



**REPORT  
OF THE  
UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL  
FOR NAMIBIA**

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**VOLUME III**

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

**OFFICIAL RECORDS: THIRTY - FIRST SESSION**

**SUPPLEMENT No. 24 (A/31/24)**

**UNITED NATIONS**



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New York, 1977

#### NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Volume I contains the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia covering the period from 13 September 1975 to 20 October 1976. Volume II contains annexes I to XIII to the report. The present volume contains annex XIV.

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REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA

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REPORT OF THE MISSION OF THE COUNCIL TO AFRICA

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## INTRODUCTION

1. At its 234th plenary meeting, on 17 June 1976, the Council decided to undertake consultations regarding a visiting mission of the Council to Africa in order to obtain the views of the Governments of the neighbouring States of Namibia, namely, Angola, Botswana and Zambia, with respect to current developments in Namibia. Such consultations would aim at intensifying joint action in order to support effectively the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.
2. The decision of the Council was based on its mandate, established under General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 18 May 1967, to administer Namibia until independence, and on section IV of General Assembly resolution 3295 (XXIX) of 13 December 1974, in particular, paragraphs 5 and 6.
3. The membership of the Mission, as constituted by the Council on the recommendation of its Chairman, was as follows:
  - Chairman: Mr. Dunstan Weston Kamana  
Permanent Representative of Zambia to the United Nations  
President of the Council
  - Vice-Chairman: Mr. Thebe David Mogami  
Permanent Representative of Botswana to the United  
Nations
  - Members: Mr. Leslie Gordon Robinson (Guyana)  
Mr. David Weahplah Wilson (Liberia)  
Mr. Jonathan Kabo Umar (Nigeria)  
Mr. Vladimir Pavićević (Yugoslavia)  
Mr. Nchimunya J. Sikaulu (Zambia)  
Mr. Theo-Ben Gurirab  
Member of the Central Committee of the South West Africa  
People's Organization (SWAPO)  
SWAPO Chief Representative at the United Nations and for  
the Americas
4. In pursuance of the foregoing decision of the Council, the Mission travelled to London, Lusaka, Gaborone and Luanda between 21 August and 7 September 1976. The chronology of the Mission is given in section A below. A summary of the activities related to the United Nations Institute for Namibia at Lusaka is contained in section B below. Section C contains a summary of the consultations with the leadership of SWAPO. An account of the consultations of the Mission with the Governments is set out in section D. Finally, the observations of the Mission and its recommendations are presented in sections E and F respectively.
5. The Mission wishes to place on record its deep appreciation for the opportunity



that the Governments of Angola, Botswana and Zambia so generously accorded it to participate in thorough and candid exchanges of views relating to the question of Namibia. The Mission also wishes to express its profound gratitude to the Government and people of those countries for the cordial hospitality and warm reception extended to its members. The Mission further wishes to express its gratitude to the leadership of SWAPO for the opportunity to exchange views on the liberation struggle in Namibia and on the role of the Council at the United Nations. The Mission is also grateful to the Secretary-General for making available the necessary staff and facilities and, in that connexion, wishes to acknowledge with appreciation the competent and dedicated services of the staff members as well as the assistance extended to the Mission by various United Nations offices at the capitals concerned.

#### A. CHRONOLOGY OF THE MISSION

6. A chronological summary of the Mission to Africa is given below:

##### 1. United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Sunday, 22 August 1976 (London)

5 p.m.-5.30 p.m. Interview with a correspondent of the Independent Television Service

5.30 p.m.-6 p.m. Interview with representatives of the Radio Service division of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)

##### 2. Zambia

Tuesday, 24 August (Lusaka)

10.30 a.m. Press conference with correspondents of The Times of Zambia and The Daily Mail

Thursday, 26 August

11 a.m. Opening ceremony of the United Nations Institute for Namibia (see appendix I to the present annex), attended by the President of the Republic of Zambia

6.30 p.m.-8.30 p.m. Namibia Day reception given by the President of the Council (see appendix II to the present annex)

Friday, 27 August

9 a.m.-1 p.m. First part of the fourth meeting of the Senate of the Institute

1 p.m.-2.30 p.m. Luncheon given by the Director of the Institute for members of the Senate of the Institute and members of the Mission

2.30 p.m.-5 p.m. Second part of the fourth meeting of the Senate of the Institute

8 p.m. Reception given by the Director of the Institute

11 p.m. Meeting with the President of the Council and other officials of SWAPO

### 3. Botswana

#### Sunday, 29 August (Gaborone)

1 p.m. Luncheon given by the High Commissioner of Nigeria to Botswana

6.30 p.m. Reception given by the Acting High Commissioner of Zambia to Botswana

#### Monday, 30 August

10 a.m. Meeting with the representative of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to Botswana

2.30 p.m. Meeting with a delegation of the Ministry of External Affairs, headed by the Administrative Secretary of the Office of the President

6.30 p.m. Reception given by the Minister for External Affairs

8.30 p.m. Showing of the film "Namibia - A Trust Betrayed" at the Ministry of External Affairs

#### Tuesday, 31 August

11 a.m. Meeting with the President of Botswana and the Minister for External Affairs

7 p.m. Showing of the film "Namibia - A Trust Betrayed" at City Hall

8 p.m. Address by the President of the Council to students at the University of Botswana (see appendix III to the present annex)

#### Wednesday, 1 September

10 a.m. Press conference at the Radio Station of Botswana

### 4. Zambia

#### Wednesday, 1 September (Lusaka)

7.30 p.m. Press conference at Lusaka International Airport

#### Thursday, 2 September

10 a.m. Consultations with a delegation of officials of the Zambian Government, headed by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

2 p.m. Courtesy call on the Chairman of the Political, Constitutional Legal and Foreign Affairs Committee of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), member of the Central Committee of the Party

8 p.m. Dinner given by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Friday, 3 September

11 a.m. Courtesy call on the Prime Minister of Zambia

3 p.m. Courtesy call on the Secretary-General of UNIP

7 p.m. Dinner given by the Lusaka Press Club (see appendix IV to the present report)

Saturday, 4 September

10 p.m. Audience with the President of Zambia

5. Angola

Sunday, 5 September (Luanda)

11.30 p.m. Press conference with reporters of the Diario de Luanda and the Journal de Angola

Monday, 6 September

11 a.m. Meeting with a delegation of government officials headed by the Director-General of the Ministry of External Affairs

Tuesday, 7 September

10 a.m. Meeting with a delegation headed by the Secretary of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA)

4 p.m. Meeting with the delegation of government officials headed by the Director-General of the Ministry of External Affairs

6 p.m. Press conference

B. ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS INSTITUTE FOR NAMIBIA

1. Opening ceremony of the Institute

7. Mr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, President of Zambia, formally opened the United Nations Institute for Namibia at Lusaka on Namibia Day, 26 August 1976. Among those present were members of the Central Committee of UNIP, cabinet ministers, members of the Central Committee of SWAPO, the Mission of the Council, the

diplomatic corps and other distinguished guests. Given below is a summary of the statements made at the opening ceremony.

Statement by the President of Zambia

8. The President of Zambia stated that, in essence, the basic function of the Institute was to help the struggle being waged by the oppressed people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia. He recalled that in 1974 South Africa had announced a so-called master plan for Namibia with the objective of carrying out the "balkanization" of Namibia along racial and ethnic lines. He emphasized that the problem of Namibia was compounded, among other things, by the collaboration of international capitalism and certain Western Governments with racist South Africa. The collaboration of those countries with racist South Africa made a mockery of their stand at the United Nations purporting to be in favour of the oppressed people of Namibia. He further stated that the ambivalence and hypocrisy of those countries was deplorable. The President reaffirmed the support of Zambia for the struggle in Namibia. He further emphasized that it was important for all to remember that the problem of Namibia was intimately linked with that of the liberation of Zimbabwe and the end of apartheid in South Africa.

