

KUHANGUA

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STATEMENT MADE BY MR. JACOB KUHANGUA AT THE 10521M
MEETING OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (Circulated in accordance with a
decision taken by the Fourth Committee at its 1051st meeting)

I would like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and the distinguished
representatives for allowing me to express myself before the Fourth Committee on
behalf of our people in South West Africa.

The question of South West Africa has now been going on for fourteen years and
the patience of our people is now exhausted. We have had enough of what the
Union Government has done to us during the past forty years of its administration
in our country. A non-democratic government of racial discrimination, restriction
of movement and introduction of what is called the South West Africa Native
Labour Association which sells us into cheap labour for starvation wages are a
tragic history of our people in our country under the administration of the Union
of South Africa.

We have no rights to protect us. Whoever shouts the word FREEDOM is cast
into custody, assaulted or murdered. The atrocities of the Union Government in
our country are a stain on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Our
humanity has been reduced to a status below that of a beast of burden.

In 1955 the Rev. Hamtumbangela of the St. Mary's Episcopal Mission in
Ovamboland was removed from his Mission because he challenged the oppressive
rule of the Union Government in our country. The administration transferred him
to Windhoek for an unspecified period of time. He was released two years after
strong protest by the African people. The Rev. Michael Scott has been prohibited
by the Union Government to return to South West Africa. These are violations of
religious freedom guaranteed by the Mandate Agreement for South West Africa.
The case of Mr. Toivo Ja-Toivo is well known to the United Nations.

Mr. Ja-Toivo was deported from Cape Town after it was discovered by the Union
Government that he sent a tape-recorded message to the United Nations, in which
he strongly protested against the administration of the Union in our country and
urged that our country be placed under the United Nations Trusteeship.

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December 1958, Mr. S.J. Parsons, Chief Native Commissioner for Western Cape
held a Press-Conference after the discovery of Mr. Ja-Toivo's tape. The statement of
the Commissioner reads thus:

"ALL SOUTH WEST AFRICA NATIVES TO LEAVE PENINSULA"

"Because of the native labour shortage in South West Africa, all
South West Africa natives in the peninsula will be returned to their own territory.
It is not known how many natives in the peninsula will be affected but it is
probably not a large number."

"Mr. Parsons went on to say: A South West African Native requires permission from his own territory to come to the Union and it is therefore irregular for him to be employed here without that permission.

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"Employers such as constructors from the Union in South West Africa complain of a shortage of labour and want to take Union Natives with them. Instead of importing Union Natives, it is a matter of policy that South West African Natives should be employed in their territory. The Chief Native Commissioner for South West Africa, Mr. B. Blignaut has made a request that they should be returned. There may be financial assistance for some natives to return to their country but for the others it may be appropriate to give them the opportunity to earn their expense.

"The natives will be sent back as and when the opportunity and circumstances arise. It should be regarded as purely an administrative matter "

On 24 December 1958 Mr. Toivo met a police force at Tsumeb Station who went into his cases and searched everything. After the search, he walked into and on his way he passed near the mine compound where an African mine worker called him into the Compound Manager's Office, who claimed that he had no right to pass by the Compound where there are many of his Contract boys and he asked the police to arrest him. He was forced to pay a sum of 92 for passing through a prohibited area. He was escorted to Chief Johannes Kambonde in Ovamboland. On arrival to Okaloko in Ovamboland, the police told Chief Kambonde "this is a bad man who wants to take the Chieftanship away from you and make himself the king of all the Ovambos. You must detain him, but do not hurt him. Keep him in your sight, but if he moves a mile away from your place, kill him dead". Mr. Ja-Toivo is still at Okaloko under detention.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to comment also on the incident of 10 December 1959, when our people were murdered in cold blood. Mr. Chairman, I was in Windhoek and present at the spot of the shooting. I would like to give you my personal observation as I personally saw what happened there. Just before Mr. Kaukuetu spoke to the crowd who gathered at the municipal area, Mr. Snyman, the Mayor of Windhoek, pulled in with his car at high speed from the direction of the European town and ran over an African woman. At the same time, Mr. Lombard, who presided over the police and the troops, ordered them to shoot without any warning of a tear-gas bomb - as one would expect civilized people would do before dispersing a crowd. At about 2.15 a.m. the following morning, the Police went to the house of one elderly gentleman in our section of the location, by the name of Mr. Johannes Halmbodi. They found the old man asleep in his house and ordered him to remain in bed where they shot him dead.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished Representatives, I do not intend to go into the details of this incident, but I wish only to show to you the manner in which we are governed by the Administration of the Union Government in our country. For example, in every civilized society in this world a gentleman who is appointed as a Mayor of a City has specific duties to carry out - such as the protection of the lives of people in his City and to see that law and order is maintained in the public

