Henning Melber
Dieter Hinrichs

A Symbol of a People's Determination

THE WINDHOEK OLD LOCATION

History and Photographs

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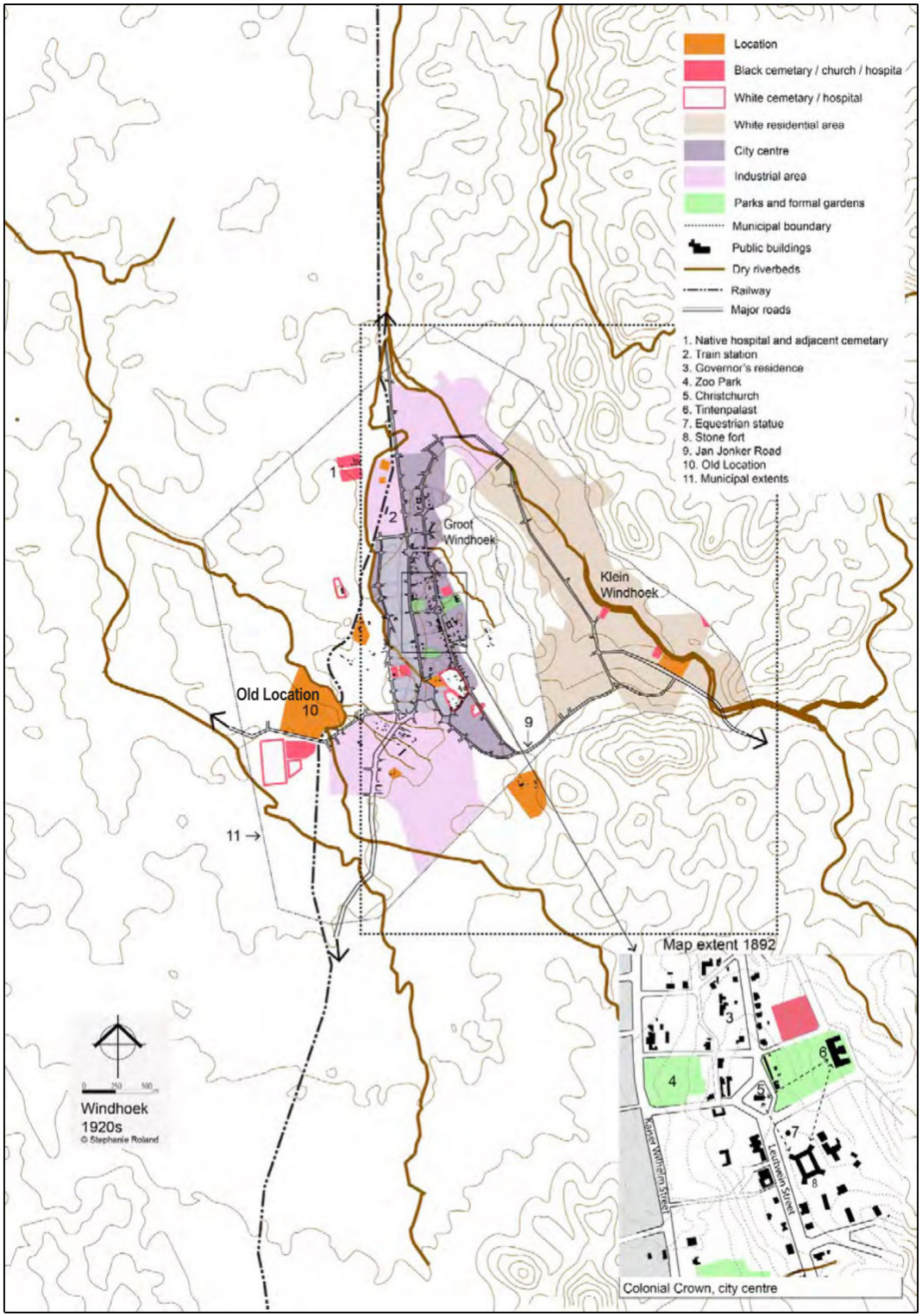

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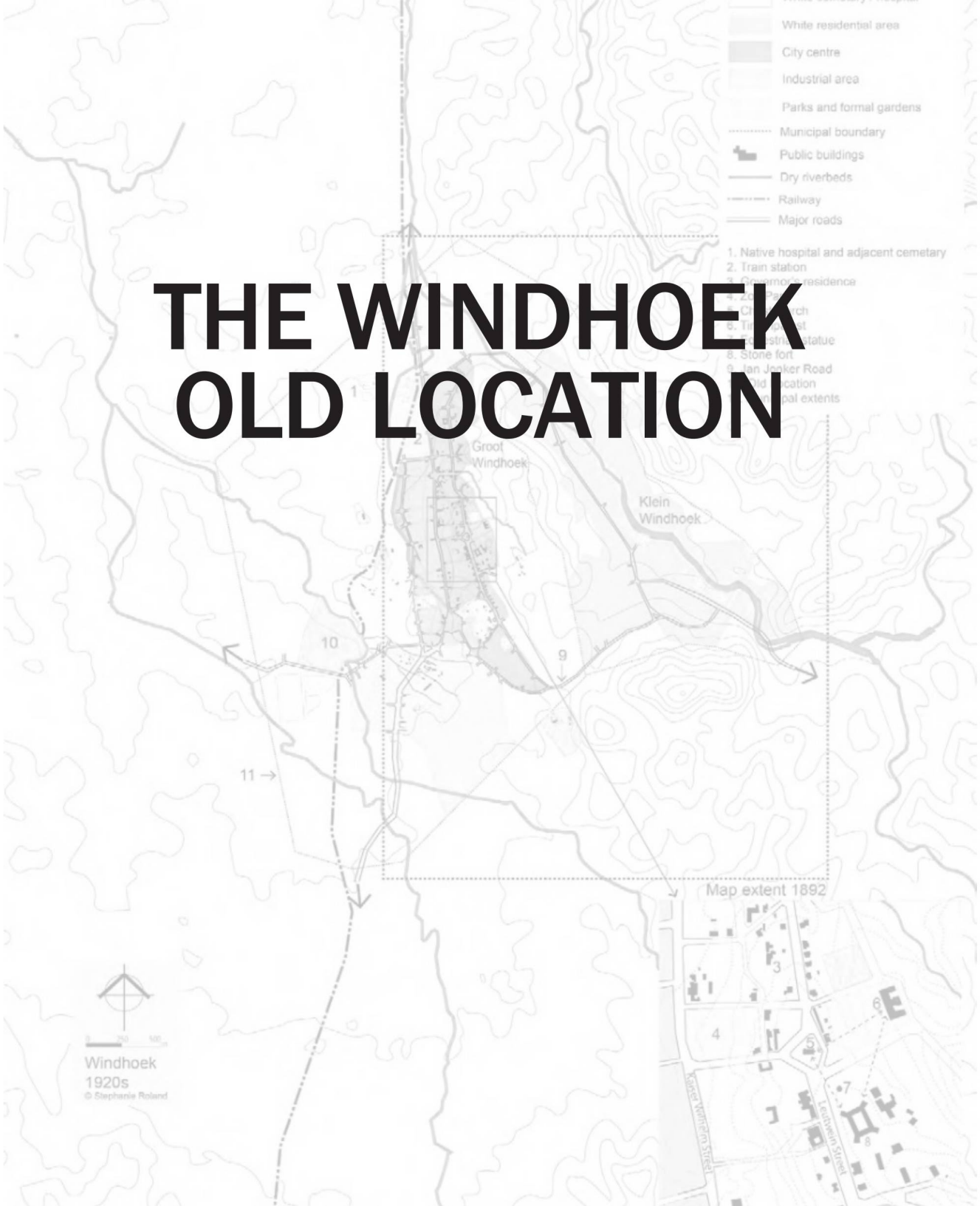

"If the Old Location spoke to me of poverty and misery, of racism and rejection, it was also a symbol of a people's determination to resist the white oppressor."

Colin O'Brien Winter: *Namibia. The Story of a Bishop in Exile,* p. 48.

A Symbol of a People's Determination

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History and Photographs

Henning Melber
Dieter Hinrichs

With contributions by
Bience Gawanas and Ewald Uazuvara Kapombo Katjivena

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Front cover image: In the Windhoek Old Location, January 1960. Photographer: Dieter Hinrichs.
Back cover image: Municipal transportation of residents to work in white apartheid Windhoek, 1960. Photographer: Dieter Hinrichs.

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Preface

Humanity and Community in Our Lives

By Bience Gawanas

I watched in horror the unfolding destruction of Gaza, the forced removal of people and the demolition of their homes by bulldozers. It reminded me of my origins in the /Khomas Hochland mountains and Augeighas (now Daan Viljoen area) where my ancestors hail from as the /Khomanin. This is where my dad herded his father's livestock and where first removals took place and people were forcibly resettled and dumped onto desert fringes. I share my story as a memory of growing up in the Old Location and witnessing firsthand the forced removals of the residents and the bulldozing of our homes during the 1960s.

Like Khayelitsha, the Old Location was not just about infrastructure but about relationships and interactions. As a child born and growing up in the Old Location, I made friends across tribal lines and every neighbour became part of the extended family. There was a sense of community and solidarity. My parents would travel a lot and we were left with neighbours to take care of us. I enjoyed being an "adopted daughter" of many and cleaning their houses or babysitting after school.

Our house was a brick house and located between what is Hosea Kutako Drive and Emma Hoogenhout School and closest to the white suburb. Today, whenever I drive along this road, I glance at what was once our home, our space. The bridge across the Gammans river provided the cross into the white suburbs from the Old Location and we frequently crossed it to continue our daily journey by foot to and from school at St Andrews in Khomasdal.

My dad started his early schooling at the Roman Catholic Mission in the Old Location. He later was a motor mechanic repairing cars and owned a shop and filling station. He also travelled with Father Qwinkler to evangelise people in the catholic faith on the Khomas farms and also to educate and support them. He combined this with a smous (hawking). My parents, especially my dad, were staunch opponents of Apartheid and supporting politicians, but I cannot recall that they belonged to a political party. My dad was very headstrong and had frequent run-ins with the authorities including fighting apartheid officials putting on eviction notices on his house and businesses, and the issuing of permits. No wonder that he and his brother opposed the forced removal to Katutura until the end.

During the 1960s, people were forcibly removed to Katutura, but we stayed on until the last removals. However, my parents sent us as children to live with an uncle in Katutura whilst our parents remained in the Old Location continuing to resist removal. When the day finally arrived in 1968 for our house to be demolished, we stood and watched as a bulldozer destroyed the only home we knew. As the saying goes the last ones standing were my dad and his brother Harob whose houses were amongst the last houses to be demolished in the Old Location.

And so, Katutura became our home where areas were divided along tribal lines. Apartheid was not only about racial divide but ensuring that people were divided and ruled according to tribes. My uncle Harob refused to live in Katutura and moved to a farm around Otjimbingwe (Ātsâs) until his passing. My dad was denied licenses to carry on his business in Katutura and my mum had to take up domestic work to care for 11 of us. He became a shadow of his former self as his strength started to erode and I witnessed firsthand how Apartheid could dehumanise people, including my father, who we saw as our protectors and carers. So, my sojourn into activism and standing up for what is right, was born out these experiences I witnessed as a child.

It is therefore important to tell our stories to bring back the values of humanity and community in our lives even if just holding onto the collective memory of the Old Location and the resistance of our people.

The three photos taken in the Old Location are among the items I inherited from my parents: At the petrol station; my siblings with our parents in front of our house (I am seated with my mum); with Father Qwinkler at the Roman Catholic Mission Church. (Personal collection Bience Gawanas)

The Windhoek Old Location

By Henning Melber

Ever since the beginning of the 20th century, the indigenous communities under direct colonial rule in today's territory of Namibia, first by imperial Germany (1884-1915), followed by foreign occupation of South Africa, were appropriated from the land they had occupied. Forced into reserves and separate townships in the part of the territory dubbed as "Police Zone"[1], they were denied a life by free choice and mobility. German colonial rule established the first structures and institutions of what was later labelled as Apartheid.[2] The homelessness enforced by the settler-colonial appropriation of their land and the imposition of restricted living space motivated Chief Hosea Kutako (1870-1970) to a Prayer, delivered on occasion of the annual Herero ceremony at the ancestral graves in Okahandja:

> O Lord, help us who roam about. Help us who have been placed in Africa and have no dwelling place of our own. Give us back a dwelling place.[3]

The story of Windhoek's Old Location[4] is one of replacement and at the same time of creating home against all odds under the enforced, restricted living conditions. It was the Main Location for most of the so-called non-white residents of Windhoek from the early 20th century until 1960, while a much smaller location also existed until 1962 in Klein Windhoek. The Main Location of the late 1950s had consolidated into a closely tied community. As remembered by a new resident, who moved there as a teacher in April 1959:

> Vast, crowded, the shanty town wrapped itself around the scrubby hills of Windhoek's northern fringe, on the opposite side of the city from the white suburbs. The wiry shrubs gave way to houses made of cardboard, cloth, scraps of plywood, flattened oil drums and other makeshift building materials, thrown together in no apparent order. Only when you got near you could distinguish the shacks, set so close together that some families could easily touch their neighbours' walls from their own windows. Family quarrels behind the thin, gaping walls soon became neighbourhood gossip. Everyone knew one another and strangers did not remain so for long. You knew the streets, unmarked and unnamed, only

[1] G. Miescher, 'The Police Zone Boundary and "Restricted Areas," 1905–1915', in G. Miescher, *Namibia's Red Line. The History of a Veterinary and Settlement Border*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2012, 43-68.
[2] H. Melber, '*Namibia: the German roots of Apartheid*', in *Race & Class*, 27,1 (1985), 63-77.
[3] As recorded by M. Scott, *A Time To Speak*. New York: Doubleday 1958, 223.
[4] In the following referred to mainly in the short as Old Location, but aware of the fact that old locations existed in most urban settlements of Namibia.

> after you have lived in the Old Location for a long time. Around the irregular rows of shacks, streets snaked and jogged, narrow and dusty. When the rains came, the streets became roaring rivers that washed away shanties and left deep gullies. Neighbours took in the homeless until materials could be salvaged and a new place propped up.[5]

By then, residents had transcended dividing lines of ethnic particularism over and above all remaining cultural differences, shaping a minimum standard of living and fostering a sense of community and identification as residents of a shared living space:

> Segregated but connected to white Windhoek, the Old Location was characterised by its integrated and productive if modest lifestyle. Featuring brick houses interspersed with more informal structures, it evolved throughout the decades a community-oriented and -supportive infrastructure. Within walking distance of white Windhoek, and especially its western margin at the northern end of Bach Street on the Gammams River, the Location was served by a number of schools, churches, a maternity hospital and clinic, a tennis club, music bands, dance halls, shebeens with traditional home-brews, at least one clothes factory, and rudimentary but functioning sewerage, water and public baths systems. Ethnic boundaries remained fluid and open.[6]

Being adjacent to the white centre of town, urban planning replaced the Old Location by the newly established township Katutura at the northern outskirts of Windhoek in the late 1950s, but many residents refused to be re-located. Protest resulted in boycotts and demonstrations. The clashes escalated on 10 December 1959, when police opened fire on unarmed residents. At least 13 were killed and more than 40 recorded as wounded (presumably with a much higher number unreported for fear of prosecution).[7] As from 1960, forced removals were intensified. But residents in defiance continued to refuse being moved. The Old Location officially closed only in 1968.[8]

This publication is a modest effort for the partial reconstruction of a social history contributing to a commemorative culture of a place in the specific context of space and time. The focus lies on the

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[5] J. Ya-Otto, with O. Gjerstad and M. Mercer, *Battlefront Namibia. An autobiography*. London: Heinemann 1982, 35.

[6] B. Lau, *'The Old Location'*, in *Three Views into the Past of Windhoek*. Compiled by A. Heywood and B. Lau for the History Conference Windhoek, 1-3 June 1993. Windhoek: Namibisch-Deutsche Stiftung für kulturelle Zusammenarbeit 1993, 19.

[7] More details follow in the separate chapter "The Shootings of 10 December 1959", listing all names of the killed.

[8] This text maintains the terminology used in the context of the times, though many of the terms were/are derogatory and offending. The language reflects and documents the views of those claiming (and executing) the power of definition at the given time. This does of course not mean that such language is reproduced in the affirmative. Reference is made in today's perspective to what has been the Main Location until 1960 as the Old Location or Location, unless otherwise quoted. Since most sources refer to the Herero also when the plural Ova-Herero would be required, reference is made to the Herero throughout the text without the prefix.

time since the 1950s. The picture sketched is based, on the one hand, on official documents, subsequent analyses, and observations on record. On the other hand, personal memories of former residents, as far as they are accessible, are used, crucially contrasting the colonial archives. Given the nature of Apartheid society of the days, sources for considerable parts of this undertaking were official records in files of the National Archives of Namibia.[9] Most instructive among these is the undated detailed survey of the District of Windhoek compiled by German ethnologist Günter Wagner mainly during 1951.[10]


FIGHTING TALK

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

Vol. 14. No. 1. Price 6d.

FEBRUARY, 1960

DEATHS IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA (Centre). The funeral of African victims of police shooting in Windhoek Location. (Left) The aged Chief Hosea Kutako. (Right) A Herero women mourns.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA: THE 14th YEAR

The Treason Trial and the Press

THE S.A. FOUNDATION: PURSE STRINGS BEFORE PRINCIPLES

All-Africa Trade Union Unity: The New Federation

Articles by
'ZEKE' MPHAHLELE
LEWIS NKOSI
GOVAN MBEKI

During the later 1950s and early 1960s, the local photographer Ottilie Nitzsche-Reiter and the staff in her studio were among the few professionals taking photographs, documenting visually life in the township. Especially the young German Dieter Hinrichs, who after his training at the Munich Photo School joined the studio from April 1959 until December 1960, followed and documented social events at the location. They contribute beyond the individual photos taken by the residents (which remain in family archives) to what we still have left as an illustration of daily life. His photos are at times speaking louder than words and are therefore an essential component of this publication. Many of these are thanks to his donations of copies to the holdings of the National Archives of Namibia and the Basler Afrika Bibliographien. In a rare exhibition, a selection of these was publicly displayed in

[9] National Archives of Namibia (hereafter NAN), Municipality of Windhoek (hereafter MWI), Nie-Blanke Sake/Naturellelokasies, File no. 48/1, Algemeen (storage unit 2/1/378); NAN, MWI, File no. 48/2 (4 volumes), storage unit 2/1/379; NAN, MWI, 1919-1961. Native Affairs/Native Advisory Board, File no. 65/3, Volume I. No further registration numbers were allocated. References refer to the file where archived: NAN/MWI 48/1; NAN/MWI 48/2 and NAN/MWI 65/3 respectively.

[10] G. Wagner, *Ethnic Survey of South West Africa. Part I: District of Windhoek.* Unpublished, typeset report undated (1950/1951). Copies are in the National Archives of Namibia and the Basler Afrika Bibliographien (BAB). Günter (sometimes also spelled Günther) Wagner (1908-1952) was employed from 1950 onward as an "Assistant Government Anthropologist for South West Africa" by the South African government. For one of the rare recognitions of his work, applauded as a 'monument', see J. B. Gewald, *"A Teutonic Ethnologist in the Windhoek District: Rethinking the Anthropology of Guenther Wagner"*, in D. LeBeau, and R. Gordon (eds), *Challenges for anthropology in the 'African renaissance': a Southern African contribution*. Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan 2002. Part of his chapter's title (*'A Teutonic Ethnologist in the Windhoek District'*) is inspired by the telling fact that Wagner, who arrived with his family by ship from Germany to Cape Town at the end of January 1950, entered the form for an entry permit under applicant's race with 'Teutonic', 24.

Windhoek in the late 1990s. They illustrate street scenes, dance events, funerals, and beauty competitions, giving the Old Location and its residents a face.[11]

Tracing Memories

Under the *leitmotiv* "the community researches itself", first pioneering explorations by Milly Jafta, Nicky Kauta, Magda Oliphant, Dawn Ridgway, Kapofi Shipingana, Ussiel Tjijenda, and Gerson Veii as members of a project at the Windhoek Academy/University of Namibia were initiated in the early 1990s by Christel Stern and Brigitte Lau in collaboration with Annemarie Heywood.[12] The results of this remarkable initiative remain as yet the only somewhat systematic effort to establish a local history of the Windhoek Old Location with particular reference to the shooting on 10 December 1959, partly based on oral histories.[13] This study benefits from having access to and making use of the memories by former residents presented there. 30 years later, the investigation's conclusion remains a mission unaccomplished:

> The full story of the removals as a whole – including the destruction of the Klein Windhoek Location in 1962 – remains to be uncovered by future researchers. The lack of writing and documented evidence surrounding these major events is evidence of how Namibians

[11] They were at display for the first time in Windhoek in 1999 in an exhibition commemorating the 40th anniversary of the shootings in the Old Location (produced by the History Department of the University of Namibia (UNAM) and the Namibia History Trust), and subsequently at UNAM in 2000 and at the NAN in 2009 and 2011. A few images were published by Jeremy Silvester in *The Namibian Weekender*, "Picturing the Past. Repatriating the Past", 29 January 1999, and more recently by D. Henrichsen, *"Old Location. Doek and dance in Windhoek's Old Location, 1959-1960"*, in *Doek!*, no. 4, 1 November 2020, https://doeklitmag.com/old-location/. See also Hinrich's contribution in this volume. More images from unknown photographers in the Ottilie Niztsche-Reiter Archives housed at the NAN, mostly dated 21 May 1961, can be viewed at http://dna.nust.na/location/index.html.
For a recent effort to reconstruct by means of photos a visualised history of another "old location" in South West Africa for the 1920s to 1960s see P. Grendon, G. Miescher, L. Rizzo, and T. Smith, *Usakos – Photographs beyond ruins. The Old Location albums 1920s-1960s.* Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien 2015; for a complementing analysis of the process see G. Miescher, *"The NE 51 Series Frontier: The Grand Narrative of Apartheid Planning and the Small Town"*, in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 41,3 (2015), 561-580.

[12] Originally published as M. Jafta, N. Kautja, M. Oliphant, D. Ridgway, K. Shipingana, U. Tjijenda, and G. Veii, *An Investigation of the Shootings at the Old Location on 10 December 1959*, ed. by B. Lau. Windhoek: University of Namibia 1991, it was followed by an expanded version, Windhoek: Archeia 1995. Subsequent references are all to the 1995 edition. On the role of Christel Stern in the consolidation of the National Archives before Namibian independence and even more so, the work done by Brigitte Lau as head of the archive since 1991 until her untimely death in November 1996, see T. van der Hoog, *'A New Chapter in Namibian History: Reflections on Archival Research'*, in *History in Africa*, 49 (2022), 389-414. For the role of Annemarie Heywood as scholar and mentor see *'A Tribute to Professor Annemarie Heywood'*, in *The Namibian*, 13 April 2016.

[13] Some additional information offers the report of a project undertaken by students from an US-American College for a Bachelor degree. It recorded 16 interviews with former residents on life before and during the forced relocation. Most notably, it offered some contradictory versions of what happened on 10 December 1959. Unfortunately, the transcriptions of the recorded interviews seem not to be accessible beyond a few quotes and a summary in the project report submitted: B. Schell, J. Towle, J. DesRosier, and C. Luth, *Preserving the Culture of the Old Location*. An Interactive Qualifying Project Report submitted to the Faculty of Worcester Polytechnic Institute, 4 May 2005.

have been deprived, and have deprived themselves, of their own history throughout the colonial era.[14]

The more recent emergence of decolonial activism as a new form of emancipation from the colonial past has so far concentrated mainly on initiatives to remove colonial artefacts from the public sphere.[15] But the life in Windhoek's Old Location, the residents' protest against forced removal and those killed on 10 December 1959 are nowadays commemorated as 'Human Rights Day', also officially named 'Namibian Women's Day' in recognition of the women engaged in the civil resistance as a public holiday. This kind of institutionalised commemoration, including local events on or around the day, has facilitated at least partial and fragmented personal recollection of memories by former residents, occasionally published in the media (several of these are referenced in different parts of this text).[16] As another important contribution, the debates at the time, as published between March and September 1960 in the nine issues of the first African newspaper *South West News/Suidwes Nuus* by activists in the Location, are a rare source of original printed information. They have since then been made accessible as another visible effort to bring what happened then into the public domain today.[17]

South African post-apartheid reconstruction and remembrance of spatial memory[18] has since the official end of Apartheid produced remarkable results. As these show, the challenge remains, how best to navigate between the past and the present for the future.[19] Prominent examples beyond the tourist attraction of Robben Island include the recollection of the specific culture of Cape Town's District Six[20], and Johannesburg's Sophiatown.[21] They remain tasks for "writing out of ruins".[22]

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[14] Jafta, An Investigation, 53.

[15] H. Becker, *'"Youth Speaking Truth to Power": intersectional decolonial activism in Namibia'*, in *Decolonial Anthropology*, 47 (2023), 71-84.

[16] Notably, the *Namibian Weekender* had been publishing a series of articles with a special focus on the Old Location. In its issue of 11 December 1998 it released a full list of the names of those buried in the Old Location's cemetery.

[17] D. Henrichsen (comp.), *A Glance at our Africa. Facsimile reprint of South West News/Suidwes Nuus 1960*. Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien 1997. Open access: https://www.baslerafrika.ch/a-glance-at-our-africa.

[18] See, for example, N. Murray, N. Shepherd and M. Hall, (eds), *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City.* London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

[19] A. E. Coombs (ed.), *History After Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press 2003.

[20] See i.a. M. Greshoff, Origins of the book *'District Six – Memories, Thoughts and Images'*, *The Heritage Portal*, 10 August 2021, https://www.theheritageportal.co.za/article/origins-book-district-six-memories-thoughts-and-images; S. Field, *'Uncanny District Six. Removals, remains and deferred regeneration'*, in S. De Nardi, H. Orange, S. High and E. Koskinen-Koivisto (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Memory and Place.* London: Routledge 2019; for an early example S. Jeppie and C. Soudien, *The Struggle for District Six: Past and Present*. Cape Town: Buchu Books 1990.

[21] See i.a. D. Goodhew, *Respectability and Resistance: a History of Sophiatown*. Westport, Conn: Praeger 2004; P. Knefel, 'Sophiatown as *lieu de mémoire*', in *African Studies*, 74, 1 (2015), 51-75. Another prominent site of South African urban memory is Alexandra. Johannesburg's oldest township (established in 1912) had been spared of destruction by Apartheid's obsession of physical segregation and relocation, and survived as a residential area. See P. Bonner and N. Nieftagodien, *Alexandra: a history*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press 2008.

[22] S. Viljoen, *'Writing out of Ruins. Stories of District Six, Food and Home'*, in *Matatu*, 50 (2018), 48-59.

The Old Location has not left behind any physical ruins. In contrast to South African historical restoration of memory, so far – despite what has been mentioned above - comparatively little is in the Namibian public domain to give the history of the Old Location the space and recognition it deserves. The account following seeks to add the case of the Old Location as another illustration of what with reference to Vidler[23] has been characterised as:

> ... the tendency of imperial powers to re-name, re-map, and rebuild conquered spaces – to pursue projects that literally shift the ground beneath 'natives' feet. ... These changes, of course, are profound statements of power: mapping and building – shifting borders, partitioning spaces, revising place-names – can literally reshape and redirect lived experience, and can therefore make familiar space seem uncannily foreign. Such strategies serve to un-home and so to dominate local populations.[24]

This power of definition and execution was anchored in the dominant colonial perception of a 'single story'. Being the only validated, reduced, view of realities under apartheid it also guided racist, dehumanising policies imposed on people. As a student at the University of Cape Town clarified with regard to her own background and upbringing in Cape Town's township Khayelitsha, this contrasts the perspectives of those resident:

> I was unable to describe the houses in Khayelitsha as shacks made of cardboard and other found material or refer to the streets as the 'dusty' streets of Khayelitsha because that is not how the people I have encountered in that space speak about it. People do not say 'I am now going to my shack', they say 'I am going to my home'. To reduce the description of Khayelitsha to what it looks like, the streets and the shacks is to undermine the importance of the interactions that happen inside those homes and on those 'dusty' streets. ... Khayelitsha is not the infrastructure, it is the relationships and the interactions that take place in that infrastructure and should be described in a way that reflects that. Infrastructure has a social life. It is not just the shack that defines Khayelitsha but the relationships that are built in the process – when family and friends help each other gather the material and when family and friends help each other build the house. It is a home to them not just a shack.[25]

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[23] A. Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely,* Boston: MIT Press 1992.
[24] J.C. Obert, *'The Architectural Uncanny. An Essay in the Postcolonial Unhomely'*, in *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 18, 1 (2016), 87.
[25] Z. Ndzendze, *'A Different Face of Khayelitsha: Problematizing the Single Story'*, UCT Paper, presented at the Mellon Mays Conference, Philadelphia, June 2012, 9.

In a similar way, a collection of photos taken in District Six between 1956 and 1966 captures an atmosphere and spirit, which counteracts racist stereotypes:

> People who never really knew District Six dismissed it as slum. They never cared about the quality and vivacity of the people who were its life blood. They would reinforce their beliefs with invidious remarks about dirty streets, peeling walls and drug trafficking. They saw the district only from the outside without ever caring about its soul. This approach had the seeds of inevitable tragedy because the spirit of District Six was in the hearts and minds of its people, not the houses they lived in.[26]

As will be shown and argued, these perspectives are as valid for the perception and understanding of life in Windhoek's Old Location.

Fragments Of History

More than half a century after the final physical erasure of the Old Location it is difficult to fully reconstruct the story of the place, its people, their exchanges, and engagements with each other and with the authorities. Authentic local voices and agencies were rarely put on record. Most often, the colonising gaze of White dominance blurred the perspectives and make it difficult for current efforts to present a genuine picture not coloured by the Apartheid lenses.[27] Based on the few accessible memories of those growing up there, the forms of social life recapitulated at later stages were far more positively remembered than the realities in the newly constructed, in terms of internal ethnical sub-division much stricter segregated township named Katutura ("a place where we do not stay").[28] The Anglican bishop Colin O'Brien Winter (1928-1981) as one of the few outsiders has best captured the ambivalence of the Old Location, where the poor material conditions contrasted with the social spirit and interaction in the daily life. He frequently visited both the last remnants of the Old Location in the mid-1960s and the still relatively new Katutura during his seven years of service in Namibia before being deported in 1972. His account remains as ambiguous as the Old Location seems to have been.[29]

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[26] C. Breytenbach, *The Spirit of District Six*. Text by Brian Barrow. Pretoria: Protea Book House 2016, 8.