9. Finally, he reaffirmed, on behalf of the ruling party, Government and people of Zambia, their desire to continue to render all possible assistance to the Institute so that it could achieve the noble objectives for which it had been established.

Statement by the President of the Council

10. The President of the Council stated that the establishment of the Institute was an act of confidence in the future of the Namibian people and an expression of the unshakable commitment of the United Nations to assist the Namibian people in shattering the chains of colonialism and apartheid. a/

Statement by the representative of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

11. Mr. Pavićević (Yugoslavia), speaking on behalf of the Special Committee, extended the full support of that Committee to the Institute. He said that it was important that the training of Namibians be undertaken by African scholars and administrators for the benefit of the people of Namibia as an independent African State under the guidance of SWAPO.

Statement by the President of SWAPO

12. Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, drew the attention of the audience to the very special character of 26 August in the history of Namibia. On that day in

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a/ See appendix I to the present annex for the full text of the President's statement.

1966, armed guerrilla forces of SWAPO had encountered South African troops Ongulumbashe and, for the first time, had inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy. Now, 10 years later, the United Nations had opened a unique institution at Lusaka, with the responsibility of training Namibians in the organizational and administrative skills necessary for the reconstruction of a liberated Namibia. He declared that SWAPO viewed the establishment of the Institute as a very significant and great achievement. Mr. Nujoma emphasized that the armed struggle would continue until the country had been completely liberated, and condemned the so-called constitutional talks, as well as the policies of separate development and apartheid practised by South Africa in Namibia.

13. He pointed out that, although the African population of Namibia numbered 1 million, there were only eight secondary schools, all with inadequate laboratories, libraries or research facilities. A large majority of African school children (approximately 97.8 per cent), left school before standard 6, while 68 per cent of the white children continued on to secondary school and beyond. Only 0.03 per cent of the African children who entered primary school reached high school. Although it was compulsory for all white children to attend school from the age of 6 years, African children were not required to attend school and in fact were not permitted to begin school until they were 7 years of age. By 1974, there were only two technical, four trade or vocational schools and one special school for the entire African population. There was no university or institution of higher learning in Namibia. Mr. Nujoma called upon the students at the Institute to devote themselves to their studies in order to become useful and responsible citizens.

#### Message from the Secretary-General of the United Nations

14. The United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, on behalf of the Secretary-General, expressed the view that the Institute would become a centre for all those who were interested in promoting the welfare of Namibia. It would be particularly valuable for those scholars and administrators of Namibia and elsewhere, who could look to it as an appropriate centre for the training of Namibians and for information and research on matters relating to the Namibian people and their country.

#### Statement by the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia

15. Speaking on his own behalf, the Commissioner emphasized the need for additional contributions to provide the Institute with adequate financial resources to continue its task.

#### Statement by the Chairman of the Senate of the Institute

16. Mr. Adebayo Adedeji, Chairman of the Senate, emphasized the following as the major objectives of the Institute:

(a) To provide Namibians with the necessary education and training to plan, organize and administer the various government departments and public services of an independent Namibia;

(b) To prepare studies for the liberation movement and the Government of an independent Namibia;

(c) To undertake and carry out basic research;

(d) To prepare the statistics and blueprints which would be required by the government departments of an independent Namibia.

17. The Chairman further indicated that the Senate would endeavour to make the Institute self-reliant, and would emphasize its Namibian character.

#### Statement by the Director of the Institute

18. Mr. Hage-Gottfried Geingob, Director of the Institute, thanked the President of Zambia for the untiring efforts of his Government to assist the people of Namibia, and indicated that the intensification of the struggle to hasten the day of liberation was the only appropriate way for Namibians to express their gratitude for the assistance so generously given by the Government and people of Zambia to the cause of Namibia. He also expressed his appreciation for the assistance of all other distinguished officials, international agencies, and governmental bodies which had given their co-operation in the establishment of the Institute.

19. After his statement, the Director led the guests on a tour of the facilities of the Institute. A reception was held after the tour.

#### 2. Fourth meeting of the Senate of the Institute

20. The President of the Council appointed Mr. Jonathan K. Umar to represent him at the fourth meeting of the Senate, on 27 August 1976. The meeting was attended by the following members:

Mr. Adebayo Adedeji, Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (Chairman of the Senate)

Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, Ambassador of Finland to the United Republic of Tanzania, Somalia and Mozambique

Mr. Ahmed Salah el-Zahid, Ambassador of Egypt to Zambia

Mr. Theo-Ben Gurirab, representative of SWAPO to the United Nations and the Americas

Mr. L. H. Kalenga, Secretary of Education and Culture, SWAPO

Mr. Seán MacBride, United Nations Commissioner for Namibia

Mr. Severin H. Njelesani, Section Head, Manpower Planning, Training and Zambianization, Kitwe

Mr. Jonathan K. Umar, Representative of Nigeria on the United Nations Council for Namibia

21. The agenda of the first part of the fourth meeting of the Senate included the following items:

- (a) Approval of the agenda;
- (b) Approval of the minutes of the third meeting of the Senate, 6-7 April 1976;
- (c) Consideration of the report of the Preliminary Selection Committee;
- (d) Appointment of the Assistant Director, Economics Division;
- (e) Confirmation by the Senate of academic staff appointments recommended by the Committee of Management;
- (f) Draft report of the Senate to the Council and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

22. The agenda of the second part of the fourth meeting of the Senate included the following items:

- (a) Approval of the emblem of the Institute;
- (b) Approval of the code of conduct for students;
- (c) Approval of the curriculum of the Institute;
- (d) Approval of the rules of admission for students;
- (e) Review of the 6-month budget and the manning tables;
- (f) Other matters.

23. The Senate adopted the report of the Preliminary Selection Committee, which had recommended the appointment of Mr. Atta Mills to the post of Assistant Director, Economics Division, and Mr. A. Mpakati to the post of Senior Lecturer, Economics Division, each for the period of one year. The Senate approved the report on academic staff appointments recommended by the Committee of Management, with the recommendation that the Committee of Management should, in the future, include the curricula vitae of all candidates for staff appointments, including those not accepted by the Institute.

24. The Senate considered its draft report to the Council and the Secretary-General and approved a suggestion to include more complete information before submitting the report to the Council and to the Secretary-General. It approved an Institute emblem in three colours, and adopted the proposed code of conduct for students and the rules of admission, as revised following the introduction of several amendments. The Senate also considered the proposed curriculum, and concluded that it was not sufficiently comprehensive. It decided that the Director should communicate with various institutions of public administration already established in independent East Africa and, immediately after independence, request their assistance in drawing up a more inclusive programme. Finally, the Senate decided that its fifth meeting should be held on 9 and 10 December 1976.

C. CONSULTATIONS WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE  
SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION

25. On 27 August, the Mission met with a delegation of SWAPO, headed by its President, Mr. Nujoma. Given below is a summary of the views expressed by him and of the comments made in response to questions raised by members of the Mission.

26. The President of SWAPO thanked the Council for its efforts and indicated that SWAPO recognized the authority of the Council over the Territory. The opening of the Institute had been the expression of the concrete support of the Council for the freedom and independence of Namibia. According to available information, the opening of the Institute had caused concern in South Africa. It was known that some reactionary churches were trying to set up different education centres to counter the anticipated strong impact of the Institute. SWAPO would continue to support the efforts of the Council against the illegal administration of South Africa in Namibia.

27. With respect to the recent South African statement announcing the eventual creation of an interim Government and independence for Namibia by 1978 (S/12180), it was clear that such proposals had been made in an attempt to undercut all initiatives of the Security Council and of the Council. SWAPO considered that it would be useful for the Council to approach Member States in order to obtain their support in rejecting the proposals being circulated by South Africa. The main objective of South Africa was to strengthen its position in Namibia. If there were to be any constitutional talks, they should be between representatives of SWAPO and of South Africa, under United Nations auspices. SWAPO would be ready to talk with South Africa in negotiations presided over by the Council.

