responsibility towards the people of the Territory of South West Africa (Namibia), to draw the attention of the Security Council to the serious situation which has arisen as a result of these arbitrary actions of the South African Government.

Accept, etc.

(Signed) Don Alvaro HERRAN-MEDINA
President
United Nations Council for Namibia
Ambassador of Colombia

ANNEX I

LETTER DATED 24 JULY 1968 FROM THE ACTING CHIEF DE CABINET OF THE
SECRETARY-GENERAL ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA

I have been requested by the Secretary-General, who is at present away from Headquarters, to convey to you the information set out below.

On 20 July 1968, the following cable was received, addressed to the Secretary-General:

"Would you kindly appoint a date and hour convenient to you stop Would like to phone you

"Clemens Kapuuo Box 1034 Windhoek South West Africa".

In reply to the above cable, the following cable was sent on 22 July addressed to Mr. Kapuuo:

"On behalf Secretary-General, acknowledge your cable dated 20 July, if your purpose is to bring certain matters officially to attention of Secretary-General, it is suggested you do so by sending a communication in writing to the Secretary-General. However, if you still wish to telephone, please call the United Nations (Telephone 212-754-1234) and request to speak with me

"Ismat Kittani
Executive Office of the Secretary-General".

Mr. Kittani has informed the Secretary-General that in accordance with our cable of 22 July, he received a telephone call from Mr. Kapuuo at 1 p.m. today. The connexion was very bad but he wanted a message to be conveyed to the Secretary-General. Mr. Kapuuo said that the Africans were being forced to move to segregated areas in accordance with the policy of apartheid, and that the deadline for their movement is 31 August 1968, after which they would not be allowed to continue living in the areas involved. He wanted the Secretary-General to convene a meeting of the Security Council to take measures in order to prevent the South Africans from proceeding with this action. He also mentioned that recently they have not received, as they used to in the past, acknowledgement of the many letters they have sent to the United Nations.

S/8729
English
Annex I
Page 2

The Secretary-General wished me to convey this information to you as he thought that the Council might wish to give this matter urgent attention. Copies of the cables are attached.

Accept, Sir, etc.

(Signed) José ROLZ-BENNETT
Acting Chef de Cabinet

/...

ANNEX II

BACKGROUND PAPER CONCERNING THE FORCIBLE REMOVAL OF NON-WHITE
NAMIBIANS TO KATUTURA

Note prepared by the Office of the Commissioner for Namibia

1. Though the "Native" locations in the urban areas of South West Africa were already separated from the white residential areas when the Government of South Africa assumed control over "Native" administration on 1 April 1955, pursuant to Union Act No. 56 of 1954, a number of them were not "properly situated" and had to be moved to meet the special requirements laid down by the Minister of Native Affairs.
2. All "Native" locations thereafter had to be situated far enough from the European-inhabited areas to permit expansion, while maintaining a permanent "buffer strip" of at least 500 yards on which no development is permissible. In the new locations the residents were to be separated according to their ethnic and tribal origins, and the locations were not to be regarded as permanent places of abode.^{1/} Dr. D.F. Verwoerd, during his tenure as Minister of Native Affairs, gave the definition of a "Native" location when he explained: "The Bantu residential area near the city is only a place where the European provides a temporary home in his part of the country for those who require it because they are employed by him and earn their living there."^{2/}
3. Construction of the new location for the Africans of Windhoek began in 1958, 3.5 miles north-east of the centre of town. Named "Katutura", a Herero word meaning "we have no place of our own", the location was originally planned to cover some 579.7 hectares on which about 3,000 dwelling houses and a compound and hostel to accommodate 8,000 single male Africans would be built at an over-all cost of

^{1/} A/AC.73/L.10, para. 89.

^{2/} See Union of South Africa, Report of the Department of Native Affairs, 1954-1957, p. 29.

£850,000.^{1/} At the beginning of 1966, 3,116 houses had been completed at Katutura, 1,126 of which were vacant or unoccupied,^{2/} and the population had reached the 9,000 mark.

Reasons for the opposition to removal to Katutura

4. Although the South West African administration was admittedly aware, at least by September 1959, that there was general opposition to the removal scheme, in November it began the evaluation of homes in the old location for compensation purposes. The residents of the location, being opposed to the removal plan, were also opposed to these preparatory measures, and the United Nations Committee on South West Africa in November 1959 received telegrams and petitions from Chief Hosea Kutako, Chief Samuel Witbooi and Mr. Sam Nujoma, as President of the Ovamboland People's Organization (OPO), requesting that the South African Government be asked not to carry out its removal plans.