[27] This narrative has such limitations too. As one of the anonymous reviewers of one of the articles on which this study is based had observed: "The only shortcoming ... which unfortunately is common for most articles written on the African in the urban areas is its dependency on a 'foreign voice', the 'other' to tell the story of Africans. This has, however, more to do with the nature of the colonial archive than the author's methodology and presentation." It should be acknowledged that photography has been facing a similar challenge. See P. Hayes, J. Silvester and W. Hartmann, *'"Picturing the Past" in Namibia: The Visual Archive and its Energies'*, in C. Hamilton, V. Harris, J. Taylor, M. Pickover, G. Reid and R. Saleh (eds), *Refiguring the Archive*. Dordrecht: Kluwer 2002.

[28] See for the creation of the name and its meaning the later sub-chapter.

[29] C. O. Winter, *Namibia*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans 1977, 46-51.

While a prominent feature and reference point in modern Namibian history, the Old Location largely has remained unexplored beyond the memories of those who lived there.[30] Reverend Michael Scott (1907-1983), a British clergyman with the Anglican Church in South Africa (nicknamed "the trouble-maker")[31], was the only known outsider who became a nuisance for the authorities in the history of the Old Location. Scott assisted the Herero leadership, in particular Chief Hosea Kutako, to petition the United Nations, drawing attention to the plight of the Namibians.[32]

In 1948 he camped for two months in the dry riverbed of the Gammans River (also spelled Gammams) bordering to the Location.[33] Those classified as Europeans required a permit to enter the Location. As a priest, Rev. Scott was - like all church people from various denominations - exempted from this rule. But he refused to accept this privilege and hence stayed outside of the settlement area. Scott interviewed members of the Location's Advisory Board and was also shooting footage for one of the first protest films made in Southern Africa.[34] Despite this remarkable engagement, his interaction with the residents of the Location during these days receives surprisingly little attention in his memoirs, limited to two paragraphs.[35]

The administration kept a close control and except for members of the clergy did not welcome any outsiders, considered to be intruders. At a meeting of the Location's Advisory Board on 15 July 1953, chairman De Wet pointed out "that Europeans visit the Location after hours or during week-ends. ... if unauthorised Europeans are noticed, they should immediately be reported".[36] According to advocate Israel Goldblatt (1897-1982), who was in close contact with some of the Herero leaders resident at the Location, somewhat less formal visits by Whites were rare occasions.[37] Reverend

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[30] A noteworthy, hardly acknowledged exception is the unpublished thesis by Anette Hoffmann, who in her chapter on the Old Location uses a Herero praise poem to uncover a neglected aspect of dealing with the place. See A. G. Hoffmann, *"Since the Germans came it rains less": Landscape and identity of Herero communities in Namibia*. PhD, University of Amsterdam 2005, 82-123. See also A. Hoffmann, *Ein unsichtbares Denkmal: Für eine Anerkennung des Monumentcharakters eines Otjiherero Praise Poems* (Omutando) *für die Old Location in Windhoek*. Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien 2006 (BAB Working Paper, no. 5); A. Hoffmann, *'The Merits and Predicaments of Opacity: Poetic Strategies of Evasion and Resistance'*, in *Research in African Literatures*, 38, 3 (2007), 41-59.

[31] Cf. F. Troup, *In Face of Fear. Michael Scott's Challenge to South Africa*. London: Faber and Faber 1950; P. A. Hare and H. H. Blumberg (eds), *A search for peace and justice. Reflections of Michael Scott*. London: Rex Collings 1980; A. Yates and L. Chester, *The Troublemaker. Michael Scott and his lonely struggle against injustice*. London: Autumn Press 2006.

[32] For a general account of the local (mainly Herero) responses resisting incorporation into the Union of South Africa as a fifth province between the mid-1940s and the early 1950s see J. Silvester, *'Forging the Fifth Province'*, in *Journal of Southern African Studies* 41,3 (2015), 505-518.

[33] C. Saunders, *'Michael Scott and Namibia'*, in *African Historical Review* 33,2 (2007), 25-40.

[34] R. Gordon, *'Not Quite Cricket: "Civilization on Trial in South Africa": A Note on the First "Protest Film" Made in Southern Africa'*, in *History in Africa* 32 (2005), 457-466.

[35] Scott, *A Time To Speak*, 243.

[36] NAN), MWI), 1919-1961, Native Affairs/Native Advisory Board, File no. 65/3, Volume I. There was no further specification, if this was aimed at certain individuals.

[37] I. Goldblatt, *Building Bridges. Namibian Nationalists Clemens Kapuuo, Hosea Kutako, Brenden Simbwaye, Samuel Witbooi*. Ed. by D. Henrichsen, N. Jacobson and K. Marshall. Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien 2010, 78-88.

Karuaera (1920-2013), a widely respected politically active spiritual leader, was quoted as having declared: "no other Whites ever came".[38]

There was, however, a regular presence of white clergy people. The missionaries of the Rhenish Mission Society and two mission sisters from Germany, who took care of health and education matters were permanently interacting with the residents of the Location. The Bishop of the Anglican Church and his co-workers also had a presence in the Old Location, especially since the early 1960s, as they held church services and were teaching classes at the St Barnabas School.[39] White shop owners also visited the Location occasionally, if only to make sure that customers paid their bills.[40] Nothing is – for obvious reasons – on record for the intimate contacts across the colour bar, which presumably chairman de Wet in the quote above mainly referred to. But it is known that children were regularly interacting across the colour bar:

> A German informant who lived on the town side of the Gammams River, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Old Location whose borderline with white Windhoek was somewhat fluid, said that as a child he had played every day with the black children who came running across the footbridge to play in the riverbed.[41]

In marked contrast to the lack of accessible social history documenting the daily life, the Location's residents play a prominent role as a reference point in the patriotic history presenting the formation of Namibia's anti-colonial resistance during the 1950s, leading to an armed liberation struggle. The refusal to be voluntarily relocated to the new township of Katutura, the protest organised and the escalation into the shooting of 10 December 1959 were turning points in the consolidation of political organisations, and especially the formation of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO).

But while the 10 December shooting in the 'struggle history' of Namibia plays a prominent role, including coverage in anti-Apartheid South African media[42], little has been published and made accessible for a wider audience on the organisation and forms of daily life in the Old Location. It is noteworthy that the first critical reports of visitors to South West Africa, bringing the plight of the

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[38] *Ibid*., 83.

[39] According to Mrs Gestwicki, who was part of the Anglican diocese then, she and her late husband were as US-American volunteers between 1964 and 1968 in charge of these activities and often interacted also beyond these functions with residents in the Location (information provided by Dag Henrichsen, who managed to trace Mrs Gestwicki during 2013 in the USA).

[40] Information provided to Dag Henrichsen by Franz Irlich (Swakopmund), whose father had such a "native store".

[41] Jafta, *An investigation*, 37. Christo Lombard confirmed this daily interaction in a personal communication with the author. He grew up in this part of Windhoek West during the 1950s and remembers playing regularly with children of his age group from the adjacent Location.

[42] See especially the reports by Brian Bunting in *New Age*, vol. 6, no. 11, 31 December 1959.

Namibian people to the attention of the outside world during the early 1960s[43], made little to no reference to the Old Location at all.[44] The significant experience of life there and its consequences are mentioned in the hitherto by far most authoritative history of Namibia only on one page.[45] The published personal memories of Namibians engaged in the early anti-colonial struggle of the time hardly refer to the daily experiences and interactions in Windhoek's old township beyond generalised statements.[46] A reason for this might be that the (auto-)biographical narratives were from activists not physically resident in the Location. Except for John Ya-Otto (1938-1994), who summarises his experiences as a young teacher in the Location as from 1959[47], these were mainly contract workers from the Northern part of the country known as Ovamboland. Another exception is the autobiography of Namibia's so far most prominent singer Jackson Kaujeua (1953-2010). From a different perspective - being born a few years later than the first generation of struggle activists in the Southern part of the country with a cultural background in the Herero/Damara community, and never in any higher ranks of the anticolonial movement but rather at the margins - he recalls his childhood and teenage memories of the Old Location in Keetmanshoop (notably not Windhoek) in a much more intimate way.[48]

Contract workers were since 1947 accommodated at the Pokkiesdraai compound separately erected at the Northern margins of the city.[49] They often were also living as domestic staff in separate rooms at the white employer's house or were on contract in other towns or on farms. Hence most of those coming from the Northern parts of the country had little to no access to the Main Location. The impact of the violent clash of 10 December 1959 as the midwife for the formation of the militant anti-colonial resistance has therefore been the focus of their histories on record. Both John Ya-Otto and Sam Nujoma highlight the fatal events in their autobiographies. Nujoma's book is a classic example how the history is appropriated into a self-serving reference point to promote what shortly afterwards became SWAPO.[50] The selective narrative side-lines other political organisations and activists such as the Herero Chiefs Council and the South West African National Union (SWANU), who

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[43] Cf. C. Saunders, *'Some roots of anti-colonial historical writing about Namibia'*, in *Journal of Namibian Studies*, 3 (2008), 83-93.
[44] A. K. Lowenstein, *Brutal Mandate. A Journey to South West Africa*. New York and London: Macmillan 1962; R. First, *South West Africa*. Harmondsworth: Penguin 1963.
[45] M. Wallace with J. Kinahan, *A History of Namibia. From the Beginning to 1990*. London: Hurst 2011, 254.
[46] V. Ndadi, *Breaking Contract. The Story of Vinnia Ndadi*. Recorded and edited by D. Mercer. Richmond: LSM Press 1974; Ya-Otto, *Battlefront Namibia*; H. Shityuwete, *Never follow the wolf. The autobiography of a Namibian freedom fighter*. London: Kliptown Books 1990; S. Nujoma, *Where Others Wavered. The Autobiography of Sam Nujoma*. London: Panaf Books 2001.
[47] Ya-Otto, *Battlefront Namibia*, 34ff.
[48] J. Kaujeua, *Tears Over the Desert. An Autobiography*. Windhoek: New Namibia Books 1994.
[49] The emergence of the compound system for contract workers is documented with a focus on the harbour town of Walvis Bay by A. Byerley, *'The Rise of the Compound-Hostel-Location Assemblage as Infrastructure of South African Colonial Power: The Case of Walvis Bay 1915-1960'*, in *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 41,3 (2015), 519-539.
[50] For critical reviews of the constructed patriotic history in Nujoma's memoirs see C. Saunders, *'Liberation and Democracy. A critical reading of Sam Nujoma's "Autobiography"'*, in H. Melber (ed.), *Re-examining Liberation in Namibia. Political culture since Independence.* Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute 2003; A. Du Pisani, *'Memory politics in Where Others Wavered: The Autobiography of Sam Nujoma. My Life in SWAPO and my participation in the liberation struggle of Namibia'*, in *Journal of Namibian Studies*, 1 (2007), 97-107.

both were more involved in organising the popular protest in the Old Location than the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO), which as a movement mainly among contract workers preceded during the 1950s the formation of SWAPO. The combat literature "did not, of course, make such writing good history. It was not 'history' in any real meaning of that word, in that it did not attempt to present a rounded picture or explore the complexities and ambiguities of the struggle."[51]

Rather, the forced removal, the protest and the killing of demonstrators turned the location into "a source of potent symbolism for the emerging nationalist movement, as well as a focus for nostalgia".[52] As Hoffmann suggests, "the strongly party-politically informed institutionalisation of memory decided to cultivate ... a seductive inversion: creating heroes and a heroic resistance where some Namibians still remember a brutal killing of unarmed victims".[53] Human Rights Day, celebrated internationally on 10 December, is in Namibia as Human Rights Day/Namibian Women's Day a public holiday. It commemorates the shooting at the Old Location and pays tribute to the women who were leading the boycott and protest.[54] One of them is honoured with a grave at the Heroes' Acre opened in 2000. Anna ("Kakurukaze") Mungunda was the only woman shot and killed. Sam Nujoma, co-founder of SWAPO and its first president from 1960 to 2007, portrays her in his memoirs in the language of the heroic genre:

> I was very moved to see her body. I knew her of course. She seemed to be shining even in her death. We knew when we saw those bodies of innocent people that we had to find a way of fighting against those Boers. It was what really inspired me and others to leave the country, to prepare ourselves for a protracted armed liberation struggle.[55]

His description of the corpse as "shining", almost as if surrounded by a halo, is symptomatic for the glorifying rhetoric. But her role has been a matter of debate and cannot be reliably reconstructed and confirmed in the light of conflicting narratives. Suffice to say, that until then she never played any visible role in organised protest. In marked contrast to her glorification, a local newspaper offered in an editorial a scathing counter narrative, which illustrates the impossibility to reach a reliable conclusion.[56]

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[51] C. Saunders, *'History and the armed struggle. From anti-colonial propaganda to "patriotic history"?'*, in H. Melber (ed.), *Transitions in Namibia. Which changes for whom?* Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute 2007, 18.
[52] M. Wallace, *Health, Power and Politics in Windhoek, Namibia, 1915-1945*. Basel: P. Schlettwein Publishing 2002, 55.
[53] Hoffmann, *"Since the Germans came it rains less"*, 87.
[54] See on the institutionalization of a post-colonial public memory culture among others H. Melber, *'"Namibia, land of the brave": Selective memories on war and violence within nation building'*, in G. J. Abbink, M. E. de Bruijn and K. van Walraven (eds), *Rethinking Resistance: Revolt and Violence in African History.* Leiden and Boston: Brill 2003; H. Melber, *'Namibia's Past in the Present: Colonial Genocide and Liberation Struggle in Commemorative Narratives'*, in *South African Historical Journal* 54,1 (2005), 91-111.
[55] Nujoma, *Where Others Wavered*, 76-77.
[56] 'Kakurukaze Mungunda is often idolised as the Old Location's hero who aroused fervor around apartheid's forced removal of people to Katutura. Little is said about her being a wayward, out of control (some even say a drunk), stone-thrower, who was not part of the protest movement, but someone who became an accidental hero while leaders, including Sam Nujoma, were dodging and hiding from the apartheid police.' Editorial, in *The Namibian*, 17 July 2015.

Despite the contradicting memories, no serious systematic efforts have so far been made by the Namibian state authorities to adequately restore this and other events. What is "troubling",

> is the patent lack of interest displayed by the current government of Namibia's political elite towards Windhoek's urban history. This is all the more startling when one considers that the current government of Namibia prides itself on a history of struggle, the 'heroes' of which it urges one and all to revere and honour.[57]

Many of those in higher government and civil service ranks are nowadays living in the new middle-class suburb of Hochland Park and the older residential area of Pionierspark. They are hardly aware that some of their homes were built close to or on the grounds of the Old Location. Nothing but a tugged away small steel bridge (manufactured by Krupp), erected for the residents to cross the Gammans river also when carrying water during the rainy season on foot to get to the adjacent white Windhoek West on their way to work, a few adjacent buildings (which were earlier on "native stores"), some abandoned grave stones and a small, hardly known or visible memorial site (opposite of the old, former white Gammans cemetery) are among the scattered remnants of its former existence.[58] In 1995, the Old Location Cemetery (established in 1928 and closed after the forced removal of the residents to Katutura), now marked by a new entrance portal as "1959 Heroes and Heroines Memorial Grave", was reopened. This followed an appeal by residents with relatives buried there. The burial space was expanded, and 725 burials took place since then. In early April 2020 the Windhoek municipality decided its final closure due to lack of further space.[59]

In November 2020 a new Windhoek City Museum was opened. In attendance were several former residents of the Old Location.[60] Accommodated in a German colonial building, it houses a room entirely dedicated to the Old Location.

> Residents of the Old Location were invited to a reunion a few years ago, where they got to share their stories with each other and enjoyed music and dance like they would have in the old days. You can request headphones ... to watch a video of the reunion and look at the slideshow of images from the time.[61]

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[57] J.-B. Gewald, *'From the Old Location to Bishops Hill: The Politics of Urban Planning and Landscape History in Windhoek, Namibia'*, in M. Bollig and O. Bubenzer (eds), *African Landscapes. Interdisciplinary Approaches*. Berlin: Springer 2011, 258.

[58] In recent years, part of the graveyard had been "upgraded" to a kind of memorial site (Old Location Cemetery Museum). See for a visitor's impressions (with pictures) the blog posting of 1 December 2019 at *Picking up the Tapp*, https://pickingupthetabb.wordpress.com/2019/12/01/windhoek-remembering-the-old-location-massacre/. Among the few initiatives to institutionalize some remembrance, is an "Old Location Bar and Restaurant" in Windhoek West, decorated with motives from the time.

[59] O. Ngutjinazo, *'Old Location Cemetery to be closed'*, in *The Namibian*, 4 March 2020.

[60] C. Ngatjiheue, *'City Museum officially open'*, in *The Namibian*, 4 November 2020.

[61] H. Titus, *'A Guide to The Windhoek City Museum',* in *The Namibian*, 3 June 2023.

While personal ties and emotional affinities remain alive or are reactivated among former residents of the Old Location and some of their offspring who were told the history of the place and its meaning for their parents and grandparents, the current remembrance in the public domain remains at best selective and narrow:

> Even though the people killed in the event of the Windhoek shooting are heroes now, this official memory does not include life in the Old Location, the memory of an era of communal experience in a place where apartheid did not completely determine people's way of living together and where the unaccepted boundaries of racial segregation were crossed. Distinguishing what deserves to be remembered and how, and appropriating the site and event of history, the institutionalised act of commemoration obscures conflicting versions of history as well as other forms and functions of memory.[62]

As an opinion article in a local newspaper observed in 2017, there were still many "living witnesses to the Old Location Massacre". But in the official commemoration these "have been conspicuously absent from events marking the day year in and year out" and were denied "the mere opportunity of their reflections on the day".[63] As the author maintains further,

> in some sections of the Namibian society, this day has also been referred to as Ovita vyo Mawe (Battle of Stones), a reference to the sheer bravery of the protesters to dare the armed Apartheid South African Police with only stones as their weapons ... to others, it has been referred and known as Ovita vya Katemune (Battle of Katemune). Katemune is the indigenous name of one of the ringleaders of the 1959 protest, Eliphas Tjingaete. It is any wonder whether to this day any of the streets, especially in modern day Hochland Park, yesteryears Old Location, has been and shall ever be named after him. It is hard to imagine given the terminal amnesia about the Namibian history.[64]

Former residents of the Old Location still alive, have raised their voice in frustration over the selective, only partial recognition and the lack of their struggle's adequate acknowledgement also in 2023. With reference to Cassinga Day, the annual public holiday in commemoration of the massacre committed by South Africa in the refugee camp in Southern Angola on 4 May 1978, 71-year-old Magdalena Tsuses complained:

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[62] Hoffmann, *"Since the Germans came it rains less"*, 87.
[63] K. Matundu-Tjiparuro, *'Old Location Massacre, what a travesty of history'*, in *New Era*, 8 December 2017. Those listed then were Zed Ngavirue (1933-2021), Moses Kavitjimo Katuuo, the sisters Nora Schimming-Chase (1940-2018) and Ottilie Abrahams (1937-2018), Mburumba Kerina (1932-2021), and Ester Kavari.
[64] *Ibid*. As of June 2025, no such street existed.

> We were not at Cassinga, they were also not at the Old Location, but we feel their pain. They must sympathise with us and recognise that we are also hurting even though we are small in number... I am very unhappy . . . none of us are ever asked to say what happened on that day. We just go eat and dance. ... We are heartbroken because we are not acknowledged.[65]

Lazarus Mambo (77) added: "It's an emotional matter for us and it means a lot to us that someone is writing our story."[66] Rosa Namises, who was born at the Old Location, demands that the annual holiday of 10 December includes in its name a reference to the place, and that the celebrations take place at the restored part of the old cemetery instead elsewhere. As she argued: "Events in Soccer House or Katutura hold no meaning. The essence and memories reside in the Old Location."[67]

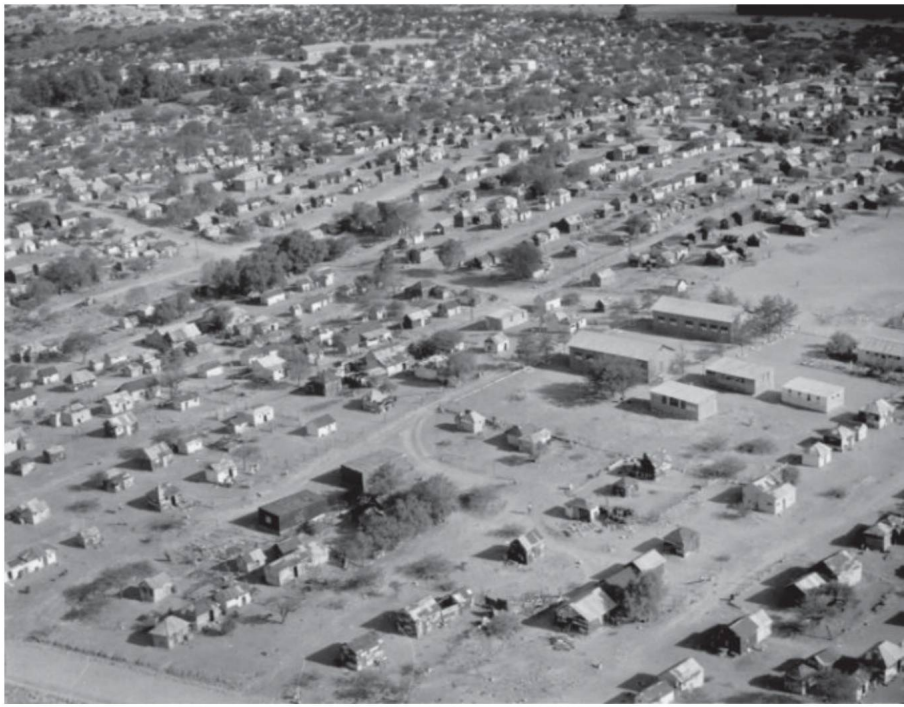
But as official public commemoration on this day shows, history and its representation remain also in Namibia a matter for those, who hold the power of definition and shape the dominant public discourse.

[65] Quoted in E. Mbathera, *'Govt accused of reducing Old Location's significance'*, in *The Namibian*, 12 December 2023.
[66] *Ibid.*
[67] *Ibid.*

Space, Infrastructure and Demography

The Old Location was the product of social engineering, which had spatial components complementing racial policies of institutionalized discrimination ever since the colonization of the territory. The organization of daily life took forms of physically separate entities confined to specific parts of the population. The locations established for the African people were in as much as the white residential areas a separate own world (see maps). The difference was that the black domestic workers, nannies, gardeners, and other manual laborers were to some degree – often rather intimately – exposed to the world of the masters, while these in their overwhelming majority had no idea about the living conditions of their servants.

Segregated living spaces were originally institutionalized under German colonialism and by no means an invention of South African apartheid.[68] The Main Location in the West of the city and a smaller location in Klein Windhoek[69] took shape at the beginning of the 20th century: "A 1903 map of Windhoek ... suggests that the locations were already forming by then."[70] The Main Location was officially formalized and reorganized in 1932. Following several legal restrictions imposed on the black population in urban areas, the Native (Urban Areas) Proclamation (No. 56 of 1951) finally transferred the segregationist Apartheid policy to urban settlements in the country.[71]



[68] See on the history until 1960 especially W. Pendleton, *Katutura – a place where we do not stay*. San Diego: San Diego State University Press 1974, 24-28; D. Simon, *Aspects of urban change in Windhoek, Namibia, during the transition to independence.* PhD, University of Oxford 1983, 114-144.
[69] J. Silvester, *'Okongowa: Windhoek's Other Old Location'*, in *The Namibian Weekender*, 8 December 2000.
[70] Simon, *Aspects of urban change*, 115.
[71] For an overview on the South African laws introduced under the Mandate as from 1922 to 1963 see *ibid*., 202-205.

> In view of their status, blacks were not deemed to have the right to trade in urban areas. Licenses were issued at the authorities' discretion and all commercial premises were Municipal property. This, and the converse aim of assisting white-owned business explains the total commercial underdevelopment of the townships.[72]

The Municipality was the owner of all land in the locations. A small monthly fee had to be paid for occupying a plot - misleadingly referred to as "hut tax".[73] The buildings erected were, however, the private property of the residents. This enforced a strong feeling of ownership among the people, who had constructed their homes. Being a commodity for sale, for renting out or inheritance, "they were of major importance to the people, despite their relatively poor structure and appearance".[74]

Already during the 1920s the administration had considered a physical relocation. But the effects of the global economic crisis in the early 1930s shelved the plans; instead, further infrastructure was established at the existing places of residence.[75] What is remembered as the Old Location was officially declared the Windhoek Main Location under the Natives' (Urban Areas) Act (34/1924). It had an area of around 140 hectares. Its boundaries were demarcated and proclaimed by Government Notice no. 132 of 1937. Situated in relatively close vicinity to the Windhoek main cemetery at the seasonal Gammans and Arebbush rivers in what is today parts of Hochland Park and Pionierspark, at the borders to the old White residential area of Windhoek West, its distance from the city centre was some two to three kilometres.

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[72] *Ibid*., 134.

[73] The "hut tax" was a common instrument of British colonialism in Africa to coerce the local population into salaried labour. In the case of the Old Location, it was not the construction that was taxed but the plot on which it was built.

[74] Simon, *Aspects of urban change*, 128.

[75] For developments during the inter-war period see especially M. Wallace, *A History of Namibia*, and D. Simon, *'The evolution of Windhoek 1890-1980'*, in C. Saunders (ed.), *Perspectives on Namibia. Past and present*. Cape Town: Centre for African Studies/ University of Cape Town 1983, 91-93.

As of 1932, the Main Location became the object of more systematic urban planning: it was divided into square blocks with roads intersecting at right angles. Houses (huts) were relocated according to the new plot structure. A Municipal Beer Hall[76] and a "Bantu Welfare Hall"[77] were erected in 1936 and 1937. Other infrastructure (markets, basic sanitary installations and other amenities for collective use, street lighting, private stores etc.) followed. By the early 1950s,

> the various sections are marked off from one another by lanes or alleys. With the exception of the two Ambo and the two Union sections, each of which is situated in different corners of the Location, the sections occupied by the same ethnic group adjoin one another. Theoretically, people may live only in the section (or sections) set aside for members of their own ethnic group. In practice, the residential segregation according to ethnic groups is not too strictly enforced. Thus, a number of Ambo have recently sold their houses, chiefly to Coloureds. In all cases where these houses were too dilapidated to be removed to the buyers' section, the latter were tacitly allowed to move to the Ambo section. Similarly, a number of Nama, mostly young men, live in the Bergdama sections. The vast majority of Natives, however, live, and prefer to live, among their own people. As among the rural population, kinship counts for more than friendship.[78]

Residence permit in the location was granted to (non-contract) workers employed in Windhoek or recognised as self-employed (traders, shop owners) and their dependent family members (women, children). Bona fide visitors were allowed to stay one month (in exceptional cases up to two months).

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[76] See on the history of beer halls in the country T. van der Hoog, *Breweries, Politics and Identity: The History Behind Namibian Beer*. Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien 2019, 63-66; E. Maislinger, *"Drinking Apartheid": "Weiße" Kneipen, Bierhallen, Shebeens und „offene Orte" in Namibia als Orte der Inklusion und Exklusion von der Kolonialzeit bis heute*. Diplomarbeit, Universität Salzburg, April 2019, 77-92.

[77] Named after the wife of the Location Superintendent Captain Bowker the Sybil Bowker Hall. Sybil Bowker played an active role as a welfare worker in the location, see M. Wallace, *'"A Person is Never Angry for Nothing". Women, VD & Windhoek'*, in P. Hayes, J. Silvester, W. Hartmann and M. Wallace (eds), *Namibia under South African Rule. Mobility & Containment 1915-1946*. Oxford: James Currey, Windhoek: Out of Africa, and Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press 1998, 88-90.

[78] Wagner, *Ethnic Survey*, 104.

Given the relatively low number of persons convicted for illegal residence despite regular raids between 1945 and 1950 (with 19 convictions as the lowest in 1949 and 55 convictions as the highest in 1950), Wagner seemed correct when observing that, "comparatively few Natives reside in the Location for any length of time without being properly registered".[79] However, as a resident of the late 1950s observed: "Since it was impossible for a stranger to locate anyone without asking, Africans with passbook problems also found refuge from the police there."[80] Anna Bailey also pointed out that the members of the local black police unit established by the Municipality (known as the "Bowker" police as they were stationed next to the Bowker Hall) were "easy to fool because they were unable to read or write". When unexpected visitors needed to show a pass, it could therefore simply have been written by themselves.[81]

The census of 1950 registered 2,246 huts and houses in the main location with an average of about 3.5 occupants. From the early 1940s there were renewed discussions as to whether the location should be removed to another site and residents were discouraged to make improvements to their shelter.[82] Regulations issued by the Municipal Council in 1927, setting minimum standards for the erected shelters, were relaxed because of the effects of war in lacking affordable construction materials. As a result, only a few constructions complied with the 1927 regulations, and ramshackle tin hovels mushroomed (classified as "category A"), "measuring often no more than 6 x 4 x 6 feet of which several hundred may be seen in the Location, some of them without any roof at all".[83] In contrast, the average type of construction ("category B")

> is a plain, rectangular structure with a ridged roof. Its framework is erected of second-hand timber, and the walls and roof consist of tin plates ... nailed on to the wooden frame. The floor is usually of hard-beaten earth, with a large stone slab forming the threshold.

[79] *Ibid.*, 95.
[80] Ya-Otto, *Battlefront Namibia*, 35.
[81] Jafta, *An Investigation*, 19.
[82] Wagner, *Ethnic Survey*, 199.
[83] *Ibid.*, 202.

> Doors are made of wooden floor-boards nailed together. Often there are two rooms, separated by a dividing wall which, likewise, consists of tins. Occasionally one sees a ceiling of reed grass or cloth.[84]

Despite the limited means, the constructions were considered real homes rather than provisional shelters. As recalled by Anna Hanstein, who was born in the Location:

> The homes were self-made by both men and women. They would make the frame from wood and cover it with zinc. As that was scarce, they would take paraffin tins, open them up, flatten them, and use them as zinc. On the inside they put netting wire and filled it up with clay. They would smooth it with cattle dung (*mis*). They would also smooth the floor in this way. The houses were of different sizes. If you wanted to extend the house or if you did not like your neighbours, you simply moved the whole house. Men would push planks underneath the building and then lift it and move it by hand.[85]

Better than average houses ("category C"), were mainly occupied by Herero. The best type of dwelling ("category D") was almost exclusively occupied by "Coloureds", with one brick house resembling features of European housing standards,

> of a thrifty European artisan or minor official ... Like the houses themselves, furniture and household utensils range from practically nothing to a lower middle-class European standard.[86]

Between 85% and 90% of dwellings had no inside kitchen and plots were hardly fenced in or improved, "but there are a good many houses which show that their owners take a certain pride in them".[87] Anna Campbell described her home as one of the better ones:

> We had a red cement floor which my mother took pride in polishing till it shone like a bottle. We had a ceiling and a stoop. We had a pond for the ducks and geese and we also had a beautiful garden. ... We had an 'Alex de Luxe' stove and we cooked our meals in the kitchen. We also had chickens and a dog.[88]

In 1950, the main location had a total of 15 sections sub-divided between seven groups: five for Damara, three for Herero, two for Ovambo, two for residents from South Africa and one each for

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[84] *Ibid.*
[85] Jafta, *An Investigation*, 11.
[86] Wagner, *Ethnic Survey*, 203.
[87] *Ibid.*, 204.
[88] Jafta, *An Investigation*, 12.

