

# UNITED NATIONS



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QUESTION OF NAMIBIA

SECURITY COUNCIL  
Thirty-first year

Letter dated 14 September 1976 from the Acting President of the  
United Nations Council for Namibia to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you the texts of the Joint Communiqués issued on the consultations held between the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the Governments of Botswana (annex I), Zambia (annex II), and Angola (annex III).

In the light of the forthcoming debates on the question of Namibia in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, I would like to request that these Joint Communiqués be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under item 85 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Roberto de ROSENZWEIG-DIAZ  
Acting President  
United Nations Council for Namibia

\* A/31/150.

ANNEX I

Joint Communiqué issued on consultations between the  
Government of the Republic of Botswana and the  
Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia,  
Gaborone, 1 September 1976

At the invitation of the Government of Botswana, the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia visited Gaborone from 28 August to 1 September 1976.

The Mission was composed of the following members:

His Excellency Ambassador Dunstan W. Kamana, Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations and President of the United Nations Council for Namibia;

His Excellency Ambassador Thebe D. Mogami, Permanent Representative of Botswana to the United Nations;

Mr. Leslie Robinson (Guyana);

Mr. David Wilson (Liberia);

Mr. Jonathan K. Umar (Nigeria);

Mr. Vladimir Pavićević (Yugoslavia);

Mr. Nchimunya J. Sikaulu (Zambia);

Mr. Theo-Ben Gurirab (SWAPO).

His Excellency Sir Seretse Khama, President of the Republic of Botswana, received in audience the members of the United Nations Council for Namibia. He was accompanied by the following officials of the Government of Botswana:

The Honourable Mr. A. M. Mogwe, Minister of External Affairs;

The Honourable Mr. D. K. Kwelagobe, Minister of Information and Public Service;

Mr. L. M. Mpotokwane, Administrative Secretary, Office of the President;

Mr. M. C. Tibone, Secretary for External Affairs;

Mr. A. W. Kgarebe, Botswana's High Commissioner to Zambia;

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Mr. Thomas Tlou, External Affairs Officer;

Mr. S. T. Ketlogetswe, Under-Secretary for External Affairs;

Mr. L. J. M. J. Legwaila, Senior Private Secretary to the President;

Mr. D. Rendoh, External Affairs Officer;

Mr. E. Mpofu, External Affairs Officer.

The Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia to Botswana expressed its appreciation for the policies of the Government of Botswana in support of the cause of the Namibian people in their efforts to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. The Government of Botswana reaffirmed its recognition of the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal authority of Namibia until independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967.

The purpose of the visit of the Mission of the Council for Namibia to Botswana was to hold consultations with the Government of Botswana and to examine ways and means of intensifying the joint action of the Government of Botswana and of the United Nations Council for Namibia in the United Nations and, whenever possible, in other international forums with a view to achieving the speedy implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council which have consistently affirmed, for over a decade, the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

The Government of Botswana and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia reaffirmed their conviction that the immediate withdrawal of the illegal South African administration from Namibia constitutes the only political solution for Namibia which will allow the free and unfettered exercise by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence within a united Namibia in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The Government of Botswana and the United Nations Council for Namibia denounce the illegal presence of the South African régime in Namibia and condemn the arrests and acts of intimidation that are being perpetrated against the Namibian people.

The Government of Botswana and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia reiterate their full support for the Namibian people under the leadership of their liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. The legitimacy of the struggle has been solemnly proclaimed by resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council of the United Nations.

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The Security Council, in its resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976, condemned the continued illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia as well as the illegal and arbitrary application of racially discriminatory and repressive laws and practices in Namibia. It also demanded that South Africa urgently make a solemn declaration accepting the provisions of the resolution related to the holding of free elections in Namibia under United Nations supervision and control and undertaking to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations as well as with the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971 in regard to Namibia.