life of the community. I bring to you, Mr. Chairman, the personal story of the Mayor of Windhoek, Mr. Snyman, and the role he played in this disturbance on 10 December 1959. His role has the approval of the Chief Bantu Native Commissioner, Mr. Blignaut, whom Mr. Louw informed the Fourth Committee the other day is a very important man in our country.

That day Mr. Snyman, the Mayor of the City of Windhoek, stood on top of the roof of one of the Municipal Houses with a gun in his hand, shooting at every African he saw moving in the vicinity of the area of disturbance. In fact, Mr. Chairman, when the brother of Mr. Kerina was picked up, it was discovered that he had been shot from above. Mr. Chairman, I invite Mr. Blignaut to stand before this Assembly to answer questions from the various Representatives who wish to know more from him about South West Africa. If what we say is not true, certainly he would be prepared to answer questions put to him by the various representatives to correct what we have said. But knowing that what we say is true, Mr. Blignaut will surely run away from this Assembly to avoid answering questions.

In the course of his speech in the Fourth Committee the other day, Mr. Louw informed this Assembly that the South West Africa Peoples Organization is an insignificant organization. Why is it that the Union Administration is daily persecuting leaders and members of our organisation? If SWAPO is non-significant, surely there would be no reason to persecute us. Mr. Blignaut, in his capacity as Chief Bantu or Native Commissioner (whatever he calls himself) has been issuing deportation orders to our members and leaders, including myself, Nujoma, the President of SWAPO; and Mr. Tuhandeleni; Mr. Nelengani, ex-President; Mr. Fortune, General-Secretary; Mr. Ja-Toivo, the Secretary-General; Mr. Ndadi, Branch Secretary and many others. At the order of Blignaut, a detention camp similar to a concentration camp has been built the North at Ombongokla, where most of the leaders and members of SWAPO are being detained under unbearable conditions. How long does Mr. Blignaut wish to carry on these Nazi atrocities in our country? Furthermore, Mr. Chairman, the Honourable Foreign Minister of the Union of South Africa created an impression in this Committee that we are a bunch of irresponsible people - that we go around inciting our people through letters, * Mr. Louw did not tell the Committee how these letters and documents got into his hands. Certainly, a man of his position should feel at liberty to state truth and to defend that truth. These documents did not fall from heaven into the Office of Mr. Louw. On 28 December 1959, the police from Grootfontein raided homes of Mr. Ja-Toivo and Rev. Hamtumbangela in Ovamboland and seized all documents they could lay their hands on, including those from the United Nations. A short-wave portable radio of Mr. Ja-Toivo was among the articles seized at Mr. Ja-Toivo's home. The Police broke into Rev. Hamtumbangela's house early in the morning while he was conducting an early morning Yass. When he returned to his house, one Policeman threatened to shoot him with a revolver. Homes of Mr. Nujoma, Chiefs Kutako, Witbooi as well as Rev. Markus Witbooi and others in Windhoek were also raided. Mr. Chairman, we would have appreciated very much if Mr. Louw, in all decency, could have shown his responsibility telling the Fourth

Committee that his Police do not carry warrants of arrest they go to raid our homes. In the eyes of Mr. Louw, an African has no racy of his own. He is a beast of burden, kept in a location and subject to all

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The Foreign Minister of the Union of South Africa also said something about Chiefs in Ovamboland. Most of these so-called chiefs are instruments of the Union Administration, nominated by the Administration for the purpose of carrying out Union Administration policies. Our whole traditional Chieftanship institution has been destroyed by the Union Administration. Most of the traditional chiefs in our country are hostile to the Union Government, and this is why the Administration has replaced them with nominated chiefs. We want to make it clear here, just as we have done at home, that we do not want to bow to nominated chiefs in our country. They are traitors of our people. Wherever they are seen by our people, they are stoned and beaten because they have betrayed us and our country. However, inasmuch as we disagree with these nominated chiefs in our country, we do not take machine-guns to destroy their lives or guns to kill them in cold blood. We respect their lives and their souls. Even if we destroy their properties, our various communities take care of them; they are not left to die or detained in isolated camps. We disagree with them on matters of principle but we also respect their humanity.