Mbanderu, Nama and Basters/Coloureds.[89] Notably, however, inter-sectional mobility took place and was neither prohibited nor controlled. In the early 1950s, "the entire location was served by only 68 water standpipes and taps, 120 latrines, and 16 showers, i.e. 1 per 119, 67 and 505 inhabitants respectively".[90] In 1951 a 14-bed Red Cross maternity clinic was opened, while a "dilapidated 235-bed State-aided 'non-European' Hospital near the railway station" existed, which included "87 long term mental cases, i.e. only 148 beds were available for ordinary admissions."[91]

According to the data provided in an (undated) form based on the "Naturelle (Stadsgebiede) Konsolidasiewet, No 25 van 1945", issued by the Union of South Africa's Department for Native Affairs, the "natives" living in the Windhoek location around 1956-57 amounted to 9,764, of whom 2,667 were under 18. "Coloureds" were numbered at 1,073, of whom 569 were under 18. "Natives" in the town area outside of the locations (but including the Ovambo compound) officially totalled 2,750, of whom 50 were under 18. The total white population was estimated at ± 15,000.[92] The Rhenish missionary Diehl presented the following census data for the African population in 1954 and 1956[93]:

Group	*September 1954*	*December 1956*
Herero	2,749	2,875
Ovambo	856	1,702
Bergdama	3,383	4,034
Nama	367	425
Total	7,355	9,036

In 1959 the population of Windhoek was estimated at some 20,000 Whites, 18,000 Africans and 1,500 so-called Coloureds or Basters. Registered male workers included 1,424 Herero, 1,634 Damara, 247 Nama, 1,445 Africans from the Union, 32 from Bechuanaland and 8 from Nyasaland. Ovambo contract workers were numbered at 4,130, of which about 2,800 were accommodated in Pokkiesdraai.[94] Some 1,300 contract workers were living in domestic quarters with their employers

[89] Wagner, *Ethnic Survey*, 103.
[90] Simon, *Aspects of urban change*, 128.
[91] *Ibid*., 129f.
[92] NAN/MWI, File no. 48/2 (4 volumes), storage unit 2/1/379, vol. 1.
[93] Archiv der Vereinten Evangelischen Mission (hereafter AVEM), Wuppertal, Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft (hereafter RMG) 2.533 d C/h 50 d Band 4, 1946-1967, Bl. 0092: *"Jahresbericht 1956 über die Arbeit in der Herero-Ovambogemeinde in Windhoek, Stationsmissionar H. K. Diehl im März 1957"*, 5.
[94] On the history of the name and location, dating back to the mid-19th century, see C. Jacobie, *'Pokkiesdraai – A Historic U-Turn'*, Gondwana Collection Namibia, 11 August 2020, https://www.facebook.com/gondwana.collection.namibia/posts/pokkiesdraai-a-historic-u-turn-christiaan-jacobiegrowing-up-in-namibias-capital-/4942944355731514/. I am grateful to Volker Winterfeldt for sharing with me this source.

in town, and 719 older "non-contract Ovambo" in the location.[95] A total of 108 "natives" resident in Windhoek held trade and business licenses for legally registered own economic activities. More than a hundred cars in operational conditions were registered in African ownership.[96] Other figures, based on census data, suggest the following composition of Windhoek's population:[97]

Year	*Whites*	*Coloureds*	*Africans**	*Totals*
1946	6,985	1,353	6,591	14,929
1951	10,310	1,208	9,080	20,598
1960	19,378	2,738	13,935	36,051

** Including contract workers*

All data available suggest that Windhoek throughout the 1950s until the mid-1960s had a white population amounting to roughly half of the total population on record.

The "Native Advisory Board"

Under the South African administration, a municipal Superintendent of Locations was appointed. In 1925 the Municipality issued detailed "Location Regulations". The Non-European Advisory Board was established in accordance with the Natives (Urban Areas) Proclamation (34/1924) and established for the Main Location in 1927, composed of the Superintendent of the Location as ex officio chairman and 12 members representing the various ethnic groups for a three-year term in office. Often referred to as "Native Advisory Board" (in the following: Advisory Board), residents elected six councillors, while the municipality appointed the other six. Every resident above the age of 21 and in fulfilment of the tax obligations was entitled to vote.[98] In 1947 some forms of organised opposition to the Board emerged among a group of Herero, who challenged its legitimacy and the degree of representation. Board members also complained that while they were regarded as interlocutors to the people in their section, these normally did not consider them as authorities with a recognised

[95] N. Mossolow, *'Eingeborene in Windhoek'*, in *Der Kreis*, 12 (1959), 436. Statistical data were most likely to a certain extent flawed, as the fluctuating numbers within short periods of time suggest. In the absence of a proper registration system for residents these were guestimates or census-based figures. For an overview on Windhoek for 1921 to 1975 see Simon, *Aspects of urban change*, 121. It can, however, be assumed that the overall proportions roughly reflected the demographic situation, though there was certainly an unknown number of "non-Whites" unregistered. These included also former contract workers who had abandoned their workplace, living without permit in the urban area. See for this numerically unaccounted group the personal story of Ndadi, *Breaking Contract*, 34-43. Given the police state like control, the numbers of undiscovered deserted contract workers could, however, not have been very high.

[96] Mossolow, *'Eingeborene in Windhoek'*, 439.

[97] Pendleton, *Katutura*, 31.

[98] Wagner, *Ethnic Survey*, 106-108. Minutes of the monthly meetings were until August 1952 taken only in Afrikaans, as from then upon a decision by the Town Council of Windhoek also in English. The meetings were chaired by J.A. de Wet as Superintendent of Locations and were attended also by councillors from the (much smaller) Klein Windhoek location.

status, unless it was based on their position within the traditional order, only applicable to Aaron Mungunda as a member of the former ruling Herero clans.[99]

In general, however, the positions in the Advisory Board were rarely contested, meeting only limited responses among the residents. Board members were frequently re-elected. Aaron Mungunda[100] and Clemens Kapuuo[101] served on the Board without interruption since 1927 either as elected or as appointed members. In January 1948 a total of seven candidates campaigned for three seats, with 1,936 votes cast. 1,681 votes were in favour of the three elected candidates. In 1951, eight candidates were nominated for three vacancies, with a markedly lower number of votes cast (674), re-electing the three candidates elected in 1948. Reproducing ethnic affinities, the Advisory Board had a combined majority of Damara and Herero councillors representing the residents in the location, while the municipality often appointed representatives of the minority groups among the six non-elected members to achieve some balance. Based on his perusal of several volumes of minutes, Wagner concluded that

> despite its limited powers, the Advisory Board perform[ed] an indispensable function in that it offers a regular opportunity for an exchange of views and ideas between the European authorities and a representative body of non-Europeans. ... Tensions due to deep-rooted tribal antagonisms appear ... to be very rare".[102]

While open to the public, the meetings and deliberations of the Advisory Board attracted little interest from the residents, with only few people ever in attendance. While board members were tasked to report back any decisions to the residents of the sections they represent, they complained that hardly anybody was interested or attended such meetings.[103] This might have been less a sign of disinterest by the residents in their affairs, but rather more so an indication of mistrust concerning the role of the Advisory Board. Its members were suspected to be willing collaborators with the administration. When an official previously in charge of location affairs relocated to the Union of South Africa, he made a farewell speech at an Advisory Board meeting on 19 December 1951. With reference to the initiatives to petition at the United Nations he noted with approval that many of the councillors were not collaborating with such elements.[104]

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[99] *Ibid*., 115.
[100] By profession a chief clerk, born around 1894.
[101] Born around 1893 and a general dealer. His son with the same name succeeded Hosea Kutako as Paramount Chief of the Herero Traditional Council, played a significant role in the resistance to the forced resettlement, and was involved in the creation of the South West African National Union (SWANU) as the country's first national liberation movement. In 1964 he became a co-founder of the National Unity Democratic Organisation (NUDO). As shop owner he refused to move to Katutura until the forced final closure of the Old Location. He was assassinated in 1978 in Katutura. See for a recognition of his role J. B. Gewald, *'Who Killed Clemens Kapuuo?'*, in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, 3 (2004), 559-576.
[102] Wagner, *Ethnic Survey*, 111f.
[103] *Ibid*., 114.
[104] NAN/MWI, 1919-1961, Native Affairs/Native Advisory Board, File no. 65/1, Volume no. I (storage unit 2/1/281, file no. 6/5/3).

In 1951 all except one of the members were classified as literate. Tasked "to establish a closer contact between the European authorities responsible for the administration and welfare of the non-European community and the more intelligent and public-spirited members of that community"[105], defeated the Board's declared aim of teaching its members "the spirt and technique of local government in a democracy."[106] This led Wagner to argue that:

> The functions of the Board are thus still essentially limited to the airing, under European guidance, of current issues relating to the welfare of the residents of the Location by a selected body of non-Europeans. The Advisory Board has no say in the financial administration of the Location and is not informed in any detail on income and expenditure. Having no funds at its disposal, the Board does not draw up a budget or vote money.[107]

The Board mainly served the purposes set out by the municipal administration. During 1947/48, for instance, the Board discussed in total 59 issues on its agenda. These issues related to matters of health and sanitation (15), the board's working procedures (10), labour conditions (8), housing and new township (6), education (4), transport (4), stock (3), law and mitigation (3), six miscellaneous topics, plus "a considerable number of further items concerned matters relating to the reserves, conditions on farms, transport facilities from Ovamboland, &c. all of which, strictly speaking, should not have come within the Board's sphere of reference."[108]

In 1947/48 arbitration committees were established. Seven of these existed in 1951, each consisting of an Advisory Boardman and at least four responsible members of his section (or sections) elected by the residents and approved by the Superintendent. Cases were dealt with either under traditional customary law or under common law, without any witness or court fees and preferably settled by arbitration. Most cases during 1950 related to matrimonial disputes.[109] Courts had to deal mainly with offences under the liquor law (amounting in 1950 to 1,100 cases as to 808 other cases)[110], violation of pass laws (387), arrears in the payment of hut tax (185), residence in the location without permit (55), as well as some cases of "fighting" (92) and "causing a disturbance" (10) most likely related to drunkenness. Theft was rarely a case (11) "and there is an almost complete absence of serious crime", with 9 cases of assault and 59 other unspecified offences.[111]

Deliberations by the Advisory Board also documented tensions and security concerns. On 14 May 1952 C. Kapuuo demanded stricter control as well as the arrest and deportation of those living in

[105] Wagner, *Ethnic Survey*, 110
[106] *Ibid*.
[107] *Ibid*.
[108] *Ibid*., 111.
[109] *Ibid*., 246.
[110] *Ibid*., 249.
[111] *Ibid*., 251.

or around the location without legal residence status to get rid of the *rondlopers* (those straying) in the *veld* (bush). A.S. Shipena supported him and suggested that more *boswagters* (bush guards) should be employed. H. Kondombolo complained that at the social gatherings of adults in the dance hall mainly children from the Bergdamara were a disturbance.[112] A.S. Shipena complained on 15 April 1953 that Ovambo contract workers were living in the location and entered relations with married women, as a result of which many *onegte* (fake or not genuine) children were born. Herero from the reserves were accused of the same behaviour. A.S. Mungunda also complained about the influx of *naturelle* (natives) from the Union, who often came as workers for contractors. They were accused of not respecting elders and behaving like *Tsotsis* (criminals), thereby influencing the local people negatively. He criticized his own people who did military service for South Africa on the side of the allied forces for the same behaviour upon return.[113] C. Kapuuo complained at the meeting on 10 February 1954 that the streetlights were not properly working and switched off late at night, thereby allowing *kwaaijongens* (wild youngsters) to continue their shady businesses. He urged that the lights be kept fully functional and switched on until sunrise.[114] At the meeting on 17 March 1954 Boardman J. Kamberipa complained that two constables from the Municipal Police on duty controlling the Location were not enough, especially not at night times.[115]

The local police unit, comprised of community members, was seemingly not taken very seriously and according to Anna Bailey (as already quoted above) "easy to fool".[116] Despite some petty offences recorded (mainly illegally brewing beer and violations of the pass laws), all in all, empirical evidence suggests "a socially highly stable and safe environment".[117] Those who grew up during this period confirmed the relative absence of serious physical violence or molestations. Anna Bailey, sharing memories of women and girls using a communal bathhouse maintained: "We were never afraid to bathe there as it was safe. I cannot recall anybody ever being molested there."[118] As the late Ottilie Abrahams recalled: "walking home from the dance hall in the middle of the night was never a problem".[119]

The administrative responsibilities for locations and their residents formally changed with the institutionalization of apartheid policy in South Africa from the mid-1950s, when the ministries in Pretoria took over "native policy" in the administered territory of South West Africa (SWA) too. That the dominant mindset was not free from unwanted irony bordering to humiliating sarcasm documents the following episode: At the meeting of the Advisory Board on 20 July 1955 the Assistant Native

[112] NAN/MWI, 1919-1961, Native Affairs/Native Advisory Board, File no. 65/1, Volume I (storage unit 2/1/281, file no. 6/5/3).
[113] *Ibid*.
[114] NAN/MWI, 1919-1961, Native Affairs/Native Advisory Board, File no. 65/3, Volume I.
[115] *Ibid*., Minutes of the monthly meeting of the Non-European Advisory Board. Held in the Office of the Superintendent of Locations on Wednesday 17/3/54, p. 3.
[116] Jafta, *An Investigation*, 19.
[117] *Ibid*., 18-19.
[118] *Ibid*., 18.
[119] Schell, *Preserving the Culture*, 27.

Commissioner Warner read a (undated) message from the South African Minister of Native Affairs. In this the minister explains that from 1 April 1955 the administration of "Native Affairs" in the territory had been transferred to his ministry. He stressed that the one "who always was your father, i.e. the administrator in Windhoek" will remain acting in his name. But SWA would in the future benefit from the tested plan approved for the "natives" in the Union, who he claimed were pleased. He concluded: "May the road between you and the government remain always white".[120]

Social Interaction

As recalled by Zedekia Ngavirue, who since 1959 gained intimate insights into the dynamics of the Old Location:

> In spite of [the] restrictions and the humiliations, people still tried to create communities which were socially fully integrated. They would have normal wedding feasts; they would have recreational activities, like any normal functional community.[121]

While the formal structure of the Location suggested a physical division of residents into ethnically classified groups, people were – as already mentioned - able to move freely and re-located to which ever places they preferred, often moving their homesteads to another site.

> Although there was a certain amount of ethnic exclusivity in the Old Location, it originated more out of consideration for language differences than out of a desire to be segregated. Neighbourhood was in many cases a question of real choice, neither dictated by unrelated property purchases nor by enforced 'ethnic' association.[122]

As remembered by Anna Bailey, the inter-ethnic integration had international dimensions too. Residents included "a lot of Swahili, Rhodesians, Xhosa, Zulu, Nigerians, men from Tanganyika". With the relocation to Katutura "they were sent 'home'".[123] The Rhenish Mission school situated in the white city was open to all children. As recalled by an unnamed informant:

> My father was a German who was sent away because of the war. My mother was one of Jan Jonker Afrikaner's people, and although I was 'coloured', I never had any problems

[120] "Mag die pad tussen julle en die regering altyd wit bly." NAN/MWI, 1919-1961 Native Affairs/Native Advisory Board, File no. 65/3, Volume I. My translation. "Wit" could be interpreted as "white" and as "clean" – satire at times simply cannot match reality!
[121] Quoted in Schell, *Preserving the Culture*, 40.
[122] Jafta, *An Investigation*, 7.
[123] *Ibid*., 8 (here misspelled as Bailley).

> with my schoolmates. We all walked together to school as we met up on the road. I was very happy at school.[124]

As Wagner observed, "deep-rooted tribal antagonisms appear ... to be very rare". But his interviews with residents also indicated that "antagonisms between the different ethnic groups, though not violent, are still distinctly there".[125] According to a survey among the "Coloureds", more than 90% opted for re-location to a separate residential area.[126] Wagner, however, maintains, that

> these prejudices, jealousies, and antagonisms are more in the nature of undercurrents than an open hostility between the various sections. ... On the occasion of dances, sports events, &c., members of the different sections either mingle or amuse themselves on their own, without any group antagonisms making themselves felt.[127]

Attending a dance hall event, he characterised the atmosphere as "'live and let live' which seems to be the key note in the everyday relations between the various groups".[128] He concludes, "the conditions of town life tend to level down tribal differences".[129] He also observes that class differences seemed to be stronger than ethnic affiliations by noticing "a tendency for 'better class people' to move together".[130]

Wagner noticed a high degree of reciprocal subsidiarity and support systems displaying exceptional generosity when assisting those in need. A notion of belonging and solidarity seemed to dominate daily life. In 1950 only five paupers received food rations from the state because they had no near relatives to look after them. A system of *gooi mekaar* (throw together) was practised in communal social networks, where helping each other and thereby entering reciprocal social contracts seemed an established practice as "mutual, though staggered, lending of money".[131]

Leisure activities and social interaction were often accompanied by drinking, preferably of self-brewed beer.[132] While an income generating activity mainly monopolized by Herero women, the authorities were eager to prosecute brewing as illegal. The Natives (Urban Areas) Proclamation (34/1924) Act provided the means. The Location's superintendent G. O. Bowker was driven by a crusade-like obsession to control the production and consumption of alcohol. The opening of the

[124] *Ibid*., 17.
[125] Wagner, *Ethnic Survey*, 111-112.
[126] *Ibid*., 131-132.
[127] *Ibid*., 136.
[128] *Ibid*., 137.
[129] *Ibid*., 141.
[130] *Ibid*., 147.
[131] *Ibid*., 214.
[132] See J. B. Gewald, *'Diluting drinks and deepening discontent: colonial liquor controls and public resistance in Windhoek, Namibia'*, in D. F. Bryceson (ed.), *Alcohol in Africa: mixing business, pleasure, and politics*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann 2002.

Municipal Beer Hall on 28 February 1936 was intended as the ultimate replacement of and end for home-made brew and private shebeens, which were supposed to be eliminated.

> Bowker saw the beer hall as an exercise in "civilizing the native," a site where social drinkers could set themselves apart from the degenerate, shifty wretches who continued to seek solace in the drink of the illegal brewers. Bowker's ideas and sentiments were clearly modelled on attitudes he and his fellow administrators shared regarding social time, recreation and leisure. For them the beer hall was to develop into what must surely be one of the most well known of British cultural icons, the pub. The aspirations appear in the administration's annual report, which paints an idealized picture of women drinking at the beer hall in the Company of men.[133]

While deeply resented for being imposed as a tool to curb on private income generating brewing, people spending time in social activities grudgingly turned the Municipal Beer Hall into a prominent arena. It offered seating accommodation for several hundred men on a semi-open terrace resembling features of a beer garden and a taproom for some hundred women seated along long tables and benches. “Despite its unpopularity, Bowker's beer hall remained an integral part of the location for almost twenty-five years.”[134] The conduct of those frequenting the facilities had “on the whole, been so orderly that the police supervision has become a mere routine duty”.[135] On the other hand, as an unintended side effect, the beer hall also provided space for informal gatherings discussing policy.

Cinema performances were fortnightly entertaining an audience in the Sybil Bowker Hall, featuring mainly “cowboy” movies. Community singing was also a popular entertainment. Public dancing took place on almost a daily basis in the Sybil Bowker Hall, organised privately by people renting the venue, hiring a local band and charging admission to cover expenses: “In January, 1951, the Hall had already been booked until the end of the year”.[136] Private dance halls, which had operated earlier on, were closed down since they were scenes of brawls and fights. This did not bring

[133] *Ibid*., 131f.
[134] *Ibid*., 135.
[135] Wagner, *Ethnic Survey*, 267.
[136] *Ibid*., 275.

an end to brass bands, dance bands and other music groups as a common and highly popular feature. Local performances of bands were a dominant form of entertainment. According to Anna Campbell:

> We had two bands, Johannes Mareko's and Laydon's. They played on the week-end evenings in the Sybil Bowker Hall. We usually paid one shilling or one shilling and sixpence for a single. It was safe to attend the dances. We also had films for sixpence or one shilling.[137]

Some of the music and the bands were brought back recently into the public domain through the project "Stolen Moments – Namibian Music History Untold", exhibiting music since the 1950s in pictures and sound.[138] At the opening of the exhibition in Stuttgart, Namibia's ambassador to Germany shared among others some observations regarding the photos on display by Dieter Hinrichs (as also in this volume):

> He captured moments of apparent normality of young people enjoying themselves with live music in dancehalls and at the Coon Carnival between 1959 and 1961, portraying and documenting life in Windhoek's Old Location. These were "stolen moments", indeed, as the demolition of the Old Location by the Apartheid municipality was imminent.[139]

A Senior Sports League was founded in 1936 under the auspices of the location's Superintendent, and a Junior Sports Union for juveniles was set up in 1944 sponsored by the welfare officer. Football was the most popular sport in the location, with 13 clubs organised in the Senior League in 1950, representing the ethnic sections (only the Nama had joined one of the Damara clubs). Matches were played on a football field with a covered "grandstand" adjacent to the location, and competitions took place for five different cups.[140] Around 20 football

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[137] Jafta, *An Investigation*, 9.

[138] See among others https://www.kulturstiftung-des-bundes.de/en/programmes_projects/sustainability_and_future/detail/stolen_moments_namibian_music_history_untold.htmlhttps://theconversation.com/pop-culture-restoring-namibias-forgotten-resistance-music-128008https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yP62BzQjjzo, and H. Melber, *'Pop culture: restoring Namibia's forgotten resistance music'*, in *The Conversation*, 8 December 2019. After being on display in several European cities (Bayreuth, Basel, Berlin, London, Stuttgart) the exhibition was finally presented in Windhoek in December 2022, .

[139] Republic of Namibia, Remarks by Ambassador Martin Andjaba on the occasion of the opening of the exhibition Stolen Moments – Namibian Music History Untold, 11 October 2021, 7. https://www.woek.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Remarks_by_H.E._Martin_Andjaba__Ambassador_of_the_Republic_of_Namibia__on_the_Occasion_of_the_Opening_of_the_Exhibition__Stolen_Moments_.pdf. Parts of the exhibition can now be viewed in the National Museum of Namibia in Windhoek.

[140] Wagner, *Ethnic Survey*, 272-273.

clubs existed in 1960.[141] As Ottilie Abrahams recalled: "on Saturdays you do not want to be seen dead in the Location, you are at the football field, ... Everybody used to go there, like a religion; it was a very serious thing."[142] The teams remained ethnically exclusive and seemed to have instilled discriminatory emotions during the matches among their supporters. As Werner H. Mamugwe bemoaned in a letter concerning the "shameful picture" of "tribalism in sports" in the *South West News*:

> Although no restrictions on the grounds of tribe is made by any team when enrolling its members, in practice it seldom happens that a team is multi-tribal. ... As a logical sequence, matches between these teams are conceived by the public in the spirit of inter-tribal competition, victory being hailed as triumph over the inferior, a sign of tribal complex. Threats which often result in violence are made. These sometimes reach an extent where it becomes impossible to continue a match. Vulgar and disgusting words capable of provoking tribal hatred are frequently uttered. (...)
>
> In our everyday life we proclaim to fight tribalism and racialism in every form they appear, yet in this particular case we remain unconcerned. Is this a shameless surrender? Let those who care for the interests and welfare of their people heed this: An ideal cannot be attained by a mere declaration of lofty principles but by the practical application of such principles in all spheres of life.[143]

Tensions also affected tennis. A "Bantu Welfare Tennis Club" was founded in 1937 but collapsed after the embezzlement of funds. In 1951 the "Excelsior Tennis Club" had 16 "Cape Coloureds" and two "Union Natives" as members; six of them were female. The club tournaments were riddled by animosities: Blacks boycotted the club after Rehobother Basters refused to play against black or mixed teams without the tournament being called off.[144] Another popular sport was horse racing, staged at the "Hakahana Turf Club" founded in 1947. Until 1950 a total of 25 race meetings with six events each were held. Only "native-owned horses" and black jockeys were admitted.[145]

Various churches and other associations provided additional forms of local social organisation. These included the Red Band organisation (the Otjiserandu)[146], the Bunga Private Club and the African Improvement Society as burial and mutual aid societies among the Herero. The Coloured

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[141] D. Henrichsen, *'A Glance At Our Africa. The history and contents of South West News'*, in *A Glance at our Africa*, 28. All subsequent quotes from articles in the *South West News* are based on their reproduction in this volume.
[142] Schell, *Preserving the Culture*, 29.
[143] W. H. Mamugwe, *'Tribalism in Sports Exposed'*, *South West News*, no. 4, 25 June 1960, 4.
[144] Wagner, *Ethnic Survey*, 273.
[145] *Ibid*.
[146] See on their origin and the function of the wider Otruppa (Truppenspieler) movement W. Werner, *'"Playing soldiers": the Truppenspieler movement among the Herero of Namibia, 1915 to ca. 1945'*, in *Journal of Southern African Studies* 16, 3 (1990), 476-502.

Teachers Association and its subsidiary Coloured Parent Teacher Association, the Native Teacher Association, and the Non-European Railway Staff Association were the active vocational and trade union associations. Inter-ethnic tensions were reported in the Rhenish Mission School in 1957 and 1958. The Coloured principal of the school mainly for children in the Ovaherero-Ovambo parish, returned in 1957 after 15 years in service to Cape Town. Black residents had blamed him for not objecting to a decision taken by the Coloured Teachers Association to deny admittance of their children to their schools.[147] For 1958, conflicts among the 339 enrolled pupils were reported. Parents of Ovambo children complained that the newly appointed Herero principal made their children feel insecure. They felt disadvantaged and missed the former Coloured principal, whom they had considered as a trusted and neutral arbitrator.[148]

Church Life

The documents in the Wuppertal archive of the Rhenish Mission disclose in no uncertain terms that the Rhenish missionaries were foremost (if not exclusively) interested in the protection of their "native herd". Members of the church congregations seemed to have been jealously guarded as a kind of property. Politics had no tolerated place in the life of the community. Revealing were the reports of missionary Werner, who in the late 1940s and early 1950s oversaw the Windhoek Nama congregation. He was afraid that the execution of his duties was under threat and warned that particular attention had to be paid to the "racial instincts" politically instigated from the outside, so as not to reach a stage of tutelage and supremacy in congregational life.[149] For him Michael Scott was a provocateur who had descended into the political arena to assist in grooming those dirty weapons which, in a spirit of subversion and racial hatred, were determined to open the final door and to pave the way for communism in Africa.[150] Werner believed that a persistent godlessness and alienation from God weighed heavily and gloomily over the location, with all of the toxic emanations of sinful abomination that inevitably followed.[151]

[147] AVEM, , RMG 2.533 d C/h 50 d Band 4, 1946-1967, Bl. 0082: Jahresbericht 1957 über die Arbeit in der Herero-Ovambogemeinde Windhoek, Stationsmissionar H. K. Diehl, Ende Februar 1958, 5.
[148] AVEM, , RMG 2.533 d C/h 50 d Band 4, 1946-1967, Bl. 0063: Stationsmissionar H. K. Diehl, Windhoek, 5. Mai 1959, Jahresbericht 1958 ueber die Arbeit in der Herero-Ovambogemeinde Windhoek, p. 5.
[149] AVEM, RMG 2.533 d C/h 50 d Band 4, 1946–1967, Bl. 0190: M. Werner, Aus der Gemeinde Windhoek-Nama über das Jahr 1949 (undated), p. 3.
[150] *Ibid*., p. 4, Bl. 0191.
[151] AVEM, RMG 2.533 d C/h 50 d Band 4, 1946–1967, Bl. 0170: M. Werner, Aus der Gemeinde Windhoek-Nama über das Jahr 1951 (undated), p. 3.

