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QUESTION OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Report of the United Nations Council for South
West Africa

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

New York
4 May 1968

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith the second report of the United Nations Council for South West Africa submitted pursuant to section V of General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967. This report was adopted by the Council at its 31st meeting, on 4 May 1968.

In accordance with the terms of the said resolution, I have the honour to request that the report be distributed as a document of the General Assembly at its resumed twenty-second session.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Anton VRATUSA
President
United Nations Council
for South West Africa

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Secretary-General
United Nations
New York

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INTRODUCTION

1. By its resolutions 2145 (XXI) of 29 October 1966 and 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, the General Assembly terminated the mandate of South Africa over South West Africa and established the United Nations Council for South West Africa. The Assembly entrusted to the Council the following powers and functions to be discharged in the Territory:

"(a) To administer South West Africa until independence, with the maximum possible participation of the people of the Territory;

"(b) To promulgate such laws, decrees and administrative regulations as are necessary for the administration of the Territory until a legislative assembly is established following elections conducted on the basis of universal adult suffrage;

"(c) To take as an immediate task all the necessary measures, in consultation with the people of the Territory, for the establishment of a constituent assembly to draw up a constitution on the basis of which elections will be held for the establishment of a legislative assembly and a responsible government;

"(d) To take all the necessary measures for the maintenance of law and order in the Territory;

"(e) To transfer all powers to the people of the Territory upon the declaration of independence."

2. The General Assembly also decided that the Council would be responsible to the Assembly in the exercise of its powers and functions. It would be based in South West Africa and such executive and administrative tasks as the Council deemed necessary would be entrusted to a United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa to be appointed by the General Assembly and responsible to the Council.

3. By General Assembly resolution 2325 (XXII) of 16 December 1967 the Council was requested "to fulfil by every available means the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly".

4. The first report of the Council (A/6897) submitted in accordance with section V of resolution 2248 (S-V), covered the period from the establishment of the Council to 31 October 1967. This present report covers the period from 1 November 1967 to 4 May 1968.

I. ACTIVITIES OF THE COUNCIL

A. Decision of the Council to proceed to South West Africa

5. In March 1968, the Council, in pursuance of its mandate laid down in General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V), section IV, paragraph 3, of 19 May 1967, decided to proceed to South West Africa accompanied by the Acting Commissioner.
6. The main objective of the trip was first, to prepare the ground for the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V), and in particular its section IV, paragraph 3, and secondly, to meet those representatives of the people of South West Africa who presently reside in Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania in pursuance of section II, paragraph 1 (a), of the same resolution.
7. Before departing from New York, the Council began to explore the possibilities of gaining access to the Territory either directly from New York or through Lusaka. Contacts were made with international airlines, including the British Overseas Airways Corporation, Union des Transports Aériens, Alitalia, British United Airways and East African Airways. A number of these airlines indicated that they could not provide aircraft; others did not respond to the Council's inquiries.
8. The Council departed from New York on 5 April. It was in Lusaka from 7 to 13 April and in Dar es Salaam from 13 to 18 April.
9. While in Lusaka the Council continued its efforts to charter a commercial aircraft through air companies operating in East and southern Africa and with two industrial firms, the Roan Selection Trust and the Anglo-American Corporation. Both Air Congo and Air Charter Zambia Limited had expressed a willingness to provide a charter aircraft but received messages from Windhoek to the effect that landing clearances had been denied. Both industrial firms informed the Council that all their aircraft were under repair in the United Kingdom.
10. It should be noted in this connexion, that the legal status of any area of land or water attaches equally to the air space over that area. The termination of the mandate of South Africa by General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V) applied necessarily to the air space over that territory as well. It follows that South Africa has no jurisdiction in the air space of the territory of South West Africa. In planning the trip, therefore, the Council did not consider itself subject to any jurisdiction other than that of the United Nations.

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11. The Council also examined the possibility of entering South West Africa by land but was advised by the Zambian authorities that for practical reasons - including the fact that at the time the adjacent areas were flooded by the Zambesi River - a land trip was not feasible.
12. In the face of these difficulties, the Council approached the Government of Zambia to ask for its assistance (see annex I.B). Through the Zambian Government's kind intervention (see annex I.D) in response to the Council's appeal, the Zambia Airways Corporation offered an aircraft to be chartered by the United Nations and operated under its responsibility. The offer was subject to certain conditions including, inter alia, that the aircraft would have to carry the United Nations markings, and that the crew, a pilot and a co-pilot engineer, would be engaged by the United Nations as United Nations personnel for the duration of the charter. Other conditions related to the estimated costs, including liability insurance, compensation and indemnity to the crew as well as the cost of replacing the aircraft in case of loss or confiscation, and miscellaneous other expenses.
13. In view of various issues involved, the Council referred the matter to the Secretary-General and recommended that he give consideration to making all appropriate arrangements in this regard to enable the Council to fulfil its mission to proceed to South West Africa (see annex I.C).
14. Pending receipt of the Secretary-General's reply, the Council decided to leave for Dar es Salaam in order to consult with the South West African leaders in exile residing in Tanzania.
15. The Secretary-General informed the Council, in a communication dated 15 April and received on 16 April, that the arrangements which the Council had submitted for his consideration gave rise to a number of questions which in his view he should examine in consultation with the members of the Security Council and the members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. These consultations were bound to take some time. He assured the Council that he would do all he could to assist it in carrying out the mandate conferred upon it by the General Assembly (see annex I.E).
16. In a further communication dated 17 April and received on 18 April, the Secretary-General informed the Council that he had proceeded to consult with the

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members of the Security Council and the members of the Advisory Committee on the matter. He informed the Council that all the members of the Security Council had stated that they would seek instructions from their respective Governments and upon receipt of such instructions would let him know the position of their Governments. The consultations with the members of the Advisory Committee were being carried on by cable and were up to that date incomplete. He reiterated that he would endeavour to conclude the consultations as soon as possible and advise the Council as soon as he was in a position to do so.

17. As the Secretary-General's reply could not be expected for some time, the Council decided to return to New York. It reaffirmed its determination to proceed to the Territory and will do so as soon as the necessary arrangements have been made.

18. The Council understands that the Secretary-General's consultations mentioned in paragraph 15 are still going on.

19. The Council kept the Security Council regularly informed of its activities in view of the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V), section IV, paragraph 5, and resolution 2325 (XXII), paragraphs 7 and 8, under which the Security Council was requested to take all appropriate measures to enable the Council to discharge the functions and responsibilities entrusted to it by the Assembly and to take effective steps to enable the United Nations to fulfil the responsibilities it had assumed with respect to South West Africa. Thus it informed the Security Council on 1 April (S/8524) of its plan to depart for South West Africa. Again on 11 April (S/8543) it reported to the Security Council on the difficulties that had arisen in connexion with its plan to proceed to Windhoek.

20. The Council wishes to express its profound appreciation for the co-operation extended by the Governments of Zambia and Tanzania, particularly the Government of Zambia, for its assistance regarding travel to South West Africa.

B. Consultations with the representatives of the people of South West Africa

21. On 19 December 1967, the Council addressed a letter to the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa inquiring what organization or organizations were, in the opinion of OAU, most representative of the people of the Territory. In reply, OAU informed the Council, by a letter dated 5 January 1968, that the South West Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO) was

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"the only South West African political party recognized by the Organization of African Unity" and on 30 November 1967, taking advantage of his presence in New York, the Council met with the Secretary-General of SWAPO, Mr. Jacob Kuhangua. Mr. Kuhangua stated that he had been following attentively the work of the Council and was satisfied that it was duly carrying out its task in accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI). He expressed his confidence that all the people of South West Africa shared this view. Mr. Kuhangua emphasized that he should not only be heard as a petitioner but should also participate in the deliberations of the Council and be offered the possibility of making suggestions regarding its work.

22. During its stay in Africa, the Council met in conference with representatives of the South West African political parties in Lusaka and in Dar es Salaam. In both places it held consultations with the representatives by establishing two working groups (see paragraph 30 below).

1. Statements heard by the Council

23. In Lusaka, the Council heard the acting Secretary-General of SWAPO in Zambia, Mr. Solomon Mifima (see annex II.A), the Secretary for Panafrikan and Foreign Affairs of the South West African National Union (SWANU), Mr. Werner Mamugwe (see annex III) and the Secretary for Panafrikan Affairs of the National United Democratic Organization-South West African United Front (NUDO-SWANUF), Mr. Kuaima Riruako (see annex IV). All three representatives expressed the hope that the Council would succeed in its attempt to reach Windhoek although they did not dissimulate their apprehension as to the feasibility of the project because of the "expressed arrogant opposition from the South African régime".

24. The representative of SWANU stated that it appeared to him that "the mission was ill-equipped to meet the exigency that might arise if the régime of South Africa carried out its constant threat against it". He added that the issue of South West Africa had reached an "aggravated state" which demanded "a military solution and not diplomatic persuasion".

25. In the same context, the representative of SWAPO stated that his organization failed to understand how "a fruitful and peaceful solution could be achieved" and recommended recourse to "other methods" in order to "quell the daily deteriorating South West African situation".

