Title  Items-in-Africa - Question of Namibia - organizations and individuals - South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)

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TO: The Secretary-General
FROM: Tang Ming-chao
Room No. — No de bureau
Extension — Poste
Date: 8 Dec. 1976

FOR ACTION
FOR APPROVAL
FOR SIGNATURE
FOR COMMENTS
MAY WE DISCUSS?
YOUR ATTENTION
AS DISCUSSED
AS REQUESTED
NOTE AND RETURN
FOR INFORMATION

POUR SUITE A DONNER
POUR APPROBATION
POUR SIGNATURE
POUR OBSERVATIONS
POURRIONS-NOUS EN PARLER?
VOTRE ATTENTION
COMME CONVENU
SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE
NOTER ET RETOURNER
POUR INFORMATION

**Handwritten Notes:**

Discussed the SA. Assessed and felt I couldn't do anything significant between now and the meeting. If there was anything to do with what was proposed to the SDS, I didn't think the worker would approve it.
TO: Mr. Tang Ming-chao
Under Secretary-General
Department of Political Affairs,
Trusteeship and Decolonization

DATE: 8 December 1976

REFERENCE: 

FROM: Erik Suy
The Legal Counsel

SUBJECT: Observer status of SWAPO (draft resolution)

1. The draft resolution contained in A/C.1/31/L.36 on "Observer status for the South West Africa People's Organization" would

   (1) Invite the South West Africa People's Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer;

   (2) Invite the South West Africa People's Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer; and

   (3) Consider that the South West Africa People's Organization is entitled to participate as an observer in the sessions and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of other organs of the United Nations.

2. Under General Assembly resolution 3280 (XXIX), the South West Africa People's Organization, as a national liberation movement recognized by OAU, has already been accorded observer status in "Main Committees of the General Assembly and its subsidiary organs concerned, as well as in conferences, seminars and other meetings held under the auspices of the United Nations which relate to their countries". In its resolution 3295 (XXIX) the General Assembly has also requested

   "all General Assembly committees and sub-committees to invite a representative of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the South West Africa People's Organization to participate in their meetings whenever the rights and interests of Namibia are discussed and to consult closely with the Council and with that organization regarding any draft resolution which may involve the rights and interests of Namibians".

SWAPO has been recognized as the "authentic representative of the Namibian people" (resolution 3295 (XXIX), part I, para. 2, and resolution 3399 (XXX), operative para. 3).
3. While there are some minor variations in wording, it would appear that paragraphs 2 and 3 of draft resolution A/C.4/31/L.36 do not give SWAPO more observer rights than it already has under existing resolutions. On the other hand, paragraph 1 is patterned on the provision in paragraph 1 of resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 concerning the PLO and similar resolutions giving observer status to intergovernmental organizations such as EEC, CMEA, the Islamic Conference and the Commonwealth Secretariat. By reference to treatment accorded to the PLO it would appear that the effect of the adoption of this paragraph would be to give SWAPO certain status in plenary meetings of the General Assembly which it does not presently have. This would include a seat at the table at the side of the plenary hall which has been reserved for observers invited to participate in the sessions and work of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer and would also permit it, at the invitation of the Assembly, to participate in the discussion in plenary of the question of Namibia and possibly of questions relating to Southern Africa or to decolonization generally.

4. According such rights in plenary to SWAPO would appear to raise serious problems with respect to the representation of Namibia. The General Assembly has in resolution 3111 (XXVIII) recognized that the Council for Namibia, which it established by resolution 2248 (S-V) to administer Namibia (then called South West Africa), is "the legal authority for Namibia" and in a number of resolutions has requested that the Council participate in meetings and conferences on behalf of Namibia (see for example, resolution 3111 (XXVIII); last preambular paragraph and Section II, para. 1). In this connexion one may also note that other draft resolutions now before the Fourth Committee recognize the Council for Namibia as "Administering Authority of the Territory" (A/C.4/31/L.37) and decide that it should

"represent Namibia to ensure that the rights and interests of Namibia are protected, as appropriate, in all intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, bodies and conferences" (A/C.4/31/L.31).

5. According a special observer status to SWAPO in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly would have certain implications, the full repercussions of which cannot be foreseen at this time, with respect to the status of the Council for Namibia as the sole legitimate administering authority for Namibia.
It would also create an anomalous situation with respect to other national liberation movements in Africa, thus serving as a precedent for requests for a similar status from such movements both in Africa and elsewhere.

6. It should also be noted that in every case where the General Assembly has invited an organization "to participate in the sessions and work of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer" it has done so on the basis of a separate agenda item referred directly to plenary. In fact, in almost every case the item has dealt specifically with the status of that organization in the General Assembly. It would seem inappropriate that a decision affecting the status of an organization in plenary meetings of the General Assembly should be considered in a committee rather than directly in plenary.

7. Observer status in the plenary of the General Assembly has also carried with it observer status with the Organization. This particular status has in the past been limited to States, intergovernmental organizations and to authorities which, in the view of a majority of Member States, have at least a quasi-governmental character. To extend this status to an organization which comprises only one constituent element of a subject of international law, namely representation of the people, particularly where a recognized governmental authority in the form of the Council exists, could be considered to create a dangerous and divisive precedent.

cc: Mr. N. Rifai
QUESTION OF NAMIBIA

Observer status for the South West Africa People's Organization

Benin, Burundi, Congo, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, India, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritius, Morocco, Nigeria, Romania, Sudan, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia: draft resolution

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Namibia,

Recognizing the crucial phase reached in the struggle of the Namibian people and the added demands and critical tasks imposed upon their liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization,

Taking into consideration the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia 1/ and the recommendations contained therein, 2/

Reaffirming the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council concerning the question of Namibia,

Recalling, in particular, its resolution 3111 (XXVII) of 12 December 1973, by which it recognized the South West Africa People's Organization as the authentic representative of the Namibian people,

Noting that the Organization of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement have recognized and invited the South West Africa People's Organization to participate in their meetings in an observer capacity,

2/ Ibid., paras. 272-273.
1. Invites the South West Africa People's Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer.

2. Invites the South West Africa People's Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of the General Assembly in the capacity of observer.