During this time of emerging political dispute, however, the dominance of the Rhenish Mission churches remained largely intact and unchallenged. Congregations were subdivided into a Nama and a Herero-Ovambo congregation. The latter included mainly contract workers from the north, who attended the services regularly and seemed much more active participants than the Herero, who at that point were the by far most politically active group. According to a 1950 survey, 14,501 (or 86%) of 16,857 "non-Europeans" in the Windhoek district (without distinguishing between urban and rural areas) were church members, subdivided into the following denominations:[152]

Anglican Church Mission	40
Rhenish Herero Mission	3,613
Rhenish Nama Mission	9,327
Roman Catholic Mission	1,471
Wesleyan Methodist Mission	45
Total	*14,501*

All five denominations had a church in the Main Location. The Rhenish Mission had another church in Windhoek's Church Street (opposite the German private school on the premises, which also included a mission school for children from the location), and an additional site in the Klein Windhoek location, where the Roman Catholic Mission had another church. The only "native" church in Windhoek was the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AMEC), which had its own church in the location since 1943 and claimed to have 145 members.[153] Wagner noted a strong sense of loyalty within the congregations towards their own churches, but observed that they also had friendly relations with members of other churches:

> Native informants were unanimous in denying that different Church membership acted in any way as a barrier in social relations. Nor do the few non-Europeans who are still outside the pail of the Church adopt a hostile attitude towards the Church.[154]

Missionary Diehl observed in his report for 1952 that the "destruction work" started by the AMEC in 1946 in Namaland had reached the Herero. Stefanus Hoveka had succeeded his brother Nikanor Hoveka (who died in 1951) as chief of the Ovambanderu.[155] According to Diehl he was a "modernist", who did not judge the church according to its holy message but rather to which extent it served politically and economically the people and the spiritual advancement – and had reached the conclusion that the Rhenish Mission had failed to achieve such goal. Diehl summed up the de-

[152] Wagner, *Ethnic Survey*, 239.
[153] *Ibid*., 245. On the history of the AMEC, established by Markus Witbooi in Gibeon, see K. Schlosser, *Eingeborenenkirchen in Süd- und Südwestafrika*. Kiel: Mühlau 1958, 71-124.
[154] Wagner, *Ethnic Survey*, 241.
[155] Plural of Mbanderu. Like Ovaherero and Herero, the prefix is not always applied when applicable.

clared politics as intention towards unification of the "non-white" population with the aim to fight for the equality with the Whites.[156] He compared the location with a scared up swarm of bees, since at this time chief Hosea Kutako was there waiting to be admitted to the United Nations.[157] Diehl reports a conversation with Kutako, in which the Herero chief maintains that the missionary should not be surprised that the herd is dispersing. The bond of love, which still existed between the old missionaries and the Herero was torn apart and other people stand now between them. Rather revealingly so, Diehl adds the insight that one should honestly admit that indeed in many cases "the other white" has stepped between the missionary and the "native", who is allowed to prevent that the full love and attention is devoted to the "native".[158] He summarised the political slogans as unification of the "non-white" population with the aim to fight for equality.[159]

What has been termed "prophetic memory"[160], finally also motivated after years of simmering discontent a break away church among the Herero, when pastor Reinhard Ruzoro (Ruzo) and the elder Siegfried Tjitemisa established a church of their own just a few years later, with the support of chief Hosea Kutako. Ruzo and Tjitemisa informed missionary Diehl ahead of a Sunday sermon in late August 1955 of the decision which had already been taken the year before in the Aminuis reserve.[161] Their request to use the same church for their services was rejected. The new congregation was officially called "The African Church of Evangelists" but was known mainly as "Oruuano" (meaning community), also referred to as "Ongerki jaRuzo" (church of Ruzo). It soon played a political role.[162] With the formation of the Oruuano church, the (re-)election of Advisory Board members became a politically more controversial matter. As reported by missionary Diehl in his annual account for 1957, the long-serving board member Mungunda faced the challenge of the Oruuano community because he had remained affiliated to the "White church". He was subsequently voted out and replaced by a young man who was elected as the candidate on behalf of the Oruuano congregation.[163] Diehl followed with concern the Oruuano church emerging as a tool for political mobilisa-

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[156] AVEM, RMG 2.533 d C/h 50 d Band 4, 1946-1967, Bl. 0150: Jahresbericht 1952 über die Arbeit in der Herero-Ovambogemeinde in Windhoek, H.-K. Diehl Mitte Februar 1953, p. 1..

[157] *Ibid*., p. 2/Bl. 0151.

[158] Kutako to Diehl: "Wunderst du dich, dass deine Herde auseinanderläuft? Was bindet denn die Menschen zusammen? Ist es nicht das Band der Liebe? Wo ist es? Bei den alten Missionaren war es noch da zwischen ihnen und uns; heute ist es zerrissen, es sind andere Menschen zwischen euch und uns getreten!" Diehl adds: "dass zwischen den Missionar und den Eingeborenen heute der andere Weisse getreten ist, durch den wir uns hindern lassen, dem Eingeborenen unsere ganze Liebe und Aufmerksamkeit zu schenken, - was, wir müssen es uns ganz ehrlich zugestehen, tatsächlich vielfach der Fall geworden ist." *Ibid*.

[159] AVEM, RMG 2.533 d C/h 50 d Band 4, 1946–1967, Bl. 0150: Jahresbericht 1952 über die Arbeit in der Herero-Ovambogemeinde in Windhoek, H.-K. Diehl Mitte Februar 1953, 1.

[160] See in particular F. Krautwald, *'The Past Will Set Us Free: Prophetic Memory in Twentieth-Century Herero Religious Thought'*, in *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 56,3 (2023), 400-404.

[161] AVEM, RMG 2.533 d C/h 50 d Band 4, 1946–1967, Bl. 0101: Jahresbericht 1955 über die Arbeit in der Herero-Ovambogemeinde in Windhoek, H.-K. Diehl, Ende Februar 1956, p. 1.

[162] See especially T. Sundermeier, *Wir aber suchten Gemeinschaft. Kirchwerdung und Kirchentrennung in Südwestafrika*. Erlangen: Luther Verlag; Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission Witten 1973, 85-203.

[163] AVEM, RMG 2.533 d C/h 50 d Band 4, 1946–1967, Bl. 0081: Jahresbericht 1957 über die Arbeit in der Herero-Ovambogemeinde Windhoek, Stationsmissionar H. K. Diehl, Ende Februar 1958, p. 4..

tion. He blamed them for agitation against the relocation to Katutura and accused them of "terrorising the remaining mass".[164] In his annual report for 1957 he identified alcohol and Oruuano as the biggest obstacles.[165] From confident information received by a female local contact person, he gathered that the minds of her people would find no peace over questions concerning the cohabitation of peoples and races.[166]

However, simmering tensions seemed not to openly disturb the rather relaxed interaction among members of the various congregations. On 18 May 1958 the Rhenish mission's Herero and Ovambo congregation celebrated their 50th anniversary. The event was described in a surprisingly unprejudiced way by one of the missionaries. According to him, some 700 to 800 people gathered at a beautifully situated height, from which they soon might have to wield because of the white "housing plans" and an interfering, far reaching moving of the location.[167] As the observer further recorded, numerous Nama had joined the Ovambo, which according to him one could not have taken for granted. The trombone choir of the Nama congregation, which also had Herero members and in total nine teachers in its ranks, performed.[168]

This comparatively open-minded report was rather exceptional. Contrasting the few testimonies of social and religious life and interaction during these days with the common reports of the missionaries of the Rhenish Mission Society, one is puzzled by the discrepancies. They seem to illustrate a particular case, which testifies to the conclusion offered by the second Secretary-General of the United Nations Dag Hammarskjöld in a lecture he delivered at the University of Lund in Sweden, on "Asia, Africa, and the West". On that occasion, parallel in time, he commented on the Western perspectives of the early 20th century about the colonized people. Hammarskjöld found it striking "how much they did *no*t see and did *not* hear, and how even their most positive attempts at entering into a world of different thoughts and emotions were colored by an unthinking, self-assured superiority."[169]

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[164] "Die Oruuano wird hier in Windhoek immer mehr zu einem politischen Instrument der Herero. (...) Aus dieser Gruppe ... kommt auch die scharfe Agitation gegen die Verlegung der Werft und der Aufruf zur Weigerung, dorthin zu ziehen. Die uebrige Masse wird von ihnen terrorisiert." AVEM, RMG 2.533 d C/h 50 d Band 4, 1946–1967, Bl. 0063: Stationsmissionar H. K. Diehl, Windhoek, 5. Mai 1959, Jahresbericht 1958 ueber die Arbeit in der Herero-Ovambogemeinde Windhoek, 2..

[165] AVEM, RMG 2.533 d C/h 50 d Band 4, 1946–1967, Bl. 0082: Jahresbericht 1957 über die Arbeit in der Herero-Ovambogemeinde Windhoek, Stationsmissionar H. K. Diehl, Ende Februar 1958, p. 5.

[166] *Ibid.* ("dass die Gemüter ihres Volkes nicht zur Ruhe kommen über den Fragen, die aus dem Zusammenleben der Völker und Rassen erwachsen.")

[167] Nicht sterben, sondern leben! Bericht vom 50 Jahr-Jubiläum der Herero=u. Ovambogemeinde Windhoek (undated, 1958), signed W. (Wienecke?), 3. AVEM, RMG 2.591 C/i 11, Bl. 0051. In the original: "Es werden 700 – 800 Menschen sein, die sich hier auf der schön gelegenen Höhe, von der die Eingeborenen vor dem Andrang der weißen „Wohnbauplanung" und einer eingreifenden und weitgreifenden Werftverlegung bald weichen sollen eingefunden haben."

[168] *Ibid.* ("unter den vielen Ovambo sieht man auch zahlreiche Nama. Wahrlich, keine Selbstverständlichkeit! Wie schön, dass der Posaunenchor der Namagemeinde, dem auch Herero – und im ganzen 9 Lehrer! - zugehören, auch hier sein ausgezeichnetes frisches Spiel hören läßt.")

[169] D. Hammarskjöld, *'Asia, Africa, and the West'*, Address Before the Academic Association of the University of Lund, Lund, Sweden, 4 May 1959 (UN Press Release SG/813, 4 May 1959), in A. W. Cordier, and W. Foote (eds), *Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations. Volume IV: Dag Hammarskjöld 1958-1960*. New York and London: Columbia University Press 1974, 382 (original emphasis).

Township Plans

Despite earlier, pre-World War II discussions, no shifting of the position of the location received much attention until the Natives (Urban Areas) Proclamation No. 56 (1951) introduced stricter control measures of movement and physical separation. Such an approach to urban living precluded Africans "being urban, and the black population was prevented from developing and spatialising an urban identity".[170] This policy was prompted by the coming to power of the pro-apartheid National Party in South Africa in 1948. It "increasingly legislated and restricted black urban residents (while promoting white immigration), using pass systems based on employment, curfews, and repatriation to the rural homelands".[171]

In 1952, a memorandum by the Windhoek Municipality observed that the Main Location was in the way of a further expansion of the white city, and presented "a very serious problem in the future development of the town".[172] Described as "depressing" and "nauseating", it tellingly asserts, that "the Windhoek location as it stands is a menace not only to the health of its inhabitants but inevitably also to the European community of Windhoek".[173] At the last meeting of the year's Advisory Board (19 November 1952) the visiting mayor of Windhoek for the first time mentioned that plans for moving the location were being considered. At a meeting on 15 July 1953, it was demanded that there should be a final decision on the future of the location. As it was argued, people had been asking for 25 years and had been told to wait but they were keen to invest in the improvement of their houses.[174]

Generally, the officials of the Windhoek municipality and those in charge over "native affairs" seemed to follow official directives in implementing South Africa's policy of segregation and apartheid. But the case of the Rhenish Mission school for children from the Location offers an example that not every civil servant in the white administration was an obedient implementer of apartheid. The school operated in the vicinity of the mission church, which was frequented on Sundays by the location residents for sermons. It was situated opposite of the "Höhere Privatschule" (HPS - the German Higher Private School) at Church Street in the "white" part of town. Because of this "irregularity" the Magistrate enquired on 22 August 1953 with the Town Clerk about the nature of the school. He was particularly interested in knowing if "native children" had to walk through the

[170] S. Roland, Q. Stevens and K. Simon, *"Segregation and Memory: Windhoek's Spatial Evolution as the Captial of Namibia"*, in K. Hislop and H. Lewi (eds), *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians Australia and New Zealand: 37, What If? What Next? Speculations on History's Futures*. Perth: SAHANZ 2021, 243.
[171] S. Roland, Q. Stevens and K. Simon, *'"The Uncanny Capital": Mapping the Historical Spatial Evolution of Windhoek'*, Urban Forum published online 4 February 2023, 13. DOI:10.1007/s12132-023-09484-0.
[172] NAN, Municipality of Windhoek, Outline Development Plan, 1952, quoted in J. C. Obert, *'Architectural Space in Windhoek, Namibia: Fortification, Monumentalization, Subversion'*, Postmodern Culture (online), 26, 1 (2015), 6.
[173] *Ibid*. (Obert's emphasis).
[174] This and the following are from documents in NAN/MWI 65/3, vol. I, unpaginated.

white town and if this caused disturbances. It required a reminder from the Magistrate's Office before the Town Clerk sent an enquiry to the Town Engineer, who on 21 September 1953 elaborated that the Rhenish Mission had rented the building from the Administration "since many years". As the engineer claimed:

> The Native school, which is only separated by the width of the street from the Hoehere Privatschule, is very disturbing to the latter. Throwing of stones and cursing between the natives and the white scholars are and will always be inevitable.

Despite this information, the Town Clerk P. J. Conradie reported on 22 September 1953 to the Magistrate's Office that learners did walk through the white area to get to the school, but that so far, no complaints had been received.[175]

At the meeting held on 17 March 1954, F.K. Weigmann from the Windhoek Town Council informed the members of the Advisory Board, on behalf of the city's mayor, that:

> ... a Commission has been sent to the Union to investigate Non-European Housing so that when it is decided where the Location is to be rebuild a scheme would be available to start with. ... Different types of houses are being considered and will be built, so that one day when it is completed, it would not look like a Location, but like a decent Township.[176]

In a report by the Windhoek architect F. C. Meyer, submitted to the Municipality in 1954, the anticipated implementation of South African apartheid structures in terms of urban planning is presented in no uncertain terms:

> It is generally accepted in South Africa that all towns should be provided with two distinctly separated areas, one for Europeans and one for Non-Europeans. The latest native policy was set bout in the Senate on 20th May, 1952, by Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs. The main principle of this policy as far as it affects town planning, is the provision of two distinct areas, separated by a buffer, such as an industrial estate, and allowing for the future expansion of the two areas to take place in opposite directions.[177]

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[175] All quotes from NAN/MWI, 1919-1961. Native Affairs/Native Advisory Board, File no. 65/1, volume no. I (storage unit 2/1/281, file no. 6/5/3). It can be assumed that Mister Conradie thereby prevented the closure of the school, which was operational until the Old Location was finally closed. As a student at the German Higher Private School (HPS) from September 1967, I still had a view from the window of our classroom to the school on the other side of Church Street. I do not recall any conflicts, but rather remember a "peaceful co-existence" – if only out of sheer disinterest in mingling.

[176] Minutes of the monthly meeting of the Non-European Advisory Board, held in the Office of the Superintendent of Locations, 17 March 1954, 3.

[177] Undated, unpaginated and untitled typescript (originally in the possession of the late Helmut Finkeldey), Stadtplanung durch Arch. F. C. Meyer 1954/53 (handwritten heading), deposited in the archive of the Namibia Scientific Society in Windhoek, registered as 711 Mey, W8885, I: 07220, kindly shared by Gunther von Schumann.

In his annual report of the Non-European Advisory Board for 1954, presented to the Windhoek municipality on 8 March 1955, Chairman P.A. de Wet reported that the shift of the location was now definitively approved, and that the Town Council had already instructed the town planners to plan the new residential area.[178] The final decision to relocate the inhabitants of the Old Location to a new township was brought before the Advisory Board at a meeting held on 16 March 1955. Councillor A.S. Mungunda said that they were not against the relocation of the location but that the future location should be proclaimed as a permanent place for the people as they would like to own their houses and to add improvements, and therefore would like to have the assurance that these would be permanent homes. In response, Mr Eedes, the representative of the Native Commissioner, pointed to the fact that a location would not be proclaimed. The municipality was only obliged upon request of the administration to provide ground for "non-Whites" to live there. But the ground remained the property of the municipality, though if urgently required for the development of the town it could be re-possessed while another location would be allocated for the "non-Whites" to live. He then stated that this was the difference between a location and a reserve, and the latter could only be taken away again upon a decision of the Union Parliament. However, Chairman P.A. de Wet intervened saying that according to his information certain municipalities in the Union had proclaimed locations. He also assured the members of the Advisory Board that there was no reason to worry, since the future location would be built with permanent houses at a major cost. The money for the construction costs would have to be paid back over a 50-year timespan. It would therefore be very uneconomic to assume that the location would be shifted again after 50 years.

At the Advisory Board meeting on 20 July 1955, Assistant Native Commissioner Warner read an (undated) message from the South African Minister of Native Affairs for "the natives" in South West Africa, in which he explained that since 1 April 1955 the administration for Native Affairs in the territory had been transferred to his ministry in the Union of South Africa. He informed them that the one "who always was your father, i.e. the administrator in Windhoek" would remain acting in his (Warner's) name. The message went on to say, that in future SWA would benefit from the "plans tested in the Union [of South Africa] and approved for the natives there, who were pleased about these, and which will help you [the "natives" in SWA] too".[179] This confirmed the municipality's plans to replicate the new township in Windhoek along the same lines as townships in South Africa.

On 20 March 1956, Windhoek's Town Clerk Conradie informed the main Bantu Commissioner that the Municipal Council had registered "with satisfaction" the letter of 1 February 1956 informing them that the Hon. Minister for Native Affairs had endorsed the plans for the establishment of a new location situated approximately seven kilometres to the north of Windhoek's central business dis-

[178] NAN/MWI 65/3, vol. 1, unpaginated.
[179] NAN/MWI 65/3, vol. 1, unpaginated.

trict. The area demarcated for the new settlement was duly proclaimed officially, along with provisions for the construction of a new Ovambo compound for the contract workers. The plans also included a five kilometre buffer zone, which made provision for the construction of a new hospital at the margin of the location to serve all "natives" resident in the whole country. It was also assumed that this new hospital would be coordinated with the state hospital for Whites.[180]

The Name Katutura

A flurry of events led to the adoption of a name for the new location. It began on 9 May 1957 when the Advisory Board submitted a name proposal for the new location. The name suggested by the Board was Katutura Township, which according to the superintendent of the location meant 'Something we have long waited for'.[181] Another proposal was to name it after Superintendent de Wet in recognition of his efforts.[182] However, de Wet indicated that he was satisfied with the name put forward by the Advisory Board. On 20 May 1957 the Town Council adopted the recommendation to name the new location Katutura Township.[183] On 17 October 1957, the commissioner informed the town clerk of Windhoek that the Minister for Native Affairs had officially endorsed the plans for the new location.[184] But its name remained a matter of further debate. On 28 October 1958 the Town Council discussed the name again because the mayor made it known that

> ... he had spoken to numerous leading natives who had given the assurance that they had no objections to moving to the new location. It had also been ascertained from members of the Native Advisory Board that "Katutura" means "at last we have a permanent residence".[185]

On 30 October 1958 Councillor Dr Max Weiss expressed doubts about the new name and said that there were reports about disturbances concerning the planned resettlement.[186] According to Weiss, the superintendent was now of the opinion, that Katutura really means: "We have no permanent home".[187] He went on to argue: "Considering the present situation of SWA and all the discussions and investigations going on in the UNO etc which certainly do not [do] justice to the facts, we have to be very careful and must avoid [any] hostile misinterpretation".[188] On 6 November 1958 Weiss recommended that the new township should be re-named more appropriately than the current sug-

[180] NAN/MWI 48/2, vol. 1, unpaginated.
[181] *Ibid.*
[182] *Ibid.*
[183] *Ibid.*
[184] *Ibid.*
[185] NAN/MWI 48/2, vol. 1, Council Minutes, 28 October 1958, agenda item 422. New 'Katutura' Native Location.
[186] *Ibid.*
[187] *Ibid.*
[188] *Ibid.*

gestion of Katutura.[189] This appeal fell on deaf ears. It seems that the meaning of Katutura was indeed (mis)understood as a positive term rather than deliberately meaning the opposite of the initial translation. Instead of acquiescing to the re-location of the township, there was talk of a different interpretation among the residents and their representatives, one that indicated anticolonial resistance on the part of local communities. Was the choice of the name designed to mislead, if not to fool the coloniser? According to a short online History of Old Location and Katutura, "Councillors Alfred Mungunda and Joshua Kamberipa called the township Katutura, which means: 'We do not have a permanent habitation'".[190] The Otjiherero name has also been translated into several similar variations, with the same meaning.[191] Since then, the name of Katutura is anchored in public knowledge as a subversive form of protest and subversion.

First Relocations and Protest

It was envisioned that all Africans living in the Windhoek locations would be relocated to Katutura, and that they would commute daily to their places of employment. It was conceded that the relocation of people created an economic problem because of the higher bus fares and the rent payable for housing in Katutura.[192] The upgrading of infrastructure was, however, considered as a more decisive pull factor than the resistance to the move.[193] In the racist perspectives of the day, it was argued that the new settlement was arranged according to "European patterns". It had streets, canalisation, flush latrines, electrical light and more, all of which were considered "unnecessary" luxuries if the "developmental level of the primitive human" be taken into consideration.[194] In such view, therefore, the municipality was providing amenities that in the racist perspective of the day were viewed as far beyond the standard of living accustomed to by black Namibians, and thus "unnecessary". According to a note from the Windhoek Municipality, dated 26 June 1959, it was anticipated that a portion of the population living in the Location would be relocated to Katutura by mid-1960, whereafter "the remainder will be shifted with intervals of 6 months over a period of 3-4 years".[195]

But resistance mounted. As John Ya-Otto, then a young teacher who came to a Herero school in the location in April 1959, had in his biography the following to report on a conversation with the parents of one of his students:

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[189] *Ibid*.
[190] *'History of Old Location and Katutura'*, Namibweb (undated). https://www.namibweb.com/hiskat.htm
[191] Such as "The place where people do not want to live", "A place where we will never feel settled", and "We have no permanent abode".
[192] Mossolow, *'Eingeborene in Windhoek'*, 439. Rent increases were between 2/6 and 3/6 to £2 and in some cases the distance to town meant paying bus fares. Workplaces were no longer in walking distance.
[193] *Ibid*.
[194] "Die neue Siedlung ist nach europäischem Muster angelegt, hat Straßen, Kanalisation, Wasserspül-Latrinen, elektrisches Licht und manches sonst, was der primitive Mensch auf seiner Entwicklungsstufe für unnötig hält", *Ibid*., 439-440.
[195] NAN/MWI 48/2, vol. 2, unpaginated.

> The houses in Katutura may be newer and nicer than this, ... but how much rent will we have to pay the Boers? And the bus fare to work is expensive. If we can't pay, we'll be kicked out and deported to some reserve ... These were arguments I came to hear again and again as I visited my students' homes. The most precious aspect of Old Location life was the lack of government presence. Here the people found a reprieve from the Boers' efforts to implement their apartheid state. But in Katutura every man, woman and child would be registered with the Native Commissioner, who, for the smallest problem, could revoke a person's residence permit. No permit meant no job; and deportation to the distant native reserves would be the next step. There would be nowhere to hide in the new township. ... every aspect of our lives would be open to government scrutiny.[196]

On 9 September 1959, the head of the municipal Native Affairs Department submitted a proposal based on an initiative taken by the Advisory Board in July 1959 to visit locations in South Africa to familiarise themselves with housing schemes there. He argued that considering the agitation among the "local natives" regarding the transfer to Katutura such a delegation of the location headed by a white official and composed of the different ethnic groups be sent to the Rand on a study tour. This was accepted by the Municipal Council on 21 September 1959.[197]

In the meantime, resistance had mounted, not least among the Location's female residents, who organised a first protest march in September 1959 to resist being moved.

> This powerful initiative by Namibian women has not been fully researched. Without doubt the harassment of beer brewers by the police was one of their grievances. They reached the corner of Bismarck Street and Gammams Road (today Sam Nujoma Drive) where the police stopped them with lorries and guns, and used teargas on the marchers, many of whom had their children with them. One informant confirmed that 20 containers of teargas were afterwards counted. It is interesting that all evidence of this protest march seems to have been successfully supressed. None of the several alert journalists at the time reported it – or was given a chance to report it – and there do not seem to be other records.[198]

On 24 November 1959 the council discussed the growing unwillingness of people residing at the location to resettle to Katutura. During the meeting it was reported that a new political organisation,

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[196] Ya-Otto, *Battlefront Namibia*, 44.
[197] NAN/MWI 48/2, unpaginated.
[198] Jafta, *An Investigation*, 26. There are no names of any female organisers or activists during the protest between September and December on record.

similar to the South African-based African National Congress (ANC), had been founded.[199] It was also strongly recommended that an information campaign should be carried out to overcome the influence of this new political organisation.

The council also noted that the "Coloured" and Rehoboth Baster communities, for whom a separate location was being constructed, were influenced by the Herero not to relocate to their planned new township, Khomasdal.[200] The council thus felt that its construction ought to be accelerated.[201] The move further entrenched the spatial relocation and racial segregation and it divided the communities. While many of those to be relocated to Khomasdal rejected such separation from the other African residents, some argued that this would enhance their prospect as "in-betweeners".[202] As a result of the move, a new divisive identity formation influenced the re-positioning of the so-called coloured communities. As reported at the end of 1959:

> ... the Coloured people as a whole have not seen eye to eye with the Africans. Coloureds have for years been promised a separate township of their own, where they will be granted ownership rights on the same basis as the Europeans. According to the Mayor, a start will be made with this new location next year (1960).[203]

A member of the Advisory Board since 1941, Gotthard Yoshua Kamberipa supported the relocation to Katutura and blamed the people who had decided to join the political campaign opposing the move. He continued to collaborate with the administration. Together with a few others he moved voluntarily to Katutura at the end of 1959, but the residents at large were angry about this. Out of frustration, his old house was burnt down by angry residents, who refused to relocate. In an interview conducted as late as December 1978, Kamberipa stated that those who were against the relocation refused to talk to him at a meeting in Katutura. He was convinced that the relocation to Katutura would be a positive experience and bring progress for the people. He pointed out that there were entertainment facilities (dancing floors and cinemas) and that a well-equipped state hospital was being built. He continued to serve as a councillor.[204]

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[199] In April 1959, the Ovambo contract workers under the leadership of Sam Nujoma formed the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO) as a political organisation. In May 1959 Herero formed the South West Africa National Union (SWANU). As of September, the SWANU leadership was extended by including Sam Nujoma and other OPO leaders into its executive, thereby turning SWANU into the first national movement. After the shooting in December 1959, the issue of armed resistance as a last resort led to the formation of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) in April 1960 as a successor to OPO. For the organisational developments at the time, see R. Gibson, African Liberation Movements: Contemporary Struggles Against White Minority Rule. London: Oxford University Press 1972, 120ff.; T. Emmett, Popular Resistance and the Roots of Nationalism in Namibia, 1915-1966. Basel: P. Schlettwein Publishing 1999, chapters 11 and 12.

[200] NAN/MWI 48/2, vol. 2, unpaginated, Council Agenda, 24 November 1959, agenda item 492.

[201] *Ibid*.

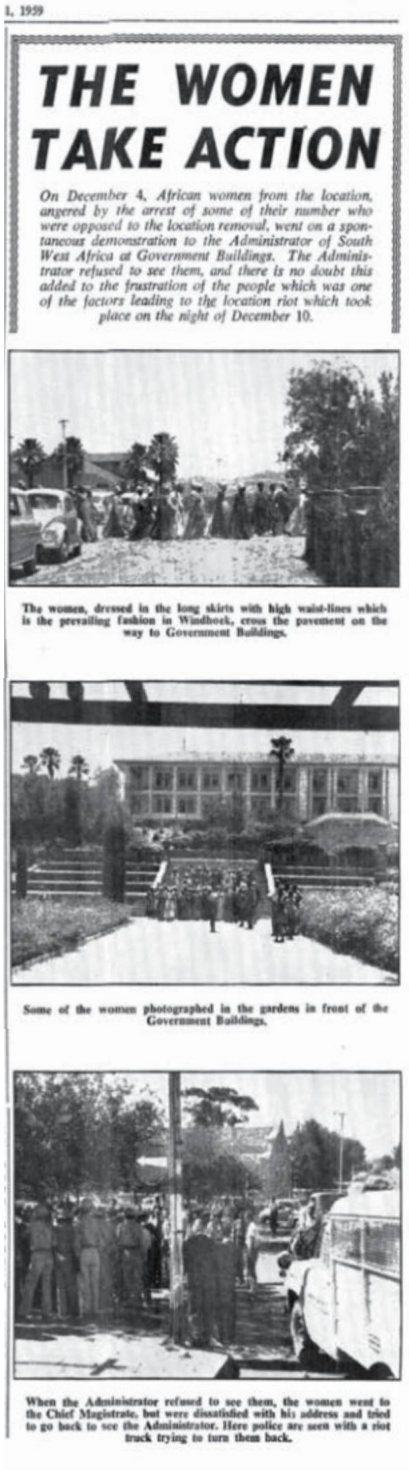
[202] J. M. Betts, *Namibia's No Man's Land: Race, Space and Identity in the History of Windhoek Coloureds under South African Rule, 1915-1990*. PhD thesis, University of California 2010.

[203] B. Bunting, *'Windhoek Coloureds Want Their Freedom'*, *New Age*, vol. 6, no. 11, 31 December 1959.

[204] All information in G. Y. Kamberipa, *'Tätigkeit als Kommunalpolitiker'*, in *Was Herero erzählten und sangen. Texte, Übersetzung, Kommentar*. Edited by E. Dammann. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer 1987, 316-320. As Dammann notes (ft. 27, 320) at the time of the interview Kamberipa was very isolated politically.

The lack of authority and legitimacy the board members had among the residents became increasingly obvious prior to the open resistance to the forced removal. Aware of this, board members now insisted that they had never abandoned the claim to remain in the Old Location but that the municipality did not listen to their objections. The internal dynamics at play can be traced in the stance taken by the members of the Advisory Board since 1956. Becoming aware that the new location was much further away from the Old Location than originally anticipated, their suggestion to call it Katutura signified a largely shared, united protest voicing the rejection of most residents.[205] Their initial opposition gained further momentum with the role of the new political organisations OPO and SWANU and the Herero Chiefs Council. It culminated in a public "key meeting which shaped this transition from protest to politicised resistance".[206] Called between the Windhoek Town Council and the Advisory Board, it took place on 29 October 1959 next to the Sybil Bowker Hall with about 3,000 residents in attendance.

The meeting lasted for more than three and a half hours, and a slightly "sanitized" official record is available.[207] Chaired by A. J. Potgieter, a number of local dignitaries were in attendance, including Mayor Snyman, Magistrate Hager, Commissioner Blignaut, the Administrator for non-White Affairs De Wet, and several other high-ranking white officials. They all attempted in a concerted effort to explain to the public the need for the removal to Katutura. In their introductions, Chairman Potgieter and the location manager stressed that all the necessary decisions concerning the relocation had been taken care of. It had to accommodate the growing number of residents and their hygienic conditions were also being organised in cooperation with the Advisory Board which had endorsed everything. The chairman quoted from the minutes of 16 June 1954, 8 April 1956, 17 April 1957, 25 September 1957 and 18 October 1957, which all recorded discussions suggesting that the members of the Advisory Board did not object in principle to the relocation. Board members Kapuuo, Tjieuza, Kamberipa and Gariseb objected to this interpretation. According to them, the idea for the relocation came from the Windhoek Municipal administrators who were under pressure from the Union government while the Town Council preferred to improve on and expand the


1, 1959

THE WOMEN TAKE ACTION

On December 4, African women from the location, angered by the arrest of some of their number who were opposed to the location removal, went on a spontaneous demonstration to the Administrator of South West Africa at Government Buildings. The Administrator refused to see them, and there is no doubt this added to the frustration of the people which was one of the factors leading to the location riot which took place on the night of December 10.

The women, dressed in the long skirts with high waist-lines which is the prevailing fashion in Windhoek, cross the pavement on the way to Government Buildings.

Some of the women photographed in the gardens in front of the Government Buildings.

When the Administrator refused to see them, the women went to the Chief Magistrate, but were dissatisfied with his address and tried to go back to see the Administrator. Here police are seen with a riot truck trying to turn them back.