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26. All representatives expressed strong opposition to the threatened implementation of the conclusions of the Odendaal Commission of 1962, which recommended that South West Africa be split into twelve tribal semi-states. The representative of SWAPO emphasized that "this type of independence was unacceptable to the Namibian people because Namibia was one and would always be". He added that in his view last year's referendum by the South African Government and the resulting so-called self-government (Bantustan) were "unacceptable nonsense".

27. They all expressed the view that the so-called terrorists now in prison in Pretoria were freedom fighters whose imprisonment was illegal. It was therefore the Council's duty to secure their release and return to their own country. They informed the Council of the forthcoming trial of eight more freedom fighters and of the presence in South African jails of over 300 South West Africans. From their own experience, Mr. Mamugwe and Mr. Riruako gave a detailed description of the inhuman treatment and torture to which the prisoners were constantly subjected.

28. The representatives of the three parties made a number of suggestions for action to the Council. In the main, they called for:

- (a) The take-over of the entire administration of the Territory by the Council followed by a referendum under the supervision of the United Nations;
- (b) The withdrawal of all South African troops and police from the Territory;
- (c) The release of all prisoners and the safe return of all refugees to the Territory;
- (d) The immediate granting of passports by the United Nations to all South West Africans both inside and outside the Territory;
- (e) With regard to the referendum, the SWAPO representative added that his party, as the "only authentic representative of the masses in South West Africa", should be permitted to assist in the preparations for the referendum;
- (f) The entry of the Council in Namibia with or without the co-operation of the South African Government and the carrying out by all means of the provisions of the General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI).

29. In Dar es Salaam the Council met with the representatives of SWAPO. On 16 April, the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma, made a statement before the Council on the same lines as the one made by his colleague in Lusaka (see

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annex II.B). He also submitted a memorandum containing the following suggestions for action by the Council, in the discharge of its responsibilities:

(a) As a first step the Council should attempt to proceed to the Territory by any means in order to raise the morale of the people of Namibia and to justify their confidence in the United Nations;

(b) On taking over the administration of the Territory, the Council should train an indigenous police force to maintain law and order within the country and embark on a crash programme to train the largest possible number of the indigenous people in public administration;

(c) The Council should conduct a census of the population in the Territory and then proceed to hold general elections based on the principle of "one man, one vote", under United Nations supervision;

(d) The elections should be followed by the declaration of independence of the Territory under an African government;

(e) The Council should establish health centres and dispensaries all over the country, particularly in the rural areas where they do not exist at present. It should also train a large number of medical personnel (so far only one African has qualified as an M.D.) with the assistance of WHO;

(f) Before the Council establishes itself in the Territory, emphasis should be placed on the provision of a larger number of scholarships for all South West Africans in exile. On assuming the administration, the Council must proceed with the construction of primary and secondary schools, with the assistance of UNESCO;

(g) Upon its arrival in Windhoek, the Council should start collecting taxes from all foreign and local companies operating in Namibia and establish a national bank of Namibia.

2. Working groups established by the Council

30. On 10 April the Council established two working groups - one on political and the other on social and economic questions - to discuss in greater detail with the representatives of the people of South West Africa.

31. The political working group was composed of the representatives of Chile, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, Yugoslavia and Zambia and elected the representative of Indonesia as its chairman.

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32. The social and economic working group was composed of the representatives of Colombia, Guyana, Pakistan and Turkey and elected the representative of Turkey as its chairman. The President of the Council participated in the deliberations of both groups.

33. The working groups met with the representatives of SWAPO, SWANUF and SWANU in Lusaka and with those of SWAPO in Dar es Salaam. The reports of the working groups appear in annexes V and VI.

C. The question of travel documents

34. The Council considered the political, legal and administrative aspects of the issuance of travel documents to South West African nationals on the basis of a report on the subject dated 22 January 1968 prepared by an Ad Hoc Committee composed of the representatives of Guyana, India, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia with the assistance of the Acting Commissioner. It elected the representative of Guyana as its chairman.

35. The Council concluded that its competence to issue travel documents was established by General Assembly resolution 2325 (XXII) of 16 December 1967, by paragraph 2 of which the General Assembly requested:

"... the United Nations Council for South West Africa to fulfil by every available means the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly".

The Council therefore decided in principle on 8 February 1968 to proceed with arrangements for the issuance, at an early date, of travel documents in the Council's name.

36. The Council noted in this connexion that the basic requirement for the effectiveness of international travel documents is that States accept such documents for the purpose of travel to their territory. The Council considered that it would be easier for the States Members of the United Nations to accept documents issued by or on behalf of the Council if they were assured that the holder of the document had the right to return to the country of his residence or to some other country.

37. The Council authorized the Ad Hoc Committee to prepare, in consultation with the Acting Commissioner, a set of draft regulations for the issuance of travel documents after ascertaining from the Governments concerned whether they were

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agreeable in principle to permitting the return to their countries of South West Africans using travel documents issued by the Council.

38. On this question, the President of the Council and the Acting Commissioner met with Mr. Reuben Chitandika Kamanga, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia, in Lusaka and with Mr. L. Mbago, Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and three high officials of the Immigration Department of the Home Office of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania in Dar es Salaam. The President and the Acting Commissioner discussed with both Governments the granting of the right of return to those South West Africans holding travel documents issued by the Council who had taken refuge in these two countries. Both Governments showed understanding and sympathy of the problem and it was agreed that the matter would be considered further by the two Governments after they had received a draft of the relevant regulations to be issued by the Council. The draft regulations will be considered by the Council shortly.

D. Questions under active consideration by the Council

39. As already mentioned in paragraph 3 above, the General Assembly, in its resolution 2325 (XXII), requested the Council to fulfil by every available means the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

40. In pursuance of the mandate conferred upon it by resolution 2325 (XXII), the Council has under consideration various arrangements to be made for the independence of the Territory.

41. To this end the Council is in the process of discussing with the specialized agencies and other appropriate organs of the United Nations the implementation of section III, paragraph 2 of resolution 2248 (S-V) with a view to rendering technical and financial assistance to South West Africa through a co-ordinated emergency programme to meet the exigencies of the situation.

42. Bearing in mind paragraph 9 of General Assembly resolution 2288 (XXII) of 7 December 1967, by which the Council was requested to take "urgent and effective measures to put an end to laws and practices established in the Territory of South West Africa by the Government of South Africa contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter", and bearing in mind as well the enactment of the Terrorism Act, 1967, the Council requested the Acting Commissioner to provide legal advice on the

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matter. The Acting Commissioner reported to the Council that a detailed study of the question is in progress and that he hoped to be able to provide a legal opinion to the Council shortly. The Council will consider the question further on receipt of legal advice. A review of all laws affecting South West Africa is also under consideration by the Council.

43. The Council is studying the question of the establishment of a separate budget to enable it to finance the various programmes it envisages.

44. The Council is examining its possible relationship to the provisions of resolution 2349 (XXII) so as to clarify its responsibilities under this resolution. The Council is also considering the question of establishing an educational and training programme for South West Africans to be administered by the Council.

45. In addition, the Council is considering the question of assistance to South West African refugees either through the machinery of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees or by other suitable arrangements.

II. THE INTRANSIGENT AND NEGATIVE ATTITUDE OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

46. By its resolutions 2145 (XXI), 2248 (S-V) and 2325 (XXII), the General Assembly terminated the mandate of South Africa over South West Africa and established the Council for South West Africa to administer the Territory until independence, to be attained by June 1968. South Africa declared the resolutions "illegal" and continued to defy the authority of the United Nations. A record of the response of South Africa to the decisions of the United Nations on South West Africa is presented hereunder.

47. In resolution 2248 (S-V) the General Assembly requested the Council to enter immediately into contact with the authorities of South Africa in order to establish procedures for the transfer of the administration of the Territory. Pursuant to the provisions of this resolution the Council addressed itself to the Government of South Africa. The reaction of the South African Government was negative as already reported to the General Assembly (A/6897).

48. The Council for South West Africa decided in March 1968 to proceed to South West Africa with a view to implementing its mandate. The South African authorities, by refusing landing clearance to the Council, once more defied the authority of the General Assembly, whose resolutions the Council was seeking to implement.

49. On 27 October 1966, the General Assembly had called upon South Africa to refrain and desist from any action, constitutional, administrative, political or otherwise which would in any manner whatsoever alter or tend to alter the present international status of South West Africa. Notwithstanding this decision of the General Assembly and at the very time the Council was in the process of implementing its decision to proceed to South West Africa, a bill was introduced in the South African Parliament which, if adopted, would empower that Government to implement its policy of establishing so-called separate homelands (Bantustan) in South West Africa, in accordance with the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission.^{1/}

^{1/} A/AC.109/L.460, paras. 31-49. The Odendaal Commission had proposed that ten separate "homelands" for each of the classified groups in the non-white population be established.

This action confirms South Africa's determination to destroy the unity and territorial integrity of the country, in clear violation of paragraph 7 of resolution 2145 (XXI) and section I of resolution 2248 (S-V).

50. The trials of South West African patriots, on the basis of legislation of a particularly repressive character, constituted especially serious acts of defiance. The following paragraphs give a detailed account of the matter.

51. On 22 June 1967, the Terrorism Act, 1967, to be applied to South West Africa was promulgated in Pretoria. The following day, it was announced in Pretoria that thirty-seven South West Africans who had been arrested in South West Africa in 1966 and deported to and imprisoned in South Africa would be brought to trial in Pretoria on charges under that Act. The thirty-seven South West Africans were accused of a conspiracy to take over the government of the Territory.