28. Mr. Nujoma alleged that attempts were being made to bypass the Council and to undermine its authority. South Africa had ignored the mandate of the Council. The new manoeuvres of South Africa were treacherous and SWAPO would not be misled by them. The Council should stand firm and SWAPO would continue to intensify the armed struggle for the liberation of Namibia. Namibian patriots had already encountered the enemy at Tomaroon, 160 kilometres from Windhoek. The Council should continue to intensify its efforts. The cause of Namibia required also the increasing support of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

29. Mr. Nujoma went on to say that the next debate in the Security Council should take place at the beginning of the General Assembly. On that occasion, the foreign ministers of many countries would be present at the Assembly session and SWAPO would send a delegation from Lusaka to participate in the Security Council's consideration of the question of Namibia. SWAPO believed that it was important to press for the application of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular Articles 39, 41 and 42. South Africa had done nothing except formulate deceptive proposals. Pressure should be brought to bear on South Africa if anything was to be done by the United Nations. It was very important for the United Nations to exercise its responsibilities to the people of Namibia, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966.

30. SWAPO appreciated the proposals to increase material assistance and other practical measures. Assistance from the Council, as well as the specialized agencies, would be particularly helpful for the SWAPO refugee camps and schools that were being opened in front-line countries.



31. Mr. Nujoma also noted that the results of the visiting mission of the Council to Latin America (see annex XII to the present report) and the support expressed by Peru, Brazil and Venezuela for the cause of Namibia were encouraging.

32. In reply to questions, he indicated that all forces supporting Namibia should continue to press the issue in the General Assembly and the Security Council. Although the United States of America had expressed support for the cause of Namibia and had voted in favour of many resolutions, it had been reluctant to take concrete initiatives. SWAPO hoped that that Government would exert greater pressure on South Africa. In reply to another question, he stated that no contact had yet been made with the United States, although representatives of that Government had met with the front-line States, in an attempt to promote the bantustan formula, which was not acceptable to SWAPO. SWAPO of course, would not talk with representatives of South Africa until its demands had been fully met (see vol. I, para. 390, of the present report). Mr. Nujoma indicated that a constitution for Namibia would be drawn up only after the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and after appropriate consultations with the Namibian people. He further indicated that there were many areas in which the Council and SWAPO could co-operate. Consultations should therefore continue so that the Council and SWAPO could maintain a common stand. SWAPO had considered proposing to the Council that it authorize the establishment of an office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia in Angola.

33. Finally, Mr. Nujoma expressed the view that, despite the need for consultations, SWAPO had no choice but to continue to expand the armed struggle.

34. In reply to the last question put to him, Mr. Nujoma indicated that the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia had informed SWAPO of his intention not to accept a new mandate for 1977. With respect to the rumors disseminated by the imperialist press, that SWAPO intended to establish a Government-in-exile, he stated that SWAPO had no intention of taking such an initiative. Such suggestions were merely South African propaganda.

#### D. CONSULTATIONS UNDERTAKEN BY THE MISSION IN BOTSWANA, ZAMBIA AND ANGOLA

35. During its visit to Botswana between 28 August and 1 September, the Mission held consultations with the following officials:

Sir Seretse Khama, President of Botswana

Mr. A. M. Mogwe, Minister of External Affairs

Mr. Daniel K. Kwelagobe, Minister of Information and Public Service

Mr. Lebang M. Mpotokwane, Administrative Secretary, Office of the President

Mr. Mbiganyi C. Tibone, Secretary for External Affairs

Mr. A. W. Kgarebe, High Commissioner of Botswana to Zambia

### Consultation with the President

36. During the consultation with President Khama, Messrs. Mogwe, Kwelagobe, Mpotokwane, Tibone and Kgarebe were present.

37. The President made some introductory observations regarding Botswana's geographical location and the consequent limitations thereof in regard to its role in the liberation struggle in southern Africa. He pointed out that, despite these limitations, Botswana would continue to demonstrate its desire for change and assist in the efforts to bring about freedom and independence for all.

38. In the past, the Government of South Africa had shown a complete lack of concern about the views of the United Nations. In the light of South African opposition, the Council's activities had to be carried out under conditions of great difficulty. On the other hand, the Government of South Africa appeared to be particularly sensitive to the views of the Western Powers.

39. The President emphasized that as long as the Western countries considered South Africa indispensable in terms of investment and their strategic interests, South Africa would continue to ignore the resolutions of the United Nations which specifically demanded its withdrawal from Namibia. He stated that the Western countries, which purported to support the efforts of the United Nations in seeking the immediate independence of Namibia, made the work of the Council difficult and frustrating by their reluctance to take effective measures to compel South Africa to withdraw from Namibia. He doubted the sincerity of those Powers on the grounds that, despite their professed views, they continued to cushion South Africa.

40. The President said that the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo, b/ had discussed the most effective ways to exert pressure on the allies of South Africa to persuade that country to change its policies. It was considered necessary that countries supporting Namibia give genuine assistance in addition to political support. All countries, no matter what their size, could make a contribution. He gave the example of Guyana, a small and distant country which had made an important and concrete contribution to the liberation struggle in Africa.

41. The President observed that the solution to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia remained its immediate and unconditional withdrawal from the international Territory. The extension of apartheid to the Territory and the system of exploitation of human and material resources in the form of homelands or bantustans was unacceptable. The holding of sham elections and of the so-called constitutional conference based on ethnic groupings constituted a direct violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and all other international instruments and conventions which guaranteed fundamental human rights, freedom and equality for all.

### Consultation with the Administrative Secretary of the Office of the President

42. During the consultations with Mr. Mpotokwane, Mr. Tibone and other senior officials of the Ministry of External Affairs were present.

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b/ For the report of the Conference, see A/31/197.

43. Mr. Mpotokwane said that the Government of Botswana was very much concerned with the issue of Namibia. Because of Botswana's special geographical position, its scope for action was limited. It therefore looked to the international community for the necessary leadership in promoting changes leading to the replacement of minority colonial régimes by the African majorities. Despite the formulations proposed by South Africa regarding independence for Namibia in 1978, Botswana doubted that any significant changes would take place without concerted action by those countries which supported the cause of the Namibian people.

44. The Government of Botswana was of the view that the so-called constitutional talks at Windhoek were tribal in nature and, to the extent that they ignored the decisions of the United Nations and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, c/ were lacking in legitimacy. Botswana reiterated its support for the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, through free elections to be held under the supervision and control of the United Nations.

45. It appeared to Botswana that South Africa was following a joint strategy with respect to Southern Rhodesia and to Namibia. Its willingness to support negotiations in Southern Rhodesia was, at the same time, based on an attempt to obtain international concessions for South Africa's position on Namibia. For South Africa, Namibia would be an extremely important buffer State. Thus, the South African administration at Windhoek appeared not to have taken any of the measures demanded by Security Council resolution 385 (1976). International action was necessary and it was important that the big Powers should be willing to support it. The decision to apply the measures indicated in Chapter VII of the Charter depended on the willingness of the big Powers to participate seriously in the application of sanctions. On the other hand, they had indicated, in various ways, that they were not prepared to go along with any proposals requiring effective action against South Africa.

46. Ultimately, the independence of Namibia would be won by the Namibian people themselves. In the meantime, the United Nations and the international community as a whole had an active role to play in the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. The Council should continue to impress on the international community the need for urgent action. All countries which supported the struggle for the independence of Namibia should concentrate on helping the liberation movement. The Council was performing a valuable role as the legal authority of Namibia. Its activities could not be undertaken by anyone else. Mr. Mpotokwane assured the Mission that the Botswana Government would welcome the establishment of an office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia at Gaborone.