[205] This is well documented in Jafta, *An investigation.*
[206] *Ibid*, 26.
[207] All information following here is from the official record in BAB, , Private Archive PA.48 of Tony Emmett, Notule (Minutes) van n' algemene vergadering van die nie-blanke bevolking in die Windhoek lokasie gehou op Donderdag 29 Oktober 1959. Signed by A.J. Potgieter, chairman (mimeographed, undated, Windhoek), complemented by quotes from Jafta, *An Investigation*.

area of the Old Location. They claimed that it was the municipality that tried to impose its plans on residents to establish a new township outside Windhoek. The council's proposal to name it Katutura, they claimed, indicated their resistance to the move. Following the councillors' efforts to distance themselves from the decision, six representatives speaking on behalf of the different ethnic groups (Herero, Ovambo, Damara) were allowed to voice their views. They all dismissed the proposal as a planned move to implement the South African apartheid laws for physical separation of the Black majority from the areas reserved for Whites, and stressed that these laws should not be applicable to South West Africa as a mandated territory.

> Nathanael Mbaeva said: "This apartheid that you are coming here to impose, you are trying to impose on a place that does not belong to you. Do you not know that this place belongs to us and to us alone? We are people who are in our own land, and it is not necessary for us to go to another place. We will not condone apartheid. If we move to Katutura, we are condoning apartheid." Mr Emanuel S. Vetira closed his statement with the words: "We will not move."[208]

According to Rosina Boois in attendance of the meeting, Chief Hosea Kutako added: "If you want to force us, you have to take our corpses [to Katutura]."[209] The chairman then concluded that the residents had had the opportunity to voice their opinions and that it was now too late. Bantu Commissioner Blignaut made the closing statement in which he stressed again that since the mid-1950s it had been decided that the location would be moved and that this was following the request made by the council members. Other speakers were now claiming to speak on behalf of the people and some of them "talked a lot but said not much and made a lot of accusations".[210] Blignaut further claimed that many people simply wanted to "talk to be heard" and others only wanted to see their names in the newspapers. The latter was a reference to readers' letters from location residents, who had voiced their frustration and protest against the planned removal in local newspapers. He added that the man who wrote about apartheid was not knowledgeable on the topic. After all, he himself represented a certain (ethnic) group, which meant that the residents lived "in apartheid" among themselves. In closing, the chairman thanked the residents for their good behaviour during the long meeting.[211]

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[208] *Ibid.*, 27f., based on Archives of the Windhoek Municipality (MWI 48/31) with no further details given.
[209] *Ibid.*, 28.
[210] BAB, PA.48, Notule.
[211] *Ibid.*

> At the close of the meeting the general feeling was one of futility and humiliation. Rosina Boois noted that Mayor Snyman's closing words, after three hours of being confronted with the people's refusal to move, were: "It was decided that you must move." It seems that this acted as a catalyst for the diverse elements which brought about the events of 10 December 1959.[212]

The minutes, which record despite the White gaze in surprising clarity the objections raised, document the openly hostile attitude of the residents to the planned removal. By dismissing all complaints and concerns as agitation by a radical minority and even ignoring the desperate efforts of the council members to save face in front of the people as a warning sign, the municipality seemingly misjudged and underestimated the determination of the people to refuse their relocation to Katutura - or maybe not. The fact that only six weeks later the tension escalated into the shootings during the late hours of 10 December[213] provokes the suspicion that the signs were indeed noted. After all, the full force of maintaining "law and order" (from the perspective of those in power) was applied when police opened fire on an unarmed crowd. This indicated that an irreversible decision was taken to enforce the relocation, even if it meant implementation by means of terror and intimidation.

As another step in this rapid escalation, the Municipality started on the morning of 4 December to evaluate the houses in the Location for partial compensation of the owners when they were forced to leave them behind.

> Advisory Board member Fritz Gariseb refused to co-operate and was assaulted by the police. A group of women came to his aid and drove them off: but they returned with reinforcements and arrested Gariseb and four of the (unnamed) women for "disturbance of public peace".[214]

This sparked another spontaneous protest march by women in the late morning of the same day. Their number given ranged from 200 (official figure) to above a thousand.

> As word of their march spread, men began to converge on it from their places of work. ... Apparently the men also organised lorries to drive some of the women as they searched for the Administrator Daan Viljoen ... to demand the release of the four women. ... The four detained women were not released.[215]

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[212] *Ibid*.
[213] For details see Jafta, *An Investigation*, 31-38; Schell, *Preserving the Culture*, 30-38.
[214] Jafta, *An Investigation*, 29.
[215] *Ibid*., 29f., based on several unnamed informants. According to the account of Kaukuetu summarised in the notes by Ferdinand Lempp, only three of the four women were arrested, while one was able to escape. She handed herself over during the afternoon.

A more detailed recapitulation of the events unfolding during the day offer unpublished notes by Ferdinand Lempp, at the time editor of the German daily newspaper *Allgemeine Zeitung*.[216] These were based partly on the account by SWANU Vice President Uatja (also Willie or Willy) Kaukuetu, at the time a leading activist and spokesperson of the protest movement. According to him, Gariseb was threatened that his non-cooperation could lead to his removal from the Advisory Board. After the scuffle, women (mainly Damara) gathered and walked to the Tintenpalast to speak to the Administrator. When he refused and left to his nearby residence (the Southwest Africa House), they followed and moved into the garden, where they occupied the veranda. When the police demanded to vacate the garden, the several hundred demonstrators left to the Magistrate's office. They gathered in the court, where Magistrate Haager met them. Kaukuetu spoke on their behalf.[217] The meeting ended peacefully but without any common understanding. The demonstrators were then transported on lorries back to the location. The four women were fined £ 3 each for swearing at the officials. The total amount of £ 12 was collected at improvised ad hoc fundraising activities (including a dance event) in the location.

Protest meetings continued on a daily basis, and

> residents had decided on 8 December on a general boycott of all municipal facilities – such as buses and municipal beer halls ... The organisation of the boycott, which became effective and wholly successful almost immediately, was carried by all the political parties including the Herero Chiefs Council. As Dr Ngavirue recalled, a bakkie fitted with loudspeakers patrolled the Location calling for support of the boycott in Oshiwambo, Otjiherero and Nama/Damara.[218]

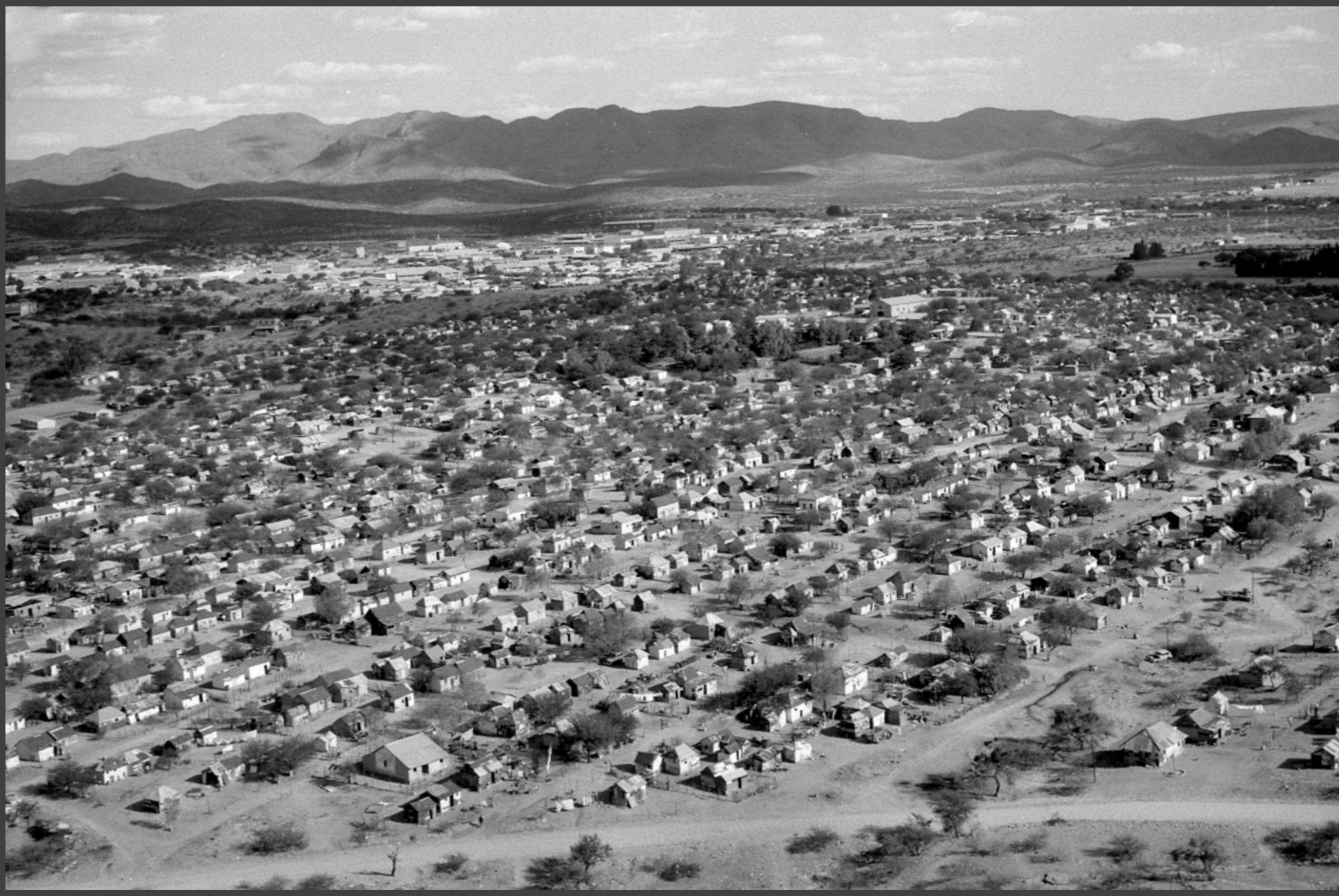
[216] Karl Ferdinand Lempp (1913-1986) was editor of the German daily *Allgemeine Zeitung* from 1950 to 1955 and 1957 to 1960. His critical approach to the repressive Apartheid policy seemingly led to the end of his employment, after some of his reports were not published. In 1960 he co-founded the short-lived oppositional South West Party together with Jacob ("Japie") Basson (more of him in the chapter on the Hall Commission). Frustrated by the dominant policies, Lempp (who also published the cultural journal *Der Kreis*) retreated into farming. In 1969 he relocated with his family to West Germany. Part of his written estate, which includes unpublished notes initially drafted for (rejected) articles in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* at the time of the protests escalating into the Windhoek shooting, were donated to and are archived at the Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Personal Archives PA. 5.

[217] When he started to speak in Afrikaans, the Magistrate rebuked him and ordered: "Praat jy in Kaffer-taal", as disclosed in the notes by Lempp, BAB, PA. 5, VI, A.2.1.: "Windhoeker Eingeborene zogen vor die Administration".

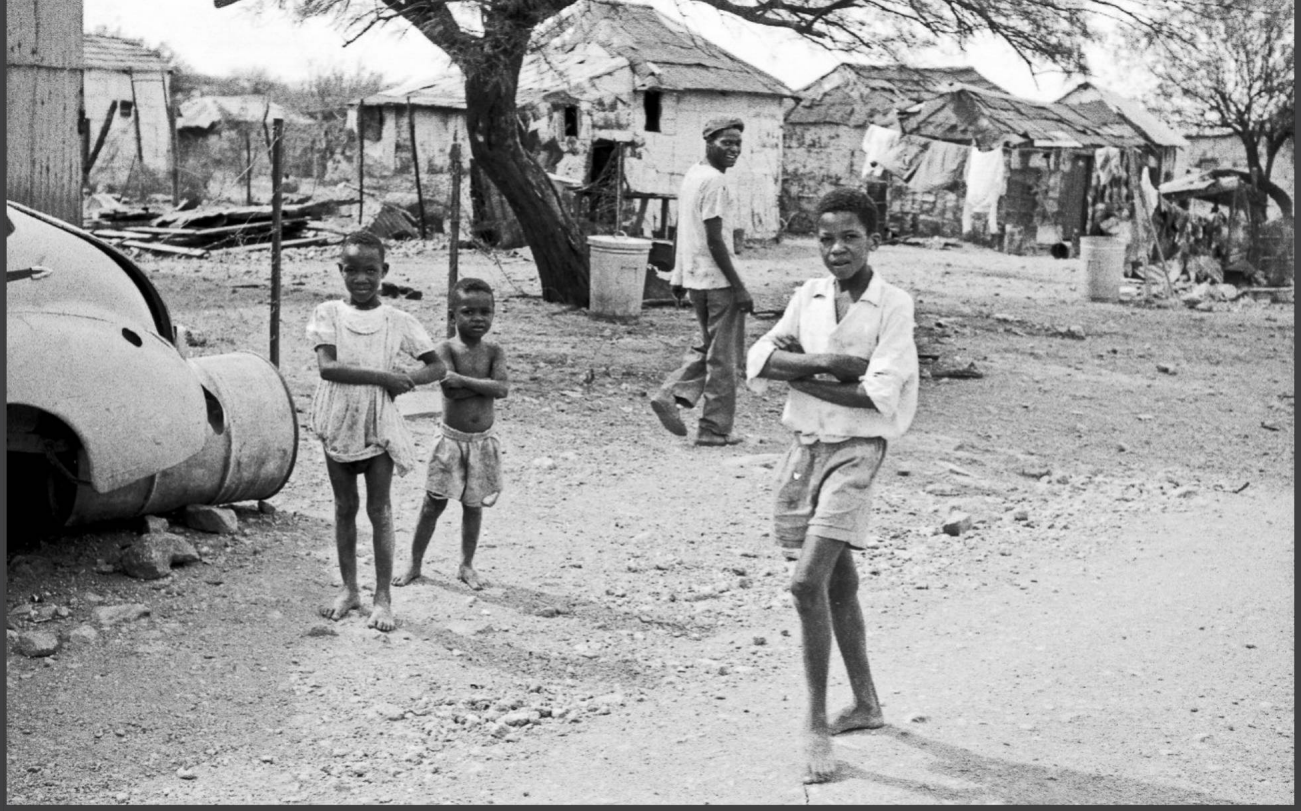
[218] Jafta, *An Investigation*, 30.

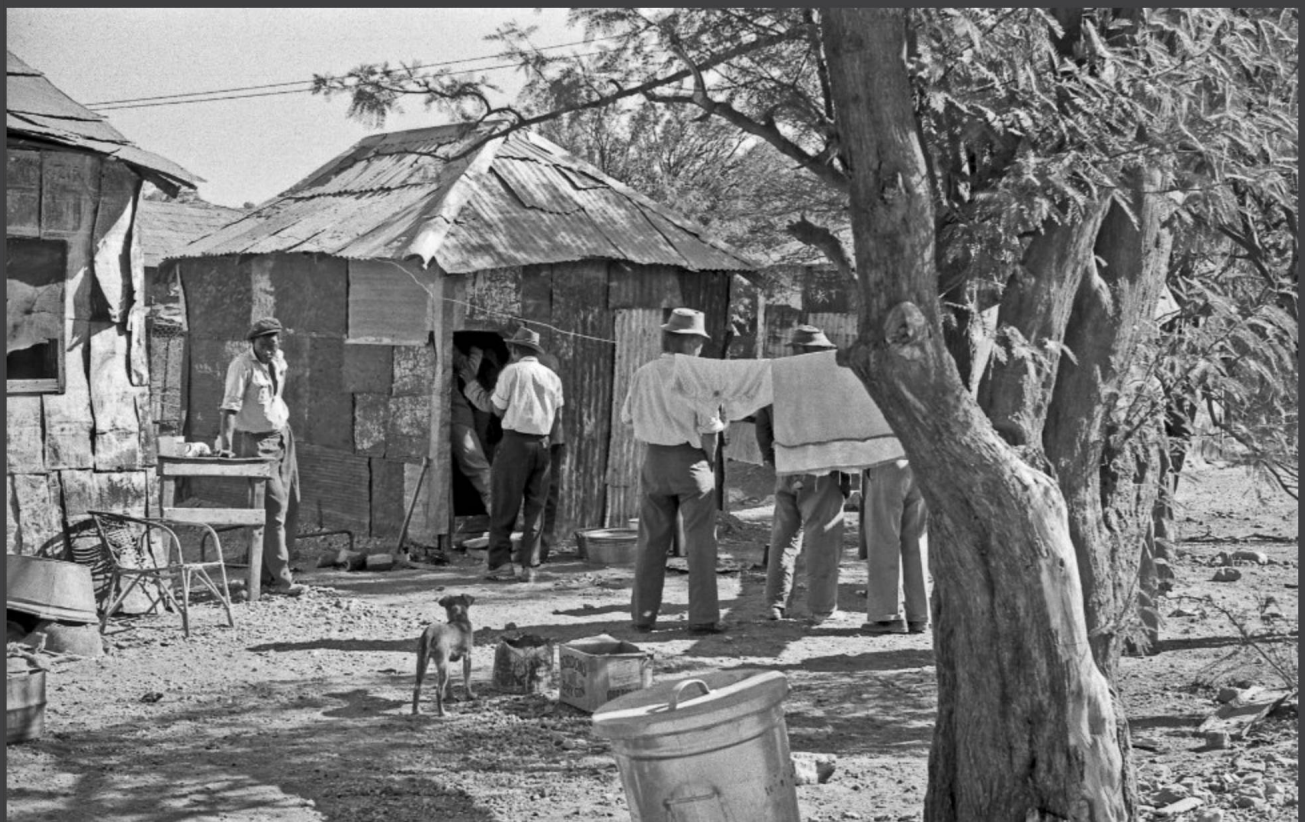
THE OLD LOCATION

Windhoek – Katutura 1959-1960[1]
Photographs by Dieter Hinrichs

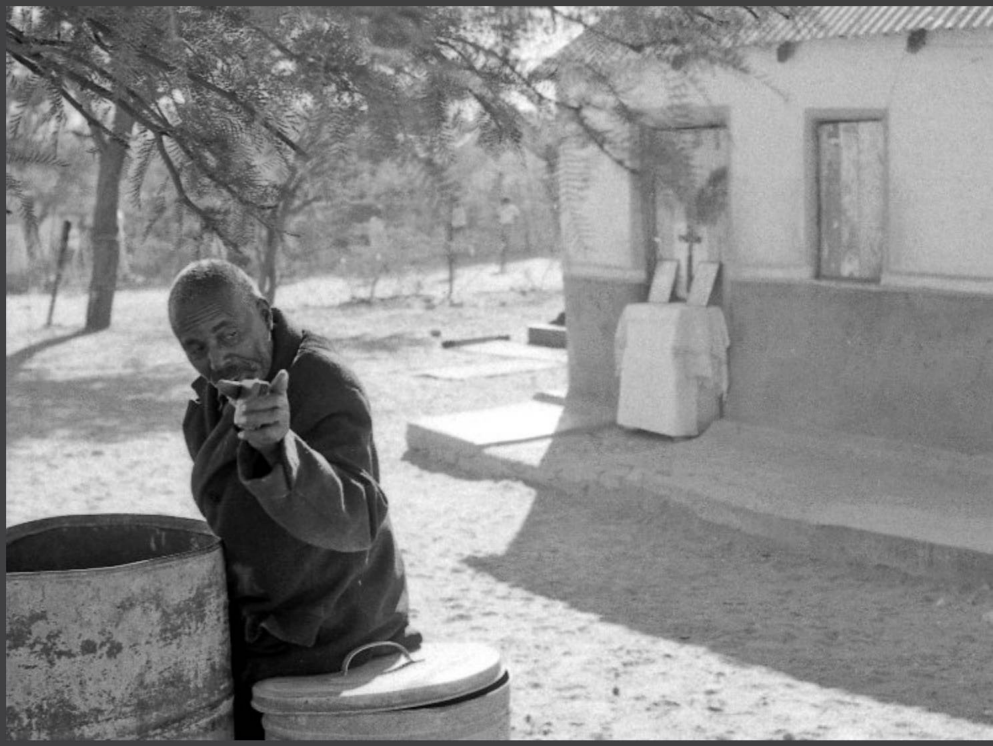


January 1960





Corpus Christi Celebrations in May 1959 at the Catholic Mission Church



In the Sybil Bowker Dance Hall with
the jazz band of “Warmgat” Mureko[2]

Andreas Johannes "Warmgat" Mureko is wearing a suit and hat, his son Benjamin ("Bosman" or "Bossie") plays the saxophone.

Coon Carnival performances in an Old Location dance hall in early January 1960[3]

Coon Carnival parade in white Windhoek[4]


WECKE & VOIGTS
& VOIGTS

Portraits of Old Location residents taken in the Nitzsche-Reiter Studio on Windhoek's former Kaiserstreet, now Independence Avenue[5]

Zedekia ("Zed") Ngavirue, the municipal social worker in the Old Location in 1959/60, with his sons Mbatjiiua (right) and Kaoronga (middle) and also Natera Tjatjitua (left), a son of an uncle of Ngavirue.

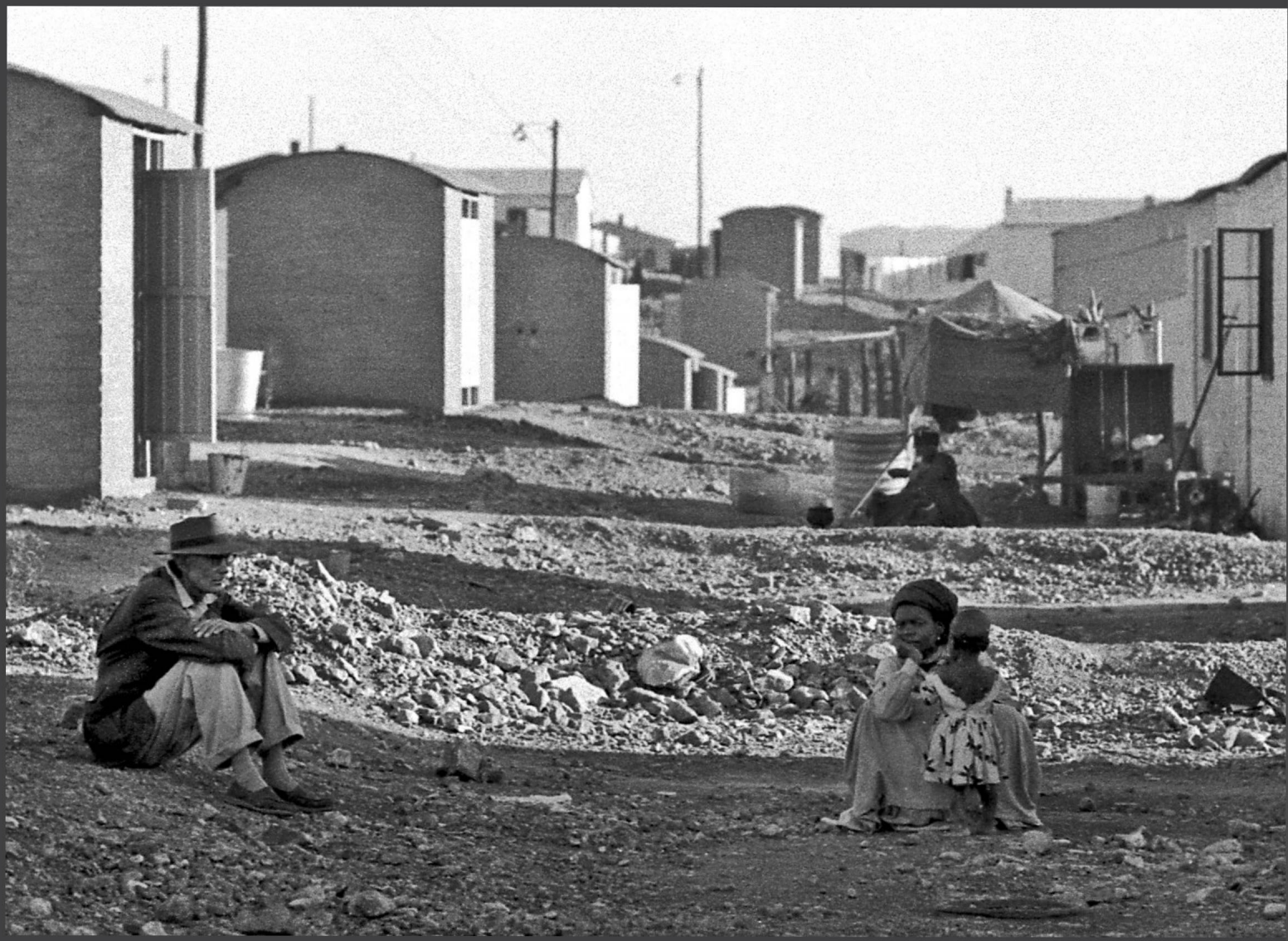
White Windhoek[6]

Adv. Israel Goldblatt

Alan Paton, South African Liberal Party president and author at a "Whites-only" reading in Windhoek in 1960.

South Africa's Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, a principal architect of apartheid, campaigning in Windhoek in 1960 in front of a "whites-only" audience for "Unity in All - All in Unity - The Republic".

Katutura 1960



Municipal transportation of Old Location and Katutura residents for work in white Windhoek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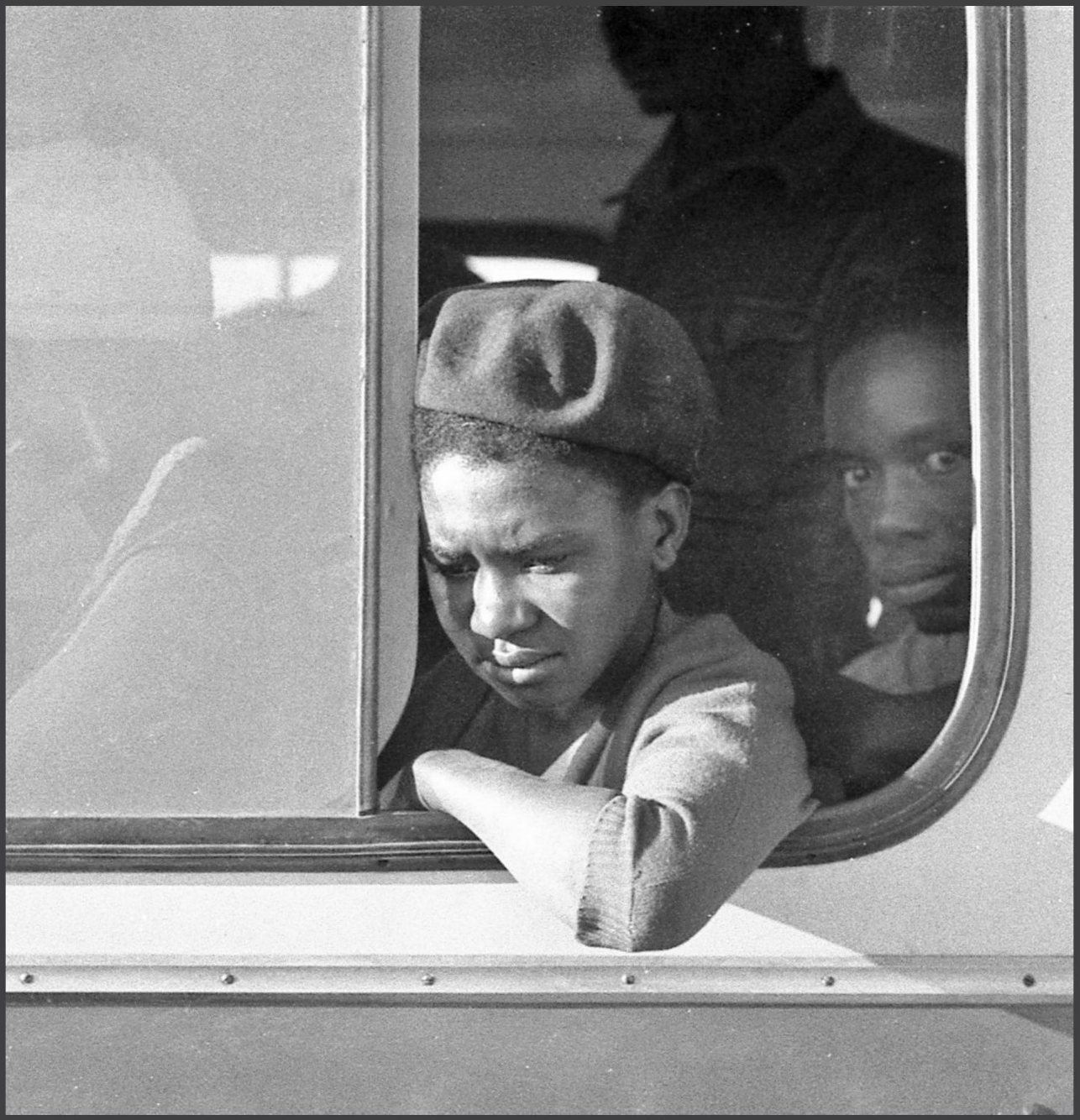

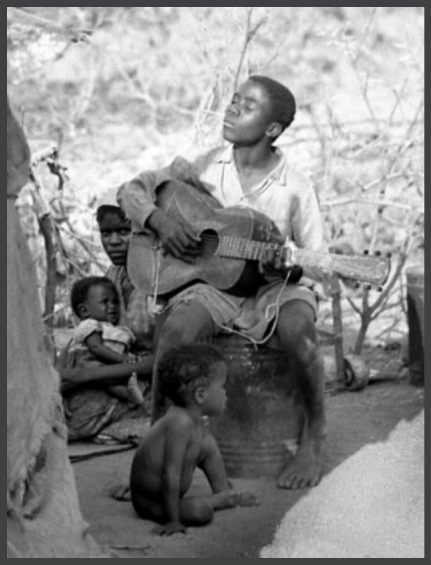

“It was, indeed, when we owned little that we were prepared to make the greatest sacrifices.”

Zedekia Ngavirue

Notes on the Photographs

Dieter Hinrich provides an account of his experiences as photographer in Windhoek in 1959/60 elsewhere in this book. His photographs bear only scant additional information. The following selection and arrangement of images was compiled by Dieter Hinrichs, Henning Melber and Dag Henrichsen. Our efforts to identify people in the images were unfortunately without much success; the few names available to us are provided in the captions in the photo section itself. We welcome any responses to the images published here!

Additional information is given below. We thank Hidipo Nangolo and Raffaele Perniola for providing information on Andreas Johannes "Warmgat" Mureko and his son Benjamin. Notemba Tjipueja and Mbatjiua Ngavirue kindly provided the names for the Ngavirue family photo.

[1] The aerial photograph of the Old Location was taken in 1959 and faces the southern direction. The following six photographs were taken in the Old Location in January 1960, thus after the 10 December 1959 shootings. One of these images depicts a petrol station with the signboard reading "Houmoed Car..." (Keep courage Car ...).