52. At its 6th meeting, on 27 November 1967, the Council for South West Africa adopted a consensus in which it noted with concern the arrest, deportation and trial of the thirty-seven South West Africans under a retroactive law which, by its very terms, was a clear violation of fundamental human rights and contrary to the principles of the Charter. Noting that the South African authorities had taken this action after the General Assembly had adopted resolution 2145 (XXI), by which it terminated the mandate over South West Africa, the Council called upon the Government of South Africa to respect the international status of the Territory and to release the South West Africans. It appealed to all Member States to use their influence to dissuade South Africa from pursuing its illegal course and to secure the release of the persons illegally on trial. The Council's consensus was transmitted to the President of the General Assembly (A/6919 and Corr.1) and to the President of the Security Council (S/8275 and Corr.1) on 28 November. On 16 December 1967, resolution 2324 (XXII) of the General Assembly called upon the Government of South Africa to discontinue forthwith this illegal trial and to release and repatriate the South West Africans concerned.

53. On 23 January 1968, the President of the Council addressed a letter to the President of the Security Council (S/8353) in which he drew attention to the fact that South Africa had not complied either with the Council's consensus or with General Assembly resolution 2324 (XXII). Since, as the Council subsequently

pointed out in a memorandum to the Security Council (S/8353/Add.1), the trial was continuing and verdicts were expected shortly, the Council expressed the hope that the Security Council would take effective measures to ensure compliance by South Africa.

54. At the request of fifty-three Member States^{2/} (S/8355), the Security Council considered the matter at its 1387th meeting, on 25 January 1968 and unanimously adopted resolution 245 (1968). By this resolution, the Security Council, inter alia, condemned the refusal of the Government of South Africa to comply with resolution 2324 (XXII) and called upon it to discontinue forthwith the illegal trial and to release and repatriate the South West Africans concerned. Despite all the decisions of the United Nations, the Government of South Africa continued the illegal trials and heavy sentences were imposed.

55. At its 12th and 13th meetings, on 9 February 1968, following the sentences passed on thirty-three of the South West Africans in violation of the above-mentioned resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council, the Council, as the authority charged by the General Assembly to administer the Territory until independence, expressed its profound shock and indignation in a letter dated 9 February 1968 from its President to the President of the Security Council (S/8394). Furthermore, the Council expressed the view that this action constituted a flagrant defiance by South Africa of the resolutions and the authority of the United Nations, of which South Africa is a Member, and that the Security Council, as the highest authority of the United Nations, should consider taking appropriate action.

56. By a letter dated 12 February (S/8397) addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representatives of the eleven Member States who are members

^{2/} Afghanistan, Algeria, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia.

of the Council for South West Africa requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the situation resulting from the continuation of the illegal trial of thirty-four South West Africans and the sentences passed on thirty-three of them in violation and defiance of General Assembly resolution 2324 (XXII) and of Security Council resolution 245 (1968). By letter to the President of the Security Council (S/8398 and Add.1/Rev.1 and Add.2), the representatives of forty-seven other Member States supported the request for an urgent meeting of the Security Council.

57. The Security Council considered this matter at its 1390th to 1397th meetings, between 16 February and 14 March 1968. At its 1397th meeting, on 14 March, the Security Council adopted resolution 246 (1968) by which it censured the Government of South Africa for its flagrant defiance of Security Council resolution 245 (1968) and of the authority of the United Nations, of which South Africa is a Member; demanded that the Government of South Africa forthwith release and repatriate the South West Africans concerned; called upon Members of the United Nations to co-operate with the Security Council, in pursuance of their obligations under the Charter, in order to obtain compliance by the Government of South Africa with the provisions of the present resolution; urged Member States who are in a position to contribute to the implementation of the present resolution to assist the Security Council in order to obtain compliance by the Government of South Africa with the provisions of the present resolution; decided that in the event of failure on the part of the Government of South Africa to comply with the provisions of the present resolution, the Security Council would meet immediately to determine upon effective steps or measures in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations; requested the Secretary-General to follow closely the implementation of the present resolution and to report thereon to the Security Council not later than 31 March 1968; and decided to remain actively seized of the matter.

58. The Secretary-General, by a report of 30 March (S/8506), informed the Security Council that on that date he had received a note from the Permanent Representative of the Republic of South Africa containing a communication dated 27 March from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa stating that the "convicted terrorists could not be released nor could their release be discussed".

59. On 13 April, while it was in Lusaka, the Council received information that another South West African had been condemned to imprisonment for the remainder of his natural life on charges similar to those earlier preferred against the thirty-seven South West Africans. Consequently, the President of the Council for South West Africa addressed a telegram dated 13 April to the President of the Security Council referring to Security Council resolutions 245 (1968) and 246 (1968). The Council stated that it felt obliged to inform the Security Council that the Government of South Africa had not only refused to comply with the terms of these resolutions but that the latest illegal imprisonment of another South West African was a further act of defiance by the Government of South Africa. The Council condemned in the strongest possible terms this further act of defiance and expressed the hope that when considering the implementation of resolutions 245 (1968) and 246 (1968), the Security Council will be mindful of the continuing intransigence of the Government of South Africa.

III. CONCLUSIONS

60. In paragraph 18 of its report dated 10 November 1967 (A/6897), the Council concluded that the refusal of the Government of South Africa to co-operate in the implementation of General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI) and 2248 (S-V) made it impossible for the Council to discharge effectively all of the functions and responsibilities entrusted to it by the Assembly. The Council accordingly recommended to the Assembly that it should take the necessary measures including addressing a request for appropriate action on the part of the Security Council in accordance with section IV of resolution 2248 (S-V) to enable the Council effectively to discharge all its functions and responsibilities. Following its consideration of this report, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2325 (XXII) by which it, inter alia, requested the United Nations Council for South West Africa to fulfil by every available means the mandate entrusted to it by the General Assembly and requested the Security Council to take effective steps to enable the United Nations to fulfil the responsibilities it had assumed with respect to South West Africa and to take all appropriate measures to enable the Council to discharge fully its functions and responsibilities.

61. In the period which has intervened since the General Assembly adopted resolution 2325 (XXII), the Government of South Africa has persisted in its defiance of all United Nations decisions on South West Africa. It has continued to refuse to comply with the demand of the General Assembly that it withdraw from South West Africa unconditionally and without delay all its military and police forces and its administration. South Africa has further confirmed its defiant attitude by obstructing the Council's entry into the Territory. South Africa has at the same time intensified its actions to consolidate its illegal control over South West Africa. Its attempts to establish so-called separate homelands are designed to destroy the territorial integrity of the Territory which would in fact amount to its illegal annexation. South Africa's illegal trial of South West African freedom fighters is a further confirmation of its determination to maintain its illegal control over the Territory.

62. The Council reiterates its view that the actions of South Africa to consolidate its illegal and increasingly repressive presence in South West Africa demonstrates

its determination to continue the foreign occupation of the Territory. The Council fears that the persistent refusal on the part of South Africa to comply with the decisions of the United Nations on South West Africa will inevitably lead to the outbreak of violence and racial war. The Council is convinced that this situation constitutes the gravest threat to international peace and security in the area. The Council considers that the United Nations has a serious and direct responsibility to avert such a threat.

63. The Council is convinced that it cannot fully discharge its functions and responsibilities unless appropriate and effective action is taken. The Council is further convinced that South Africa will not withdraw from the Territory unless forceful measures are taken for the removal of its presence from the Territory. In this connexion the Council recalls resolutions 2248 (S-V) and 2325 (XXII) and recommends to the General Assembly that it should reiterate its request to the Security Council, in accordance with the provisions of these resolutions, to take effective measures to ensure the immediate removal of South Africa's presence from the Territory with a view to enabling the Council for South West Africa to discharge all its functions and responsibilities effectively.

64. The Council would emphasize that the General Assembly has already decided that the Council should do all in its power to enable the independence of the Territory to be attained by June 1968. It recommends that the Assembly give serious and urgent consideration to the consequences of this situation and determine the action to be taken in preparation for the independence of the Territory in the light of the intransigent and negative attitude of South Africa. The Council is deeply concerned that it has been frustrated in its efforts to implement this decision of the General Assembly.

65. The Council is concerned that South West African freedom fighters should continue to remain under detention and trial in South Africa in defiance of United Nations resolutions on the subject and considers that further effective measures should be undertaken to secure their release and that the South African authorities should desist forthwith from the persecution of South West African nationals.

66. The efforts of the Council to implement its decision to proceed to South West Africa in pursuance of its mandate laid down in General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) were frustrated by the obstructive attitude of South Africa. The Council

considers that the attitude of the Government of South Africa in this regard calls for the serious censure of the Assembly. Furthermore the unco-operative attitude of certain foreign economic and financial interests in southern Africa, from which the Council encountered difficulties in its plans to proceed to South West Africa, deserves the censure of the Assembly.

67. The Council was unable to avail itself of the offer of an aircraft through the assistance of the Zambian Government as the matter had to be referred to the Secretary-General for his consideration. The Council plans to proceed to the Territory as soon as the necessary arrangements have been made. The General Assembly may wish to consider what action it should take in this regard.