On 13 August 1960, the Administrator of South West Africa called for a mass meeting at Ohanguena in Ovamboland, with a hope of distorting the position of SWAPO and the United Nations. This meeting was attended by over 4,000 people, including the Union Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. de Wet Nel. At this meeting, the Administrator of South West Africa stated that he did not like anybody to talk to him except the government-appointed headman, Nehemia Shovaleka, who claimed that the South African Government is his "big father" and the Administrator of South West Africa is his "small father". This Nehemia claimed to have spoken on behalf of all the Ovambos. This is not true. Even the European press denied that this man spoke for Ovamboland. The press went further to ask "How can a man not elected by his people in a democratic manner speak for the Ovambo people?" Mr. Chairman, it was even reported in The Windhoek Advertiser of 23 August 1960 that one of Mr. Nehemia's sons does not agree with his father on these matters.

The Branch Secretary of SWAPO, Mr. Simon Shivute, acting on behalf of SWAPO, sent a statement to the Secretary-General of the United Nations dated 16 September 1960 which reads thus:

"Regarding the statement issued by headman Nehemia of the Ukuanjama Tribe to the Union Minister of Bantu Administration and Development Mr. D. de Wet Nel in Ovamboland last month, the South West Africa Peoples Organization would like to make it known that it is not strange whatsoever that Nehemia said that. "In the first place Mr. Nehemia was never of the Royal Family nor is he an elected chief of the Ukuanjama Tribe. He was formally a policeman of the South

African Government. Owing to the fact that he became a very strong supporter of the Government of the Union of South Africa in its illtreatment of the African people, he was then promoted to what is being regarded as the higher rank - that of an Interpreter. Under this position as well, Nehemia never showed a sympathetic attitude to his fellow Africans, but he continued to favour the evil treatment meted out to the African people by the Government of the Union of South Africa. This again resulted in his being appointed by the Government as headman against the will of the Ukuaniama people.

'The Ukuanjama people do not regard Nehemia as their chief or representative in any way and he therefore has no backing of anybody except the Government Officials who use him as a tool with which to suppress the Ovambo people'. The ukanjama people are powerless to discharge him because they are even denied the right to choose their own representatives or chiefs from among the people whom they trust.,

"Since Chief Yandme of the Ukuaniama Tribe has been dethroned and killed by the Union Government and the Portuguese Government forces on 7 February 1917, the Ukuanjama Tribe has not a chief or any other National representative elected by themselves. They are being ruled by Government-appointed headmen who carry out decisions dictated to them by the Government officials and which the people have no authority to disapprove.

"Secondly, a month before Mr. de Wet Nel could visit South Africa, Nehemia and the other headmen in Ovamboland were warned by Government officials that a big boss was due to visit them and that they must not show any opposition to his visit because he was very dangerous and that if they happened to show opposition to his visit or deliver unfavourable speeches, they might land themselves into an unfavourable situation.

"Nehemia and the other headmen in the Ukanjeima area, despite the fact that they were Government stooges, did not quite grasp the meaning of being landed in an unfavourable situation. Shortly afterwards, a Union Government's aircraft, carrying armed police, arrived in Ovamboland. This aircraft and the armed police thereon, threatened the people in Ovamboland to realise the meaning of the 'unfavourable situation' and the strength of the GROOT 3AAS (Big Boss).

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"After the departure of the Union Government's Armed Police, the headmen were told by the Welfare Officer that they should not allow people whom they know of opposing the Government policy to attend the meeting.

"These warnings were succeeded by the arrest of one of the strong members of the South West Africa Peoples Organisation in Ovamboland Mr. Elieser Tuhadelini. He was handcuffed and sent to a remote place in the extreme north of Ovamboland just near the border and is being kept there under arrest.

"Most of the people who attended Mr. de Wet Nel's meeting were unable to challenge the speech delivered by Nehemia on account of fear of being ill-treated in the same manner in which Mr. Tuhadelini had been treated by the Government of the Union of South Africa.