47. Botswana had a substantial number of Namibian refugees. Difficulties had developed regarding the welfare of those refugees and his Government was attempting to resolve the problem with the assistance of the United Nations and the co-operation of UNHCR. Namibians who came to Botswana as refugees might, if they wished, become citizens, in accordance with the requirements of the citizenship regulations. Many of the Namibians who had come to Botswana at the

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c/ Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports, 1971, p. 16.

beginning of the century had already been absorbed into the Botswana population. With regard to more recent refugees, the Government of Botswana, in co-operation with the representative of UNHCR had assisted in making transit arrangements for those who wished to travel to other countries.

48. On the other hand, Botswana was confronted with the enormous task of meeting the needs of the refugees entering its territory from the neighbouring, minority-ruled countries. Botswana's financial resources were limited and the needs of the refugees were pressing and extensive. Botswana therefore hoped that the international community would assist it in that regard.

49. On 1 September, the Government of Botswana and the Mission issued a joint communique, the text of which is contained in volume I, paragraph 271, of the present report.

#### Meeting with the representative of UNHCR

50. On 30 August, the Mission met with Mr. Ernest Schlatter, the representative of UNHCR at Gaborone.

51. Mr. Schlatter stated that, according to statistics, there were approximately 150 Namibian refugees in Botswana. The majority of the refugees were young; those at Kasane were mostly from East Caprivi and northern Namibia; those at Francistown were mostly Ovambo and those at Makunda were mostly Herero.

52. Mr. Schlatter said that he worked in co-operation with the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia at Lusaka, UNDP, SWAPO, the Botswana Christian Council and the Botswana Council for Refugees. The efforts of UNHCR had met with some success. Church groups from the Federal Republic of Germany and the Government of the Netherlands also provided assistance through the Botswana Council for Refugees.

53. In reply to questions, Mr. Schlatter indicated that the Namibians who had come to Botswana at the beginning of the century (see para. 47 above) were not the concern of UNHCR.

## 2. Zambia

54. The Mission visited Zambia between 1 and 5 September and was received in audience by Mr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, President of Zambia.

55. The Mission also paid courtesy calls on Mr. A. G. Zulu, Secretary-General of UNIP; Mr. Elijah H. K. Mudenda, Prime Minister of Zambia; and Mr. R. C. Kamanga, member of the Central Committee of UNIP and also Chairman of the Political, Constitutional, Legal and Foreign Affairs Committee of UNIP.

56. The Mission had consultations with senior government officials, led by Mr. P. M. Ngonda, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The consultations were centred on examining ways and means of intensifying joint action by the Zambian Government and the Council in the United Nations and, whenever possible, in other international forums with a view to achieving the speedy implementation of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.

57. A summary of the views expressed and of the comments made in response to questions raised by members of the Mission is given below.

## Meeting with the President of Zambia

58. The President informed the Mission that the struggle for the liberation of southern Africa had entered a critical and decisive phase. In accordance with the Lusaka Manifesto d/ and the Dar es Salaam Declaration on Southern Africa, e/ adopted by OAU, Zambia, along with other African countries, had tried to promote peaceful change in southern Africa. Their efforts had not yielded positive results, owing to the intransigence of the racist minority régimes. Within the spirit of those important statements by OAU, they had therefore decided to discontinue their efforts and, instead, to support intensified armed struggle by the liberation movements, convinced that that was the only way in which the liberation of southern Africa could be realized. The decision to discontinue peaceful initiatives and to support armed struggle was therefore irrevocable.

59. The President explained that, while the foregoing represented the position of his Government, Zambia would, nevertheless, not stand in the way of any sovereign State wishing to seek peaceful change in southern Africa. It was for that reason that, despite its own misgivings, Zambia had not opposed the initiative of the United States of America. He wanted it to be understood, however, that Zambia was not and would not be an ally of the United States in that regard. As far as Zambia was concerned, the armed struggle would continue.

60. With specific regard to Namibia, the President stated that Zambia recognized SWAPO as the authentic and only representative of the Namibian people. Zambia was committed to render all possible support to that national liberation movement until the independence of Namibia became a reality. In that connexion, the President explained that South Africa pursued a policy of hostility towards SWAPO and had repeatedly declared that it would have no dealings with it.

61. The President emphasized the important role of the international community in the struggle for the liberation of Namibia. There was need for an intensified diplomatic offensive, particularly at the United Nations. In that regard, the President praised the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia and urged it to continue to play its full part. The President considered it essential that the Security Council consider the possibility of taking punitive action against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter. Any country which vetoed such a draft resolution in that regard would, by its own action, admit its support of the racist régime of South Africa.

## Courtesy call on the Secretary-General of UNIP

62. The Secretary-General informed the Mission that the governing party and the Government and people of Zambia fully supported the Council and appreciated the important work it was doing. Namibia was the direct responsibility of the United Nations. The international community therefore had an obligation to support all

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d/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

e/ Ibid., Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/31/23/Rev.1), chap. IX, annex, paras. 61-64.

efforts to terminate illegal South African occupation of the Territory. The Secretary-General stressed that UNIP and the Government and people of Zambia were fully committed to the liberation of Namibia. To that end, they would continue to work closely with SWAPO, the authentic representative of the Namibian people.

#### Courtesy call on the Prime Minister

63. The Prime Minister informed the Mission that, owing to the intransigence and racist mentality of the white minority régimes, prospects for peaceful change in southern Africa did not exist. It was clear that those régimes were bent on protecting the status quo for the sake of guaranteeing white privilege.

64. Zambia would continue to render all possible support to the people of Namibia under the leadership of their national liberation movement, SWAPO, until the attainment of independence. As far as Zambia was concerned, SWAPO was the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people. The so-called constitutional talks organized by South Africa at Windhoek were totally unacceptable to Zambia, as they were intended to accord sham independence to Namibia. He said that the Council was doing an important job and that it should continue to mobilize forces in support of SWAPO and of an independent and united Namibia.

#### Courtesy call on the Chairman of the Political, Constitutional, Legal and Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee of the Central Committee of UNIP

65. The Chairman of the Sub-Committee stated that Zambia was closely following developments in Namibia and attached great importance to its liberation. It would continue to render all possible support to the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO until independence was achieved. The Council was playing an important role in the liberation of Namibia and in support of its liberation movement.

#### Consultations with the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other officials

66. The Mission held consultations with a delegation of government officials headed by Mr. P. M. Ngonda, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

67. The Permanent Secretary stated that Zambia stood for the complete eradication of apartheid and white minority rule in southern Africa. It would, as always, continue to extend all possible support to the oppressed people of southern Africa. Given its own geopolitical situation, Zambia would not consider itself free until the rest of the region was free.

68. In accordance with the mandate from OAU, Zambia, together with other neighbouring independent African countries, had tried to promote peaceful change in southern Africa. Its own misgivings notwithstanding, Zambia had wished to make an honest attempt in that regard, on the basis of the Lusaka Manifesto and the Dar es Salaam Declaration (see para. 58 above). The attempts had failed.

69. The time to seek peaceful change was past. It was now time to implement the second option provided for in the Lusaka Manifesto and the Dar es Salaam Declaration, namely, armed struggle. In accordance with that option, Zambia would render all possible material and other forms of assistance to the oppressed people

of southern Africa, through their national liberation movements, until victory was achieved. It was important that the international community understood the futility of continuing to hope for peaceful change; that was an exercise in self-deception.

70. Zambia was not unaware of the risks involved in its decision to support intensified armed struggle. Only recently, it had complained to the Security Council against South African aggression. Zambia would not be intimidated. It would not submit, even to combined pressure.