68. The consultations which the Council undertook with the representatives of the people of the Territory have been of considerable benefit to the Council in the formulation of a more detailed assessment of the views of the people on the action to be taken to secure the early attainment of independence by the Territory. The Council was also able to make a useful appraisal of the requirements of the freedom fighters in various fields. The Council is considering what action it should take to meet these requirements.

69. The Council, convinced that South West African nationals are in urgent need of travel documents, has decided to issue such documents after it has secured the agreement of the Governments in whose countries South West African nationals have taken refuge to grant them the right of return.

70. The Council remains seized of and will continue to give active consideration to a number of problems such as the question of assistance by the specialized agencies to the Territory and the question of the establishment of a separate budget for the programmes envisaged by the Council.

71. The representatives of the South West African people informed the Council that they wish their country to be called Namibia. The Council supports this request and considers that the name Namibia should be used in all formal references to the Territory.

72. The Council has been greatly impressed by the courage of the people of South West Africa and their determination to attain the independence of their Territory and is convinced that their efforts will lead to the achievement of this objective with the necessary and active support of the international community.

ANNEX I

COMMUNICATIONS RELATING TO THE COUNCIL'S PROJECTED TRIP
TO SOUTH WEST AFRICA

- A. Letter dated 11 April 1968 from the President of the Council for South West Africa to the Secretary-General
- B. Letter dated 11 April 1968 from the President of the Council for South West Africa to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia
- C. Letter dated 11 April 1968 from the President of the Council for South West Africa to the President of the Security Council
- D. Letter dated 12 April 1968 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia to the President of the Council for South West Africa
- E. Letter dated 15 April 1968 from the Secretary-General to the President of The Council for South West Africa
- F. Letter dated 17 April 1968 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Council for South West Africa

A. Letter dated 11 April 1968 from the President of the Council for South West Africa to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to refer to letter No. TR 216 of 1 April 1968 addressed to you by the President of the United Nations Council for South West Africa, in which you were informed of the Council's decision to proceed to South West Africa and to visit the Republic of Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania. As you are aware, the Council is at present in Lusaka.

The Council's efforts in New York and since its arrival in Lusaka for chartering a commercial aircraft through normal channels for its trip to South West Africa have so far unfortunately proved to be fruitless because of the persistent refusal of the South African authorities to co-operate. The airline companies, which have been willing and able to provide an aircraft, informed the Council that they were denied the customary landing clearance at Windhoek. However, I may add that through the kind assistance of the Government of the Republic of Zambia, in response to the Council's appeal, the Zambia Airways Corporation have now offered a DC-3 under the following conditions:

(a) The plane would be painted white and carry the United Nations insignia. After the paint work has been carried out in Nairobi the plane would be available in Lusaka on 19 April.

(b) The registration of the plane and the licence of the pilot would be Zambian.

(c) The crew - a pilot and a co-pilot engineer - would be engaged by the United Nations and would be considered United Nations personnel for the duration of the lease. They would be entitled to insurance and compensation.

(d) The extra cost of insurance on liability for damages to aircraft would be paid by the United Nations and the policy assigned to the Zambian Airways Company.

(e) The plane would be returned to the company by a fixed date, say 28 April; if not, the United Nations would undertake to pay the cost of replacement of the plane.

(f) The lease would be signed by a duly authorized representative of the United Nations.

/...

(g) The cost would be as follows:

(1) Lease cost per day (to be computed) at rate K 499.28, (\$US 698.99) each day starting from the dep. for Nairobi and ending to the moment of repainting completion. This period can be a maximum of 14 days (up to 28 April) (K 499.28 x 14)	K 6,989.92	(\$US 9,785.89)
(2) Price for each hour actually flown	K 56.43	(\$US 79.00)
- 2 ferry flights Lusaka-Nairobi		
hours	14.00	K 790.02 (\$US 1,106.03)
- Lusaka-Livingstone and v.v.		
hours	3.30'	K 197.50 (\$US 276.50)
- Livingstone-Windhoek and v.v.		
hours	7.30'	K 423.22 (\$US 592.51)
	<u>25.00</u>	
(3) Handling, landing, airport fees and passenger expenses at Windhoek		
(4) Painting/repainting (estimated figure)	K 600.00	(\$US 840.00)
(5) Extra insurance coverages (broad estimate)	K 1,000.00	(\$US 1,400.00)
(6) Aircraft replacement (minimum estimated price)	K24,000.00	(\$US33,600.00)
		<u>(\$US47,600.00)</u>

Cost does not include pilot expenses and charges for cancellation of domestic services. a/

Cost in \$US calculated by the United Nations Secretariat.

The Council has, therefore, authorized me to recommend that you give consideration to making all appropriate arrangements in this regard to enable the Council to fulfil its mission to proceed to South West Africa.

(Signed) Moustafa Rateb ABDEL-WAHAB

a/ Later Zambia Airways Corporation defined the costs for the pilots as follows: for trip and return - pilot \$2,500 and co-pilot \$2,000. Should they be detained by the South African authorities: pilot \$5,000 per month and co-pilot \$4,000 per month.

B. Letter dated 11 April 1968 from the President of the Council for South West Africa to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia

I have the honour to refer to your kind reply to the letter of the President of the Council for South West Africa of 11 March 1968 and to say that since its arrival in Lusaka the Council has been receiving all the co-operation and the unflinching support of your Government. I am to express the deep gratitude of the Council for the warm sympathy and generous hospitality which your Government is extending to the Council.

I regret to inform you that the Council has been unable to charter a commercial aircraft through normal channels to proceed to South West Africa.

On behalf of the Council I would like to appeal for your assistance to this end.

(Signed) Moustafa Rateb ABDEL-WAHAB

C. Letter dated 11 April 1968 from the President of the Council for South West Africa to the President of the Security Council

I have the honour to refer to the letter of the President of the United Nations Council for South West Africa contained in document S/8524 dated 1 April 1968 informing you of the Council's decision to proceed to South West Africa and to visit the Republic of Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania.

The Council is at present in Lusaka. All its efforts to charter a commercial aircraft through normal channels have so far failed because of the persistent refusal of the South African authorities to co-operate. The airline companies, which have been willing and able to provide an aircraft, have informed the Council that they were denied customary landing clearance at Windhoek. However, I may add that through the kind assistance of the Government of Zambia, in response to the Council's appeal, the Zambia Airways Corporation have now offered an aircraft under certain conditions, which I have communicated to the Secretary-General for his consideration.

I convey this information to the Secretary-General on behalf of the Council for South West Africa pursuant to General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI), 2248 (S-V) and 2325 (XXII).

The United Nations Council for South West Africa will keep the Security Council informed of further developments concerning its visit to South West Africa.

(Signed) Moustafa Rateb ABDEL-WAHAB

D. Letter dated 12 April 1968 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia to the President of the Council for South West Africa

I have the honour to acknowledge with thanks and appreciation receipt of your kind letter of 11 April 1968 on the subject of the Council's pending mission to the United Nations territory of South West Africa.

First and foremost, please allow me, Mr. President, to reiterate my earlier statements and remarks that the Zambian Government and people consider it a great honour to have the Council in Zambia whilst in transit to South West Africa. In this regard, I can therefore confirm again that whatever the Zambian Government and people have done and are yet prepared to do within their humble means towards making the Council's noble mission a success is not based on the desire for Zambia's personal glory, for such, needless to say, has no place in the serious nation of Zambia where the ideal is not mere rhetoric but positive action.

Furthermore, I need not point out, Mr. President, as I have consistently hitherto expressed in this connexion, that the Council's mission is a mission of peace whose noble efforts present yet a practical test case without a precedent in the history of the United Nations Organization vis-a-vis the United Nations territory of South West Africa. It is, in fact, in my view, for this reason that the entire world's attention is at the present time anxiously focused on the Council.

As regards your specific appeal for assistance in the Council's efforts to secure a charter commercial aircraft for use by the Council to proceed to South West Africa, I am pleased to announce in writing what I did announce verbally to you, Mr. President, on your arrival in Zambia and in my office a few days ago, that the Zambian Government has, as earlier requested by the Council through their advance administrative representatives, used its good offices towards this end. In this connexion, the Zambia Airways Corporation has confirmed that it has made an aircraft available for charter by the Council and that the Council's administrative representatives were advised accordingly a few days ago.

It would seem therefore that the problem of securing an aircraft for charter by the Council may be considered as initially resolved.

In wishing therefore the Council well in their mission to South West Africa, please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Reuben Chitandika KAMANGA

E. Letter dated 15 April 1968 from the Secretary-General
to the President of the Council for South West Africa

I have the honour to refer to your letter of 11 April 1968, informing me of the Council for South West Africa's efforts since its arrival in Lusaka to proceed to South West Africa and the difficulties it has met because of the persistent refusal of the South African authorities to co-operate with the Council.

The arrangements which, on behalf of the Council for South West Africa, you have submitted for my consideration give rise to a number of questions which, in my view, I should re-examine in consultation with the members of the Security Council and the members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. As I am sure you realize, such consultations are bound to take some time.

It is my intention to start my consultations, without delay, with the members of the Security Council and of the Advisory Committee, although I am not in a position at this stage to give you an indication of the time such consultations will take. I wish to assure the Council, however, that I shall do all I can to assist in carrying out the mandate conferred upon it by the General Assembly.