3. Considers that the South West Africa People's Organization is entitled to participate as an observer in the sessions and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of other organs of the United Nations;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps for the implementation of the present resolution and to accord all the facilities as may be required.
The Secretary-General

TO:

THROUGH:

S/C DE:

FROM:

DE:

SUBJECT:

Proposed observer status of the South West Africa People's Organization

DATE: 3 December 1976

REFERENCE:

Tang Ming-chao

Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs and Decolonization

1. I wish to draw your attention to the attached draft resolution, a copy of which was given by SWAPO to Mr. Najmuddine Rifai, Secretary to the Fourth Committee. Mr. Rifai has informed SWAPO that the tabling of a resolution before the Fourth Committee has to be done by a Member State.

2. Under the draft proposal, SWAPO would be given a permanent observer status in the General Assembly, as in the case of PLO. At present, SWAPO has an observer status in the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Special Committee of 24 and the Fourth Committee. Should SWAPO obtain a permanent observer status in the General Assembly, it might pose a question on the role of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

3. I have asked Mr. Rifai to inform the acting President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Ambassador Jaipal of India, and to seek the advice of the Legal Counsel on this matter.

cc: Mr. R. Ahmed, Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General
The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Namibia,

Recognizing the crucial phase reached in the struggle of the Namibian people and the added demands and critical tasks imposed upon their Liberation Movement, SWAPO,

Taking into Consideration the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia and the recommendations contained therein,

Reaffirming all the General Assembly and the Security Council resolutions and decisions regarding the question of Namibia,

Recalling, in particular, General Assembly resolution 3111 (XXVII) of 12 December 1973 which recognised SWAPO as the authentic representative of the Namibian people,

Noting that the Organization of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement have recognised and invited SWAPO to participate in the meetings in an observer capacity,

1. Invites the South West Africa People's Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly in the capacity of permanent observer;

2. Invites the South West Africa People's Organization to participate in the sessions and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of the General Assembly in the capacity of permanent observer;

3. Considers that the South West Africa People's Organization is entitled to participate as permanent observer in the sessions.../...2
and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of
other organs of the United Nations;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps for the
implementation of the present resolution and accord all the facilities as may
be required.
Dear Secretary-General,

I enclose herewith copies of two authoritative press statements released by SWAPO in Lusaka on 11 and 12 November 1976.

I should add that Senator Dick Clark has also maintained excellent relations with my office in Lusaka and with this Office. It was as a result of his initiative that the United States Government appropriated $250,000 for the Institute in Lusaka. I feel convinced that he will have a most useful influence in the formulation of the African policy in the new United States Administration.

With warm best wishes,

Yours respectfully and sincerely,

Sean MacBride

His Excellency
Mr. Kurt Waldheim
Secretary-General
United Nations
Room 3800
New York.

cc: Mr. Rafeeddin Ahmed
Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General
Mr. A.A. Farah, Assistant Secretary-General for Special Political Questions
PRESS RELEASE
BY THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION
OF NAMIBIA (SWAPO), LUSAKA 12.11.76

SWAPO DELEGATION MEETS
U.S. SENATOR

A SWAPO delegation headed by the Vice-President
Comrade Mishake Muyongo met Senator Dick Clark, chairman
of the African Affairs subcommittee of the United
States Senate committee on foreign relations today and
discussed the current situation in Namibia.

We raised specific points with the Senator which we hope will form the basis for a new approach to the question of Namibia. The United States Veto was among the points discussed.

Other items raised were the South African manoeuvring to create a puppet government in Namibia, the military buildup in Namibia and the use of Namibia as a base for its expansionist policy in Southern Africa.

The SWAPO delegation was assured that the Senator would continue to work for greater understanding and a positive United States response to the Namibian struggle.
PRESS STATEMENT
BY THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION
OF NAMIBIA (SWAPO), LUSAKA 11.11.76

Note to editors, diplomatic representatives etc: This statement is a reaction by SWAPO to the current developments in Namibia as well as to the South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

THE TIDE OF HISTORY IS TURNING AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

A few days ago Mr. du Plessis, who is the official representative of the South African government at the Turnhalle tribal talks, proposed a referendum which as he put it would determine "the people's wishes" regarding the establishment of an interim government in Namibia. At the crux of the South African and Turnhalle fraudulent 'settlement' is that any interim government for Namibia should be based on the brutal regimes of the puppet chieftains and other collaborators in Namibia's bantustans.

The most revealing feature of the proposed referendum is the suggested method of poll. Whereas the white population is to vote in the standard way, Namibia's own population will not be given this opportunity. Instead they will be expected to vote "in the way traditional to them", as the South African regime likes to put it. This means that the South African paid puppet chiefs will be able to exert great influence over the result and will be able to pressurise and intimidate Namibians into giving their consent to the farcical solution the South Africans are proposing for Namibia's future.

It is crystal clear that the south Africans are simply playing for time with their proposals. By using puppet chiefs in this way, at the same time as presenting to the world the idea that a proper referendum is to be held, South Africa is
clearly trying to pull the wool over the eyes of the international community. Referenda are serious, respectable and democratic procedures and South Africa is debasing the term by applying it to their fraudulent scheme. Apartheid is the cornerstone of the idea of "ethnic decision making", which forms the basis of the convenient bantustan myths of "separate development".

It has been hinted by the South African government that representatives of the international community would be invited to observe the referendum. This cuts no ice at all, as they could make such a suggestion in the full knowledge that the only members of the "international community" who would even consider giving the referendum any credibility by agreeing to an observer role, would be South Africa's supporters, carefully hand-picked.

The tribal talks in Windhoek are currently focusing on methods to legalize the so-called interim government through fraudulent elections. These would give the people of Namibia no choice at all. The result has been predetermined by the South Africans and any "referendum" will only constitute a reflection of the iron-fist rule of the illegal regime in our country.

President Nujoma just back from Southern Angola, in the early morning today described the situation on the Namibian Angolan border as one of continuous acts of provocation and violations of Angolan air space as well as incursions by South African forces combined with their UNITA collaborators. A South African soldier has been captured deep inside Angola, about 100 kilometres from the Namibian border. Once again South Africa's occupation of Namibia and use of Namibia as a base for aggression against neighboring countries, it demonstrates that regimes threaten international peace and security.