71. It was important that the Council and the United Nations as a whole saw the situation in the same light. They too had tried peaceful change. They too had failed.

72. There was reason for optimism that armed struggle would succeed. The oppressed people were determined to liberate themselves. The freedom fighters were greatly encouraged that Mozambique and Angola were now free, and the commitment of those countries to the liberation of the rest of southern Africa was a positive factor.

73. The well-known reactionary countries of Western Europe should be put on the defensive. The Council might consider sending visiting missions to those countries similar to those undertaken in the past by OAU. With the ever-growing support of the international community, particularly of the African, non-aligned and socialist countries, the oppressed people of southern Africa were bound to win. Zambia knew of no oppressed people who had not overcome their oppressors. The people of southern Africa could not be an exception.

74. It was disturbing that South Africa had ignored Security Council resolution 385 (1976), but it was not the first time that South Africa had snubbed the Council. It would not be realistic to give South Africa another deadline. Zambia would therefore favour the application of Chapter VII of the Charter against South Africa. It was likely that any such action at the level of the Security Council would be vetoed by the permanent Western members of the Council. Nevertheless that prospect should not deter those committed to the liberation of Namibia. The Western countries opposed to such punitive measures against South Africa should be exposed and isolated. The naming of the collaborators of South Africa in relevant United Nations resolutions would bring nothing but joy to Zambia. Protecting them would amount to encouraging them and would be an act of injustice to the Namibian people. They should be exposed and held responsible for their activities.

75. South Africa, a Member of the United Nations, had not acted according to the rules of the Organization. Its continued membership in the Organization could only have the effect of weakening the world body by its counter-productive activities. The international community should not give aid and comfort to South Africa. Zambia would therefore not object to the exclusion of South Africa from United Nations membership.

76. Zambia had reacted swiftly to the announcement from Windhoek regarding the so-called independence of Namibia as agreed to by the puppets of South Africa. South Africa was attempting to give sham independence to Namibia. Zambia unreservedly rejected that South African scheme with the contempt it deserved.

Zambia wanted genuine independence for Namibia, as demanded by SWAPO. Zambia recognized SWAPO as the only authentic representative of the Namibian people. Chief Clemens Kapuuo and the like were traitors.

77. Zambia considered itself greatly honoured and privileged to be host to the struggling and long-suffering people of Namibia. It would enthusiastically continue to be of all possible help to them.

78. It was encouraging that a vast majority of the thousands of Namibians in Zambia had refused refugee status and instead had opted to join the ranks of the liberation movement. Given the spirit of the Namibian patriots, Zambia hoped that the international community would increase its assistance to them. Various forms of assistance were required, such as combat material, transport, clothing, food, medical facilities and schools for the education of children.

79. It was important that the international community understood that the competing ideologies of the East and the West were irrelevant to the struggle for the liberation of southern Africa. The African people were not fighting to protect the interests of one bloc or another, but for their birth-right. It was not realistic for any country to be motivated by big-Power rivalries in its decision to support the cause of majority rule in southern Africa. Any genuine initiative taken for the liberation of southern Africa should involve the liberation movements. In the specific case of Namibia, such initiatives should involve SWAPO and the Council, as the legal authority for the Territory.

80. On 5 September, the Government of Zambia and the Mission issued a joint communiqué, the text of which is contained in volume I, paragraph 271, of the present report.

### 3. Angola

81. During its visit to Angola from 5 to 7 September, the Mission held consultations with the following persons:

Mr. Lúcio Lara, Secretary of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA)

Mr. Roberto de Almeida, Director-General of the Ministry of External Affairs

Mr. Paulo Jorge, Secretary of the Presidency for External Affairs

Mr. Garcia Neto, Director for Co-operation and Economic Affairs

Mr. Pedro Alves of the Department of External Relations of MPLA

Mr. Zinga Batista of the Department of External Relations of MPLA

Mr. João Jacob of the Secretariat of the Political Bureau of MPLA

#### Consultations with the Director-General of the Ministry of External Affairs

82. The Government of Angola considered that Namibia was not a regional problem but



an over-all African problem and that Angola would not be completely free until Namibia was free. Angola was engaged in a period of national reconstruction and great efforts were being made in that direction. As Angola consolidated its newly won freedom, it would be in a position to give increasing assistance to Namibian patriots in their struggle for self-determination and national independence.

83. The position of the Government of Angola with regard to the oppressed peoples of southern Africa was a natural one since the people of Angola also received assistance from progressive countries and peoples during their struggle for freedom. The struggle in Namibia should not be considered separately from that in Zimbabwe and in South Africa because they were all interrelated. That was the position of the Angolan Government, although it understood that the primary responsibility of the Council was for the Territory and people of Namibia.

84. Because South Africa had attempted raids into Angola, the Angolan Government wanted to establish a stable situation so that it could meet South African provocation. South Africa was giving SWAPO uniforms to members of the União Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA) and the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA) in order to create problems between SWAPO and Angola. At the present time, Namibia continued to be a springboard for South African aggression against Angola despite the position adopted by the Angolan Government with respect to the Cunene River dam, which was based on the future benefits the dam would bring both to Angola and to a free Namibia. However, Angola had been forced to suspend construction because of the capture of a South African soldier in Angolan territory and the deliberate military incursions that South Africa had mounted against Angola as well as the military support that South Africa was giving the Angolan traitors.

85. The Director-General stated that the exchange of views with the Mission was appropriate because the decisions of the United Nations with respect to Namibia would affect Angola. In that respect, co-operation between the Angolan Government and the Council would become increasingly important.

Consultation with the Secretary of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of MPLA

86. The Secretary stated that diplomatic activity relating to the issues in southern Africa had increased significantly in the past few months. It was the position of the Government of Angola that every country had the right to decide, by itself, the direction of its national reconstruction. Angola could not accept any independence arrangements for Namibia which encouraged hostility towards Angola and threatened the independence and territorial integrity of Angola. Angolans had recently won a hard-fought victory and there had been many casualties in the Angolan revolution. Angolans had paid with their blood to achieve their independence. He reaffirmed the support of his Government for Namibia. The powerful enemy was not invincible and there was close co-operation between SWAPO and the people of Namibia.

87. On 7 September, the Government of Angola and the Mission issued a joint communiqué, the text of which is contained in volume I, paragraph 271, of the present report.

## E. OBSERVATIONS

88. The Mission wishes to draw the attention of the Council to the new stage of the struggle for liberation in Namibia. The increasing support of the front-line States and the intensification of the struggle inside Namibia, directed by SWAPO, have forced the Government of South Africa to formulate new stratagems to perpetuate its control over the Territory.

89. The neighbouring States of Angola, Botswana and Zambia strongly condemned the latest of these ill-advised stratagems, namely, the so-called constitutional conference sponsored by South Africa, which includes tribal elements and national party supporters of apartheid speaking for the Namibian people and excludes SWAPO, the authentic representatives of those people.

90. The Governments of those neighbouring States are fully committed to self-determination and independence for Namibia. Namibian patriots are receiving an increasing amount of assistance in their struggle. The decision of OAU, as well as those of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries (see para. 40 above), have reaffirmed the commitment of progressive forces throughout the world to the liberation of Namibia.

91. The Governments of Botswana, Zambia and Angola reaffirmed their recognition of the special responsibility of the Council and their full support for its initiatives to expedite the withdrawal of South African administrators and armed forces from the Territory. The Mission would like to take this opportunity to affirm its support for SWAPO as the authentic representative of the majority of the people of Namibia.

92. With respect to action in the United Nations, the three Governments recognized that the obstinate policies and manoeuvres of the Pretoria régime left the countries supporting the cause of Namibia in the United Nations no choice but to demand that the Security Council consider the adoption of appropriate measures under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

93. The three Governments made clear their agreement with the views of SWAPO that the people of Namibia had no other option but to resort to intensification of their armed struggle in the light of the obstinate racist and colonialist policies of South Africa.