The Government of Botswana and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia reaffirm the statement of 18 August 1976 approved by the United Nations Council for Namibia on the so-called proposals of South Africa on the future of Namibia (A/31/181-S/12185) and reject the statement transmitted by the Government of South Africa to the Secretary-General of the United Nations (S/12180) on the future political status of Namibia as totally lacking in legitimacy and containing propositions riddled with ambiguities and equivocations. The proposals of the so-called constitutional conference do not meet any of the conditions laid down by the United Nations, such as those which pertain to the holding of free elections under United Nations supervision and control. The statement prepared by the so-called constitutional conference of tribal elements and supporters of apartheid hand-picked by the illegal South African administration does not make any provisions for the elimination of the apartheid legislation nor of the homeland or bantustan policies. Indeed the so-called constitutional conference is an attempt to perpetuate both policies with all their deleterious effects on the integrity and unity of the Namibian people.

The Government of Botswana and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia are of the view that, in the light of non-compliance by South Africa with the terms of resolution 385 (1976), the Security Council should consider the appropriate measures to be taken under the Charter of the United Nations.

The Government of Botswana and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia are of the view that the struggle of the people of Namibia for self-determination and independence under the leadership of their liberation movement SWAPO, the authentic representative of the Namibian people, has reached a new and critical stage. In the light of recent developments, the Government of Botswana and the United Nations Council for Namibia will support in the forthcoming session of the General Assembly all efforts to strengthen the role of the United Nations Council for Namibia in carrying out its responsibilities as the legal administering authority of the Territory until independence.

The Government of Botswana and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia shall endeavour to encourage all possible assistance of the specialized agencies and other United Nations bodies in support of SWAPO, the authentic representative of the Namibian people.

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The Government of Botswana and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia agreed to carry on further consultations on projects to increase direct assistance to the Namibian people in their efforts to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

The Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia thanked the Government and people of Botswana for the warm welcome extended to it and for their generous hospitality and expressed its appreciation for the firm and consistent position taken by the Government of Botswana with respect to the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia in support of self-determination, freedom and national independence for the Namibian people.

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ANNEX II

Joint Communiqué issued on consultations between the  
Government of the Republic of Zambia and the Mission  
of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Lusaka,  
5 September 1976

At the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Zambia, the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia visited Lusaka from 1 to 5 September 1976.

The Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia was headed by His Excellency Ambassador Dunstan W. Kamana, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Zambia to the United Nations and President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, and included the following members:

- His Excellency Ambassador Thebe D. Mogami, Permanent Representative of Botswana to the United Nations;
- Mr. Leslie Robinson (Guyana);
- Mr. David Wilson (Liberia);
- Mr. Jonathan K. Umar (Nigeria);
- Mr. Vladimir Pavićević (Yugoslavia);
- Mr. Nchimunya J. Sikaulu (Zambia);
- Mr. Theo-Ben Gurirab (SWAPO).

His Excellency Kenneth Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, received in audience the members of the United Nations Council for Namibia. On this occasion His Excellency reaffirmed the support of the Government of the Republic of Zambia for the liberation of the people of Namibia and the creation of a free and independent unitary State of Namibia under the leadership of its liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

The Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia also paid courtesy calls on His Honour Mr. A. G. Zulu, Secretary-General of the United National Independence Party. The Right Honourable Elijah H. K. Mudenda, M.P., Prime Minister of the Republic of Zambia and the Honourable R. C. Kamanga, member of the Central Committee of the Party and also Chairman of the Political, Constitutional, Legal and Foreign Affairs Committee of the Party.

The Mission had consultations with the senior officials of the Government of the Republic of Zambia led by Mr. P. M. Ngonda, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These consultations were centred on examining ways and means of intensifying the joint action of the Government of Zambia and of the United Nations Council for Namibia in the United Nations and, whenever possible, in other

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international forums with a view to achieving the speedy implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council which have consistently affirmed for over a decade the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

The Government of the Republic of Zambia and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia solemnly reaffirm their conviction that the immediate and unconditional withdrawal by South Africa of all its military and police forces and its administration from Namibia constitutes the only political solution for Namibia which will enable the Namibian people to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The Government of the Republic of Zambia and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia solemnly denounce the illegal presence of the South African régime in Namibia and condemn the continuous police violence and acts of intimidation by the security forces of the illegal administration which by these means attempts to perpetuate the odious exploitation of the people of Namibia through the policies of apartheid and homelands.