I presume that, before considering the chartering of an aircraft from Zambia Airways, the Council for South West Africa has examined the possibility of using a land route to enter South West Africa. May I have confirmation of this point in case the matter is raised either by members of the Security Council or of the Advisory Committee?^{b/}

(Signed) U THANT

^{b/} In reply to this query a message was sent on 17 April 1968 from the Council to the Secretary-General to the effect that it had repeatedly and at length discussed and examined the possibility of proceeding to South West Africa by land route through either of the two existing access points from Zambia. However, the Zambian authorities had advised the Council that for practical reasons including the fact that at present adjacent areas are flooded by the Zambesi, the land trip was not possible. The Council added that after exploring other possibilities it had concluded they were not feasible.

F. Letter dated 17 April 1968 from the Secretary-General
to the President of the Council for South West Africa

I have the honour to refer to the letter which I addressed to you on 15 April 1968 concerning the arrangements to proceed to South West Africa which, on behalf of the Council for South West Africa, you submitted for my consideration.

In line with what I stated to you in my above-mentioned letter, I have proceeded to consult with the members of the Security Council and the members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions on the matter. All the members of the Security Council stated that they would seek instructions from their respective Governments and upon receipt of such instructions would communicate with me and let me know the position of their Governments.

The consultation with the members of the Advisory Committee has been made by cable and up to this date only one reply has been received.

In accordance with what I have expressed to the Council for South West Africa, I shall endeavour to conclude as quickly as possible the consultations which I have undertaken and will advise you as soon as I am in a position to do so.

(Signed) U THANT

ANNEX II

STATEMENTS MADE BY OFFICIALS OF THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA
PEOPLES' ORGANIZATION (SWAPO)

A. Statement made in Lusaka on 9 April 1968 by Mr. Solomon Mifima, Secretary-General of SWAPO in Zambia

Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates,

On behalf of the South West Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO), I would like to express our sincere gratitude for having given us the opportunity to appear before you, before reaching your destination. First of all I would like to thank His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zambia, Dr. K.D. Kaunda, his Government and the entire Zambian people for making it possible for both the Council and us to meet in this country. Zambia has a long historical support of the oppressed people and indeed is one of the champions of freedom and justice.

Mr. Chairman, we are glad to see you here on your way to South West Africa; we are deeply touched and impressed by your decision to enter South West Africa; we are at the same time aware that it is a dangerous risk you are now undertaking. But for the sake of freedom and justice you have to. The members of the Council came at the right time, a time when Vorster and his renegades are hotly debating a bill in the South African Parliament aimed at dividing South West Africa into Bantustans. This bill is called the Independence for South West Africa Bill, and was introduced to Parliament not later than four days ago.

We know, Mr. Chairman, that this is not a new thing and that it is being done in order to confuse world public opinion. Last year, the South African Government came out with "a one man, one vote" referendum, on which we made our position very clear and in clear words that the referendum was a nonsense and unacceptable to our people. We are still holding the same views on the so-called self-government. SWAPO views the so-called self-government as nothing but a bluff intended to hoodwink the United Nations and to deceive the entire world that democracy will be exercised in Namibia to cover the oppressed and toiling masses of our people. What the South African Government calls Independence for South West Africa is in fact an implementation of the Odendaal Commission of 1962 which recommended Namibia to be split into twelve tribal semi-states. This type of

independence is unacceptable to the Namibian people because Namibia is one and will always be. Mr. Chairman, what we expect from your Council is to take over the entire administration of the territory and thereupon call for a referendum. The referendum should be based on the following:

(a) That in a referendum exercised there must be a complete freedom of association covering all people;

(b) That there must be a complete freedom of movements and organization by the African people;

(c) That South Africa withdraws all her troops, dismantles all military bases in South West Africa and withdraws her state machinery from there, including the police and the administrator;

(d) That all political prisoners in South West Africa and those presently held in South African prisons should be released to participate in such a referendum;

(e) That all South West Africans now in exile for political conviction be guaranteed safety to return immediately to South West Africa, in order to participate in the referendum exercise;

(f) That SWAPO, as the only authentic representative of the masses in South West Africa, must be allowed to join the referendum exercise without hinderance in order to rally the popular feelings of the African people;

(g) That this referendum exercise must be conducted and supervised by the United Nations and not by South Africa. Because SWAPO strongly maintains that South West Africa is the full responsibility of the United Nations, both according to original mandate and the United Nations resolution of October 1966 at the United Nations General Assembly, whereby the United Nations emphasized its full responsibility over South West Africa. Thus according to us the duty of the United Nations Council for South West Africa is to organize the referendum not South Africa.

Since the Council is entrusted by the United Nations to take over the administration of the territory, we feel and strongly request the Council to seriously consider the problem of granting travel documents (passports) to South West Africa nationals both inside and outside South West Africa. We have a good

number of South West Africans who wish to pursue their studies outside South West Africa but cannot do so because of lack of travel documents.

We wish to inform you, Mr. Chairman and members of the Council, that South Africa has refused to free the South West Africans now in prison in South Africa for contravening the so-called Anti-Terrorism Act. This is a continued violation and defiance of United Nations resolutions. It is high time the Council acted. There is no doubt that we are deeply touched by your determination to proceed to Namibia in accordance with the United Nations resolution of last year which entrusted you to proceed to the territory with a view to taking over the administration until independence. It will be very disappointing if the Council fails to enter the country.

Your Council, Mr. Chairman, is well aware of the fact that Vorster has already announced that South Africa will not receive you nor will she grant you landing rights. She has also publicly ignored the Security Council resolution which called for the release of the thirty-three South West African nationals and members of the South West Africa Peoples' Organization arrested in South West Africa, flown to South Africa and imprisoned in Pretoria. Mr. Chairman, these people are not terrorists, as alleged by South Africa; they are freedom fighters who want to see South West Africa free. We still believe that their imprisonment in Pretoria is illegal and therefore the Council should act now to release these people and return them to their homeland. In defiance of the world body the fascist régime of Vorster and his renegades still announced that eight more freedom fighters from South West Africa will appear in Pretoria High Court shortly charged under the same Act (Anti-Terrorism Act). This announcement of the trial of eight more freedom fighters is no longer a defiance of the United Nations but a direct challenge to the world body. When passing the sentence to thirty-three freedom fighters the judge, Mr. Justice Ludorf, said that he was not sentencing any of the accused to death because the crimes under which they were convicted were committed before the Terrorism Act became law. This makes it clear that anyone who may be apprehended now faces the death penalty because the Terrorism Act became law last year. Mr. Chairman, apart from the thirty-three and eight mentioned by South Africa, there are more than 200 more South West African freedom fighters

who are now under detention in South African prisons. These patriots are tortured daily and it is not known whether they will be brought before the court of law.

Mr. Chairman, we don't intend to go very deep into the history of South West Africa but we want to point out that it is a well-known fact that South Africa has time and again defied the United Nations resolutions on South West Africa. She has even gone further by declaring that the United Nations has no legal right to say anything in connexion with the administration of South West Africa. In view of this fact we fail to understand how a fruitful and peaceful solution can be achieved. Should your Council fail to achieve its objectives on this trip, Mr. Chairman, other methods should be used in order to quell the daily deteriorating South West African situation.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, we wish you a success in your deliberations and a fruitful trip. We hope the foundation to the liquidation of the South African administration of Namibia will be laid by your trip and entry into the disputed territory.

Supplementary to the suggestions contained in the memorandum which we have just presented to the Council, we would also like to give the Council a guiding line on several issues which we regard should be given priority if and when the Council arrives in Windhoek.

It must be noted here, that all the suggestions contained in this supplementary memorandum, are exclusively based on the assumption that the Council has entered Namibia and has established itself as an administration.

1. GENERAL

(a) First and foremost, as we have pointed out already, the Council must attempt, by all means to proceed to the territory.

(This is significant from the point of view of raising the morale of the people of Namibia as well as reaffirming their confidence in the United Nations. The Council must by all means press for a confrontation with the South African authorities. Failure to achieve this would mean a psychological victory for South Africa and the prestige of the Council as well as that of the United Nations will be irreparably damaged.)

2. THE IMMEDIATE ADMINISTRATIVE TASK

(b) The Council must, upon taking over of the administration, embark on the following task:

- (i) Training of an indigenous police force to maintain law and order within the country.

(It is assumed here, that the South African police, army and all military personnel would be withdrawn, leaving a vacuum that must of necessity be filled by an indigenous police force.)

- (ii) A crash programme to train the largest possible number of the indigenous people in civil service.

(It is also assumed here, that the South African Government will withdraw its civil servants (all white) if and when the Council manages to take over the administration. This technical assistance from the United Nations to fill the vacuum while an indigenous civil service is being trained.

3. HEALTH

(a) The Council must, upon assuming the administration of the territory, embark on the establishment of health centres such as clinics, dispensaries all over the country.

(This is very significant and urgent as the only health centres are located in the urban areas. Africans in the rural areas have to walk for miles before they can reach the nearest hospital or clinic.)

(b) The Council must immediately institute a training programme to train the largest possible number of nurses, medical assistants, etc., in the shortest possible time.