This latest aggression combined with the political manoeuvring inside Namibia are efforts to stem the tide of history and to halt the momentous process of liberation in Southern Africa. They will not succeed. A luta continua.
Notes of a meeting held in the Secretary-General's office on 22 September 1976

Present: The Secretary-General
Mr. Sam Nujoma, of SWAPO
Mr. Ben Gurijab, of SWAPO
Mr. A. A. Farah

Mr. Nujoma described latest developments in the Namibian situation. Although considerable diplomatic activity had been generated by Kissinger, SWAPO had not been kept fully informed of his plans.

Mr. Nujoma said he maintained close contact with the "front-line" Presidents, and had made clear to them the position of SWAPO on constitutional arrangements proposed for the Territory. SWAPO required: (a) that all political prisoners in Namibia be released; (b) that constitutional talks be held under U.N. auspices; (c) that South Africa must participate in the talks, and (d) that South Africa must commit to withdraw its forces from the Territory. It was essential to create a favourable climate in Namibia, including the abrogation of all repressive laws.

Mr. Nujoma commented that some quarters did not want interference by the U.N. in the Namibian situation. In that regard, South Africa was tacitly supported by the U.K. Mr. Nujoma recalled his meeting with the British Minister of State of Foreign Affairs in which the Minister had suggested that SWAPO drop its demand for U.N. involvement, and proposed instead that SWAPO enter into contact with the tribal authorities.

Mr. Nujoma said that he had no objection to meeting with Mr. Kissinger, but that there were basic principles concerning Namibia from which SWAPO could not depart.

On the question of a further term of office for Mr. Sean MacBride, Mr. Nujoma said that he had been given to understand that Mr. MacBride did not wish to serve beyond the end of 1976. SWAPO had not considered a successor, but promised to keep in touch with the Secretary-General. He felt that Mr. MacBride could be persuaded to continue for a few months into 1977 should there be any difficulty in finding a suitable successor.

cc:SG
RA/KH
Note of a meeting held on 28 September 1976

Present: The Secretary-General
Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO
Mr. A.A. Farah

Mr. Sam Nujoma said that in his talks with President Nyerere of Tanzania he had made clear the position of SWAPO and that position had been conveyed to Mr. Kissinger. However, there was resistance to acceptance of the conditions which SWAPO had set out.

These conditions were:

1. That a constitutional conference should be convened outside Namibia without delay. Such conference must not be regarded as a continuation of the constitutional talks in Windhoek and must commence afresh.

2. The conference must be held under the auspices of the United Nations.

3. That participation should be confined to representatives of South Africa, SWAPO and the United Nations.

4. SWAPO would not accept that the conference be composed of representatives of tribal groups and SWAPO. South Africa's presence was essential since it would be required to discuss modalities for the transfer of power and answer any questions which might arise.

5. South Africa must release all political prisoners. Such an act would create a favourable political atmosphere and would enable some of the released prisoners to join SWAPO at the conference.

6. South Africa must make a commitment to the withdrawal of its armed forces from the territory. The timing of the withdrawal could be discussed.

The Secretary-General referred to a proposal by Mr. MacBride concerning the chairmanship of the proposed conference. It had been suggested that while the Secretary-General should open the proceedings all working sessions should be entrusted to a personal representative. Mr. S. Ramphal, Secretary General of the Commonwealth Secretariat, had been suggested as a candidate for that post.
Mr. Sam Nujoma said that Mr. MacBride had also informed him of the proposal. However, Mr. Nujoma did not consider that the matter should leave UN hands, and that it would be desirable, when the Secretary-General was unable to chair such meetings, to appoint an official from within the organization to perform that function.

Mr. Nujoma remarked that South Africa was opposed to the UN playing any role in the Namibian negotiations, and was supported by some states. SWAPO attached great importance to the involvement of the UN at all stages of negotiations. He hoped the Secretary-General would raise the matter with Mr. Kissinger when they next met to secure his Government's support for negotiations to be conducted under the umbrella of the United Nations.

28 September 1976

cc: SG
RA/KH
SPECIAL SECURITY COUNCIL ISSUE

Inside:

SOUTH AFRICA'S CRIMES IN NAMIBIA

Also: Swapo political programme

The businessmen backing Turnhalle

We have the honour to request that in the course of the Council's consideration of the question "The situation in Namibia", an invitation under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council be extended to Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia.

We request that this letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

Signed by the representatives of the following States:

Benin
Libyan Arab Republic
United Republic of Tanzania
Subject: Namibia

At a press conference yesterday, Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, declared that he was ready to talk directly with the South African regime provided it accepted the following conditions:

1. SWAPO has been and is ready to talk directly with the illegal occupying regime of South Africa regarding the modalities of transferring power to the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO.

2. SWAPO insists that any talks between us and South Africa must be under the auspices of the United Nations.

3. SWAPO further insists that before any talks, all Namibian political prisoners must be released.

4. SWAPO demands a commitment by South Africa to withdraw her armed forces from Namibia.

In reply to a question as to which UN organ should take care of the Namibian question should negotiations become possible, he said it was a decision for the Secretary-General to make.

In another reply he said that talks between SWAPO and South Africa could take place as soon as South Africa makes a commitment to withdraw from the territory.

It is understood that the African Group will take no action concerning the convening of a Security Council meeting until the arrival of the Foreign Ministers of the "front line" states.

A.A. Farah

22 September 1976

cc: RA/KH
I have the honour to attach for your attention the text of a request by the Chief Minister of Ovambo, Pastor C. Ndjoba, addressed to the South African Government.

I should be glad if this letter and annexure could be issued as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) R. F. BOTHA
Permanent Representative
Annex

Trial of SWAPO leaders: request by the Chief Minister of Ovambo, Pastor C. Ndjoba, to the South African Government

(Free translation)

It has come to my attention and that of my Government that the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) and by name Sam Nujoma and Peter Katjivivi have directed that 42 citizens of Ovambo who had been taken captive in Zambia must be shot.

According to reports Nujoma decided that these 42 Ovambo's, all members of SWAPO, would first be tried by a so-called SWAPO court and then die before a firing squad. This mass murder which is planned by SWAPO is apparently the brainchild of Sam Nujoma to get rid of the opponents in his own ranks. These 42 Ovambo citizens are accused of being agents of the imperialists and capitalists.