5. The evaluations continued, however, and on 8 December 1959, as a further demonstration against the removal plan, residents of the old location began a boycott of the municipal undertakings there - the bus service, beer halls, cinemas and dance hall. These demonstrations culminated in an incident on the night of 10 December 1959, when police and members of the South African Defence Force opened fire on a crowd of Africans, killing eleven and injuring forty-four others. After considering the section of the report of the Committee on South West Africa^{3/} dealing with the subject, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1567 (XV) on 18 December 1960 (see appendix).

6. On 31 December 1959, the Government of South Africa appointed a Commission of Enquiry, consisting of Judge C.J. Hall as Chairman and only member of the Commission, to "inquire and report upon the events in Windhoek location on 10 and 11 December 1959, and the direct causes which gave rise thereto".

1/ The African Market, February 1960.

2/ The Windhoek Advertiser, 18 January 1966.

3/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 12.

7. In a joint memorandum submitted to this Commission of Enquiry on behalf of Chief Hosea Kutako, the Ovamboland People's Organization (OPO) and the South West Africa National Union (SWANU),^{1/} it was pointed out that the expressed opposition to the move to Katutura was based on three main grounds, namely: its relation to the policy of apartheid; the strict regulations applying to Katutura residents; and the vastly increased expenses in the form of rentals and bus fares for residents of Katutura.

8. In the above-mentioned memorandum, Chief Kutako, OPO and SWANU disputed the claim that the reason for the removal was to improve their living conditions. They admitted that the conditions in the old location were deplorable; this, they said, was because apartheid prevented them from obtaining better employment at higher wages and continually frustrated their desire to improve their economic position.

9. They did not believe that the people could afford to pay an increase in rent from 3/6d. at the old location to £2 per month at Katutura, plus the bus fare of 6d. each way. At the old location, which was closer to town, people could easily walk to town. They pointed out in this connexion that the average monthly wage for a "Native" in Windhoek was about £10. Petitioners informed the Commission of Enquiry that a "Native" family in an urban area needed £27 a month to maintain itself on a subsistence level, while a "European" family earning £55 a month was generally considered to be underpaid.

10. Chief Kutako, OPO and SWANU expressed the opinion that the reason for the removal to Katutura was the fact that "European" houses had been built right to the borders of the old location, which stood in the way of further "European" expansion in the area, and that the authorities regarded it as undesirable for "Europeans" and "non-Europeans" to live close to each other. They resented the fact that Africans were regarded as inanimate assets, to be moved without their consent whenever and wherever it suited the authorities.

11. The government-appointed Commission of Enquiry dismissed the reasons advanced by Chief Kutako, OPO and SWANU for their opposition to the removal to Katutura. Instead, it reached the conclusion that letters from abroad to individuals in South West Africa proved that opposition to the removal was organized by the Hereros in Windhoek at the instigation of certain people in New York.^{2/}

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 12, annex VI.

^{2/} Ibid., annex V.

Pressures on the residents of the old location to move to Katutura

12. Petitions addressed to the United Nations and press statements by Mr. Clemens Kapuuo and other leaders in the old location reveal that the authorities have been using various methods to force the people to register for, and move to, Katutura.
13. The petitioners reported that municipal and administration employees were dismissed if they refused to reside at Katutura; that as from December 1959 refuse was not collected in the old location; that nobody was allowed to build new houses or in any way enlarge or improve existing ones in the old location; that residents who had built houses since 1958 were ordered to demolish them; and that residents of the old location who left Windhoek for visits were not allowed to return and were ordered to leave permanently.
14. These persistent pressures over the years, however, failed to induce about 8,000 people still remaining in the old location to move to Katutura.^{1/} In the face of this steadfast refusal of the old location residents to move, the Windhoek City Council, at a special meeting on 6 June 1968, decided to direct an urgent request to the Minister of Bantu Development, Mr. M.C. Botha, to withdraw Government Notice 132 of 1936 on 31 August 1968, and in so doing to deproclaim the old location.^{2/}
15. Furthermore, the City Council decided to request the South West Africa Administrator, Mr. Wentzel C. du Plessis, to bring into operation legislation making it illegal to live in the old location and declaring it an offence punishable by a fine of R200 for an employer to have an African employee in his service who lives in the old location. In addition, business rights and all services, including health service and educational facilities, would be withdrawn from the area, and no compensation would be paid after 31 August 1968.^{3/}
16. The Minister of Bantu Development responded to the request of the City Council by a formal notice of intent to the effect that the old location would be demolished after 31 August 1968 and its residents moved.^{4/}

^{1/} The Windhoek Advertiser, 18 January 1966.