(The field of health has been absolutely neglected by the South African Government. To date only one African has qualified as an M.D. Though there are a few African nurses, these are not of a quality which could adequately administer to the needs of a modern nation. The Council should solicit for assistance of the World Health Organization (WHO) in this respect.)

4. EDUCATION

(a) While the Council is still attempting to get into the territory, its members must give the largest possible number of scholarships to all the South West Africans who are now in exile.

(b) On assuming the administration, the Council must proceed with the construction of primary and secondary schools all over the country. Assistance from UNESCO would be required in this respect.

(c) While the Council is still attempting to get into the territory, it should look into the possibility of issuing travelling documents to South West Africans who are now in exile.

5. POLITICAL MATTERS

(a) On assuming the administration of the territory, the Council must conduct census all over the country, to determine the precise number of people of Namibia.

(There has never been a proper census taken of the Africans since South Africa assumed the territory. The number given over the last thirty or forty years has always been 500,000. For a people not to increase, even by one person, in a span of over forty years is inconceivable.)

(b) The Council, after taking the proper census, should then proceed to arrange general elections throughout the country based on the principle of "one man, one vote" under United Nations supervision.

(c) The elections must be followed by the declaration of independence under an African Government.

6. ECONOMIC MATTERS

(a) The Council should start collecting taxes from all foreign and local companies operating in Namibia.

(b) The Council should, on arrival in Windhoek, proceed with the establishment of a National Bank of Namibia.

B. Statement made in Dar es Salaam on 16 April 1968 by Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO

For a very long time now we have persistently urged the United Nations to take effective measures to expel South Africa from Namibia (South West Africa). Since the termination of the mandate in October 1966, the United Nations, more than ever before, has now the right and the opportunity to fulfil her obligations to the people of Namibia.

That South Africa has violated the "sacred trust" entrusted to her is beyond the shadow of a doubt. It was this consideration which led to the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of October 1966, which formally and legally terminated South Africa's rule in Namibia. Now that South Africa - at least in technical terms - has ceased to be the administering Power, it remains for the United Nations to assume her responsibility in Namibia. But thus far, the United Nations has utterly failed to effectuate any visible change in Namibia.

The barbarous nature of South African rule in Namibia is there for everyone to see. In the past two years, South Africa has strengthened her repressive rule in Namibia. This increased and intensified repression was climaxed by the extension of the Suppression of Communism Act to Namibia followed by the enactment of the Anti-Terrorism Act which specifically aimed at the suppression of Namibian nationalists (freedom fighters).

Members of the Council are aware of the illegal trial and the subsequent sentencing of Namibian (SWAPO) freedom fighters under the terms of the Anti-Terrorism Act in Pretoria on 9 February this year. This trial has been universally condemned and the United Nations Security Council, on 14 March demanded the "immediate release and repatriation" of the convicted freedom fighters. South Africa, needless to say, has not heeded this call.

On the other hand, reports reaching us here indicate, that the South African authorities are practising large-scale terrorism all over the country. The Government is resorting to indiscriminate arrest, imprisonment, detention and murder as African resistance grows daily. At the moment, there are over 300 Namibians in South African prisons who are held on charges of "terrorism". This is confirmed by the announcement by the South African Government in early January, that a second major trial will soon open to try more Namibians for "terrorism".

We have also reports of brutal beatings and murder of innocent men, women and children all over the country and especially in Ovamboland. Numerous incidents where men, women and children appear at missionary clinics and hospitals with broken arms, legs, etc., are reported. Persons disappear without trace. Others are found dead, their bodies badly mutilated. All this is the work of South African police and army in Namibia. This much is already known to the world and to the members of the Council.

All claims, such as the one contained in the letter (15 February 1968) of the South African Foreign Minister addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to the effect that "... South Africa's policies enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the Territory's people and are achieving increasing success, bringing satisfaction and security to them", are completely untrue. If what the South African Foreign Minister claims is true, why all this turmoil in Namibia? Why the announcement of yet another trial? Why the unusual presence of the South African police and army in Namibia? These questions are self-explanatory. South Africa's presence in Namibia has never been approved by the Namibians.

It so happens that this Council has decided to proceed to Namibia to discharge its responsibilities as contained in General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 29 October 1966. We feel, however, duty bound to make the following suggestions (demands) which we hope will enable the Council to discharge its duties effectively. These are our demands:

(a) We strongly urge the Council to enter Namibia with or without the co-operation of the South African Government and to carry out by all means, the provisions of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 29 October 1966.

(b) To secure the release of all Namibian political prisoners in accordance with the Security Council resolution of 14 March 1968 and, also to create conditions for the return, without the risk of arrest and imprisonment, of all Namibians now in exile.

(c) To meet and consult the people of Namibia and their leaders in the final settlement of the Namibian problem.

(d) To facilitate the immediate withdrawal of all South African police, army and military personnel, etc., from Namibia.

In conclusions, we want to emphasize to this Council, that there could be no peace and harmony in Namibia as long as South Africa remains the ruling authority. SWAPO's fight in Namibia is not against whites but against the system which subjugates the Africans. This fight will go on until victory is attained. Victory may be attained without the unnecessary loss of human life; on the other hand, there may be much bloodshed before the final goal is achieved. The United Nations must act to avoid this last alternative and this consideration must be the guiding line of the Council as it prepares to enter Namibia.

ANNEX III

STATEMENT MADE IN LUSAKA ON 9 APRIL 1968 BY MR. WERNER MAMUGWE,
SECRETARY FOR PANAFRICAN AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE SOUTH WEST
AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (SWANU)

Mr. Chairman, members of the Council:

On behalf of the people of South West Africa we wish to express our gratitude to the Council for the effort they have made thus far in their endeavour to enter the Territory of South West Africa. We must at the same time express our misgivings as to the ultimate success of your mission in attempting to implement General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 29 October 1966 in face of the expressed arrogant opposition from the South African fascist régime. For us it appears that the mission is ill-equipped, or it has not thoroughly prepared itself to meet the exigency that might arise if that régime carries out its constant threats against the mission. However, it is our hope that the United Nations will learn from its experience the true aggressive nature of that fascist régime and the gravity of the task confronting your Council to establish its presence in the territory of South West Africa.

Mr. Chairman, allow me to relate my personal experience in the Pretoria Prison, as well as that of the tens of other South West Africans, including those thirty-five imprisoned whom the United Nations is trying to have freed.

On 14 August 1966 while I was on a mission of organization, I was arrested by the South African police in the Caprivi Strip. There at the Impalela Island, I was chained on a tree throughout the day and night for four days before I was taken to Katimamulilo. I was only given scanty food in the form of hard, boiled maize porridge and water to drink once a day. No blanket was provided. There I was under constant interrogation by Lieutenant Lernur, the head of the Caprivi Police, and Constable Jan van Wyk. I was always reminded that if I would not tell the truth, I would be shot and my body would be disposed in the river. Later, I was transferred to the police cells at Katimamulilo. In these cells I was locked up in a solitary cell and for three weeks I did not talk to anybody. An African constable would come to me once a day to give me cold, hard porridge and water for drinking. It was only before the day on which I was transferred to Pretoria that I was taken for the interrogation.

/...

On 7 September 1966, I was flown to Pretoria in a military plane where I was imprisoned without trial and underwent further interrogation for about seven months. It was there that I met many of my fellow South West Africans, who had also been held in the same prison, among them were Mr. Herman JaTaivo, Mr. Otto, Jason Mutumbulwua and Nathaniel Maxuilili (SWAPO leaders), Comrade Hetjevi Vei, Deputy President of SWANU, and Mr. Kuama Riruako, of NUDO. There I witnessed while in cell No. 3 the death of another fellow South West African detainee, in cell No. 5. This man, whose name I now cannot recall, was shot in the chest by the police in Ovamboland but was kept in the solitary cell without proper medical treatment. Mr. Jonas Nashiela sustained broken ribs in the course of the interrogation. And a school teacher, Dominicu, sustained a broken jaw and a broken leg.

The general condition of the South West African detainees was as follows:

1. The detainees were kept for the maximum of 180 days in solitary confinement and underwent interrogation and torture.
2. After completing this period, he might be put in a cell with other detainees who have also completed their "course".
3. Then he is suddenly transferred to a remote prison and held in complete isolation from other fellow detainees. Conditions here are comparatively favourable and no torture is inflicted on him, but he is persuaded to turn a state witness against his comrades. If he refuses to do so, he is taken back to the same prison and the solitary confinement and torture starts anew.

After having undergone all this treatment, on 11 April, last year, the South African police, without explanation, flew Mr. Riruako and me to the Caprivi and distinctly warned us not to return to South West Africa, as if we do so we shall be doing it at our peril. The police in Caprivi, claiming they were giving a demonstration to us, the treatment to be expected should we return, opened our cell door and set a vicious dog on us. Mr. Riruako bears to this day scars on his leg as a witness of this attack.

The South African police then placed us at gunpoint on an uninhabited island in the Zambezi River, after having ferried us for about 50 miles. On this swampy island, we stayed for three days without food until we were rescued by Zambian fishermen.