[2] Andreas Johannes "Warmgat" Mureko formed various bands in the 1950s and early 1960s. In the 1950s the South African gramophone record label Gallotone published pop music in Oshikwanyama by "(J.Mureko) Johannes "Warmgat" Mureko". In one of the images his son Benjamin is seen, playing the saxophone. He died in 1962. Another image in this series shows a band name "Aubrey Thomas and his ..." on the bass drum. See also the film "Skymaster. Township Jazz from the Old Location" (2008), produced by Hidipo Nangolo: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0IRZW3qS3_g&t=1840s

[3] The Coon Carnival (also known as "Kaapse Klopse") goes back to 19th century working class festival formations in the Cape Colony, South Africa. It was popular in Windhoek in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

[4] In one of the images in this series a placard reads "Spores Monis Stars Rock and Roll Jic".

[5] Except for the Ngavirue family photo in this series, and despite various efforts we could not identify the persons depicted in the other images.

[6] One image in this series shows the Windhoek Scherer Choir in front of the "Tintenpalast" (ink palace), today Namibia´s Parliament Building. Standing on the ladder is photographer Mr Ernsting. Another image shows children as newspaper sellers on Kaiserstreet. Another depicts a man holding horses at the Windhoek Agricultural Show. The image with South African Prime Minster Verwoerd relates to a campaign for the "Whites-only" referendum initiated by the governing National Party on the Union of South Africa becoming a republic. After the referendum in October 1960, the Republic of South Africa constituted itself in 1961, followed by the withdrawal from the Commonwealth. Advocate Israel Goldblatt represented Old Location residents and politicians at times in the colonial courts. Alan Paton´s reading in Windhoek was covered critically by Zedekia Ngavirue, one of the Old Location residents barred to attend the reading, in the Old Location newspaper South West News. The only non-racial newspaper in the territory on 23 July 1960, No 6, p. 1. Open Access to the newspaper: https://www.baslerafrika.ch/a-glance-at-our-africa/

The last two images show a guitar player on a white farm outside of Windhoek, and children, also recognisable in other images, in the Old Location.

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOUTH WEST AFRICA

NEW AGE

Vol. 6, No. 11. Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

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An On-The-Spot Investigation of the Background to the Windhoek Riots

By BRIAN BUNTING

DESPITE intimidation and intense pressure from Government and City Council officials and the police, the Africans of Windhoek location are standing firm in their opposition to the enforced removal to the new location of Katutura.

"WE WOULD RATHER DIE THAN LEAVE OUR HOMES," MANY OF THEM TOLD NEW AGE.

The boycott of the bus service, beerhall, cinema and dance hall declared by the Africans in protest against the removal scheme on December 8—two days before the riots—continues in full force, and the beerhall in the location remains closed.

In a letter to the United Nations the leading spokesmen of the Non-White people—Chief Hosea Kutako, Chief Samuel Witbooi, Sam Nujoma (President of the Ovamboland People's Organisation), and Uatja Kaukuetu (Acting President of the South West Africa National Union in the absence overseas of Mr. Kozonguizi)—express their rejection of the location removal scheme and state:

"The situation in South West Africa is critical and demands immediate action by the United Nations to remedy the situation".

NO RIGHTS

The Africans are opposed to the removal, the statement says, "because the apartheid policy is responsible for the injustices under which they live in South West Africa, such as lack of political rights, inadequate educational facilities, inadequate medical facilities, unsuccessful farming, the restriction of the movements of the Africans in the land of their birth, low wages, banishments and the removal of the Africans from their lands.

"All these injustices which have relegated the Africans to the status

(Continued on page 2)

Main street in the old Windhoek location, photographed on the day the women demonstrated to the Administrator against the arrest of some of their number who opposed the removal scheme.

The new location is only half-finished, as the Council did not intend to start the removal until June, 1960. Here (above) are some of the new houses, situated in the bare veld north of the town, and (below) the new office of the location superintendent, surrounded by barbed wire and with a sentry-box at the gate for the guard.

The Police Were Worried

From BRIAN BUNTING

CAPE TOWN

ON my way to Windhoek by plane last week, I was accompanied by Head Constable Sauermann, one of the top Special Branch men in Cape Town. A prominent item in his luggage was a powerful pair of field glasses. At Windhoek airport he was met by a number of the local Special Branch men, and he duly pointed me out to his Windhoek colleagues.

From the moment I arrived in Windhoek, I was "tailed" by Special Branch men day and night. The Europeans sat around my hotel in motor cars, or drank beer on the stoep and made a careful note of everybody who came to see me. The Non-Europeans had the less enviable task of following me long distances down the streets under burning, cloudless skies. Every person I spoke to, every address I visited, every phone call I made was duly entered in Special Branch records.

To protect some of my African friends from this police prying, I had to go out at night into the bush and conduct my interviews in pitch darkness.

On the morning I was due to leave Windhoek, I was woken at about 5.15 a.m. by the inevitable knock on the door of my room in the hotel. Two members of the Special Branch entered and showed me a warrant signed by the Chief Magistrate authorising them to look for evidence in connection with alleged incitement to public violence in connection with the recent Windhoek location riot.

They went through all my notes and papers and scrutinised all the photographs I had taken in Windhoek town and location. They asked me whether I had distributed any pamphlets in the location and whether I had seen Mr. Japie Basson.

After making copious notes, the two detectives departed, taking nothing with them. I caught my plane at Windhoek airport and returned to the Union—but just in case I got up to any mischief on the way, two Special Branch men were on the plane with me to see me safely over the border.

While on the one hand I was hounded by the police like a common criminal, on the other hand I was received with great courtesy by some of the most prominent citizens of Windhoek. Among the Europeans I interviewed were the Mayor and Town Clerk, the Location Superintendent, the Chief Native Commissioner, members of the United and Nationalist Parties, representative figures in the English, Afrikaans and German speaking communities, and officials of the Chamber of Commerce. I also had lengthy discussions with leaders of the South West Africa National Union, the Ovamboland People's Organisation and other leaders of the African and Coloured communities.

I was taken on a conducted tour of the old and new location in the mayoral car, accompanied by the Mayor, Mr. Jaap Snyman, and the Location Superintendent, Mr. de Wet.

New Age readers can thus be assured that the story we print this week is based on the facts, as told to me by the people on the spot.

"FIRST U.N. TRUSTEESHIP, THEN INDEPENDENCE"

(Continued from page 2)

Once again, heavy financial burdens are being imposed on a people who already live below the breadline. No official figures are available, but it is clear that Africans in South West Africa live on a much lower scale than in the Union, although the cost of living is the same, if not higher.

Average monthly wages for unskilled Africans range from £8 to £13 a month. The City Council itself is proposing a new wage scale for Council employees in terms of which the starting wage for an unskilled labourer would be £10 a month. Contract labourers from Ovamboland get 1s. 3d. a day plus food and quarters. The average wage of a farm labourer is probably about 25s. a month plus food and quarters.

For any of these people a rental of £2 a month would be a heavy burden. The Chamber of Commerce and the Sakekamer have discussed the matter and advised that wages of people moving to Katutura should be raised, but so far nothing has been done and as far as the people are concerned talk of increases remains talk, whereas the increased rental is a fact. Acknowledging this difficulty, the Mayor says he is calling a meeting of all public bodies in January at which the question of wage increases will be discussed again.

POLITICAL OBJECTION

At bottom, however, the main objection of the Africans to the removal is political.

"The refusal of the Africans in the Windhoek location to be moved to the Katutura location has been stated on numerous occasions in the most direct and unambiguous terms," said Mr. Uatja Kaukuetu, Vice-President of the South West Africa National Union, in a statement to New Age.

"There is not the slightest doubt that the overwhelming majority of the Africans are against the removal scheme . . . apartheid to us is repugnant and unacceptable, even if it be under the guise of 'new locations'. Our opposition to the removal, apart from other weighty economic and political considerations, is founded on principle. Since this move involves a principle there can be no compromise."

Mr. Kaukuetu pointed out that "the removal scheme was fathered by an all-White Town Council, a body 100 per cent unrepresentative of the Africans . . . in spite of our oft-repeated refusal, the Administration, with characteristic flagrant disregard for African opinion, thought fit not to reply to our grievances, but instead appointed valuators to evaluate our houses for purposes of paying compensation".

In reply to this charge, Mr. Snyman claims that in 1957, when the building of the location was first discussed, the Advisory Board, a half-appointed, half-elected body of 12 members, accepted the idea of the removal scheme. But he admits that today the Advisory Board has changed its mind and opposes the scheme.

UNITED OPPOSITION

In fact, it has been obvious for a long time that the Africans were solidly opposed to the removal. Two months ago a mass meeting was held in the location and addressed by the Mayor, Mr. Snyman; the Chief Native Commissioner, Mr. Bruwer Blignaut; the Location Superintendent, Mr. de Wet, and others.

Between 3,000 and 4,000 people attended this meeting, YET NOT ONE SINGLE AFRICAN COULD BE FOUND TO SPEAK IN FAVOUR OF THE REMOVAL. All the Africans who spoke at that meeting opposed the scheme. (This meeting was reported in New Age of November 26.)

Nevertheless, the Council plunged on. Valuators were appointed. Here is a time-table of the subsequent events:

December 4: A member of the Advisory Board was beaten by a municipal policeman for refusing to give the value of his house to a valuator. A crowd gathered and following a scuffle four women were arrested.

WOMEN'S DEMONSTRATION

Angered by this, women from the location marched to the Government buildings to protest to the Administrator and ask for the release of the arrested women.

The Administrator refused to receive them and ordered them to leave the grounds. The police told them to go to the Chief Magistrate, who addressed them, but they were not satisfied with his statement. The four women were fined £3 each for creating a public disturbance.

December 8: In protest against the removal scheme, the Africans proclaimed a boycott of the beerhall, bus service, cinema and dancehall—all municipal undertakings. From the outset the boycott was a complete success.

December 10: A special Advisory Board meeting was called by the Town Council in the afternoon. Present were the Mayor, Location Superintendent, Chief Magistrate, Police Chief and about 200 Africans. The Mayor told the people that if the boycott was continued the Council would be obliged to withdraw the services. The Police Chief warned the audience that they had to obey the law of the land. The sort of demonstration which the women had conducted the previous week was illegal and would not be tolerated, he said.

The people raised the question of the location removal, but the Mayor refused to discuss the matter, saying it was already decided and there was no point arguing about it.

BUT IT WAS THAT VERY NIGHT THAT THE TENSION RAISED BY THE REMOVAL SCHEME EXPLODED IN A NIGHT OF VIOLENCE AND TERROR IN WHICH 12 PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND 34 INJURED.

Had either the Council or the Administration made the slightest effort to meet the grievances of the people, the riot might have been avoided. There is no doubt the people were incensed by the continued refusal of the authorities to listen to their point of view.

THE RIOT

What happened during the riots is now the subject of a judicial inquiry. But it was reported in the local Press that the army had to be called in to help suppress the outbreak, and the Mayor himself took part in a sortie to fetch machine-guns for the relief of the police force surrounded in the Council buildings in the location. An armoured car and several types of riot vehicles were also employed against the people.

The statement sent to the United Nations by Chief Hosea Kutako, Chief Samuel Witbooi, Sam Nujoma and Uatja Kaukuetu says the riot started with a scrimmage outside the beerhall. When the police force arrived in the location, they ordered the people to disperse within five minutes. The leaders of the Africans requested more time to enable them to persuade the people to go.

"As the people turned to go the police fired without warning killing several people. The Africans reacted by throwing stones. The police retreated into the municipal offices from which they fired killing more people.

"Later the military force came in armoured cars with machine guns. They fired shots at random with the result that some people were hit by bullets in their homes".

PEOPLE FLEE

Following the riot, several hundred people, mostly Coloureds who did not stand with the Africans on the removal issue, fled from the location. Some of the refugees feared assault by Africans, some by the police. Many spent the night in the bush. Others made their way to Katutura and settled in without further ado.

This is the atmosphere in which the "voluntary removals" of which Mayor Snyman speaks took place.

December 16: Mayor Snyman, in a speech commemorating the Day of the Covenant, said: "We have come to this land to stay. Here the Afrikaner will never give up. The outside world must take notice of this . . . it is a pity that tonight we find ourselves in practically the same circumstances as the Voortrekkers when they made the Covenant. But if we honour that Covenant, God will protect us.

"God gave us this land. Let us go forward to preserve it for our descendants".

An uneasy quiet reigns in Windhoek today. The Council proceeds with its £1,500,000 removal scheme. But the people in the old location repeat: "We shall never move. We would rather die than accept apartheid".

A Location By Any Other Name . . .

When the City Council chose the name Katutura for the new location in Windhoek, they were given to understand it meant "Place of Final (or Permanent) Residence".

Later, however, they discovered it meant the exact opposite—"Place Where There is no Final Residence". But by then it was too late to change and the name is blazoned in huge letters on the Council buildings in the new location.

The Africans must have had a good laugh over that one.

At a huge meeting in the location, African opposition to the removal scheme is made abundantly clear.

The Mayor of Windhoek, Mr. Jaap Snyman.

Houses in the old location are mostly pondokkies of wood and iron. Only a few people have brick houses.

African building teams at work on houses in the new location.

The Shooting of 10 December 1959

Details on what happened that fatal evening and night of 10 December remain somewhat contradictory and prevent any reliable reconstruction of what unfolded in detail:

> While the accounts differ and will probably always differ, there are two things which can be said with certainty: first, the police had been in armed readiness days before the shooting, and second, the people of the Old Location were unarmed, unprepared for, and totally surprised at the violence used against them. In the words of Gerson Veii: "They knew, but we did not."[219]

As observed, there remain "several discrepancies and ambiguities", including "the story of Anna Mungunda, the heroine famed for setting the mayor's car ablaze".[220] Officially recognised as martyr for an act of resistance, "there had been a number of conflicting tales that cast doubt on whether she was actually responsible for torching the police car".[221] Counter-claims maintain that the car was not set on fire by her but that she more accidentally came close enough to the already burning car to be shot and killed.[222]

Following the traumatic events, a memorandum was drafted by the Johannesburg-based attorney, E.M. Wentzel,[223] on behalf of Chief Hosea Kutako, Sam Nujoma for the Ovamboland Peoples Organisation (OPO) and (Uatja Willie) Kaukeutu for the South West African National Union (SWANU) as the petitioners. Compiled despite considerable administrative obstruction[224], the document was submitted to Justice Hall as chairman of the commission, which is the subject of the following chapter.[225] It stated:

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[219] *Ibid*., 31.
[220] Schell, *Preserving the Culture*, 31.
[221] K. MaPunyu-Tjiparuro, *'Kakurukaze Mungunda confirmed as a martyr'*, in *New Era*, 13 December 2017. This also highlights another unclarified matter of minor importance: information which car(s) were set on fire differs.
[222] For one of these other versions see Schell, *Preserving the Culture*, 36f.; another one is presented in *'"I set the car ablaze... not Kakurukaze" – Katuuo'*, in *Windhoek Observer*, 16 December 2019.
[223] BAB, PA. 48.VI.1.20, *Memorandum* submitted to the Hon. Justice C.G. Hall, Judge President of the High Court of SWA, a Judicial Commissioner appointed by the officer administering the Government, Windhoek, Typed, unsigned, undated, ca. mid-January 1960.
[224] As the document states under 2: "YOUR Petitioners wish to place on record the extreme difficulties they have encountered in preparing this Memorandum and in the verbal evidence to be submitted. ... On 8th January, 1960, Mr. Wentzel applied to Mr. P.A. de Wet, Manager of the Non-European Affairs of the Windhoek Town Council, for a permit to enter the Old Location to consult with Your Petitioners and other persons who might be prepared to give evidence before the Commission. Mr. de Wet refused to grant Mr. Wentzel a permit to enter the Old Location for any purpose whatsoever except to be taken to the scene of the disturbances accompanied by officials. Mr. de Wet particularly refused Mr. Wentzel permission to prepare witness statements in the Location ... This has proved exceedingly prejudicial to the preparation of the evidence and submissions which Your Petitioners wishes to place before you". BAB, PA.48. VI.1.20, *Memorandum*, 2f..
[225] Comment by Werner Hillebrecht in personal communication with the author (12 July 2022): "Interestingly, the Memorandum is not found among the papers of the Hall Commission as archived in the National Archives of Namibia." A copy is to be found in the NAN Accessions A.0687, Tony Emmett Collection – Jariretundu Kozonguizi papers, K.20.

> ...the conditions under which the African people live in the Old Location are shockingly deplorable. This is not of their choosing. It is caused by the cruel poverty by which they are burdened.[226]

The memorandum stressed that the name Katutura signified the general feelings: "All these removals without their consent make the African people feel aliens in their own land".[227] The signatories refuted the claim by the colonial administration that "communists" had instigated the protest against the relocation, stating that "the African people do not need any organisation to tell us [about] the evils which the removal implies." They rejected the allegation and said they knew of no "Communist influence in South West Africa".[228]

The memorandum cited the *Windhoek Advertiser* of 2 November 1959, which reported after the meeting held on 29 October, that "the natives are almost unanimous in their refusal to move to Katutura judging from the spontaneous response".[229] As argued further, the organised boycott of all municipal undertakings in the location (buses, beerhalls, cinema and dance halls) "was considered necessary because the residents had no adequate means of making known their opposition to the removal and furthermore because it seemed that the authorities wished to carry on the removal irrespective of whether the residents agreed or not."[230]

The growing mass protest resulted in the holding of a meeting the late afternoon of 10 December 1959, during which the mayor, Snyman, threatened to close the beerhall and to withdraw the buses if the boycott continued the next day. According to the memorandum, the members of the Advisory Board were threatened that they would be blamed for any troubles "because they were being stupid" and the Bible was quoted as saying: "He who does not want to listen has to feel".[231] Major Lombard of the South African Police reportedly said that: "The towns belong to the whites and the reserves to the Africans."[232] An effort by an Advisory Board member to clarify the background to the boycott was dismissed by Bantu Commissioner de Wet, who said "that the officials had not come for discussions but to warn the people".[233]

Later in the afternoon, a large police contingent entered the location and people subsequently gathered during the evening to find out what had motivated their presence. Major Lombard asserted that the crowd took what he called an "intimidating posture" and demanded that they disperse

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[226] *Memorandum*, 5.
[227] *Ibid*.
[228] *Ibid*., 9 and 10.
[229] *Ibid*., 15.
[230] *Ibid*., 15f.
[231] *Ibid*., 16f.
[232] *Ibid*., 17.
[233] *Ibid*., 18.

within five minutes. However, he did not make this announcement with a loudspeaker or a similar device and many of the people did not hear the instruction. According to the memorandum, without any warning, the police then opened fire indiscriminately on the people. This was done while the crowd was engaged in dispersing. It was claimed that it was only in response to police brutality that some residents retaliated by throwing stones.[234]

The violent clashes led, among other things, to the damage and destruction of two cars and a motor bike belonging to members of the administration and town council. This resulted in a lengthy administrative exchange over the terms of compensation. The original suggestion was to cover the losses by paying the owners the money from the Bantu Affairs budget. But the office of the Commissioner for Bantu Affairs rejected such claims with the argument that the budget made no provision for such expenditure. After several weeks of negotiation, the office of the Administrator indicated a (somewhat reluctant) willingness to solve the matter if all costs were covered by insurance and the estimated loss of value before the damage was considered. The 1959 Ford Galaxy belonging to Mayor Snyman was then evaluated and an uncovered loss of £647 estimated. In the case of the 1958 Austin that was the property of P. de Wet (and was apparently uninsured) the balance was £1 063. He received payment of £911.8.0. In a letter dated 21 March 1960 he complained bitterly that he had suffered a loss of £200. His appeal to receive the difference was turned down at the Council meeting of the municipality on 19 April 1960.[235]

Such kind of "collateral damage" for the privileged aside, the trauma created among the residents had a far deeper impact beyond material dimensions. "I had fun as a child in the Old Location, but I hated anything that smelled of police or soldiers", remembered Jackson Kaujeua his few occasional visits. Coming with his grandmother from Keetmanshoop to pay respect to those killed, he saw the police

> patrolling the dusty streets of the Old Location in the aftermath of the 1959 uprising. They would pass the main street, close to the Otjikaoko section, then move on to the Otjitoto section. We would run with fear back home. ... After seeing the cannons and the police who raided our homes at any time, life was no longer pleasant. Why people died became a constant question on my mind. We were not allowed to talk about death or the dead which tended to exaggerate the fear.[236]

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[234] *Ibid.*, 19f.
[235] NAN/MWI 48/1, unpaginated.
[236] Kaujeua, *Tears over the Desert*, 84.

But those killed that night of 10 December have names.[237] These are:

Hugo Kasuto
Zacheus Tjombe
Anna Mungunda
Rheinhardt Kuiri
Asser Xamseb
Bartholomew Kahiiko
Karondo Mungunda
Bernhard Gutsche
Willem Cloete
Amon Uripurua
Johannes Haimbondi Mandume
Kaanjamana Tjombe

Efforts by journalists to investigate what happened, were closely watched. Brian Bunting[238], who came from South Africa for an "On-The-Spot-Investigation",[239] summarised his experience as follows:

> From the moment I arrived in Windhoek, I was "tailed" by Special Branch men day and night. The Europeans sat around my hotel in motor cars, or drank beer on the stoep and made a careful note of everybody who came to see me. ... Every person I spoke to, every address I visited, every phone call I made was duly entered in Special Branch records.[240]

[237] Jafta, An Investigation, 39. As source, reference is made to the list originally submitted by SWANU at the time, with eleven names (as published in the first issue of South West News on 5 March 1960). The last two names were added later by Ussiel Tjijenda. As the authors clarify: "No complete record of the number of injured, or the severity of their injuries, could be established." *Ibid.*. The spelling and names of the killed listed, however, differ from those published in the South West News, where they were given as follows: Hugo Kasuto, Sacheus Tjombe, Anna Mungunda, Reinard Kuiri, Assar Hanseb, Willem Cloete, Ben Gutsche, Kalondo Mungunda, Barthlomeus Kahiko, Aron Uripurua, and J. H. Mandume.

[238] A South African activist and journalist, Brian Bunting (1920-2008) was a member of the South African Communist Party. He went into exile between 1963 and 1991 to avoid persecution by the state.

[239] B. Bunting, *'The Truth About South West Africa. An On-The-Spot Investigation of the Background to the Windhoek Riots'*, in *New Age*, vol. 6, no. 11, 31 December 1959.

[240] B. Bunting, *'The Police Were Worried'*, in *ibid.*

Official 'Whitewash'

The official efforts to justify the killing of unarmed protesters was a 'whitewash' par excellence, in every sense.[241] On 31 December 1959 Justice Cyril Godfrey Hall[242] was appointed as chairman and only member of the Hall Commission of Enquiry into the events that took place in the Windhoek Location on 10 to 11 December 1959. The aim was to fabricate a narrative to exonerate officialdom of its lethal intervention. The hearings took place from 10 to 14 January 1960. A South African newspaper article dubbed the exercise as "a blitz affair" and laconically summarized:

> Evidence had been taken rapidly on the Monday and Tuesday of the hearing, the commission adjourned on the Wednesday ... Thursday was taken up with evidence by African leaders and then the commission was over.[243]

The testimonies reveal a clearly biased approach: 18 members of the police and military and five high-ranking White officials of the Windhoek Municipality testified. Only two women who were residents of the Old Location, (and who had not in fact been present at the demonstration), were called to speak.[244] Four leading community members volunteered to testify on their own account. They were the OPO President Sam Nujoma, SWANU Vice-President Uatja Kaukuetu, Zedekia Ngavirue, who was employed as the Old Location's first local social worker (but was soon thereafter sacked), and Clemens Kapuuo. The latter "only testified about the papers confiscated at his home by the police, and denied any involvement, a conduct that ... shocked many people."[245]

The published report can only be deemed a deliberately manipulated narrative.[246] Justice Hall was eager to deliver on his justification mandate by presenting selective quotations out of context. He constructed a scenario in which a few Namibian nationalists, some of them already abroad and campaigning at the United Nations, had plotted to instigate an uprising. The report deliberately ignored a great deal of relevant evidence, including that:

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[241] Details are presented by W. Hillebrecht, *'Legitimising and Implementing Apartheid: Three Commissions of Enquiry and their Consequences'*, in a final manuscript for publication in *The Quest for Namibia's Independence: A History of the Liberation Struggle Volume III: 1959 – 1990 for the Namibia History Project* (Windhoek: UNAM Press, forthcoming). Werner Hillebrecht kindly shared the text with me and the following summary relies heavily on his work (references are made to the pages of his manuscript). At the time of my studies in the National Archives, the Hall Report as well as numerous related documents (many deliberately neglected or misrepresented in the report) were not yet accessible. These were registered in 2018 as NAN, Findaid 2/244, AACRLS.013, Hall Commission 1960.

[242] Judge President of the SWA Division of the High Court of South Africa.

[243] *'Windhoek Riot Inquiry Only Three Days'*, in *New Age*, vol. 6, no. 14.

[244] Hillebrecht, *'Legitimising and Implementing Apartheid'*, 10.

[245] *Ibid*.

[246] The report was published as South African Bluebook by the Government Printer in Pretoria under the official publication number UG 23-60 and is now available at the National Archives of Namibia, AP 4/1/12, Findaid 2/244, AACRLS.013, Hall Commission 1960, 3.

> ...the Advisory Board had approved a relocation to a much closer south-westerly site. The relevant facts in the testimony of Pieter Andries de Wet, the Director of Non-white Affairs [sic] of the Municipality and former Location Superintendent, who had given a factual chronology of the development of the removal plans, were ignored, and his offer to present minutes of the meetings of the Advisory Board was [also] rejected. ... The testimony of Director de Wet that the inhabitants had solid economic reasons to reject the removal, was ignored as well. Upon questioning, he testified that moving to Katutura substantially increased the living costs of the inhabitants.[247]

Not surprisingly, the response to the Hall Report was mixed. It was largely approved or at best cautiously criticised by the local white-owned media. In contrast, the *South West News* as the only black newspaper of the time, was adamant in its rejection. Its issue of 14 May 1960 published several strongly-worded texts. A statement by SWANU declared:

> The findings of this commission of inquiry ... are fantastic. We are tempted to observe that the Commission's task obviously was to save the face of every police atrocious action. [...] The Hall Commission was an unfortunate fiasco, whose findings deserve emphatic rejection.[248]

The *South West News* collective rebuked the accusation that the protests were a result of external influence and insisted on the local ownership of their organisation:

> Several letters from oversta [sic] have bten [sic] quoted in the report. "To my mind these letters prove that the opposition to the removal from the existing location to the new one was organised by the Hereros in Windhoek at the instigation of thels [sic] champion in New York," said the report. This correlation is absolutely negative for none of the people who received letters from oversea was involved in the disturbances. For instance, Mr. Toivo-Ja-Toivo was before, during and after the disturbances in Ovamboland – about 300 miles from Windhoek, allegedly under house arrest. There is no proof of how he could have influenced residents of the Windhoek Location nor is there an iota of evidence as to how the local Herero recipients of oversea letters have instigated people to oppose the removal.[249]

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[247] Hillebrecht, *'Legitimising and Implementing Apartheid'*, 9 and 11.
[248] *'Swanu rejects Hall Commission'*, in *South West News*, May 14, 1960, 2. Notably, Ferdinand Lempp as editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* had drafted a detailed summary of the statement as an article. Its publication was declined.
[249] *Ibid*. (Typing errors in the original were retained).

The same issue also included a letter by Chief Hosea Kutako, written to King Baudouin of Belgium, another to the British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan and one to President De Gaulle of France. As he declared:

> We regard this report as biased and misleading. It was designed to [white]wash the inhumane and brutal action of the Union government ... With regard to the allegation that our people are inspired by outside agitators, this is not true. We need not to be told of our sufferings. ... as long as we remain oppressed, so long will you not be able to point with pride to your achievements. 'The bell may toll for us; it tolls for each and all of you as well.'[250]

The United Nations Committee on South West Africa, tasked to overlook the mandate executed by South Africa, responded immediately to the events, holding five sessions (meetings 121 to 125) from 16 to 21 December 1959. A follow up discussion heard and questioned Mburumba Kerina, Jariretundu Kozonguizi and Allard Lowenstein.[251] The deliberations concluded that

> 187. The Committee finds itself unable to agree with the conclusion of the Commissioner [meaning Hall, H.M.] "that the police were justified in acting as they did, and that they had not used fire-arms, both they and the municipal officials would have lost their lives". [...]
>
> 188. The Committee feels the casualties speak for themselves. The eleven dead were "Natives".
>
> 189. Had the police retired to the municipal office – to which they in any case later retired – and allowed the "Native" leaders more time to disperse the large crowd, there might not have been any casualties.[252]

As a kind of local crown witness, the Committee quoted at length from a statement of 9 March 1960 delivered by the independent member of the South African Union House of Assembly J. D. du Plessis Basson[253], commenting on the Hall Commission's conclusions. As he critically had observed:

> ... in discussing the complaints of the Natives that the regulations for the new location would be too strict, the commission actually had this to say: 'As to this factor ... I am not

[250] 'It talls [sic] for each and all of you as well, says Chief Kutako', *Ibid*., 4.
[251] All documented in United Nations, *Report of the Committee on South West Africa. General Assembly. Official Records: fifteenth session.* Supplement No. 12 (A/4464). New York, 1960. The document with several appendices includes the report of the Hall Commission and the Memorandum submitted on behalf of Kutako, OPO and SWANU.
[252] *Ibid*., 24.
[253] Jacob "Japie" Basson (1918-2012) was a born South African who relocated to Windhoek. Initially a member of the National Party, he was in 1950 elected to the South African House of Assembly ("Volksraad") as the only representative for South West Africa. He was for internal differences in 1959 expelled from the party. In 1960, he co-founded the South West Party together with Ferdinand Lempp (see on him the separate earlier footnote).

in a position to judge. The regulations were not put before the commission.' As though he could not have gone into that matter himself. It is clear that the report is not of great assistance to those who had hoped that the declared grievances of these people would be thoroughly investigated so that we could know where we stood and in which respects we could improve the position so that further difficulties could be avoided in Windhoek. I now only hope that the Government will not form the impression from this report that it need only ban a few Native leaders and that peace and order will then once again prevail in Windhoek. [...]