I want to make it very clear that these unfortunate people are all members of SWAPO, of whom many were enticed out of Ovambo under false pretences with promises that they would be able to study further abroad. The only offence of these people, under the leadership of the Secretary for Information of the Organisation, Solomon Mifima, and Andreas Shipanga, was that they had started asking questions of Sam Nujoma.

Questions such as where did all the money go which leftist organisations and churches donated to SWAPO and why did he spend his time in Moscow or in the Kilimanjaro nightclub in Lusaka while SWAPO terrorists were being shot by the security forces in Ovambo.

As a result of the pleas of parents and relatives of these unfortunate people, as well as those who have in recent times been abducted across the border by SWAPO, I ask the South African Government on behalf of myself and my Government to request the United Nations, the International Red Cross and all responsible countries to determine through diplomatic and other channels where and under what circumstances these people are being held and to attempt to save their lives.

According to reports the following Ovambo citizens are amongst those being held:

Solomon Mifima - Ondangwa
Andreas Shipanga - Ondangwa
Jimmy Amupala - Ondangwa
Andreas Nuukwao - Ondangwa
Keshi Pelao - Ondangwa
Ndeshimona Nuyumba - Ondangwa
The information we discussed is contained on page 5. The other pages also make interesting reading.
CONSULTATION WITH SWAPO PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA

11:00 p.m.
Friday,
27 August 1976

Sam Nujoma thanked the Council for its efforts and that SWAPO believes in the Council exercising its rightful authority over the Territory. The opening of the Institute was a concrete support of the Council for the freedom and independence of Namibia. South Africa was worried about the opening of the Institute. Church groups in Namibia are trying to set up different education groups to counter direct the strength of the Institute. SWAPO will continue to support the efforts of the Council.

In relation to the recent statement by SA that there will be an interim SWAPO government directed by puppet chiefs of the SA administration - if this is true SA has circulated an announcement of an interim government and independence by 1978. This action is to under cut all actions of the Council and the Security Council. SA deliberately announced this to convince some permanent members of the SC. Maybe if we give SA time they may become reasonable?

SWAPO recommends to the Council to approach member states to gain their support in not supporting the idea being propogated by SA. SA just intends to strengthen its position in Namibia. SWAPO considers the legal Namibia to be authority of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

Constitutional talks should be moved outside Namibia with SWAPO participating. SWAPO is ready to talk with SA under the chairmanship of the UN Council for Namibia.

There are manoeuvres to put aside the Council and undermine its authority. SA just ignores the .Council and also some members of the SC. SWAPO believes its strength is derived from the Council so they support it.
These new developments by SA are very dangerous. It is just a trick of SA and SWAPO should not be attracted by these nice words. The Council must stand firm. SWAPO will continue to intensify the armed liberation struggle of Namibia. (SWAPO have already encountered the enemy 100 mi. from Windhoek in Tomaroon). The Council must redouble its efforts and SWAPO should too and the support of the OAU states is needed. There is no need to indulge in premature discussions because of the statement of SA. The statement is just to cause confusion and intrigue. And all the members states not in favor of free Namibia will support the SA statement. The SC debate on Namibia should go ahead (previously the SC asked SA to cooperate with the UN to organize elections and SA came up with announcing this intrigue of Independence of Namibia). The SC debate should take place at the beginning of the GA. Members of SA are manoeuvring the SC to start on the 31 August so that the SA statement remains fresh in the minds of certain individuals. At the beginning of the GA many foreign ministers will be present and SWAPO would like to send a group from Lusaka to participate.

SWAPO appreciates the proposals of the increase of material assistance and also practical measures. SWAPO asks for financial assistance from the Council. A refugee camp has just opened in Angola and a school has already been started there. In Angola the situation is acute because of food shortages. Medicine is received from the OAU and WHO. Some areas are still completely cut off from the war. Hopefully Angola will consolidate its position by the end of the year so the situation may improve. Financial aid from the UN Council for Namibia to help in Angola is needed.

During the debate of the SC it is important that SWAPO and the Council press for the invocation of Chapt. 7 of the charter, Article 39,41, and 42. SA has had enough time and has not done anything except to draw up deceptive methods and then make this announcement. SA must be forced if something is
to be done by the UN. The most important thing is for the UN to show the world their responsibility to the people of Namibia as stated in resolution 2145. It has been too long that countries fall for the delayed tactics of SA.

SWAPO has been following the work of the Council. Brazil gave full support to SWAPO, and these factors of the Council should be encouraged.

Council should include members of SWAPO in their delegations to member states. SWAPO members may be able to clarify a situation that Council members may not understand. SWAPO will participate in the debate of the SC and would appreciate some financial assistance from the Council to send someone(s) over who may be able to stay for a while in NY (maybe for the 4th committee meeting if possible.

Questions

Yugoslavia- 1. should we continue to ask for peace keeping operations in the General Assembly now that the statement by SA was rejected?

2. Is there some change in the American policy? (besides that they gave 250 thousand $ to the Institute)

3. Can SWAPO give a more concrete elaboration of their needs, what concrete projects would help you most? (Yugoslavia will seek to help SWAPO as much as possible) In this way committee 3 can make more efficient decisions.

SWAPO - in reply

1. - WE must continue to raise the issues in the GA and the SC even if we get nothing the struggle must continue from all angles.

2. The US policy has always been an expression of support and voted in favour of many resolutions but it is reluctant to give practical actions. The US exercises no authority. We wish they would exert pressure on SA.

3. - SWAPO will work on a concrete proposal of their needs to give to the Council when they return from Botswana as this would be to our advantage.
Nigeria - 1. Has there been any attempt by a US agency or the US government to contact SWAPO? Has the US ever come out to discuss directly or indirectly with SWAPO?

2. Has SWAPO approached international organizations for aid about the situation in Angola? (Would the Council money really be of aid without involvement in an international organization?)

SWAPO in reply -

1. So far no contact has been made by the US, except for the Bantustan formula meeting with front line states. These talks have been attempts to impose which SWAPO will not support. SWAPO hates the system of government of SA and hopes that the US may approach them at the latest stage of progress. SWAPO will not talk with SA until five demands have been completed (as stated in Bulletin)

2. SWAPO could propose that the Council open an office in Angola but the government may not accept so quickly after the veto.