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Mr. Chairman, as we understand it, your ultimate intention is to go to South West Africa itself and see things for yourselves, we shall not therefore detain your time with further information. But, as we had already remarked, we are pessimistic about your mission's ultimate success. Your inherited weakness, as we see, stems from the ill-conceived notion that the United Nations will achieve its objectives in South West Africa through diplomatic persuasions and "good office committees". This has proven abortive in the past and there is no hope that it will not prove abortive now.

In June 1958, the United Nations Good Office Committee led by Sir Charles Arden Clark, first visited South West Africa, only to come with suggestions of balkanization of the territory. Again, United Nations delegates, Dr. Carpio and Dr. De Alva, in 1962, visited South West Africa. As is well known this visit ended in fiasco. There is no reason to expect that this present mission will succeed where others failed.

The most abhorrent is that this diplomatic game has been played for twenty-two years at the expense of untold human suffering of the people of South West Africa. The United Nations has willingly or unwillingly avoided seeing that the issue of South West Africa has reached an aggravated state where the issues involved demand a military solution and not diplomatic persuasion. In the existing military, political and economical set-up in South West Africa, the United Nations can only make her presence there felt by military intervention and establish her political power by armed suppression to disengage the fascist political set-up there. It is lamentable, on the other hand, to witness that the South African fascist régime has already foreseen this situation and has done and is doing everything in its power to meet this situation.

In accordance with resolution 2145 (XXI) the Territory of South West Africa has thereupon become incumbent upon the United Nations and it must therefore be assumed that continued criminal occupation of the South African fascist régime on the South West African soil is an act of belligerency. The United Nations has a duty towards the people of South West Africa. In fact, this international community of nations were responsible for placing us under that fascist régime.

For us SWANU, at no time have we wavered in our commitments to liberate our motherland, but at the same time we must remind the United Nations to fulfil

their obligations towards our people. We shall at no stage stand idly and witness while the important decisions are made concerning our fate without the maximum participation of the people of South West Africa. We shall always resist these adverse trends, whether it comes from friendly camps or from the enemy camp. Thus, we want to call to your attention, in view of difficulties the United Nations is facing now in order to establish its presence in the territory of South West Africa, the Council must now start to work with closer consultation with the leaders of the organized opinion from South West Africa at present in exile.

Mr. Chairman, as we are talking now the South African fascist régime, precipitated by United Nations ineffectiveness, is launching a further assault on the people of South West Africa. People from Warmbad have been removed against their will from their homelands to so-called Bantustan and people in Windhoek are again threatened to be removed to Katutura township. As it is known, this removal caused bloodshed in December 1959 and as the people are determined not to move the situation is fraught with danger. This people's spirit of resistance against the brutal suppression of fascist has been succinctly put by Comrade Hetjevi Veii, SWANU's deputy leader: "If the foreigners have come love our country and are saying that they will take up arms against UN, then, we the people of South West Africa have more reason to fight for it to get rid of this Pretoria régime". This was a statement for which he was jailed for five years. In this content, we want to make it clear that the United Nations is not so hopeless as it has proved to issue protest statements only without doing anything. What the United Nations can do is an active help to the Nationalist organizations in the country to build up that existing spirit of resistance. It is only through the support of this vast populace that the United Nations, in the final analysis, will establish its presence in South West Africa.

Finally, the United Nations must as first step, take up the responsibility of the South West African nationals living in exile and give them amenities given by any Government to her nationals such as passports, etc.

Last but not the least, we must thank the Government and the people of the Republic of Zambia for making this occasion possible in face unending threat from the South African fascist régime and her alliance for fostering the spirit of liberation and human dignity. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, members of the Council, once again and hoping good luck in your task.

ANNEX IV

STATEMENT MADE IN LUSAKA ON 9 APRIL 1968 BY MR. KUAIMA RIRUAKO, SECRETARY
FOR PANAFRICAN AFFAIRS OF THE NATIONAL UNITED DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION-
SOUTH WEST AFRICA NATIONAL UNITED FRONT (NUDO-SWANUF)

The case of South West Africa is well known all over the world. The tortures, atrocities, imprisonments and murders being inflicted upon the innocent masses and peoples of South West Africa by the barbaric and racist régime of South Africa is well known by your honourable organization and the whole world at large. Despite hills of resolutions and threats to the South Africa régime by the United Nations and OAU, South Africa has deliberately defied everything. South Africa has contended that it is right to separate white skins from black ones. It has defied all human decency expected of a living nation. It has refused to conform to Christian standards advocated by the World Council of Churches. Indeed, it has neglected the world pressure to release the prisoners who are illegally being kept in South African prisons.

This is a challenge that the Committee of eleven in particular, and the United Nations as a whole and also OAU must face squarely. It is a matter of do it now or never.

We, from South West Africa and the whole world, are seeing and waiting what the outcome of your mission will be. Whatever will be the result of your visit to South West Africa, we hope that it will make the South African régime see sense and return to sanity. But should the mission fail in its dedicated duty, then we might as well stop telling ourselves and the world that the United Nations has any effective powers over South West Africa and that it is a body which can protect those of us who are under perpetual torture, humiliation, indignity and insults from racist régimes.

The plights of South West Africa was first brought to the United Nations in 1949 by Chief Hosea Kutako on behalf of the people of South West Africa as a whole. He was, however, refused by the South African Government to go to the United Nations to present the case. Instead, he appointed the Rev. M. Scott to do the job. The Rev. Scott was joined by some South West African leaders who

were already in exile overseas. It was due to the determination of these people together with the assistance of the United Nations which helped to stop South Africa to incorporate South West Africa territory in South Africa.

It is now more than twenty years since the United Nations started condemning South Africa for its apartheid policies. In October 1966, the United Nations passed a resolution 2145 (XXI) which terminated the mandate of South Africa over South West Africa. However, South Africa still maintains that it has the power to rule South West Africa and indeed until now South Africa rules illegally.

Looking back to the annals of history on South West Africa, many resolutions have been passed by the United Nations. From the time of the inception of the Special Committee on South West Africa the issue has been continuously examined and re-examined. In December 1962 the Committee condemned South Africa for refusing to co-operate with the United Nations on the South West Africa issue. In May 1963, the Committee recommended that the General Assembly should take all the necessary steps to establish an effective United Nations control over South West Africa. But so far, nothing effective has been done.

If the case of South West Africa is not handled seriously, it is likely that the issue will develop into another Rhodesian issue where there has been dilly-dallying by the British Government to take necessary measures.

We are aware that certain big Powers are not as co-operative as they should have been over this issue. This is due to their connexions - financial connexions with South African régime and industries. They tend to condemn the policy of apartheid. They superficially agree with the United Nations resolutions but in fact fail to implement them. They encourage their citizens to invest in South Africa. They claim that South Africa is the only stable Government in Africa. Therefore, we are doubting the honesty of these big western Powers over the issue of South West Africa.

Many such special committees on South West Africa have been unsuccessful. The first one was headed by Professor Fabrigat and another by Carpio and De Alva and many others. Now we have the present one which we hope will achieve something tangible.

To cover up its sinister motives which after all are open secrets to any intelligent and informed living being, the South African Government has of late passed a bill introducing the Bantustan separate development in different sections of South West Africa. This is supposed to be based on ethnic groups. This is totally opposed by the people of South West Africa. This, to us, is totally against the trend of civilization and a deliberate perpetuation of tribalism and treachery based on the old trick "divide and rule". After years of South African people (South West Africans), having toiled physically and mentally in order to develop their lands (South West Africa) the Government of Vorster has now got the guts and the chink to claim that there should be separate development in South West Africa. It is the Africans and boers together who made it possible to develop South West Africa up to its present stage. But now Vorster wants to give the Africans the poorest land and start developing after they have developed for the boers. South West Africa is the birthright of the Africans of South West Africa without any exception of any piece of land. Whether this land is in Windhoek or in the remote areas of South West Africa it belongs to the people of South West Africa. What a hypocrisy for South Africa to separate people in their own land. This act of aggression of the South African Government, if it is left to posterity, will aggravate the already existing xenophobic attitude which we do not intend to encourage.

To illustrate some of the atrocities the South African régime can do, I wish to relate my own personal experience in some of the South African prisons.

After the coup in Ghana where I was then studying, I decided to return home to South West Africa. On my arrival at Caprivi, I was arrested by the South African police and I was sent to Pretoria prison. This was on 5 May 1966. I was in prison together with the other thirty-seven South West Africans. There was no trial for the whole period of almost twelve months. Every morning the warders had to use electric shock on my head and different parts of my body. After every such shock they used to ask me whether I could speak English or my own language or if I remembered anything at all. This type of torture was directed at destroying my thinking capacity. I could not hold any longer. I got sick and I was taken to the prison clinic. The hospital people gave an injection which made

me worse. The injection was supposed to confuse my brain more instead of treating me. I could not talk for the jaws were clamped together for many days. It was difficult to eat. This torture affected my health badly. I tried to complain to the other warders and later to the Magistrate of Pretoria but in vain.

During my stay in jail, one of Pretoria convicted prisoners told me that one detainee had died in his cell. It was alleged that he had committed suicide. This I doubted. I could be wrong to assume that he was murdered.

One of the detainees from South West Africa known as Dominikus, an ex-teacher from Ovamboland (Swapo) was beaten and his jaw broken. Yet no treatment was given. Instead they had to give him prison meals so that he feels more pain. This meal had to be forced on him.