The resistence [sic] was directed at the authorities. It is therefore not a question of public safety which is causing us concern, but what the Government intends doing to penetrate to the crux of the difficulties and to resolve them. I think that it is generally accepted that it is the task of any good government not only to punish and suppress disorders but also to create conditions which will prevent such disorders. We want general peace and order to be restored in South West Africa. We do not want tanks and machine-guns with which one can after all not solve anything, to become a permanent part of life of South West.[254]

Further statements before the Committee were made by Kerina, Kozonguizi and Nujoma on 5, 8, and 11 July 1960. The Committee finally at its 155th meeting on 12 August 1960 unanimously approved a draft resolution concerning the Windhoek location, which

1. Expresses deep regret at the action taken by the police and soldiers in the Windhoek "Native" location on 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 that, according to petitioners, the Mandatory Power has employed such means as deportations, dismissals from employment, threats of such actions 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 provide adequate compensation to the families of the victims of the events in the Windhoek location on the night of 10 to 11 December;

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 recommendations that

[254] Union of South Africa, Hansard, 9 March 1960, cols. 3048, 3049 and 3050. Quoted in United Nations, *Report of the Committee on South West Africa*, 25 and 26.

> housing developments in urban areas of the Territory should be carried out in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned and in a manner more compatible with the Mandate.[255]

In the tense atmosphere of early 1960, concerns were raised, even within the white community about the international image and reputation of the South African administration in South West Africa. A local newspaper reported on a council motion adopted on 25 April 1961, which created the impression that the Windhoek Municipality would "recommend to the authorities to allow investigations to be made by UNO and other authorised bodies to investigate the true facts of conditions prevailing in Windhoek, in order to expose the agitators to the world."[256] A special council meeting held on 9 May 1961 lasted for almost two-and-a-half hours and provoked a heated exchange among the councillors over what was then established as a misunderstanding and a misleading report. At the end it was confirmed that the Town Council never intended to involve "big politics" in the matter and that it was never the intention to invite any outside agencies.[257]

With the expressed intention of counteracting a negative international damage, early in 1960 the Windhoek Municipality commissioned a propaganda film "to show the difference between the old and the [new] locations".[258] The Town Council decided in December 1960 to make a film based on amateur pictures taken locally during the riots. On 20 June 1961 the film was on the agenda. Subsequently, in a letter dated 18 October 1961, the Town Clerk wrote to the South African Information Bureau in Pretoria, requesting support to improve the quality (sound, sequences and so on).[259] Pretoria replied on 5 December 1961,[260] expressing its concern that the film was unsuitable for distribution abroad in the light of events. The Information Bureau was afraid that foreigners would gain what it called a "damaging impression" of how forcefully the uprising was put down. It was even feared that some of the scenes might be cut and "abused by unscrupulous elements". The pictures of the new housing scheme (in Katutura) were considered far better. It was therefore proposed that there be more emphasis placed on this part and that the first part of the film be cut drastically. It was suggested that this should be done before a reproduction of the film could be considered.[261] On 14 December 1961 the Mayor of Windhoek decided that the film should be abandoned.[262]

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[255] United Nations, *Report of the Committee on South West Africa*, Annex 1, 57. The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on 18 December 1960 with 83 yes votes, 7 abstentions and 9 non-votes as A/RES/1567(XV).
[256] NAN/MWI 48/2, vol. 3, unpaginated.
[257] NAN/MWI 48/2, vol. 3, unpaginated.
[258] NAN/MWI 48/2, vol. 3, unpaginated.
[259] NAN/MWI 48/1- all documents are unpaginated.
[260] Ref. no. 15/2/17, U 48/2 VAN18/10/61, NAN/MWI 48/1.
[261] In the original: "Dit is ons oorwoë mening dat die film nie vir buitelandse verspreiding geskik is nie, ... veral omdat die skokende tonele ... 'n onuitwisbare skadelike indruk op die ontvanklike gemoed van die buitelander... Ons voorstel is dat u dit drasties sny. Dit moet beslis eers gedoen word voordat afdrukke onder oorweging kom."
[262] A copy of the film (without sound) and entitled, tellingly, "Thankless Pride", is in the National Archives in Windhoek. It originated from the estate of Nitzsche-Reiter, the photo shop owner tasked with the compilation of the film (See NAN/MR 0141 and NAN/SV 0067).

Relocation and Demolition

Following the shooting, the municipality announced that all location residents who were willing to resettle voluntarily, could do so immediately. On 17 December 1959 the Mayor applauded the officials for dealing with this voluntary resettlement efficiently and speedily and at the mayor-in-council meeting of 17 December it was resolved that the Council should authorise the "expenditure of giving a party to those members of the staff who were connected with the 'great trek' to Katutura in appreciation of their loyal service."[263] In response to an enquiry made on 4 June 1960, the Town Clerk informed that already a total of 610 houses were occupied in Katutura.[264] They were allocated according to ethnic groups to a total of 2,427 people.[265] But not all was smooth, since resistance continued:

> A strong cleavage arose between those who moved to Katutura, and those refusing to do so, who viewed the former as sell-outs. Even when the Location ... was officially closed ..., many Herero under Chief Kapuuo staged a passive resistance campaign.[266]

Several factors motivated the continued refusal to resettle among many even after the violent clash. Higher rental costs for the houses built in Katutura, bus fares and new regulations were all reasons to resist the relocation, which was – more fundamentally – from a political perspective considered an apartheid initiative by an illegal authority without legitimacy. The prohibition of owning the houses occupied was maybe the biggest stumbling block. As a former resident recalled:

> Houses in the Old Location were our own, and therefore better than in Katutura. It depended on you, whether you made your house nice. I would prefer Katutura to be like the Old Location.[267]

The authorities responded to the continued unwillingness to move to Katutura with intimidation and threats of deportation to the reserves to bully residents into relocation. On 13 June 1960, Mayor Snyman, after consultation with the Administrator of SWA, issued the order that: i) no further erection of temporary houses in the Old Location shall be granted; ii) all houses vacated as a result of its inhabitants being resettled to Katutura will immediately be demolished; and iii) the influx of "natives" as well as "coloureds" will be strictly prohibited.[268] This led to a dispute when Bantu Urban

[263] NAN/MWI 48/2, vol. 3, unpaginated.
[264] NAN/MWI 48/2, vol. 3, unpaginated.
[265] It is unclear why "Coloureds" were relocated to Katutura while Khomasdal was under construction.
[266] Simon, Aspects of urban change, 131.
[267] Quoted in F. Friedman, *Deconstructing Windhoek: The Urban Morphology of a Post-Apartheid City*. London: University College London/ Development Planning Unit 2000, 6.
[268] NAN/MWI 48/1, unpaginated.

Area Commissioner Weitz disagreed with the Location Superintendent Potgieter by "seeing no reason why he (Weitz) should refuse a permit for Herero who remained in the Old Location requesting an expansion to their houses there".[269] The council meeting held on 28 February 1961 discussed these differences raised by the Municipal Manager of Non-European Affairs. He informed the Council that Weitz had seen a deputation representing Chief Hosea Kutako who had requested "that those Herero who refused to have their properties valued and to move to Katutura had requested permission to be given plots to erect houses in the old location and to renew or re-furbish and/or build on to their present buildings".[270] While Weitz had felt that this was reasonable, the Council confirmed the position of Location Superintendent Potgieter, who had informed him with reference to the instructions issued by the Mayor on behalf of the Administrator, any further construction in the Old Location was now prohibited.[271]

The administration took further repressive steps enforcing the relocation. Dubbed as a "reign of terror" in an article in the *South West News*, these included "arrests, pass refusals, dismissal from jobs, prohibition and deportation orders".[272] Beyond dismissing municipal workers for refusing to move to Katutura, this included a ban to employ anyone who continued to live in the Old Location. While the Anglican Bishop at the time felt "that someone should defy the ban", his initiative highlighted another form of solidarity among those who resisted:

> as a small token of solidarity with the blacks, I asked Aaron, an Herero, if he would work for me. I offered him $30 a week to distribute Bibles among the people. ... the next day he came back looking uncomfortable. Speaking to me in broken English, he pointed out that he was the only one in the Old Location who now was earning any money at all.
> 'I cannot do it. ... I must be the same as my brothers.' So he resigned.[273]

The council meeting on 15 August 1961 recorded that on 7 and 8 August 1961 all inhabitants of the Klein Windhoek location "were shifted to Katutura without any incidents and with their full cooperation." During the preceding week, 108 people had moved on their own accord, while the remaining 177 families (785 inhabitants) were moved during the next two days, amounting to a total of 893 people.[274] On 27 April 1961 Mayor Snyman presented an updated report to the administrative secretary in which he summarised the resettlement progress. By this time a total of 3,593 people had moved into some 893 housing units, while about 420 housing units were completed but

[269] NAN/MWI 48/1, ref. no. NB 261, Letter of 21/2/1961 from the Manager/Municipal Non-European Affairs to the acting mayor, councillor J.L. Levinson.
[270] NAN/MWI 48/2, vol. 3, unpaginated.
[271] NAN/MWI 48/2, vol. 3, unpaginated.
[272] *'Deportations! Deportations!'*, in *South West News*, no. 7, 6th August, 1960, 1.
[273] Winter, *Namibia*, 58
[274] NAN/MWI 48/2, vol. 3, unpaginated.

remained unoccupied.[275] Following the removal of the occupants, 697 houses in the old location were by then demolished.[276] About another 12,000 people were still residing in the Old Location.[277] It was estimated that another 2,000 housing units would be needed for accommodating the residents in Katutura.[278] On the agenda submitted to the Town Council on 14 August 1962, item 22 reflected that a total of 371 families (comprising 1,544 individuals) were re-settled in Katutura between 13 July and 7 August 1962. But, as a note dated 10 August 1962 by the municipality explained, this was only after the Town Council had been informed in June 1962 that there were 974 houses in Katutura that still remained unoccupied. With this in mind, it was decided to approach the residents in the Old Location whose shelters had already been evaluated. According to the report, only few people objected to the re-location. This was somewhat inaccurate because as it turned out, many families refused to be moved when the date (set at 13 July 1962) arrived. It therefore took until 7 August 1962 before some of the vacant houses in Katutura were eventually occupied. The homesteads of those who had left the Old Location were immediately destroyed by a bulldozer.[279]

Those who refused to move to Katutura, in the main women with children, were resettled to reserves.

> The white administration, wishing in victory to be seen as a benefactor, had sent along a couple of underlings who were to offer the people mealie meal or flour for their journey. ... The two white men stood beside full sacks of mealie meal and flour. I watched the Herero women pass them. Their faces were expressionless; with heads held erect, they glided past the officials who tried to hand to each one a small sack of flour. Not a single woman so much as looked at them or recognized their presence; they were completely ignored.
> ...
> Chief Kapuuo walked from truck to truck, staying with his people to the end. They greeted him quietly, and he chatted awhile, encouraging each party and asking after their well-being. There they sat, surrounded by the twisted tin and broken spars of what for them had once been home.[280]

[275] NAN/MWI 48/2, vol. 3, unpaginated.
[276] NAN/MWI 48/2, vol. 3, unpaginated.
[277] NAN/MWI 48/2, vol. 3, unpaginated.
[278] NAN/MWI 48/2, vol. 3, unpaginated.
[279] MWI 2/1/378, NAN/MWI 48/1, Verskuiwing van Inwoners van die ou lokasie na Katutura inboorlingsdorp. Munisipaliteit van Windhoek, 10 Augustus 1962, mimeographed.
[280] Winter, *Namibia*, 59.

At the venue of the Herero Chief´s Council in the Old Location in 1963:
Chief Hosea Kutako (left) and businessman Johannes Karuaihe (centre).

Seated in front: Chief Hosea Kutako (left) and his designated successor, businessman Clemens Kapuuo. Johannes Karuaihe is looking on.

In 1963 the Pokkiesdraai compound in the vicinity of Katutura was closed and the contract workers were moved into a new compound inside Katutura. "Coloureds" and Rehoboth Basters were forced to move to the new residential area Khomasdal situated between the Old Location and Katutura. By 1968 the last inhabitants of the Old Location had been either resettled to Katutura or had left the city for rural areas and reserves.[281] With the official closing of the former Main Location on 31 August 1968 "an era in township life came to an end".[282] The few remaining structures were erased, and no traces were left behind.

> With the demolition of the Old Location in 1968, Windhoek had fulfilled the requirements of SA's Verwoerdian apartheid geography, becoming a city divided against itself, with three discrete racial settlements separated by a statutory buffer strip ... the less formal 'Segregation City' had been replaced by the institutionalized and structurally simplified 'Apartheid City'.[283]

The adjacent cemetery that had been there since the 1920s was also abandoned. Neglected by public services, though in the direct neighbourhood to the carefully cultivated white cemetery, it soon ended in decay:

> Those killed by the police in the Old Location massacre of 10 December 1959, a turning point in Namibian history, are also buried here, and [are] honoured by a cenotaph. Though individual graves continued to be tended by relatives of the deceased after 1967, the municipality let the site lapse into total decay. The place, which once had a fence, a chapel, and a water supply, degenerated into a shameful and vandalized abode for vagrants. Only after independence were serious efforts made to protect and rehabilitate the site.[284]

[281] A local journalist estimated an "exodus from the Location of 3 000 to 4 000 people". Jafta, *An Investigation*, 41.
[282] Pendleton, *Katutura*, 30.
[283] Simon, *Aspects of urban change*, 132
[284] W. Hillebrecht, *'Where They Lie Buried'*, in *Three Views into the Past of Windhoek*, 26.

Towards National Liberation

As of January 1959, the Municipality of Windhoek had employed Zedekia Ngavirue (later commonly known as "Doctor Zed") as the first black social worker.[285] On 4 July 1960 (not long before his dismissal due to his political engagement) he addressed the 12th Annual African Teachers Conference with an appeal for a "Clean up Campaign":

> Our living conditions are deplorable. You have only to look through the window to see what I mean – there you will see dirty and untidy homesteads, heaps of rubbish and carcasses of dogs and cats next to our water tanks; neglected cemeteries, ever dirty communal lavatories and so forth. These conditions are not conducive to progress. The gospel of cultural development that we as teachers, ministers and social workers preach will not be of any effect to the people who receive it unless a better environment is created for them. (...) I propose that we as teachers, ministers and social workers come together and form a united front against dirt. Let us organise a campaign against this deadly evil. Let's not blame external factors only but take a critical attitude towards ourselves. I know that other societies have under oppression proved to be enterprising and progressive. (...) Why can't we, honourable as we are, do the things that other people have done? Is it really due to oppression that we cannot build a lavatory for ourselves? Why don't we get up and constructively criticize ourselves for these weaknesses lest others think we do not see them? Why should we sit down only to wait for some one to come and build a bad lavatory for us and then criticize him. ... Let this be our contribution as teachers, ministers and social workers, towards the creation of a new Africa.[286]

This vision of a "new Africa" had at the time of Ngavirue's speech already been exposed to the full force of the apartheid system. Beyond the structural violence executed through what by then was euphemistically called "separate development", the protest of the location's residents against moving to Katutura had culminated on 10 December 1959 in the shootings. Since that day, life in the location was never

[285] Zedekia Ngavirue (born 4 March 1933 in Okakarara) was active in SWANU. He founded and co-edited (with Emil Appolus) the *South West News*. He left Namibia in May 1961 to petition at the United Nations. Subsequent studies in Sweden were facilitated by the Swedish solidarity movement. He obtained a BPhil. degree at Uppsala University, followed by a PhD in Philosophy at Oxford University. He lectured at the University of Papua New Guinea before returning to Namibia in 1981 to work in management positions at Rössing Uranium. At Independence he became the Director General of the National Planning Commission and later served as ambassador to the EU and Belgium. In December 2015 he was appointed by the Namibian government as the special envoy, negotiating with the German government a (controversial) bilateral agreement how to recognise the genocide committed in 1904 to 1908. He died on 24 June 2021 of Covid-19 – only a few weeks after initialling a Joint Declaration with the German special envoy Ruprecht Polenz. In March 1995 he recalled his years in Sweden (1962-1967), where he had joined Uatja Kaukuetu and Charles Karuaisa in an interview with Tor Sellström for a research project at the Nordic Africa Institute. As he commented on the political activism of the 1950s in South Africa and Namibia: "The road was not at all as clear as it became later on. We had very little support, but people were determined." https://nai.uu.se/library/resources/liberation-africa/interviews/zedika-ngavirue.html.

[286] Z. Ngavirue, "Make You the World More Beautiful", in *South West News*, no. 5, 9 July 1960, 4.

the same again.
"To Move Or Not To Move" was the title of an article in the *South West News*[287], which concluded that, "the situation is such that the African has neither the right to improve his or her environment nor the right to have a permanent dwelling in the urban area". Fear and resilience, despair and civil courage were all contributing factors supporting the mobilization for organized resistance in various forms of political associations. In this sense, the Old Location, in combination with the contract worker system and the pass laws, was an important element in the formation of the anticolonial resistance movements in the struggle for Independence. To that extent, "patriotic history" indeed is diagnosing the resistance against forced removal and the deadly encounter with the police of 10 December 1959 as a relevant marker. As suggested:

> The authorities' attempts to move residents of the old location to a new township and the resistance they met represent a significant point in the political history of Namibia. Not only did resistance to the removal provide the first major issue taken up by the newly formed nationalist organizations shortly after their launching in 1959, but it also represented a transition in the style of political mobilization in that it transcended parochial issues and united a broad cross-section of groups and classes in a confrontation with the colonial state.[288]

The resistance in the Old Location created a fertile ground for the establishment of the South West African National Union (SWANU), the National Unity Democratic Organization (NUDO) and the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO). Re-constituted into the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) in 1960, its activists like those of SWANU left the country for international mobilization abroad.[289] In this sense, the forced relocation from and the killings at the Old Location, in combination with the contract worker system and the pass laws, were decisive elements of the emergence and formation of the anticolonial resistance movements resulting in the struggle for Namibian independence, which was successful three decades later: "What the perpetrators of the massacre had not foreseen was that their actions strengthened the long-term resolve to build a strong organizational basis both inside and outside the country for the eventual liberation of Namibia."[290]

Another factor, which authorities seemed totally unaware of blinded by their "single story", was the prevailing community spirit in the Old Location. It fostered resilience and was a fertile ground for forms of solidarity prospering:

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[287] No. 8, 20 August 1960, 2.
[288] Emmett, *Popular Resistance*, 285.
[289] J. A. Müller, *"The Inevitable Pipeline into Exile". Botswana's Role in the Namibian Liberation Struggle.* Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien 2012. On the role of Botswana as a host country for refugees from white settler colonial neighbouring territories see P. P. Molosiwa, and M. M. M. Bolaane, *'"A peaceful country": Refugees, masculinities and anti-radical national identity in early postcolonial Botswana'*, in Historia, 66, 2 (2021), 48-73.
[290] Hillebrecht, *'Legitimising and Implementing Apartheid'*, 13.

> It was easy to be mistaken about the Old Location. ... It was as if the very hardship of life in the Old Location created a great family in which each member looked out for every other. In spite of the hardship, there was a strange contentment with Old Location life.[291]

This turned togetherness into a political force, translating into forms of organized anticolonial resistance. The seminal work by the late Tony Emmett testified to the importance of the events described above by devoting a sub-chapter to "The Katutura Removal and Windhoek Shootings".[292] Emmett suggested that:

> The authorities' attempts to move residents of the old location to a new township and the resistance they met represent a significant point in the political history of Namibia. Not only did resistance to the removal provide the first major issue taken up by the newly formed nationalist organizations shortly after their launching in 1959, but it also represented a transition in the style of political mobilization in that it transcended parochial issues and united a broad cross-section of groups and classes in a confrontation with the colonial state.[293]

Namibians returning from studies in South Africa to the emerging urban arena of the 1950s back home, were a transmission belt in the formation of an intellectual vanguard. They entered new forms of exchange and mobilization distinct from previous indigenous traditions and practices and the dominance of the traditional (ethnic) leaders, thereby inducing social diversity over and above primordial loyalties and forms of organization.[294] *South West News* documents this fascinating tendency, which emancipated not only from the white settler dominance but also the earlier dependencies on ethnic identities and tradition.[295]

These events marked a cornerstone in the further formation and consolidation of the anti-colonial struggles. As aptly observed by one of the local witnesses (turning into an activist):

> The location movement was good while it lasted: it brought everybody together for a time and finally put tribal separations in the past; it made people conscious of what they had that was precious, in spite of the whites; it showed them how callous the whites could be in taking that away. But that resistance was broken; ... They think this is the end. We'll see, this is only the beginning![296]

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[291] Ya-Otto, *Battlefront Namibia*, 35.
[292] Emmett, *Popular Resistance*, 303ff.
[293] *Ibid*., 285.
[294] As suggested: "In the case of both SWANU and SWAPO the roots of organised Namibian nationalism are to be found in South Africa." Müller, *"The Inevitable Pipeline into Exile"*, 37.
[295] Henrichsen, *A Glance at our Africa*.
[296] Ya-Otto, *Battlefront Namibia*, 54.

The forced removal, the protest and the killing of demonstrators turned the location into "a source of potent symbolism for the emerging nationalist movement, as well as a focus for nostalgia", becoming a reference point for "nationalist iconography".[297]

A Past To Be Remembered

Sifting through the documents, a nuanced picture of the location's life in the 1950s can hardly be restored. What emerges even from the fragmented evidence, nonetheless, is a sense of ownership and belonging among the residents. The weekends saw a variety of bands performing, folks dancing, residents enjoying the odd sports competition, fashion shows and beauty contests. The location vibrated with social activities and leisure time in midst of poverty and destitution, but also a spirit of solidarity. It was an ordinary common ground for people of different histories and identities, united in being oppressed while at the same time sharing and claiming own space for unfolding their human dignity. They had more in common than what separated them. In the eyes and minds of many of those living there it was a better place than the alternative forced upon them.

With the removal to Katutura the inhabitants of the Old Location were robbed of their personal property. The homes they had lived in – even if bordering to shacks – were theirs. These were taken from them. The limited material compensation offered by the municipal authorities did not make up for the much deeper loss, resulting in feelings of homelessness. Residents were removed to the outskirts of the city and could no longer walk through the streets of Windhoek to their workplaces. They were denied being an integral albeit segregated part of the city. Instead, they were moved like cattle on trucks to the margins.

Going through the archival material it feels easy to identify with the nostalgic tendencies some of the narratives by former residents are displaying. What became the Old Location was a feeling of belonging, which Katutura was unable to create: its sub-divided, prefabricated quarters epitomizing the apartheid mind of "separate development". This was de-personalizing the former social interactions and thereby humiliating. Like Sophiatown and District Six as South African urban settlements, the Old Location is a reminder how people were seeking to organize and survive in the shadow of apartheid. There seemed to be a sense of togetherness, which was stronger than the policy of divide and rule executed by the colonial system. The Old Location was the urban conglomerate, which transcended the separate identities of the "native reserves" and allowed a common ground for the people of Namibia.

[297] Wallace, *Health, Power and Politics*, 55 and 56.

Recalling the atmosphere in the Old Location, many seem to resort to selective memories of the daily life bordering to romanticising. Like District Six, the settlement is remembered mostly as "a place of love, tolerance and kindness, a place of poverty and often degradation, but a place where people had the intelligence to take what life gave them and give it meaning".[298] Several former residents remembered their upbringing there almost half a century later. In what was qualified as a "nostalgic journey to the beginning of days"[299], Daniel Humavindu recalled, "the Old Location created a great family in which residents looked out for one another", where they were dancing in the Bowker Hall and "Glorious" in the Ovambo Section with "only jazz and live bands and no other music". Hesron von Francois added: "we were divided into sections but the people were close. ... I had a good life there at home. There was always food, love and peace". For Katy Farao "childhood was really childhood. ... Those were good times when we would play in the streets". And Petrina Rina Tira Biwa remembers: "The segregation we experienced when we moved to Katutura was not there. ... we stayed very nicely in the Old Location. Communication with other people was very good. We used to stay as family."[300] At a commemorative event in 2016 Rosa Namises pointed out, that there was a practical benefit of the inter-ethnic togetherness too. As she explained, she was a girl who was part of a community, which despite differences in language, culture and tribe understood each other and stood together. Thanks to the Old Location, could she today speak Otjiherero.[301]

Many memories might well be coloured by feelings of loss.[302] But they offer some evidence for "the sense of community despite differences"[303] existing. It seems not by accident that the term "family" is frequently used to characterise the general feeling of communal belonging and sharing. At least by intuition, even the missionaries of the time seemed somehow able to capture this. In his annual report for the Nama congregation in Windhoek for 1959, missionary Lübke resorts to a highly unorthodox blend of characterisations for the features of the Location, when he qualifies the place as a brood nest for insecurity, dirt and risks for diseases, after listing as the first word – cosiness.[304] Being a "brood nest for cosiness" is certainly at best an unusual, but maybe most appropriate effort to describe what seemed to be a contradiction, but maybe close to social reality.

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[298] Breytenbach, *The Spirit of District Six*, 23.
[299] All quotes in A. Graig, *'The Old Location remembered. A nostalgic journey to the beginning of days'*, in *Namibian Sun*, 27 March 2012.
[300] M. Biwa, Translation of oral interview, Petrina Biwa. NAN, Private Accessions, SMPA.0022, Old Location oral history (undated). Quoted with kind permission of Memory Biwa.
[301] In the original, she was "'n meisie wat deel was van 'n gemeenskap wat ten spyte van taal-, kultuur- en stamverskille mekaar ondersteun en samgestaan het. Danksy die Ou Lokasie kan ek vandag ook Otjiherero praat." Quoted in 'Swanu herdenk Ou Lokasie', *Republikein*, 12 December 2016.
[302] A few less enthusiastic voices were recorded in Schell, *Preserving the Culture*.
[303] Graig, *'The Old Location Remembered'*.
[304] In his words, the "Werft" was a "Brutnest von Behaglichkeit, Unsicherheit, Schmutz und Krankheitsgefahr". AVEM, RMG 2.533 d C/h 50 d, Windhoek Band 4, Bl. 0053: Lübke, Jahresbericht 1959 für die Nama sprechende Gemeinde Windhoek / undated, 4.

Remembrance of this era differs and is much affected by context. Who remembers whom for which purpose and how is a question for all commemorative activities, which in the meantime have gained some ground in the public sphere. This is particularly the case when on 10 December every year Human Rights Day/Namibian Women's Day is celebrated as a public holiday. As observed by Rachel Munjo:

> The stories that you read about were actually based on tales told by people that were not even there; they make up stories. It is only now that the truth is coming out on what actually happened. If you come to Old Location Day it is only the ministers that have something to say, only those who were privileged have something to say. The other people were left out.[305]

But the spirit of this era should survive in the narratives of those "other people" based on their accounts as former residents and their offspring. If only as a reminder that human values, dignity, and solidarity mattered. What has been observed about the lasting meaning of (re-)capturing the essence of life when reading the ruins[306], seems largely applicable also to the Old Location. As it had been diagnosed for memory culture in the case of District Six:

> ... a new and perhaps more ominous threat to the values and spirit embodied by the District exists in the form of the rampant and rapacious ethics which foments the very antithesis of this spirit – an ethos of dog eats dog and everyman for himself. In our battle against self-serving greed and large-scale global and local systems of tyranny and plunder, the memorialisation practices ... giving voice to these lives and new life to these rituals – remind us that the values of mutual aid and respect, of co-habitation and neighbourliness, of the necessity of productive social rituals and the ethos of helpmekaar, of the recuperative power of memory are becoming ever more urgent.[307]

It is a reminder that social phenomena and space are constituted out of and by social relations, and that social space is both outcome and facilitator of history.[308] The late Zedekia Ngavirue, who soon after his dismissal as social worker left for studies in Sweden, might have captured the spirit of these days best. When reflecting on the time when *South West News* was published, he simply concluded: "It was, indeed, when we owned little that we were prepared to make the greatest sacrifices."[309]

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[305] Quoted in Schell, *Preserving the Culture*, 37.
[306] Y. A. Owuor, *'Reading Our Ruins. A Rough Sketch'*, in *Matatu*, 50 (2018), 13-27.
[307] Viljoen, *'Writing out of Ruins'*, 58.
[308] This school of thought is introduced in more detail by G. Castryck, and N. Sieveking, *'Introduction: Performing Space in Urban Africa'*, in *Africa*, 84, 1 (2014), 1-16.
[309] Z. Ngavirue, *'Introduction'*, in *A Glance at our Africa*, 11.

50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OLD LOCATION MASSACRE

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As a Photographer in Windhoek 1959/1960

By Dieter Hinrichs[310]

Towards the end of my professional training as photographer at the Munich Photo School I only knew one thing: I wanted to travel as far away as possible to collect new experiences in unknown surroundings. To my surprise, I spotted at the information board of the School the following announcement: "Wanted: a photographer for Windhoek/South West Africa". I immediately sent a letter by airmail and was offered a two-year contract by a photographic studio for feature, industry, architecture and aerial photography.

In April 1959 I embarked on a journey of four day-flights with a four-engine propeller-driven plane of Trek Airways over the Sahara, with stop overs in Kano in Nigeria, and Leopoldville in the Congo, before arriving in Windhoek. At the airport my new boss was waiting for me. She handed to me a big 9x12 camera with a heavy tripod and asked to take care of a long overdue order: to take a panorama view of the new airport, which was urgently needed as an enlargement as well as for postcards.

The photo atelier of Nitzsche-Reiter was centrally located in Windhoek's main street. It took care of all that had to do with photography in the country. Ottilie Nitzsche, a very well-known locally born photographer, instructed me what to do: next to architecture, industry, feature and flight photos I was also tasked to take pictures for the daily German newspaper *Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Mrs Nitzsche immediately alerted me that the young assistant Martin, who accompanied me to trips outside of the studio, was according to the Apartheid laws not allowed to walk next to me. He was forced to follow behind and I was not entitled to any private conversation with him. I had been unaware that the racial laws of the South African Union were applicable in this strict form also to South West Africa. This was a very unpleasant experience. I had respect for Martin as a very observant and supportive escort and I saw him as a fellow human being.

My orders were often executed by means of the 9x12 cm camera from a tripod or a Rolleiflex with flashlight. Additionally, my own Leica M3 with a Tri-X-film was my permanent companion. As a result, I took many black-and-white photos without flashlight next to my contracts. These could express my personal perspective. After all, I was trained as a photographer during a time which was influenced

[310] Authorised translation from German by Henning Melber.

by the socio-documentary stance/perspective of photo journalism of the post-war period. The impressive photos characterised by the humanist approach were my archetypes and the LIFE-photographers of the New York MoMA "Family of Man" exhibition and collection my role models.