Liberia

1. Has SWAPO prepared a constitution for Namibia?

2. Should the Council contact the High Commissioner and point out the situation of refugees in Angola.

SWAPO in reply-

1. There is no parliament to draw up a constitution since members of the Government have not been elected. SWAPO has a party constitution but there is no Namibian Constitution. First SA must give up its colonial authority.

2. SWAPO does approach the UN specialized agencies and the host government says whether to approve the material or not. SWAPO hopes Angolan government will accept material assistance through any UN specialized agency but the Council does not need to make an approach.

Guyana -

1. Are there any areas in which SWAPO sees an effort for more coordination between the Council and SWAPO needed?

2. What is the next step if the UN has taken the last action possible
and this lack of response continues? Should we stop bringing our ques. to the UN and direct our energies to the armed struggle?

SWAPO In reply-

1. There are many areas where the Council and SWAPO can cooperate, consultations should be had so the Council and SWAPO can take a common stand.

2. SWAPO has no choice but to continue and increase the armed struggle, consultations must go on but the armed struggle is the only answer. SWAPO thinks the armed struggle will make things easier at a later stage. SWAPO speaks as a freedom fighter.

President -

1. Explained that the working relation between the Commissioner and the Council has not been good, although both sides want liberation - but what are SWAPO's views on this issue?

2. Is SWAPO establishing a government in Exile?

SWAPO-

1. Mr. Gurirab has kept SWAPO informed of the situation between the Council and the Commissioner. SWAPO's support comes from the member states and SWAPO understands that the Commissioner would like to leave so SWAPO will not make a recommendation for the renewal of a Commissioner.

2. This question comes as a great suprise and this idea has been created by the imperialist press. None of the SWAPO colleagues have made such suggestions otherwise the Council would have been officially informed. This is propaganda of SA.

President - thanked the president of SWAPO and expressed continued support of the Council to SWAPO and Namibia for the cause of liberation.
SWAPO CONDEMNS EFFORTS OF SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT
THOUGH ITS AGENTS TO GET HERMAN TOIVO YA TOIVO AND OTHER
NAMIBIANS POLITICAL PRISONERS TO SUPPORT SETTING UP OF
QUISLING PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN NAMIBIA STOP SOUTH AFRICANS
AIM IS TO BET THE AUGUST 31ST DEADLINE SET BY UN STOP
YA TOIVO INCARCERATED AND

COL 31ST

CUT OFF FROM OUTSIDE WORLD FOR EIGHT YEARS STOP FIRST
VISIT IN 1975 WAS FROM HIS AGEING MOTHER WHEN TALK OTHER THAN
FAMILY BUSINESS WAS FORBIDDEN STOP WE URGE YOU TO EXPRESS STRONG
DISAPPROVAL AT THIS SHAMELESS AND CRUEL PLOY BY SOUTHAFRICANS
AND THERE AGENTS STOP ALL SWAPO UN

COL 1975

AND OTHER ACCESS TO YA TOIVO
IS BLOCKED STOP WE URGE YOU TO CALL FOR RELEASE AND REPATRITION
OF YA TOIVO AND OTHER NAMIBIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS HELD ILLEGALLY
BY SOUTHAFRICAN OCCUPATION REGIME
STOP THESE EFFORTS ARE BEING MADE TO BREAK THE WILL AND
RESISTANCE OF THESE NAMIBIANS PATRIOTS AND SHOW

LDK483 KURT PAGE 4/51

STEPS TO WHICH SOUTHAFRICAN GOVERNMENT WILL STOOP TO PROMOTE
TURINHALLE TRIBAL TALKS STOP THIS IS ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO AVOID
COMPLYING WITH UN SECURITY COUNCIL DEMANDS FOR END TO SOUTH
AFRICAN OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA AND HOLDING OF FREE ELECTION
UNDER UN SUPERVISION AND CONTROL

PETER KATTJAVIVI SWAPO SECRETARY FOR PUBLICITY AND INF

We have the honour to request that in the course of the forthcoming discussion of the Security Council concerning the situation in Namibia, an invitation under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council be extended to Mr. Moses M. Garoeb, Administrative Secretary of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia, and his delegation.

We request that this letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Thomas S. BOYA
Permanent Representative of Benin to the United Nations

(Signed) Mansur Rashid KIKHIA
Permanent Representative of the Libyan Arab Republic to the United Nations

(Signed) Salim Ahmed SALIM
Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania to the United Nations
Minutes of a Meeting Held in the Office of the Secretary-General on 19 November 1975

Present: The Secretary-General
Mr. David Meroro, National Chairman of SWAPO in Namibia
Mr. Mishaka Muyongo, Vice-President of SWAPO
Mr. Theo Ben Gurirab, New York SWAPO representative
Mr. A.A. Farah

The Vice-President thanked the Secretary-General for receiving the SWAPO delegation. The delegation wished to raise three matters in connexion with the Namibian situation.

1) The first related to the resolution adopted by the Fourth Committee the previous week calling for national elections. The delegation attached great importance to the elections but emphasized that they should be opened to all parties and held under United Nations supervision. Mr. Muyongo explained that SWAPO had begun consultations with the African Group to ascertain whether a basis existed for a Security Council meeting on the matter. SWAPO had considered the advantages of seeking a Security Council meeting either in November 1975 or January 1976. The delegation concluded that because of the preoccupation of the General Assembly with other pressing problems, the question of Namibia should not be put before the Security Council until January.

2) The second matter concerned the situation in Namibia vis-a-vis Angola. Mr. Muyongo said South Africa had evacuated the population along the border between Namibia and Angola and had forced people to relocate to areas well inside the Territory. The removal of the population had been done to
facilitate military operations against Angola and the establishment of military installations. SWAPO was concerned that Namibia, being an international territory, could be used as a military base by South Africa and for launching armed attacks against an independent state.

3) The third matter concerned the recent démarche made by the U.S.A., France and the United Kingdom with the South African Government on the question of Namibia. The delegation inquired whether the démarche had produced any results.