^{2/} Ibid., 7 June 1968.

^{3/} Ibid., 2 December 1966.

^{4/} Ibid., 16 June 1968.

17. In a letter to the United Nations dated 8 June 1968, ^{1/2/} Mr. Clemens Kapuuo, Chief Designate of the Hereros, called for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the decision by the Windhoek City Council to deproclaim the old location on 31 August 1968. The letter states: "As indigenous people of South West Africa, we have an inherent right to the lands we inhabit and we will not move away from our lands on order from a foreign Government whose rights in South West Africa have been suspended."

1/ The Windhoek Advertiser, 10 June 1968.

2/ In his telephone message to the Secretary-General (see annex I), Mr. Clemens Kapuuo mentioned that recently they have not received, as they used to in the past, acknowledgement of letters they have sent to the United Nations. However, no such communications appear to have been received in the Secretariat. Press reports, especially The Windhoek Advertiser, have mentioned the following communications: letter by Mr. Clemens Kapuuo, dated 8 June 1968 (The Windhoek Advertiser, 10 June 1968); cable by Mr. Clemens Kapuuo, dated 21 June 1968 (The Windhoek Advertiser, 26 June 1968); letter by Mr. Clemens Kapuuo, dated 26 June 1968 (The Windhoek Advertiser, 30 June 1968); cable by Mr. Fritz Kariseb (Chief of the Damaras), dated 30 June 1968 (The Windhoek Advertiser, 1 July 1968); and letter by Mr. Fritz Kariseb, dated 30 June 1968 (The Windhoek Advertiser, 1 July 1968). It would appear that the messages which were dispatched were not forwarded to the United Nations Secretariat in New York.

APPENDIX

General Assembly resolution 1567 (XV). The Windhoek Location

The General Assembly,

Having received a report from the Committee on South West Africa with respect to disturbances in the Windhoek Native Location relating to the removal of the Location residents to a new site called Katutura,

Noting with regret that the construction of the new Location at Katutura is part of the plan laid down by the present Prime Minister in his former capacity as Minister of Native Affairs to the effect that Native Locations in urban areas, based on the policy of apartheid, must be situated in such a manner that a permanent "buffer strip of at least 500 yards" on which "no development at all is allowed" is maintained "between the Native residential area and that of any other racial group",

Observing with deep concern that on the night of 10 to 11 December 1959, after repeated expressions of opposition by Location residents to their removal had failed to obtain the sympathetic consideration of officials of the Mandatory Power, police and soldiers opened fire on a crowd of Location residents, killing eleven Africans and injuring at least forty-four others,

Noting the report transmitted to the United Nations by the Government of the Union of South Africa concerning an inquiry into the events in Windhoek Location on 10 to 11 December 1959, and the direct causes which gave rise thereto,

Taking into account the additional information contained in the report of the Committee on South West Africa and in oral and written petitions from inhabitants of the Territory,

Noting also the many protests received by the Committee during 1959 in petitions and communications against the impending removal to the new Location site on the grounds, inter alia, that the removal was part of the intensified application of the apartheid policy,

Considering that the apartheid policy applied in South West Africa is contrary to the terms of the Mandate, the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Considering further that the application of the apartheid policy, of which the occurrences in Windhoek have been an unfortunate consequence, is prejudicial to the maintenance of a peaceful and orderly administration in the Mandated Territory,

1. Expresses deep regret at the action taken by the police and soldiers in the Windhoek Native Location on the night of 10 to 11 December 1959 against residents of the Location, resulting in the death of eleven Africans and many other casualties;

2. Deplores the fact reported by petitioners that the Mandatory Power has employed such means as deportations, dismissals from employment, threats of such action and other methods of intimidation to secure the removal of residents of the Windhoek Location to Katutura despite the continued opposition of the residents to their removal;

3. Notes with deep concern that the situation remains critical;

4. Urges the Mandatory Power to refrain from the use of direct or indirect force to secure the removal of Location residents;

5. Requests the Mandatory Power to take steps to prosecute and punish the civilian and military officers responsible for the death of eleven Africans and many other casualties in the Windhoek Native Location on the night of 10 to 11 December 1959, and to provide adequate compensation to the families of the victims;

6. Draws the attention of the Mandatory Power to the recommendations of the Committee on South West Africa concerning the measures which should be taken to alleviate the tension and unrest in the Windhoek area, and in particular to the recommendation that housing developments in urban areas of the Territory should be carried out in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

954th plenary meeting,
18 December 1960.