## F. RECOMMENDATIONS

94. The Mission recommends to the Council that, in the light of recent developments and in accordance with the need to follow up on the results of the Mission, it should consider sending other missions to intensify contacts, particularly with the front-line States of Africa.

95. The Mission also recommends to the Council that it should consider establishing offices of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia in the three countries, in particular in Botswana, in order to maintain continued and direct co-operation between the Council and the neighbouring States for the benefit of the Namibian people and their liberation movement, SWAPO.

96. Bearing in mind the proposal under consideration to convene a United Nations Conference on Namibia and Zimbabwe in 1977, the Mission recommends to the Council that it should consider co-sponsoring such a meeting in 1977 and, at the same time, initiate consultations regarding a conference to define a broad programme of assistance to Namibia for its transition to independence and for the early years of Namibian independence.

#### G. ADOPTION OF THE REPORT

97. The present report was adopted unanimously by the members of the Mission on 28 October 1976.

## APPENDIX I

### Statement by the President of the Council at the opening of the United Nations Institute for Namibia

1. I consider it truly a great privilege and honour to address you at this meeting in the name of the United Nations Council for Namibia. All members of the Council share today a deep sense of fulfilment at the opening of the Institute. This solemn occasion marks the blossoming of an ideal for which all of us at the United Nations, in the Government of Zambia and in the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) have joined our efforts with a strong sense of commitment.
2. It is with joy in my heart that I see the flowering at Lusaka of this joint effort of the international community. Geographically close to Namibia, we are neighbours and brothers sharing the same ideals of independence, freedom and justice for our people.
3. The vision and altruistic devotion to the cause of the liberation of the peoples of southern Africa of Mr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, has been a cornerstone in the realization of this effort to assist the people of Namibia under the guidance of SWAPO, their liberation movement, to prepare their sons for the many tasks of an independent Namibia.
4. As in the setting up of every great institution, the groundwork for the Institute has combined the talents and enthusiasm of many individuals of diverse nationalities and professional qualifications. All have been inspired by the profound humanity of the cause of a people rising from their suffering in a struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence.
5. All of us recognize in the recent or distant past the historical experience of fighting against overwhelming odds, guided by our determination to achieve national independence and by our pride in assuming responsibility for the construction of our own future. We are also aware that in this experience, no matter how powerful the enemy, our peoples have found solace and material support in friends who were steadfast in adversity.
6. The establishment of the United Nations Council for Namibia was an act of confidence in the future of the Namibian people, united in a free and independent State of Namibia. It was, furthermore, an unshakable commitment of the United Nations to assist the Namibian people in shattering the chains of colonialism and apartheid.
7. Since its creation, by General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, the Council has carried out with determination all possible tasks in support of freedom and independence for the Namibian people. It has endeavoured, in close co-operation with SWAPO, to explore all initiatives conducive to the withdrawal of the illegal administration of South Africa from the Territory.
8. On 26 August 1966, the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, were

forced to begin their armed resistance against the illegal occupation of their country by South Africa. Thus, 26 August 1976 implies a profound symbolism. A decade of sacrifices by Namibian patriots has received recognition in the creation of an institution to equip young Namibians to carry forward the ideals of those who have given their lives for the liberation of Namibia.

9. The United Nations has recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people. It has strongly condemned the repression and violence to which South Africa has resorted in order to perpetuate its colonial rule. It has supported SWAPO and all Namibian patriots in their efforts to assert their national integrity, through self-determination, freedom and independence. As the conflict sharpens, the attempts to promote confusion also multiply. All kinds of formulas have been announced in which the most cherished aspirations of the people were quoted as if they were about to become reality. But those who truly support the genuine goals of freedom and independence for the Namibian people are well aware that the challenges of the past will not evaporate overnight. The people of Namibia must be forever alert. The international community must avoid the pitfalls of an easy optimism that will only lead to more prolonged sufferings and disillusionment for those watching the horizon with hope in their hearts and justice and determination in their minds.

10. In the past, the Council has endeavoured to assist the Namibian people, both through material means and through political support of the goals of self-determination, freedom and national independence for Namibia. It initiated several projects to assist Namibian patriots outside of Namibia. In an earlier phase, it established travel and identity documents for Namibians which are recognized by a vast majority of members of the international community. The Council condemned South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and appealed to States Members of the United Nations to comply with the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council with respect to the status of Namibia. In a second phase, the Council supported the creation of the United Nations Fund for Namibia in order to increase the financial resources for projects of assistance to Namibians. More recently, the adoption of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia a/ and the decision to create the United Nations Institute for Namibia at Lusaka have been positive contributions to the cause of Namibia.

11. By its resolution 3296 (XXIX) of 13 December 1974, the General Assembly endorsed the decision of the Council to establish an Institute at Lusaka. This initiative was a decisive step in forming the first centre for the systematic study and development of Namibian culture. The rich historical experience of the Namibian people will henceforth be subject to careful professional and scholarly consideration by those who will devote themselves to organizing and analysing all possible information on the complex realities of Namibia. The knowledge which will result from these efforts will inspire the understanding of future generations of Namibians who will, from now on, with all their vibrant optimism and energy, pass through the halls of the Institute.

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a/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 24A (A/9624/Add.1), para. 84. The Decree was issued in final form in Namibia Gazette, No. 1.

12. The educational institutions of any society, while having the general goal of contributing to the enlightenment of their future citizens, must also respond to the particular tasks demanded by specific historical conditions. Thus, the Institute will initially face the pressing demands of a people striving to attain their national independence and unity after the long and excruciating night of apartheid and colonialism. There will be an intense feeling of urgency on the part of students, which lecturers and administrators must guide with benevolence and wisdom. There will be a vigorous demand for relevance which lecturers and administrators must interpret with insight and generosity. Lecturers and administrators must guide students in perceiving that the powerful motivations of unfulfilled aspirations must be tempered, for the sake of integrity, by discipline and competence.

13. Public administration will be a central concern of the Institute. The ethical basis of public administration is service to the people. Thus, gaining insight into the historical experience of the Namibian people will require much time and study of the future administrators.

14. The statesmen and experts who drafted the guiding plan of the Institute showed great awareness of the historical challenges which the Namibian people have had to overcome. The list of topics refers to the impact of foreign invasion; to the destructive social system of apartheid, to the complexities of legal texts enforced from within and from without. Many topics deal with the issues of social and economic development. Both students and scholars will certainly give careful consideration to the theoretical and practical implications of such wide-ranging issues.

15. Today, public administration benefits from numerous methodologies and techniques of the social sciences. Sociology has contributed its insights and theories on the creation and development of organizations. Economics has contributed the skills for budgetary and financial analysis. Psychology has formulated the concepts and theories of human relations and their implications for personal administration and career service. All have greatly improved our understanding of decision-making in governmental organizations.

16. The students and lecturers at the Institute will certainly explore the scientific literature of our time in developing those analytical tools which will be most appropriate to the skills needed by the public administrator of an independent Namibia.

17. The creation of the Institute was a first stage and, inspired by its ideals, many of us gave much time and careful thought to the initial tasks, the completion of which required great imagination and tenacity. The members of the Senate of the Institute, under the chairmanship of Mr. Adebayo Adedeji, and the Committee of Management deserve special praise on the successful completion of this work. We extend our appreciation also to Mr. Seán MacBride, the distinguished United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, and to past presidents of the Council.

18. The members of the Senate and of the Committee of Management have now before them the challenges of an infinite horizon. They will not be alone in their endeavours. Our solidarity and support will never waiver. We are proud to have contributed to this first institutional expression of a free and united Namibia.