Commenting on the three points, the Secretary-General said that he would be visiting a number of Asian countries towards the end of January and suggested that SWAPO might wish to call a Security Council meeting before his departure. The Secretary-General said he had not heard of the measures taken by South Africa to clear the border areas for military purposes and expressed concern over that development. On the question of the démarche by the Western powers, the Secretary-General said that he had been given details of the points raised by the three Governments and that they were in support of the United Nations position, namely self-determination under United Nations supervision, the release of political prisoners and the return of political exiles, the abolition of racial laws and the unity and territorial integrity of the country.

The Secretary-General added that while he regretted that a solution to the problem had not been found, time was on the side of the Namibian people. He explained that in conformity with the Security Council decision, he had not taken any further initiatives with South Africa on the matter. He appreciated the information which he received from time to time from SWAPO.

25 November 1975

A.A. Farah
S.G.

The Farah fully agrees with the recommendation of Mr. Tang side-lined at "A".

RA

8/15
I refer to the attached cable from Mr. Theo-Ben Gurirab, Chief Representative of SWAPO in New York, which has already been transmitted to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Rupiah B. Banda. This group from Namibia consists of delegates to the recent South African sponsored "constitutional conference" held in Windhoek. Three persons have been chosen from each of the eleven "ethnic" groups represented at the Conference.

The OAU Conference of Heads of State and Government held in Kampala this year adopted a resolution condemning "the so-called constitutional conference contrived on ethnic participation illegally organized by the illegal administration of South Africa".

The United Nations Council for Namibia for its part also issued a statement on 29 August 1975 condemning the Conference.

Under such circumstances, it seems to me that this group should not be received either by you or any responsible official of the Secretariat.
THE FRAUDULENT SCHEME OF THE ILLEGAL-COLOMIAL REGIME OF SOUTH AFRICA TO SEEK RECOGNITION ABROAD FOR ITS "PASTUSTAN" PUPPETS AND CHEMISTRY, MUST BE EXPOSED, DENOUNCED AND FRUSTRATED BY THE UNITED NATIONS. AN INTERREPRESENTATIVE GROUP OF 33 HAND PICKED NAMIBIANS ARE SCHEDULED TO UNDERTAKE A TOUR OF THE US, UK AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY UNDER SOUTH AFRICANS AUSTRALIAN BENGOS BEGINNING IN THE FIRST WEEK OF OCTOBER, AS THE "REAL LEADERS" OF THE SUFFERING PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA. WE HAVE FURTHER LEARNED RELIABLY THAT THIS MISGUIDED GROUP WHILE HERE WILL ALSO VISIT THE UN FOR MEETINGS WITH ITS TOP OFFICIALS. IN THIS CONNECTION, SWAPO OF NAMIBIA URGES YOUR EXCELLENCY AND THROUGH YOUR GOOD OFFICES ALL THE RELEVANT BODIES OF THE UN TO REJECT THIS GROUP AND EXPOSE SOUTH AFRICA'S SINISTER POLITICAL PLOY AIMED AT CONFUSION AND CONFUSING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, WHICH HAS PERSISTENTLY CONDENSED THAT REGIME FOR ITS CONTINUED ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA; FOR ITS VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN OUR COUNTRY AND IN PARTICULAR FOR ITS CONTINUED IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INFAMOUS VAPEAKAL PLAN WHEREBY NAMIBIA IS BEING DALMATISED INTO 12 PUNY-STATES OR SO CALLED HOME LANDS. UNITED NATIONS IS COMMITTED TO INSURE THAT NAMIBIA ATTAIN NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY IN HARMONY AS A UNITARY STATE. ALL "PASTUSTAN" AND OTHER TRIBAL OR REGIONAL SOLUTIONS ARE UNACCEPTABLE. FINALLY, SWAPO, THE AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA MUST CONTINUE TO PLAY ACTIVE ROLE IN THE DECOLONIZATION OF OUR COUNTRY.

VICTOR 

THEO-BEN GJIRIBAR CHIEF REPRESENTATIVE OF SWAPO TO UN

UN

NATIONS NYK
RESOLUTION ON NAMIBIA

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Twenty-fifth Ordinary Session in Kampala, Uganda, from 18 to 25 July 1975,

Having heard the Report of the Administrative Secretary-General and the Representative of SWAPO about the deteriorating situation in the territory of Namibia, ruled illegally by South Africa and recalling all previous resolutions of the UN General Assembly, the Security Council and the OAU on Namibia,

Satisfied with the resistance against the illegal administration by the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO,

Having heard with indignation of the triple veto by France, United Kingdom and United States at the Security Council debate on Namibia early in June 1975,

DEMANDS:

(a) that South Africa withdraw its illegal administration from the territory of Namibia;

(b) that South Africa respect the rights of the Namibian people to self-determination and national independence;

(c) that South Africa respect Namibia's territorial integrity;

(d) that the Pretoria racist regime recognise SWAPO as the sole Representative of the Namibian people;

(e) the release of all Namibian political prisoners imprisoned in both Namibia and South Africa;

2. CONDEMNNS the imprisonment of SWAPO members and supporters without trial;

3. CONDEMNNS the so-called constitutional conference contrived on ethnic participation illegally organized by the illegal administration of South Africa;

4. CONDEMNNS the military build-up in Namibia by South Africa;

5. REQUESTS the Member States to increase assistance to SWAPO by the OAU Liberation Committee and the OAU;

6. REAFFIRNS that SWAPO is the sole representative of the people of Namibia;

7. CALLS ON the OAU Member States to adhere to the resolution on Namibia by the Extraordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers held in Dar-es-Salam, United Republic of Tanzania in April 1975, which set-up the OAU Special Committee on Namibia.
8. REQUESTS all OAU Member States not to allow Namibian puppets of the illegal administration to pay visits to their respective countries;

9. CALLS ON all States to adhere strictly to the call by the UN that all countries should refrain from any economic investments in Namibia under the illegal regime;

10. ENDORSES the decree by the UN Council for Namibia in regard to exports of Namibian natural resources;

11. CALLS ON the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to close its Consulate in Windhoek immediately.
STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE COUNCIL ON 29 AUGUST 1975 CONCERNING THE SO-CALLED CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE AND THE REPRESSION IN NAMIBIA

1. Reports reaching the United Nations Council for Namibia reveal that a new wave of arrests and detentions of Namibians by the South African régime is now taking place in Namibia.