The Government of the Republic of Zambia and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia solemnly denounce the military adventurism of South Africa. The acts of aggression which South African troops have committed against neighbouring African States constitute dangerous violations of international peace and security with the most ominous implications for the future of southern Africa. These acts of aggression are a sign of the desperate mood of the racist and colonialist Pretoria régime.

The Government of the Republic of Zambia and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia endorse the relevant provisions of the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity with respect to Namibia and support all necessary measures to strengthen co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly, particularly those provisions in support of self-determination, freedom and national independence for Namibia.

The Government of the Republic of Zambia and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia solemnly recognize that the national liberation movement of Namibia, SWAPO, is the authentic representative of the Namibian people and support its efforts to mobilize the Namibian people in their national struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia. They furthermore solemnly reaffirm the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people by all means at their disposal against the illegal occupation by South Africa of their country.

The Security Council, in its resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976, condemned the continued illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia as well as the illegal

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and arbitrary application of racially discriminatory and repressive laws and practices in Namibia. It also demanded that South Africa urgently make a solemn declaration accepting the provisions of the resolution related to the holding of free elections in Namibia under United Nations supervision and control and undertaking to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations as well as with the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971 in regard to Namibia.

The Government of the Republic of Zambia and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia reaffirm the statement of 18 August 1976 approved by the United Nations Council for Namibia on the so-called proposals of South Africa on the future of Namibia (A/31/181-S/12185) and reject the statement transmitted by the Government of South Africa to the Secretary-General of the United Nations (S/12180) on the future political status of Namibia as totally lacking in legitimacy and containing propositions riddled with ambiguities and equivocations. The proposals of the so-called constitutional conference do not meet any of the conditions laid down by the United Nations, such as those which pertain to the holding of free elections under United Nations supervision and control. The statement prepared by the so-called constitutional conference of tribal elements and supporters of apartheid hand-picked by the illegal South African administration does not make any provisions for the elimination of the apartheid legislation nor of the homeland or bantustan policies. Indeed, the so-called constitutional conference is an attempt to perpetuate both policies with all their deleterious effects on the integrity and unity of the Namibian people.

The Government of Zambia and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia are of the view that, in the light of non-compliance by South Africa with the terms of resolution 385 (1976), the Security Council should consider the appropriate measures to be taken under the Charter of the United Nations.

The Government of the Republic of Zambia and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia are of the view that the struggle of the people of Namibia for self-determination and independence under the leadership of their liberation movement SWAPO, the authentic representative of the Namibian people, has reached a new and critical stage. In the light of recent developments, the Government of the Republic of Zambia and the United Nations Council for Namibia will support in the forthcoming session of the General Assembly all efforts to strengthen the role of the United Nations Council for Namibia in carrying out its responsibilities as the legal administering authority of the Territory until independence.

The Government of the Republic of Zambia and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia shall endeavour to encourage all possible assistance of the specialized agencies and other United Nations bodies in support of SWAPO, the authentic representative of the Namibian people.

The Government of the Republic of Zambia and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia agreed to carry on further consultations on projects to increase

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direct assistance to the Namibian people in their efforts to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

The Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia thanked the Government and the people of Zambia for the warm welcome extended to it and for their generous hospitality and expressed its appreciation for the firm and consistent position taken by the Government of the Republic of Zambia with respect to the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia in support of the struggle for self-determination, freedom and national independence of the Namibian people, under the leadership of their liberation movement, SWAPO.

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ANNEX III

Joint Communiqué issued on consultations between the Government of  
the People's Republic of Angola and the Mission of the United  
Nations Council for Namibia, Luanda, 7 September 1976

The Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia visited Luanda from 5 to 7 September 1976, having held contacts with officials of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola.

The Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia was headed by His Excellency Ambassador Dunstan W. Kamana, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Zambia to the United Nations and President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, and included the following members:

His Excellency Ambassador Thebe D. Mogami, Permanent Representative of Botswana to the United Nations;  
Mr. Leslie Robinson (Guyana);  
Mr. David Wilson (Liberia);  
Mr. Jonathan K. Umar (Nigeria);  
Mr. Vladimir Pavićević (Yugoslavia);  
Mr. Nchimunya J. Sikaulu (Zambia);  
Mr. Nangolo Ithete (SWAPO).

The delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola which participated in the consultations with the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia was headed by Mr. Roberto de Almeida, Director-General of the Ministry of External Affairs, and included the following officials of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola:

Mr. Paulo Jorge, Secretary of Presidency for External Affairs and  
Mr. Garcia Neto, Director for Co-operation and Economic Affairs.

The Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia was received in audience by Mr. Lúcio Lara, Secretary of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and members of the Department of External Affairs of MPLA.

The Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia expressed its profound appreciation for the policies of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola in support of the cause of the Namibian people in their efforts to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. The Government of the People's Republic of Angola appreciated the efforts of the United

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Nations Council for Namibia to support in every way the struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) until independence.

The purpose of the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia was to hold consultations with the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and to examine ways and means of intensifying the joint action of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and of the United Nations Council for Namibia in the United Nations and whenever possible in other international forums with a view to achieving the speedy implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council which have consistently affirmed for over a decade the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia solemnly reaffirm their conviction that the immediate and unconditional withdrawal by South Africa of all its military and police forces and its administrations from Namibia constitutes the only political solution for Namibia which will enable the Namibian people to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia solemnly denounce the illegal presence of the South African régime in Namibia and condemn the continuous police violence and acts of intimidation by the security forces of the illegal administration which, by these means, attempts to perpetuate the odious exploitation of the people of Namibia through the policies of apartheid and homelands.

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia solemnly denounce the military adventurism of South Africa. The acts of aggression which South African troops have committed against neighbouring African States constitute dangerous violations of international peace and security with the most ominous implications for the future of southern Africa. These acts of aggression are a sign of the desperate mood of the racist and colonialist Pretoria régime.

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia endorse the relevant provisions of the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity with respect to Namibia and support all necessary measures to strengthen co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly, particularly those provisions in support of self-determination, freedom and national independence for Namibia.

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia solemnly recognize that the national liberation movement of Namibia, SWAPO, is the authentic representative of the Namibian people and support its efforts to mobilize the Namibian people in their national struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia. They furthermore solemnly reaffirm the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people by all means at their disposal against the illegal occupation by South Africa of their country.

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia reaffirm the statement of 18 August 1976 approved by the United Nations Council for Namibia on the so-called proposals of South Africa on the future of Namibia (A/31/181-S/12185) and reject the statement transmitted by the Government of South Africa to the Secretary-General of the United Nations (S/12180) on the future political status of Namibia as totally lacking in legitimacy and containing propositions riddled with ambiguities and equivocations.

The statement prepared by the so-called constitutional conference of tribal elements and supporters of apartheid hand-picked by the illegal South African administration does not make any provisions for the elimination of the apartheid legislation nor of the homeland or bantustan policies. Indeed, the so-called constitutional conference is an attempt to perpetuate both policies with all their deleterious effects on the integrity and unity of the Namibian people.

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia are of the view that, in the light of non-compliance by South Africa with the terms of resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976, the Security Council should consider the appropriate measures to be taken under the Charter of the United Nations.

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia are of the view that the struggle of the people of Namibia for self-determination and independence under the leadership of their liberation movement SWAPO, the authentic representative of the Namibian people, has reached a new and critical stage. In the light of recent developments, the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the United Nations Council for Namibia will support in the forthcoming session of the General Assembly all efforts to strengthen the role of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia shall endeavour to encourage all possible assistance of the specialized agencies and other United Nations bodies in support of SWAPO, the authentic representative of the Namibian people.

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The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia agreed to carry on further consultations on projects to increase direct assistance to the Namibian people in their efforts to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

The Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia thanked the Government and the people of Angola for the warm welcome extended to it and for their generous hospitality and expressed its appreciation for the firm and consistent position taken by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola with respect to the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia in support of the struggle for self-determination, freedom and national independence of the Namibian people, under the leadership of their liberation movement, SWAPO.

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