I do not intend to tire you with details of tortures, but I would rather bring to your notice that there were more than ninety South West Africans detained in South Africa, not only thirty-seven who are illegally convicted.

All the patriotic inhabitants of South West Africa were arrested without being known in their country even by the outside world. As far as South African prison treatment is concerned, I doubt whether the thirty-three convicted South West Africans are still alive up to now if not dead.

Last but not least, on the question of prison treatment. On 5 April 1967 Mr. Werner Mamugwe (also a detainee from South West Africa) and I were transferred at night to Katima Muliro from Pretoria. On arrival at Katima Muliro we were locked in the cell for some hours. Later on the South African security brought into the cell police dogs to bite us. I suffered a big wound on my right leg and my friend got his pair of long trousers torn to pieces. After this brutal treatment, we were told that we were undesirable elements and that should we return to South West Africa we would face executions. They collected us into the boat and motored to an island in the Zambezi River. This is the boundary with Zambia. There are no people in the island. The only people were we two souls. We were left there without food or shelter for three days. There are many snakes and wild animals (e.g., hippopotamuses, crocodiles and other reptiles). Fortunately, after these three days, Zambian fishermen discovered us. They put us into their canoe and we crossed into Zambia.

After having briefly spelt out the wrongs that are going on in South West Africa by the Vorster régime and also after briefly touching on the aspirations of the people of South West Africa, I wish to put forward some proposals which reflect the political aspirations of the people of South West Africa in general and my organization, the National Unity Democratic Organization (NUDO) in particular.

The people of South West Africa will not accept any change other than changes which will lead to complete independence. With this in mind, we propose:

- (a) The establishment of the United Nations authority in South West Africa;
- (b) To withdraw the South African police and army and substitute by United Nations forces;
- (c) To disarm all white and black inhabitants of South West Africa who have been helping the South African régime to perpetuate tortures over the masses of South West Africa;
- (d) Secure the immediate release of all prisoners now being held illegally in South Africa.
- (e) Return all refugees who are scattered all over the continent (e.g. Botswana, Zambia, Ethiopia, etc.)
- (f) Call for general elections within six months based on universal adult suffrage under the supervision of the United Nations and OAU.

As indicated in (a) above, we propose that some African States must be asked to assist in the administration of the territory during this transitional period.

I wish to extend my thanks to all members of the Committee for agreeing to undertake this dangerous and delicate task of trying to establish some effective control over South West Africa. I must also thank the Government of the Republic of Zambia for all the assistance given to you.

Let us hope that the mission will be successful to restore human integrity and dignity in South West Africa which is the birthright of the people of South West Africa.

ANNEX V

REPORT OF THE WORKING GROUP ON POLITICAL QUESTIONS

1. After its meetings with South West African political leaders in Lusaka and Dar es Salaam, the working group on political questions submitted two reports to the Council, one on 12 April and one on 17 April 1968.
2. In its reports the Working Group indicated that its discussion and consultations with the political leaders of South West Africa had covered the following main points:
 - (a) Questions relating to the organization and structure of the main political groupings;
 - (b) The main principles of the political programmes of the South West African parties;
 - (c) The interrelationship between the various groupings and their attitudes and efforts to co-ordination of their activities;
 - (d) Examination of the main problems and difficulties which confront the South West African political groups in their activities.
3. It would appear that SWAPO is the best organized group among the various South West African political movements. The other groups are SWANU and NUDO-SWANUF. SWAPO operates entirely from its headquarters in Dar es Salaam where the National Executive Committee is based. The headquarters organization of SWAPO in Dar es Salaam is divided into various functional departments corresponding to normal departmental and agency organizations of national Governments. In addition SWAPO also maintains branch offices in various capitals. At the moment there are branches of SWAPO in Lusaka, Algiers, Cairo, London, Helsinki and New York. These branches are entirely responsible to the headquarters in Dar es Salaam and they also act as diplomatic outposts for SWAPO.
4. From the testimony of the SWAPO leaders it was clear the SWAPO organization is maintained as the nucleus of a government. On the other hand there was no evidence available regarding a similar structure and organization for the other two political groups with which meetings were held.
5. Although there might be differences between the political organizations there was no evidence of any divergency in their views regarding the ultimate

objective or the means and methods of its attainment. All the South West African political parties made it abundantly clear that they are committed to the goal of the independence of the Territory.

6. The South West African leaders all explained that they have inevitably been pushed to adopt an armed struggle for the purpose of liberating South West Africa. For example, the SWAPO leaders told the Working Group in some detail and in a convincing manner that although their organization had an origin of non-violence the increasing brutality and repression of the South African authorities in the Territory had compelled it to resort to a violent struggle.

7. All the political parties also believe that South West Africa should enjoy a transitional period of United Nations administration prior to independence. It was made clear that such a period of international administration will help to underline the special status of the Territory. It was believed that the example of an international administration established in South West Africa might prove demonstrably beneficial in promoting the ideal of a democratic non-racial society in the Territory.

8. The leaders of SWANU and SWANUF indicated their desire to enter into some co-operative working relationship with all the other groupings and thought that the Council for South West Africa could play a role in bringing all the groupings together. On the other hand, SWAPO, which alone enjoys the recognition of OAU, tended to feel that it was the only major grouping with the broadest following in the Territory. In SWAPO's view, it was for the other parties to come over to their organization. SWAPO leaders maintained that they were always prepared to accept any other group into the membership of SWAPO. In any case, SWAPO maintained that the other groupings have very small followings and limited national support in the country.

9. SWAPO leaders also vigorously rejected the allegation that their organization was a regional party based in Ovamboland. They maintained that the evident popularity which SWAPO enjoys in Ovamboland as compared with its support elsewhere in the Territory arises from the fact that since the area of Ovamboland is outside the police zone it has traditionally been the most politically conscious and articulate region of South West Africa.

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10. The fundamental difficulty confronting all the South West African political groupings arises from the fact that they are forcibly prevented from operating legally and constitutionally within South West Africa itself. All the main political leaders have been driven abroad as refugees and have to continue their political activities from exile. As a result all South West African nationals living abroad have become freedom-fighters committed to and engaged in the liberation of their country. It was brought to the attention of the Working Group that there are broadly three categories of South West African nationals living abroad. First, there is a group of political leaders and party workers who are engaged at the headquarters of the various political organizations or who represent such organizations in various capitals. Secondly, there is the group of young South West African nationals who are receiving secondary and higher education abroad. Lastly, there is a group of South West African nationals who may properly be regarded as refugees and who, though not actively engaged politically, have nevertheless been forced into exile by the oppressive policies in the Territory. It was made clear that whatever their present occupation every South West African national outside the Territory contributes in one way or another to the liberation struggle and should be regarded as a committed freedom-fighter.

11. As a result of the overriding circumstance in which the political leaders of South West Africa find themselves, a serious problem arises for them in the need of assuring their freedom of movement. All the representatives of South West Africa appealed to the Council in the most insistent and urgent terms that the Council should inaugurate as speedily as possible travel documents which could be issued to nationals of South West Africa and facilitate their movements. At present, the more favourable practice is for nationals of South West Africa to be granted one-way travel documents which cannot ensure their return to the country in which they have taken residence as refugees. Consequently, the freedom of movement of South West African nationals, either in the interest of their studies or for their political activities, is being seriously impeded.

12. It was clearly and fully explained to the representatives of South West Africa that the Council had already taken a decision of principle to establish

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United Nations Council travel documents for nationals of South West Africa. At the present time, the political and administrative problems which arise in respect of the right of return for holders of such travel documents, as well as the designation of appropriate issuing authorities of such documents, were being actively discussed and negotiated, particularly with the Governments of Zambia and Tanzania, which are more closely concerned.

ANNEX VI

REPORT OF THE WORKING GROUP ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

1. The Working Group on social and economic questions submitted to the Council two reports, the first on 12 April and the second on 17 April.
2. The reports stated that the discussions with the leaders centred mainly on education, welfare and employment problems. Regarding the question of education, it was first established that the problem was of considerable magnitude. Owing to the lack of opportunities and facilities given by the de facto authorities of South Africa, South West Africans had a low standard of education.
3. The South West African leaders generally were of the opinion that, in view of the relatively limited number of refugees stationed outside the Territory, an increased number of scholarships in Africa, Europe or the United States was preferred to the establishment of a United Nations School, which some of them had initially suggested. Besides, they said that both in Zambia and Tanzania, the African American Institute was already taking care in the main of the educational needs of most of the refugees present in these countries at the primary and secondary levels.
4. The scholarships should be offered at the secondary and university levels, bearing in mind the need for higher training abroad in technical, vocational and professional degrees tailored to the primary needs and requirements of the future administration set-up of the Territory.
5. While in Lusaka, the Council visited a transit centre for refugees established by the Government of Zambia and operated in co-operation with the Lutheran World Federation. The Council was impressed by the accomplishment of the Zambian Government, whose Ministry of Home Affairs is responsible for the high standard of this transit camp. The camp sends refugees to five agricultural projects throughout Zambia where they are enable to engage in farm work. During its visit to the camp, the Council was able to meet with refugees from South West Africa. The South West Africans, notwithstanding the fact that they were able to participate in agricultural projects, all expressed their ardent determination to return to their country as early as possible and fight for its independence.