"Finally, the South West Africa Peoples Organisation would like to make it clear that the Ovambo people in Ovaboland like all the other indigenous population of the Mandated Territory of South West Africa are not in favour of the Government of the Union of South Africa and they are being intimidated in many inhuman ways, such as the compulsion of being represented by Government-appointed chiefs and headmen whom the people distrust.

"We strongly appeal to the United Nations to take immediate steps during the forthcoming session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to rescue us from this oppressive Government of the Union of South Africa and to place the Mandated Territory of South West Africa under the Trusteeship System of the United Nations, so that distressed African people of South West Africa can gain assistance from the various specialized agencies of the United Nations and to bring an end to these inhuman and unnecessary deportations of our leaders before all of our people have been completely deported out of their country and to bring to an end these intimidations by which our fellow men are turned to become co-oppressors of their fellow Africans.

"We furthermore request the United Nations to allow the Rev. Michael Scott, Messrs. Ntombi Zetshani, Sam Nujoma, and Jacob Kuhami to give evidence before the General Assembly of the United Nations on behalf of the South West Africa Peoples Organisation."

A week after the Windhoek disturbance, on 17 December 1959, I was arrested without reason and escorted to Onemakunde, an area of Ovamboland now made part of Portuguese Angola. I was given no opportunity of either taking food, blankets or money with me, except the clothes I had on my body. I was not even given the opportunity to see a lawyer. My escort consisted of six South African Police, two of whom were armed. On 20 December, an agent of the South African

Special Branch came to my prison cell at Grootfontein in the middle of the night and asked me why I did not die after I had caused such a disturbance in the territory.

On 21 December, I was brought before the Portuguese Commissioner by the South African Police, acting on the order of Mr. Blyden. The Police stated that I was a politician - a bad man - and I was not wanted by the South African Authority in South West Africa. They went on to ask the Portuguese authority to keep me in prison and to see that I was severely punished. When I told the Portuguese Commissioner that I was born in South West Africa, he immediately ordered the South African Police to take me back where I was born. Then Mr. Potgieter, a clerk at Ondangua, shouted to me that he had power to kill me for refusing to be a Portuguese citizen and for refusing to remain in Angola. I was then brought back to appear before the Bantu Affairs Commissioner at Oshikango, who instructed one of the local government headmen to keep me under house arrest, with orders that nobody should be allowed to visit me. I was under house arrest with my legs and arms chained together every night and every day, plowing the field for my food. This is just one of the personal stories which

shows how we live and which also shows the nature of those who administer in our country.

Mr. Chairman, I also wish to show to this Assembly the reasons why the administration in our country is persecuting SWAPO. First, SWAPO has become a country-wide mass political organization in our country without regard to tribal differences. SWAPO has even established itself in the North and it has become a strong voice of our people in our whole country. Ovamboland is the store of cheap labour for the whole of South West Africa; it is the strength of our country in terms of man power and it is the life source of the whole country, being the only area in our country with the largest population of the African people. The Government of the Union of South Africa has become aware of the fact that with this strength, sooner or later the Government will have to reckon with SWAPO. This is why the administration is persecuting us. This is why the administration is doing its best to destroy our organization. But SWAPO will not die until South West Africa is free.

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(c) Acievement of United Nations Trusteeship status for South West to be administered by a Council of Nations as provided for in Article 8 the United Nations Charter. Under the tutelage of the United Nations Trusteeship, the South WJest Africa Peoples Organization will advocate immediate abolition of Pass Laws, Apaxtheid Laws, the Contract System, Bantu Education Act, and the introduction of Universal Adult Suffrage and direct democratic representation of all inhabitants of South West Africa in all organs of the Government as a first step toward our independence.

(d) Reontrution of the economic, educational and social foundations which will support and maintain the real African independence which our people desire for themselves.

(e) maintenance of contact, exchange of views and informuation, and

co-operation with organization and individuals dedicated with us to the total emancipation and reconstruction of our continent.

OUR MOTTO IS: WORK IN SOLIDARITY FOR JUSTICE AND FREEDOM

These are the aims and objectives of SWAPO and we will defend them until freedom is achieved in South West Africa.

Before I conclude with my speech, I would like to thank the three young Americans who came to our country. This shows the attitude of the American Government towards our problem.

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