2. The renewed and intensified suppression and oppression are connected with the convening of the so-called constitutional conference scheduled for 1 September 1975.

3. During the last few days, arrests of SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) and other leaders and harassment of the Namibian people have been stepped up. Many Namibians have been arrested or abducted, including, in particular:

   Axel Johannes, Acting Secretary-General of SWAPO
   Othniel Kaakunda, Secretary for Internal Affairs of SWAPO
   Aaron Muchimba, National Organizer of SWAPO
   David Mugaro, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of SWAPO
   Samuel Shivute, Regional Secretary of SWAPO for Northern Namibia
   Rueben Hauwanga, Secretary for Information and Publicity of SWAPO
   Pastor Zepheniah Kameeta, Director of the Paulineum Theological Seminary at Otjimbingwe, and a staunch SWAPO activist
   Festus Naholo, SWAPO student activist at the Paulineum Theological Seminary
   Lazarus Guiteb, Branch Secretary of SWAPO in Otjiwarongo
   Albertus Kangueehe, Vice-President of SWANU (South West Africa National Union) and Chairman of NNC (Namibian National Convention)

4. In addition, the residence of Mr. David H. Meroro, National Chairman of SWAPO, was ransacked and his children terrorized. Many of these dastardly acts of terror were carried out by a marauding band of misguided individuals, working closely with the South African police.
5. The South African régime justified this new wave of terror by the recent death of "bantustan" chieftain Filemon Elifas. However, the real purpose of these renewed acts of terror and brutality against the Namibian people is to arrest and imprison all the real and suspected political opponents of the régime in Namibia before the so-called constitutional conference, which is designed to divide the Namibian people and thereby perpetuate South African domination in the Territory.

6. With this end in view, the South African occupation authorities manipulated fraudulent elections in the Ovamboland "bantustan" in January 1975 and in the Rehoboth Basters "bantustan" in April 1975.

7. Well-known "bantustan" figures and other elements are being collected by South African authorities in an effort to hold the so-called constitutional conference. Such steps contravene the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council as well as the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971, which requested the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the South African Administration and its military personnel from Namibia.

8. At the same time, the South African sponsored constitutional conference excludes the authentic representative of the people of Namibia, SWAPO, which is the political force heading the national liberation struggle of Namibia, and is recognized as such by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and other international organizations. The NUC, which is an umbrella organization of various groups of Africans in Namibia, is also not participating. The second largest ethnic group in the Territory has refused to participate in the constitutional conference unless it is held under international supervision and political exiles are allowed to return to Namibia to participate.

9. The United Nations Council for Namibia denounces the policy of the illegal South African régime in Namibia and condemns the arrests and intimidation of the Namibian people. It draws the attention of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretary-General to the grave situation created in Namibia which constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

10. The territorial integrity of Namibia is sacrosanct. The international community is committed to the maintenance of the territorial integrity of Namibia and the national unity of its people as well as to the implementation by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence.

11. The United Nations Council for Namibia urges the international community to frustrate the South African manoeuvre in Namibia and to exercise pressure on the South African racist régime in order to compel it to withdraw from the Territory, which is under the authority of the United Nations.
The fraudulent scheme of the illegal-colonial regime of South Africa to seek recognition abroad for its "Bantustan" puppets and quislings must be exposed, denounced and frustrated by the United Nations. An unrepresentative group of 33 hand-picked Namibians are scheduled to undertake a tour of the US, UK and the Federal Republic of Germany under South Africa's auspices beginning in the first week of October, as the "real leaders" of the suffering people of Namibia. We have further learned reliably that this misguided group while here will also visit the UN for meetings with its top officials. In this connection, SWAPO of Namibia urges your excellency and through your good offices all the relevant bodies of the UN to reject this group and expose South Africa's sinister political ploy aimed at hoodwinking and confusing the international community, which has persistently condemned that regime for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia; for its violations of international law and human rights in our country and in particular for its continued implementation of the infamous Ovamboland plan whereby Namibia is being balkanized into 12 puny-states or so-called home lands. United Nations is committed to insure that Namibia attain national sovereignty in harmony as a unitary state. All "Bantustan" and other tribal or regional solutions are unacceptable. Finally, SWAPO, the authentic representative of the people of Namibia must continue to play active role in the decolonization of our country.

Theo-Ben Gurirah, Chief Representative of SWAPO to UN
LETTER DATED 30 MAY 1975 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVES OF MAURITANIA, THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON AND THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

We have the honour to request that in the course of the current discussion of the Security Council concerning the situation in Namibia, an invitation under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council be extended to Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People’s Organization (SWAPO) and his delegation.

We request that this letter be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mamadou KANE
Acting Permanent Representative of Mauritania to the United Nations

(Signed) Ferdinand Léopold OYONO
Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Cameroon to the United Nations

(Signed) Salim Ahmed SALIM
Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania to the United Nations
Minutes of a meeting held in the Office
of the Secretary-General on 28 May 1975

Present: The Secretary-General
Ambassador Banda, Permanent Representative
of Zambia to the United Nations
Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO
Mr. A.A. Farah

Mr. Nujoma expressed appreciation of the role played by the United Nations on the Namibian question. He was particularly encouraged by the action taken by the General Assembly at its last session, and by various United Nations bodies. The Namibian people felt they were not alone in the struggle, and despite repressive measures by South Africa, they would continue demonstrating for self-determination and independence.

Referring to Prime Minister Vorster's statement on 20 May, Mr. Nujoma remarked that it contained no new elements. It was a repetition of earlier positions and attitudes, and implied South Africa's determination to proceed with the division of the Territory into bantustans. The statement was both ambiguous and contradictory. For example, Mr. Vorster said he was in agreement with the position of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity on basic issues; yet, he maintained that all options should remain open. In other words, while South Africa would not oppose the formation of a unitary state, by the same token, it would not oppose the fragmentation of the state.