As a photographer I also upon invitation of the Africans attended parties, music and dance events and performances in the Old Location. For such execution of my profession, I had a permit to enter the settlement, which was otherwise denied to Europeans. I took the official photos for the company on black-and-white film and afterwards enlarged them together with two German assistants in the laboratory at the shop situated in what was then Kaiser Street, opposite of the Zoo Park. The post-card-sized prints, including scenes from many social events such as the Agricultural Show '59, the horse rider tournament as well as the street parade of the Coon Carnival were then on display in the windows of the shop and could be ordered. Only afterwards I realised that during this time hardly anybody took photos on such occasions. Other photos were published under the company's name in the daily print media. Architectural views were used for advertising purposes and glossy brochures or leaflets.

Returning from my first job to take aerial views of farms from a plane I used the opportunity to make some photos from the Old Location. Despite the simple shacks of mainly corrugated iron sheets the settlement had an atmosphere of intimate security, thanks to the shadows of trees and other vegetation and the adjacent riverbed of the Gammans. This had been quite in contrast to the newly planned Katutura, strategically designed and arranged for control, to which the Africans were now to be forcefully resettled.

Upon orders of the company, I took photos in the Old Location on occasion of Corpus Christi in May 1959 or a dance competition in the Sybil Bowker Hall with good jazz musicians. The young people there also asked me to be part of the jury deciding on the selection of the best dancing pairs. The atmosphere during the dance competition was full of melancholy – sad and at the same time joyful faces.

A feature on the Herero Day in Okahandja in August 1960 was another one of the most delightful experiences. I always felt comfortable among Africans who had so much spontaneity and vital energy. I also had the impression that the African people I encountered had without much words a good feeling if they were respected. I was also able to use my Leica for some personal coverages on the daily life of the people in the Old Location. I liked taking photographs with care and the feeling whether it was agreeable or not – getting in eye-contact and/or short verbal communication for consent. I never had difficulties during my photographic work.[311]

[311] In an email of 3 July 2024 Dieter Hinrichs explained to Dag Henrichsen: "At the time I was not aware of the protest and conflict evolving in the Old Location. I had no insight and nobody at the photo atelier spoke about it. As such I pursued my observations and photography without much knowledge, not realising that my photos would one day become important documents."

In January 1960, the resettlement started with buses, which transported the people to the desolate concrete huts in Katutura, amid unprotected gravel areas without any shadow. It was during this time that my personal photos of the forced resettlement were taken. In December 1960 my wife Christiane and myself left Namibia and, using a Volkswagen Beetle, crossed the African continent from Cape Town to Cairo in four months.[312] Only after my return to Germany I started to process the photographs and published them in magazines and showed them at exhibitions.

I donated a larger series of my photos as vintage prints in 1998 to Dr Jeremy Silvester at the University of Namibia. As he had explained to me, only very few photographic documents existed from the time of the Old Location. He made use of them for seminars with his young African students for exploring the more recent history of the in the meantime destroyed settlement. He also used them for an exhibition in Windhoek and for publication in *The Namibian*.[313] He then handed them over to the National Archives of Namibia, where they are accessible.

Dieter Hinrichs in Windhoek behind a film camera.

[312] See *'Windhoek to Khartoum. Photographing people whose history I did not know'*, in *Doek!* 19 May 2023, No 10, https://doeklitmag.com/windhoek-to-khartoum-1960/

[313] The "Old Location" exhibition of 1999 by the Namibia History Trust is archived at the NAN, ACCRLS, S.064. Dieter Hinrichs' photographs are archived as NAN, ACCRLS, S.067.

Postscript

The trauma that changed the lives of many of us

By Uazuvara Ewald Kapombo Katjivena

The country of my birth was then known as South West Africa. It was under occupation by Apartheid South Africa. I was born on a farm at Ohakaua. It was owned by the Scotsman Major Robert Norman Elliot. He was married to Elisabeth Liesel Cogho Elliot. Despite the discriminating laws of the racist South African regime, the family Elliot never practiced discrimination at their farm. My father Erastus Hijaheke Komomungondo was the foreman there. My mother Ruth Musukomupe preferred to work in Otjiwarongo where the monthly earning was better, because she could work for two white families at the same time. During the day she worked at one white family and then she fetched washings from another one. She washed and hanged the washings to dry at home, which she then ironed the next day after work. The distance between Otjiwarongo and Ohakaua is 39.5 km. This made it possible for my father to bicycle on weekends to Otjiwarongo to visit my mother.

Apparently, I was an amazement. Rumours had it that I never moved in my mother's womb. But when born I made such a fuss that I got the name Uazuvara, meaning "Is it this we never heard about?" I am the second of three sons. We and grandmother's lastborn were raised together by Grandmother Jahohora Inaavinuise Petronella Ndêrura. She was commonly known as Mama Penee. I gave her recognition through a book.[314]

From 1948 to 1957 I attended the Waterberg Primary and Secondary School at Ongombombonde. There were scholars who started school aged 14 to 17 years. Most of the older scholars did the first three years classified and known as little a then big A and then B. Normal grade one would follow then. The older students, after completing reading and writing the vernacular language, went back home to look after family cattle. Three or four years later some of them came back to start the grade one class. They were grown up and bullied us and sometimes threatened the teachers. The school principal was an Afrikaner (white South African) who hardly was interested in how black teachers and scholars were behaving among each other. Sometimes we scholars got punished for what we had no idea about. The dormitories were the worst nightmare! In winter the older boys would take blankets from us, and wrapped them around as they were sleeping. We dared not to wake them up. It is so sad to see that school now. It is in such a bad state. The buildings are so old, and the

[314] Uazuvara Ewald Kapombo Katjivena *'Mama Penee. Transcending the genocide'*. Windhoek': UNAM Press 2020. Also published in German as *'Mama Penee. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem Völkermord'*. Windhoek: UNAM Press 2023.

amenities are so dilapidated that they are hardly usable at all. The teaching staff do all they can with their meagre payments to help the school. It is so sad to observe that.

From 1958 to 1962 I was a student at the Augustineum Training College outside of Windhoek in nearby Okahandja. Run by missionaries, it was at the time the only place for us to get some higher education. Many of the students then joined the core group of the liberation movements SWANU and SWAPO in formation. We were often because of our political activities expelled from the Augustineum and many of us went into exile. The resistance at the Old Location also inspired us to revolt. I was expelled in 1962. Some of the Augustineum students became leading members in SWANU and SWAPO, holding responsible positions in exile. At Independence they turned into leading office bearers in the government of independent Namibia. These included the late President Hage Geingob (1941-2024).[315] The College was a significant educational cradle and "hot spot" to the formation of the national anti-colonial resistance movement. Its role during these days and the students in attendance then would deserve another effort to be brought into the public domain.

As students we often were in the Old Location with relatives and friends, enjoying the social life and the entertainment at weekends. I happened to be there on the fatal evening of 10 December 1959. Together with the late Katuutire Kaura (1941-2022), both 18 years of age, I sat on the ground among the demonstrators. We never expected that there were to be shootings since the demonstration was peaceful. When the fire was opened on us, we ran for our lives jumping over those shot. The trauma changed the lives of many of us and triggered even more determined political activism also at the Augustineum.

When the Old Location was demolished to make room for white settlement many black people who refused to move to Katutura and lost employment were forcefully relocated to the tribal Reserves, which were euphemistically called "Homelands". To remain in white towns or urban black townships people were obliged to have a pass by a white employer. Black people without passes were automatically sent to their segregated tribal lands. Many of us became politicised during this time. Being degraded to objects under a so-called Bantustan-policy of "separate development", as an euphemism for Apartheid, we were left with no other option than to fight for our human rights.

After being expelled from the Augustineum, I worked from 1962 to 1964 for the German company Bosch (Diesel Electric) to serve the black workers sent by other white owned companies. I was not allowed to serve the whites. One day the Manager summoned me to his house for dinner. I was so confused about that invitation. When I entered his house through the back door, as was the rule, I was not surprised to find that my table was prepared at the balcony. We communicated with each

[315] Among the many others were Theo-Ben Gurirab (1938-2018), Hidipo Hamutenya (1939-2016), Peter Katjavivi (*1941), and Mose Penaani Tjitendero (1943-2006), to mention only a few.

other through the opened glass door. He was doing me a great service by wanting to send me to Stuttgart in Germany for studies - which I refused. Because of my political activities in SWAPO, I left for exile in 1964 to avoid detention. In exile I reunited with many of my fellow students.

Katutura: meaning "the place we never wished to live in", is still a painful and humiliating memory carrying the oddments of the rebuffed Apartheid system. The forceful relocation from the Old Location to Katutura, which culminated into the shooting of the defiant black people against their removal, made the new township a reminder of the ruthless oppression seeking to destroy our lives. The Blacks, often referred to as "Kaffirs" by the Boers, never forgot that 10th December 1959 shooting of innocent people who were only standing up for their human rights in defence of their homes.

Up to this day I have never lived or even spent a night in Katutura. The establishment of the location according to tribal residences as WANAHEDA accentuating ethnic division - WA for Wambo (short for Owambo), NA for Nama, HE for Herero, DA for Damara - revealed the policy of white hegemony based on divide and rule. The list about the evil ridiculous Apartheid rules is long. Every year the racist government gave statistics about how many Coloureds have been re-classified White or vice versa. But none of those ever became black. With the forced removal, they even separated the Blacks from other people of colour, who were then relocated to the new suburban Khomasdal.

I do believe that the younger generation has no idea about the dimension of the Apartheid system. Our generation has experienced the sheer stupidity of that system. For example, that of not being allowed to enter certain shops only reserved for white people. There were writings at the door: "ONLY FOR WHITES" and at a window "FOR NON-WHITES ", meaning the black people could do their shopping through a window. Some of the most ridiculous rules were that in some bakeries or shops Blacks where not permitted to buy white bread or white sugar. Some of us wrote fake letters in the names of a white person to buy what was not allowed for black people. Black people going on a trip inside the country needed a written authorisation by a white person or by authorised municipal people. We can never forget the pass laws requiring that every back adult was required to always have a pass with him or her.

Books like this one, documenting aspects of what happened then and the lives we had under Apartheid, including our resilience and togetherness despite a policy of tribalism and racial segregation, are an important reminder that we did not surrender. We maintained our human dignity and practised solidarity. Namibians should remember the stages on our long way to Independence. Life as experienced by the residents of the Old Location in standing together in defiance of Apartheid and resisting the forced removal was among the important if not decisive steps towards the formation of a Namibian nation.

Acknowledgements

This text is the combined, modified and significantly expanded version of several articles, published during the last decade:

- *The Windhoek Old Location. "It was, indeed, when we owned little that we were prepared to make the greatest sacrifices"*. In: *Contested Relations. Protestantism between Southern Africa and Germany from the 1930s to the Apartheid Era*. Edited by Hanns Lessing, Tilman Dedering, Jürgen Kampmann and Dirkie Smit. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2015, pp. 275-286;
- *Revisiting the Windhoek Old Location*. Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, October 2016 (BAB Working Paper No 3: 2016)[316];
- *In the Shadow of Apartheid: The Windhoek Old Location.* In: *Southern Journal for Contemporary History*, vol. 45, no. 2, 2020, pp. 33-58[317]; and
- *'We will not move' from the Old Location to Katutura: Forced resettlement in Windhoek, South West Africa (1959-1968)*. In: *Historia*, vol. 68, no. 1, 2023, pp. 54-85[318].

The journey began with an invitation by Hanns Lessing and Christoph Marx, to contribute to the second volume published by the "Study Process on the Role of Church Relations Between Germany and Southern Africa" ("Studienprozess zur Rolle der Kirchenbeziehungen zwischen Deutschland und dem südlichen Afrika"). A small grant allowed me to combine a stay in Pretoria with research in the National Archives of Namibia in August 2013. The Basler Afrika Bibliographien generously accommodated me in September/October 2013 to benefit from access to sources in their archives. A first draft paper was then presented at the conference on "The role of German-southern African church relations during the 1930s, World War II and the apartheid era" on 11-13 March 2014 in Wuppertal. I could use this opportunity to collect further insights at the local archive of the Rhenish Mission Society of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission in Wuppertal Barmen[319]. Being a guest researcher at the 'Cultural Foundation of Social Integration' Centre of Excellence at the University of Konstanz hosted by the Konstanz Institute for Advanced Study during April 2014 allowed me to finalise the book chapter.

The process triggered more vividly some personal memories dating back to 1967/68. These included occasionally witnessing the last forced relocations from the Old Location to Katutura and the

[316] Accessible at https://www.baslerafrika.ch/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/2016_3_Melber.pdf.
[317] Accessible at https://journals.ufs.ac.za/index.php/jch/article/view/5037/4005.
[318] Accessible at https://upjournals.up.ac.za/index.php/historia/article/view/3827/3915.
[319] Aktenbestand Archiv- und Museumsstiftung der Vereinigten Evangelischen Mission/VEM.

final destruction of the last remnants of infrastructure by bulldozers. I also recalled watching from the window in the classroom of the German Private School (HPS) the kids at the (soon to be closed) African school on the other side of Church Street, operating on the premises of what is today the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN), as well as the last residents of the Old Location passing between both schools, when walking up the hill from the centre of town towards their homes soon to be destroyed. These images were a motivation to pursue the subject further whenever the time and opportunity allowed me to do so. It is understood as a modest contribution to keep alive a recent history, which deserves being on record in the public domain. I am very grateful that the Basler Afrika Bibliographien through this publication make a dream come true. While the results are confined to the perspective of an individual who was raised on the white side of the colour bar of the time, I tried to integrate as much as possible the voices of those largely unheard then but accessible now.

The writing benefitted from advice and support by others. Some of them deserve special mention. I am much indebted to Werner Hillebrecht, director of the National Archives of Namibia at the time of my studies there. As before and since then, he has been always willing to share his profound knowledge to add to mine. The same applies to Dag Henrichsen, who played a constructive role in further improving the final manuscript. I am grateful to him and his colleagues at the Basler Afrika Bibliographien, for providing me valuable guidance and support. Petra Kerckhoff deserves a big thank you for her role during the final stages of this publication. Wolfgang Apelt, in charge of the archive of the Rhenish Mission Society during my visit, walked the extra mile to dig out the relevant documents stored there. Finally, I much appreciated the guided excursion by Gunther von Schumann and Helmut Bistri of the Namibia Scientific Society in May 2015 to the last visible material traces reminding of the Windhoek Old Location.

I am grateful to Dieter Hinrichs for sharing his unique photo collection for this publication, and for contributing some personal reminiscences. I am touched by the willingness of Bience Gawanas and Uazuvara Kapombo (Ewald) Katjivena to add a Preface and a Postscript respectively. We have come a long way being united in remembrance.

While I am solely responsible and accountable for the text presented, it is to some extent a product of collective efforts to maintain memories alive and pass on knowledge about the history of a place, which had been for decades a cradle of African resilience, dignity, and resistance. As the perspective of an outsider, the text tries to bring into public domain certain realities of a time, which less and less people can remember based on personal memories. I hope this effort does not betray or let down those, who know from their own experiences.

I would like to devote this effort to the memory of Tony Emmett, who passed away at the age of 65 on 6 October 2013 in Bloomington (Indiana), at a time when I was benefitting from his collection of documents archived at the Basler Afrika Bibliographien, and to the memory of Mburumba Kerina (initially Erich Getzen). Until weeks before he passed away at the age of 89 on 14 June 2021 in Windhoek, we communicated over his recollection of life in the Old Location and the killing of his brother (first cousin on his mother's side) Bernhard Gutsche in the shootings of 10 December 1959.[320] Unfortunately, our plan to record his narrative remained unfulfilled. If this publication serves with all its limitations as a motivation for others to add to the knowledge on a place and its people, deserving to be remembered, then the mission has been accomplished.

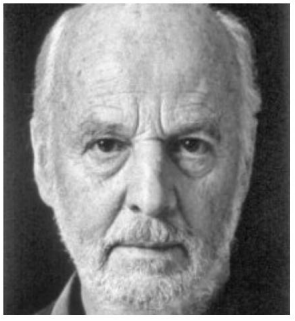
Henning Melber

[320] See the short essay by Manfred Goldbeck, *'Visiting the grave of Namibia's unsung hero - Bernhard Gutsche'*, for the Gondwana Collection Namibia, 10 December 2017, https://www.facebook.com/gondwana.collection.namibia/posts/visiting-the-grave-of-namibias-unsung-hero-bernhard-gutscheit-was-a-warm-and-dus/2218377964854847/.

Contributors

Bience Gawanas was born in 1956. Expelled from the University of Western Cape in 1976 and facing political persecution as a SWAPO Youth League activist back home she left for exile, where she was a teacher in SWAPO refugee camps in Zambia and Angola and in Cuba, before studying in the UK. She holds a LLB(Hons) degree (University of Warwick), a Utter Barrister Degree (Council of Legal Education/Lincoln's Inn), an Executive MBA (University of Cape Town) and two Honorary Doctorates of Law (University of Western Cape and University of Warwick). She is a member of the Lincoln's Inn and the Law Society of Namibia.

In mid-1989 she returned to Namibia, where she was a lawyer at the Legal Assistance Centre in Windhoek, member of the Public Service Commission (1991-1996), and Ombudswoman of the Republic of Namibia (1996-2003). Her career in law, human rights, gender equality, social justice and social development resulted in a wide range of professional assignments, most notably as the African Union Commissioner for Social Affairs (2002-2012), and Under-Secretary-General and Special Adviser on Africa to the United Nations Secretary-General (2018-2020). She held numerous part-time positions and served on boards, taskforces, and commissions both at national and international level and received various awards and recognition for her legal, human rights, social development and social justice work. For further details see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bience_Gawanas.



Dieter Hinrichs was born in 1932 in Göttingen and trained as a photographer at the Bayerische Staatslehranstalt für Photographie in Munich. After having worked in Windhoek he built a career as a freelance photojournalist from his base in Munich. From 1979 he also taught documentary photography at the State Academy of Photo Design. He traveled and exhibited widely. His Namibian photography is published here for the first time more extensively.

Uazuvara Ewald Kapombo Katjivena was born 1941 at Otjiwarongo. In 1964 he escaped arrest for his political activities by fleeing to East Africa. There he was SWAPO Assistant Representative to Tanzania and East Africa and broadcaster at Radio Tanzania's External Services broadcasting to Namibia. 1965 Assistant SWAPO Representative in Cairo for Egypt and the Middle East, he became from 1966 to 1971 SWAPO Chief Representative in Algiers for Algeria and the Maghreb and was the editor of Nouvelles de Namibia (Namibia News in French). Since 1971 member of the SWAPO Executive Committee, he organised in Brussels the First International Namibia Conference in June 1972. He then was the Coordinator for the SWAPO Foreign Department at the Head Office in Lusaka and headed the Namibia Radio at the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation External Programmes.

From 1974 to 1986 he studied in West-Berlin at the German Film and Television Academy and the Arts and Communications Academy. He moved to Norway to marry and live there. 1990 to 1992 he worked for the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation in Windhoek as Chief Controller for Radio and Television. He retired due to lasting injuries from a car accident and returned in 1992 with his family to Norway, where he lives with his wife Bente and two daughters. From 2001 to 2003 he accompanied Bente back to Namibia as she was country representative for Africa Groups of Sweden. UNAM Press published Mama Penee, his book in commemoration of his grandmother, 2020 in English and 2023 in German. He attended both launches.

Henning Melber came to Namibia as a son of immigrants in 1967. He did a one-year professional training as journalist in Munich 1971/72 and worked then for the *Allgemeine Zeitung* before being dismissed because of fundamental ethical-professional differences in mid-1972. While studying Political Sciences and Sociology at the Freie Universität Berlin (since 1972/73) he joined SWAPO in 1974. After 1975 he was denied re-entering Namibia until 1989. He obtained a PhD in Political Sciences (1980) and a Habilitation in Development Studies (1993) at the University of Bremen.

He was Director of The Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit (NEPRU) in Windhoek (1992-2000), Research Director of the Nordic Africa Institute (2000-2006) and Director of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (2006-2012), both in Uppsala/Sweden. As Associate and Director emeritus/Senior Advisor respectively he remains affiliated to both institutions. He is Extraordinary Professor

at the Department of Political Sciences/University of Pretoria (since 2012) and at the Centre for Gender and Africa Studies/University of the Free State in Bloemfontein (since 2013), and Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Commonwealth Studies at the University of London (since 2015). From 2017 to 2023 he was the President of The European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI). In 2018 he was ranked a B2 scholar ("considerable international recognition for the high quality and impact of his/her recent research outputs") by the South African National Research Foundation (NRF).

Photographs, Illustrations and Maps

Photographs

In this book, the section “The Old Location - Windhoek - Katutura 1959-60” publishes the images taken by photographer *Dieter Hinrichs.* He took the photographs in his private capacity, with the exception of the “Portraits of Old Location residents in the Nitzsche-Reiter Photo Studio” which he took in his capacity as the Photo Studio’s photographer. These portraits relate to the Ottilie Nitzsche-Reiter Photo Collection housed in the *National Archives of Namibia (NAN)* in Windhoek. Copies of his Namibian photographs are housed in the archives of the *Basler Afrika Bibliographien (BAB)*, Switzerland, Personal Archives Dieter Hinrichs, PA.178.

As explained in the endnotes to the section, the images bear only scant additional information which has been incorporated in the section, in addition to information provided by Hinrichs in conversations with Dag Henrichsen. Two of his images appear also as Frontespiz and on p. 15, apart from the cover images. The photograph on p. 103 was taken by Mr. Ernsting.

Bience Gawanas kindly provided three images from her personal collection, published here together with her “Preface”.

Other photographs:

p.16: BAB Archives, Personal Archives Anneliese and Ernst Rudolf Scherz, S147_033.
Photographer: *Anneliese Scherz*, ca. 1940s.

p.17: BAB Archives, Personal Archives Anneliese and Ernst Rudolf Scherz, S147_036.
Photographer: *Anneliese Scherz*, ca. 1940s.

p.18: BAB Archives, Personal Archives Anneliese and Ernst Rudolf Scherz, S147_037.
Photographer: *Anneliese Scherz*, ca. 1940s

p.27: NAN, Photo Collection, 03196: “Beer being served in the municipal beerhall Windhoek, 1953”.

p.28: NAN, Photo Collection, 24558: “Customers drinking beer from tins in the beerhall in the Old Location Windhoek”.

pp.91-92: BAB Archives, Personal Archives Hans and Trudy Jenny, BPA.25_087_032-034. Photographer: *Hans Jenny*, 1963.

p.93: NAN, Photo Collection, 01382.

Portraits provided by the authors.

Illustrations

p. 3: Cover images for "Deaths in South West Africa" in *Fighting Talk* (Johannesburg), 14, 1, February 1960. Captions given: "Centre: The funeral of African victims of police shooting in Windhoek Location. Left: The aged Chief Hosea Kutako. Right: A Herero woman mourns."

p. 41: The article "The Women take Action", probably by Brian Bunting, refers to a protest march by women from the Old Location to government buildings in the centre of white Windhoek on 4 December 1959. In *New Age* (South Africa), 6, 11, Southern Edition, 31 December 1959, p.6.

pp.77-78: Article by Brain Bunting: "The Truth about South West Africa", with photographs taken in the Old Location and Katutura. In *New Age* (South Africa), 6, 11, Southern Edition, 31 December 1959, pp 1 & 3. Other images in the edition show more photographs and also portraits of Uatja Kaukwetu, John Garvey Muundjua, Usiel Nguarambuka, Sam Nujoma, David Kasume, Bartholomeus Shimboma.

p.100: BAB Library, Poster Collection, X6255: "50th Anniversary of the Old Location Massacre", four colour digital print, 2009.

Maps

Inside front cover*: Map 1 - The Old Location.* From S. Roland, *'Segregation and Memory',* 242.

Inside back cover: *Map 2 - Katutura and Khomasdal.* From Roland, *'Segregation and Memory'*, 244.

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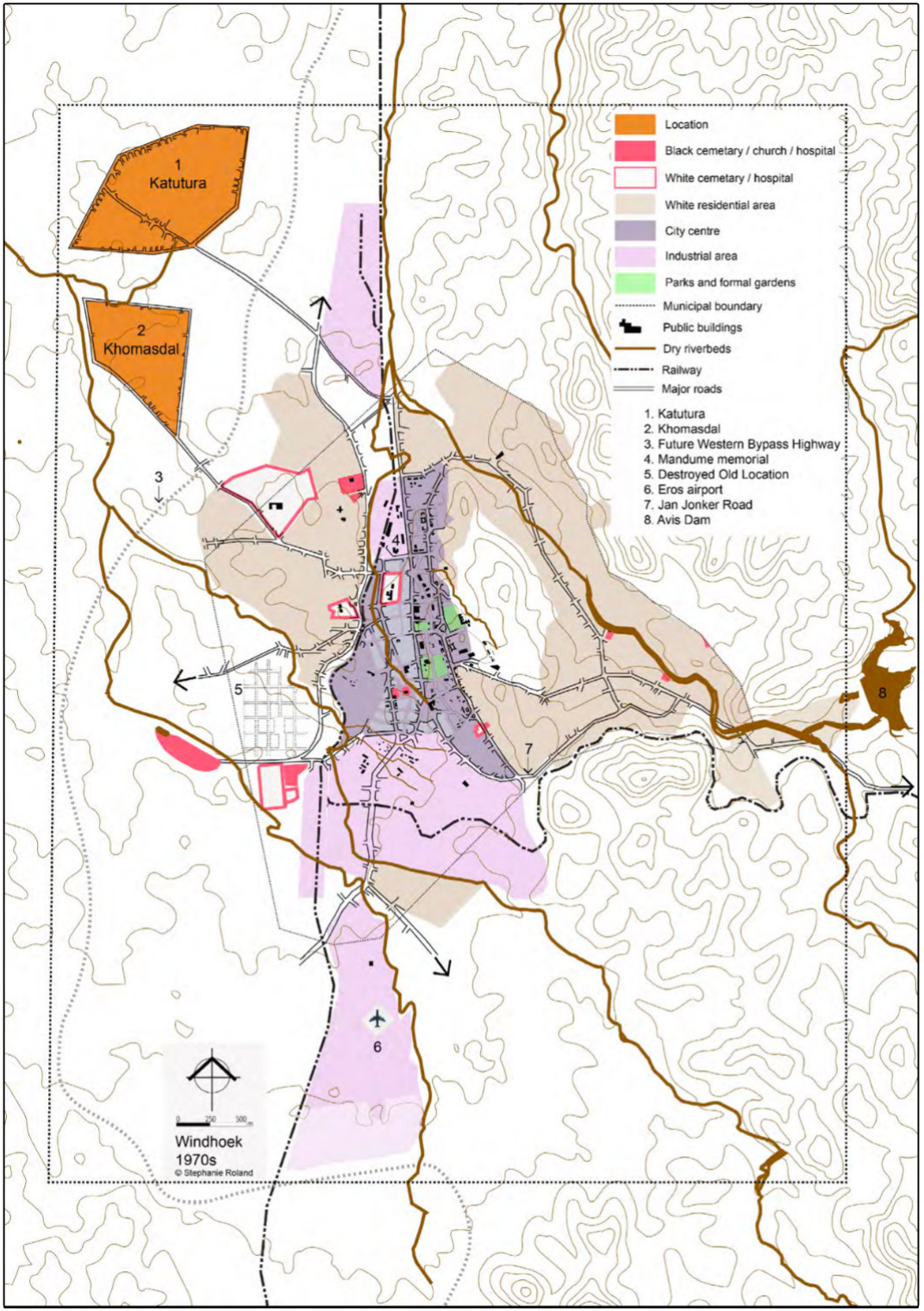
THE WINDHOEK OLD LOCATION

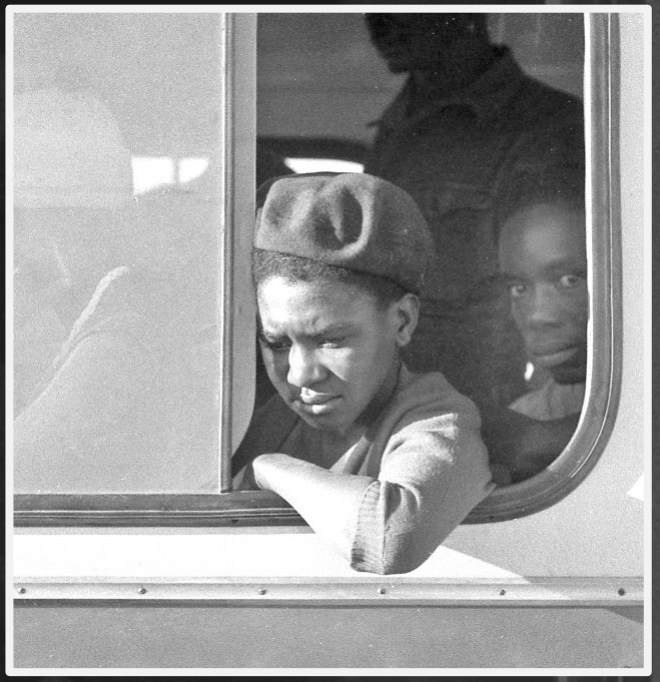
HISTORY AND PHOTOGRAPHS



The story of Windhoek's Old Location is one of African replacement and at the same time of creating home against all odds under the enforced, restricted living conditions of Apartheid. Being adjacent to the White centre of town, urban planning replaced the Old Location with the newly established township Katutura in the late 1950s. Many residents refused to be re-located. Escalating protest resulted in deadly clashes on 10th December 1959 when the colonial police opened fire on unarmed residents. At least 13 were killed and more than 40 recorded as wounded. After years of forced removal, the Old Location was officially closed in 1968.

This book contributes to a commemorative culture of a crucial place and space during a formative time in Namibia's history. It offers a partial reconstruction of a social history of the Old Location. Personal memories of former residents, as far as they are accessible, contrast the colonial archives.

The captivating photographs by the German photographer Dieter Hinrichs, who documented social events and everyday life in the Location between 1959 and 1960, are essential. Many are published here for the first time. They speak louder than words.



"It is important to tell our stories to bring back the values of humanity and community in our lives even if just holding onto the collective memory of the Old Location and the resistance of our people."

Bience Gawanas
Human Rights Lawyer and Ombudswoman of the Republic of Namibia (1996–2003).

"This book, documenting aspects of what happened then and the lives we had under Apartheid, including our resilience and togetherness despite a policy of tribalism and racial segregation, are an important reminder that we did not surrender. We maintained our human dignity and practised solidarity."

Uazuvara Ewald Kapombo Katjivena
Political activist and author.

Henning Melber is Extraordinary Professor at the Centre for Gender and Africa Studies of the University of the Free State and at the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria and associated with the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala. He came as a juvenile to Windhoek in 1967, where he witnessed the last days of the Old Location.

Dieter Hinrichs is a photographer and former lecturer at the *State Academy of Photo Design* in Munich. He lived and worked in Windhoek between 1959 and 1960.

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