## APPENDIX II

### Statement by the President of the Council on Namibia Day

1. Today, 26 August 1976, is a day of rejoicing and a day of reappraisal. Ten years ago, the Namibian people, under the leadership of their liberation movement, initiated a momentous process of liberation of their country. On that date, still inadequately armed, but driven by a heroic commitment to the cause of the liberation of their people, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) initiated the armed struggle which can only cease with the final elimination of colonialism and apartheid from the Territory and the creation of a free, independent and united Namibia.

2. These 10 years of struggle have witnessed the swelling of the ranks of Namibian patriots determined to live or die for the just cause of a suffering people. Despite a ferocious oppressor, the determination, competence and heroism of Namibian patriots has gained for them the respect and admiration of the international community. Many battles have been fought and the blood of Namibian patriots has strengthened the will of those who remain to pursue, with unrelenting courage, the destruction of the odious colonialist and racist invader. Let us not mince words. The illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia is nothing but a reflection of the ruthless imperialist and racist design of a régime bent on the enslavement of other peoples to placate their boundless arrogance and greed. The current attempts by the Pretoria régime to lull international opinion into believing that South Africa is about to meet the legitimate demands of the Namibian people is a gross deception. The blind racists of Pretoria have learned nothing in the last 10 years. A decade of struggle in which the stature of SWAPO has gained world-wide dimensions has taught no lesson to the implacable foe of the Namibian peoples' legitimate aspirations for freedom and independence. The blindness of the racists in Pretoria makes them believe that they can still behave in a world 10 years' wiser with the same cynical hypocrisy of a decade past.

3. New forces have arisen. SWAPO's development and increased strength have been supported by the growing solidarity of all freedom-loving forces. Weakness has been replaced by strength. Uncertainty has been replaced by determination. The challenges of history are being met with the swift thrust of unshakable convictions and the boundless energy of a politically conscious people.

4. The United Nations, interpreting the political wisdom of the majority of the members of the international community, has repeatedly recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and independence. The General Assembly and the Security Council have demanded that South Africa withdraw its illegal administration from the Territory. The General Assembly and the Security Council have condemned South African military adventurism and have reaffirmed the commitment of the United Nations to the creation of a free, independent and united Namibia. The Security Council will meet in the near future to pass judgement on the response of South Africa to Security Council resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976. The current statements emanating from the colonial puppets of the Pretoria régime contain the same

language of treachery and equivocation which we have grown accustomed to expect from the supporters of apartheid and the high priests of separate development and homelands.

5. The United Nations Council for Namibia, established by the United Nations as the legal Administering Authority of Namibia until independence, has consistently endeavoured to state unequivocally the true meaning of the false proposals by which South Africa has attempted to disguise its colonial and racist intentions.

6. On 20 August 1976, the Council rejected a/ the document which the South African Government had submitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations (S/12180) containing the views of the participants of the so-called constitutional conference, individuals hand-picked by the illegal South African administration at Windhoek. The Council reaffirmed in the strongest possible terms its condemnation of these treacherous manoeuvres as an attempt to perpetuate South African colonial control of the people and resources of Namibia, while at the same time attempting to mislead the Namibian people. The Council reiterated its full support for the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, to achieve self-determination and national independence for their country. The legitimacy of the struggle has been solemnly proclaimed in the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The Council has strongly condemned the current formulation of the ill-advised stratagem of the South African administration at Windhoek as totally lacking in legitimacy and containing propositions riddled with ambiguities and equivocations. It has denounced the proposals as not meeting any of the conditions laid down by the United Nations.

7. The statement of the Council is in unison with the statements of the Organization of African Unity and of the leadership of SWAPO in unmasking the empty language of hand-picked tribal elements and Afrikaner representatives of apartheid.

8. The international community must understand that the people of Namibia, the people of Africa and all peace-loving peoples of the world will no longer abide by false promises. The stand of the United Nations must be based on its support of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people, under SWAPO, to immediate freedom and independence with the withdrawal of the illegal South African administration from Namibia.

9. Today, 26 August 1976, is a fitting occasion for the Council to restate its dedication to the cause of a free and independent Namibia. The Council will endeavour to support SWAPO to achieve its final and cherished goal at the earliest possible date.

10. If the racist régime in Pretoria has learned nothing in the last decade, the liberation fighters of Africa have learned much and they are determined to fulfil the legitimate goals of their peoples. Namibia will be free. Namibia will be independent and Namibia, under SWAPO, will join the community of nations with pride and confidence in its future.

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a/ For the text of the Council's statement, see vol. I, para. 270, of the present report.



## APPENDIX III

### Statement by the President of the Council at the University of Botswana, Gaborone

1. Southern Africa has become an area of critical political developments. The Governments of this region are fully aware that the forces supporting the cause of self-determination, freedom and independence of peoples are meeting a decisive challenge of the forces of reaction, colonialism and apartheid in a conflict, whose repercussions are having world-wide dimensions
2. The final collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire, resulting in the birth of several new African States, including Mozambique and Angola, has sharpened the conflict for the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia and undermined the very bastion of apartheid, racism and colonialism in Africa.
3. The international community is coping with developments in Southern Africa on many levels. The liberation movements receive direct support for their struggle from member countries of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and from friendly forces on other continents. Their struggle is a crucial one. The cause of the liberation of the African peoples rests ultimately in their hands. The increasing support of friendly nations as well as the heroic efforts of selfless patriots who have given their lives for the ideals of self-determination, freedom and independence have raised the hopes of all peoples still suffering from the brutal inequities of apartheid, racism and colonialism.
4. In establishing the United Nations, the international community created a new dimension for the expression of the profound human aspirations for justice and well-being for all. These aspirations are expressed in the Charter of the United Nations, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Initially an organization of only 50 Member States, mostly from North America, Europe and Latin America, the United Nations has now become almost universal with a total membership approaching 150 countries.
5. The increase in the number of Member States has been accompanied by profound changes in the power relations in the contemporary world. The victory of the Chinese revolution and the progress of the Chinese people in the last 25 years, the independence of a large number of African countries leading to the establishment of OAU, which is committed to the liberation of Africa from racism, colonialism and apartheid, have been events of profound significance in the rearrangement of power in our time. The birth of the non-aligned movement and its increasingly sharp challenge to the entrenched privileges of highly industrialized countries, many of which continue to pursue policies of exploitation of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, have contributed to the development of the political consciousness of the peoples of the world.
6. The United Nations, as a world organization reflecting the concrete power relations amongst nations, could not but formulate policies determined by these historical developments. The United Nations formulates the higher political

aspirations of man but is blocked on many occasions from effectively carrying out its decisions, owing to the inherent conflicts of objectives amongst its Members. In other words, the United Nations many times agrees on goals but less often on the means of achieving them.

7. The question of Namibia has burst forth in the international arena because of a basic conflict in the United Nations between the majority of its Members and the Government of South Africa and some Western Powers which are its supporters. On 27 October 1966, by its resolution 2145 (XXI), the General Assembly terminated the mandate which had been exercised by the Government of South Africa on behalf of the British monarch. Namibia was declared an international Territory by the General Assembly, in its resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, and the right of the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and independence was recognized by the international community. South Africa has persistently rejected the decisions of the United Nations with respect to Namibia. In order to administer Namibia until independence, the General Assembly created the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority of the Territory. The United Nations, with the further support of the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, a/ has determined that the presence of the South African administration in Namibia is illegal and has demanded that South Africa withdraw from the Territory.

8. During the last decade, both the General Assembly and the Security Council have repeatedly affirmed the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence in a united Namibia. Furthermore, the United Nations has considered as legitimate the struggle of the Namibian people to attain their goals of self-determination and independence under the leadership of their national liberation movement. The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) is recognized as the authentic representative of the people of Namibia and for the past 10 years has carried out with increasing vigour an armed struggle for the liberation of Namibia.

9. The United Nations Council for Namibia has co-operated with and supported SWAPO in its struggle. The main forms of co-operation and support by the Council have been the following:

- (a) Mobilizing world public opinion in support of Namibia;
- (b) Enhancing, with the authority of the United Nations, the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence;
- (c) Pressing the international community to provide material resources for projects of assistance to Namibians outside Namibia;
- (d) Establishing the United Nations Institute for Namibia to train Namibians in public administration in order that they may acquire the necessary skills to administer an independent Namibia;

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a/ Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.

(e) Pressing States Members of the United Nations to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations on Namibia.

10. In addition, the Council has carried out systematic efforts to counter the propaganda of South Africa, which attempts to present itself as a benevolent Power preparing the people of Namibia for independence. The Council has continuously alerted the Governments and public of Member States to the repressive, violent and unjust character of the racist South African administration in Namibia. It has on several instances published statements condemning the brutality and the destructiveness of the policies, followed in the Territory by the illegal South African administration.

11. The latest stratagem of the Pretoria régime has been to confuse the international community with the so-called constitutional conference at Windhoek where talks are being held which purport to reflect the aspirations of the Namibian people. In a statement on 20 August 1976, b/ the Council rejected the intention of the illegal South African administration to present the views of hand-picked tribal elements and supporters of apartheid as the expression of the desires of the majority of the Namibian people. The proposals of the so-called constitutional conference were prepared without the participation of SWAPO, which is recognized by OAU as the authentic representative of the people of Namibia. Furthermore, they ignored the conditions laid down by the General Assembly and the Security Council to ensure that the Namibian people might freely express their political aspirations.

12. Today the Security Council of the United Nations begins consideration of current developments regarding South Africa's unwillingness to commit itself to a complete withdrawal from Namibia. The United Nations will undoubtedly reaffirm the legitimacy of the aspirations of the Namibian people. However, the basic responsibility to achieve freedom and independence in a united Namibia falls upon the Namibian people, under the leadership of their liberation movement.

13. The Council will continue to mobilize all possible political and material resources in order to assist the people and the liberation movement of Namibia in their struggle. Despite its limitations, the United Nations still constitutes a machinery which, when effectively utilized, can reduce the intensity and danger of political military conflict in our time.

14. We are witnessing today a rapid increase in the political consciousness of peoples. The awareness of the true conditions which they must face in the political process of self-determination, freedom and independence cannot be stifled. The peoples of the world, through continuous struggle and the development of their political consciousness, will overcome the barriers to the unfolding of their aspirations to living in peace and security in a just world.

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b/ For the text of the statement, see vol. I, para. 270, of the present report.

## APPENDIX IV

### Statement by the President of the Council at the Lusaka Press Club

1. On behalf of the members of the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia, allow me to express our great satisfaction in being offered this opportunity to acquaint ourselves with the dynamic professionals of Zambian journalism. For me, this is a very special occasion since, in my past experience, I have been associated very closely with your profession. I find myself, therefore, with roots on both sides of the concerns of today's guests. As President of the Council, in a mission of diplomatic consultations, I cannot but sympathize with the arduous and often frustrating tasks of journalism. As a former journalist, I recall very well the excitement of searching and defining what is newsworthy, as well as the unpredictable hours and the continuing pressures to inform the public well and succinctly of the realities of our complex and tumultuous world.
2. Having been on both sides of the fence is particularly useful for the task in which I wish to engage myself today. I should like to indicate the many levels of action in which the Council has engaged to support the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the liberation movement of Namibia, in achieving as quickly as possible self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.
3. The armed struggle of SWAPO began a decade ago. As a liberation movement, SWAPO has met the challenge of overcoming overwhelming odds to gain recognition by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations as the authentic representative of the people of Namibia. These few words, in fact, summarize a vast experience in which the self-sacrifice, tenacity and courage of a group of patriots set the stage for the decisive conflict of today.
4. With the support of the Namibian people, as well as the support of all friendly forces in the international community, SWAPO has but one strategy and one goal: the withdrawal of the illegal South African administration from Namibia and the transfer of power to SWAPO as the Government of a free and independent Namibia. The goal is simple in its greatness and authenticity. The integrity of the struggle does not face the problem of dubious options. There is only one option: victory for the Namibian people.
5. What do we see with respect to the enemies of the Namibian people? What is their strategy? What are their options?
6. The forces of racism and colonialism in southern Africa also have only one goal. They wish to continue the exploitation and humiliation of the people of Africa. For that purpose, the defenders of apartheid and bantustans and their supporters are continuously devising dubious stratagems to confound and mislead the progressive forces on the African continent and elsewhere. They carry out military adventures to intimidate neighbouring countries and peaceful populations.

Sometimes they even believe that they are subtle. They herd their puppets into a market place and call that a constitutional conference and then pompously announce that they agree with the proposals of these hand-picked tribal elements and supporters of apartheid that Namibia should be independent in December 1978.

7. What audacity! These racists and colonialists solemnly condemned by the international community repeatedly throughout the years still occupy Namibia without a shred of legitimacy, while attempting to suggest that they are generously about to establish an independent Namibia. These camouflaged, false apostles of freedom have no intention of granting genuine independence to anybody. Stratagem follows stratagem with the same cynical disregard for the opinion of mankind. These defenders of apartheid and their supporters are constantly devising fake options and stratagems as if to lull progressive forces into accepting a make-believe formula for the sake of peace.

8. Yes, we want peace. But peace with integrity. All peace-loving forces in the world shall not cease their struggle until the goal of Namibian self-determination and freedom is fully achieved. Let no one be mistaken: African States and, in particular, the front-line countries in southern Africa, are decisively and unequivocally supporting the stand of the United Nations in condemning the presence of South Africa's military forces and administration in Namibia and demanding that the rights of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence be recognized immediately. The policy of the front-line States is fully identified with the orientation determined by OAU and with the General Assembly and the Security Council.

9. The United Nations Council for Namibia, established in 1967 as the legal Administering Authority of Namibia until independence, has consistently followed a course in conformity with the deepest aspirations of the Namibian people. It has continuously endeavoured to strengthen and expand the United Nations machinery to grant all possible assistance to Namibian patriots. It has endeavoured to mobilize political support for the Namibian cause in all international forums.

10. All these efforts in the past have made their weight felt in the process of the liberation of Namibia. However, it still is not enough. United Nations resolutions may vigorously support the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence, but the resources mobilized through the United Nations have fallen, in the opinion of many, far short of what may legitimately be considered the responsibility of the United Nations. We have now arrived at a decisive stage in the fulfilment of the responsibilities of the United Nations. In the past 10 years the Council has transformed, in co-operation with SWAPO, an issue into a cause. The resources that were appropriate to handle an issue are no longer adequate to support a cause.

11. In 1966, the United Nations accepted the responsibility of supporting the aspirations of the Namibian people by creating the Council as the legal Administering Authority of the Territory. Today, it can only convincingly reaffirm that responsibility by generously and unreservedly committing the necessary resources to strengthen the machinery of the United Nations in support of SWAPO, the liberation movement which is the authentic representative of the people of Namibia.

12. On 30 January 1976, the Security Council approved resolution 385 (1976)

demanding that South Africa meet certain conditions conducive to self-determination and independence for the Namibian people. It established 31 August 1976 as a deadline to be met by South Africa in responding to the Security Council. Once again the Security Council is meeting to consider further action.

13. Namibia will be free. The United Nations has contributed and can still contribute more to the construction of Namibian freedom. All oppressed peoples of the world, whose aspirations are identified with the goals of self-determination, freedom and independence set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, are conscious of the responsibility which the United Nations, as the organized expression of the international community, bears for the fulfilment of these ideals. We must not fail. We shall not fail.

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