Mr. Nujoma said the statement attempted to give the impression that democratic and constitutional processes were at work in Namibia and that the people were free to express their will. Yet, during the recent so-called elections in Ovamboland, South Africa resorted to all forms of political, economic and criminal pressures to compel people to participate in the elections and to vote according to its dictates. The open manipulation
of elections had enabled Vorster to claim that 75% of the electorate were in favour of the constitutional measures advocated by South Africa. South Africa's policy was to affect a permanent control over Namibia through the tribal system and through the appointment of tribal chiefs who were prepared to work at its bidding. South Africa would not allow political parties or movements to operate within the country, except that of the 'white' National Party.

In the view of Mr. Nujoma, South Africa's policies had created conditions between the white and black communities which resulted in racial hatred. Basically, the situation within the country had deteriorated over the past two years and South Africa's military presence had been strengthened and extended throughout the Territory.

Mr. Nujoma said that SWAPO remained solidly opposed to the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia. In its view, elections within the Territory could only be considered valid if they were held under the supervision of the United Nations and conducted in accordance with normal democratic principles e.g. one man, one vote. Mr. Nujoma hoped that the Security Council, when it met on 30 May, would take appropriate action against South Africa in the light of its refusal to comply with Security Council resolution 366. He envisaged such action as the application of articles 39 and 41 of Chapter 7 of the Charter.

In reply to a question by the Secretary-General, Mr. Nujoma said that SWAPO would be prepared to participate in a constitutional conference on Namibia provided it was held under United Nations auspices. SWAPO would also take part in political elections in Namibia provided the elections were under United Nations supervision and organized on party and not tribal lines. While he would prefer to see an immediate withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia, Mr. Nujoma did not exclude a situation whereby South Africa would continue its presence in Namibia along-side that of the United Nations.

Mr. Nujoma drew an analogy with that prevailing in Mozambique and Angola where the colonial power continued along-side that of the transitional government pending independence. He considered the role and involvement of
the United Nations indispensable in any solution affecting the future of Namibia. Mr. Nujoma recognized that South Africa was attempting to create black governments in Namibia favourable to South African interests. With the support of the people of Namibia, SWAPO would continue its struggle for real and true independence, even if it meant resorting to arms against the puppet governments that were being installed.

The Secretary-General said he appreciated the information which Mr. Nujoma had provided as it enabled him to have a fuller view of the issues involved. Referring to the official communication which Foreign Minister Putter had addressed to the Security Council in response to resolution 366, the Secretary-General said that the position taken by South Africa did not differ from the position which it had adopted in the past. Although South Africa spoke of self-determination, independence and territorial integrity, its concept and interpretation of those terms were vastly different from those held by the United Nations. The Secretary-General said that difference became evident during the course of his talks with the South African Government two years ago.

Mr. Nujoma thanked the Secretary-General for his interest and assistance in the matter and looked forward to further co-operation with him in the future.
Meeting with the delegation of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) on 11 December 1974

Present: The Secretary-General

Mr. Peter Mueshihange, Secretary for Foreign Affairs
Mr. John Ya Otto, Member of SWAPO National Executive
Mr. Theo B. Gurirab, SWAPO Representative at the UN
Mr. A.A. Farah
Mr. M. Pédanou

Mr. Mueshihange expressed satisfaction for the arrangements that had been made to enable a six-member SWAPO delegation to attend the 29th session of the General Assembly. SWAPO President Sam Nujoma had been unable to come to New York this year and would probably not be present for the forthcoming Security Council debate on Namibia because President Kaunda had asked him to be available in Lusaka for consultations.

The Secretary-General referred to the talks that had recently taken place in Lusaka and drew attention to a press report which he had just received. According to the report, Prime Minister Ian Smith had announced a cease-fire in the Rhodesian guerilla warfare and the release of a number of African political detainees as a prelude to a constitutional conference. Those were encouraging developments if the report was correct. In any case, the Secretary-General was confident that recent changes in the Portuguese-administered territories would have positive repercussions on the situation of the rest of Southern Africa. He asked whether the reports on secret contacts between President Kaunda and Prime Minister Vorster were true. Mr. Mueshihange replied that he had not received confirmation of the reported secret talks. Contacts between Mr. Vorster and President Kaunda and President Houphouet-Boigny could not be easily discounted. He personally believed that some contacts were "going on" between Mr. Vorster and President Kaunda.

Mr. Mueshihange said that with regard to Namibia SWAPO's position as set out in the working paper which had been circulated to members of the Security Council was the following: South Africa should make a solemn declaration of intent to withdraw from Namibia and that it would comply with the relevant decisions of the United Nations.
The Secretary-General recalled that he had on a number of occasions advised South Africa to make its position clear on:

a) the question of granting independence to Namibia
b) its acceptance of the UN position
c) its readiness to enter into contacts with the liberation movements.

Mr. Mueshihange pointed out that the draft resolution contained in the working paper of SWAPO was a reasonable one. Once South Africa made the required declaration of intent preferably through the Secretary-General, SWAPO could be flexible. It would insist, however, on the holding of a conference under the auspices of the UN, the release of political detainees, the return of those in exile, the relaxation of the apartheid policies and the freedom of movement and political activities.

The Secretary-General suggested that it would be helpful if the delegation could contact members of the Security Council and sound them about SWAPO's position. Mr. Mueshihange said that they had met with members of the United States delegation who had expressed reservations on some points of their draft resolution.

Mr. Farah pointed out there were too many deadlines in the SWAPO working paper and that the delegation of Nigeria had proposed a programme of action which was not in complete accord with that of SWAPO. A sub-committee of the African Group would consider the two proposals; it was expected that it would come out with a compromise text. Mr. Farah also raised the question of unity among the liberation movements of Namibia particularly the possibility of SWAPO and SWANU constituting a common front. Mr. Gurirab pointed out that SWAPO did not have any conflict with SWANU. The two movements remained separate so far as their activities outside the territory were concerned because of the political situation obtaining inside Namibia. In spite of the establishment of the National Convention grouping all the political movements, each movement had to function separately because of the legal restrictions on political activities. There would be a point in time when the political movements of Namibia would be able to co-operate with each other.

cc: A. A. Farah
    I. Kittani
    GH/AP
URGENTLY DRAW YOUR ATTENTION APPLING CONDITION OF SHAPO 
LEADING TRAPAPI AND RASHEB STANDING Trial IN WINDSOR HAMSBURG 
AFTER FOUR MONTHS MILITARY CONFINEMENT STOP DEFENCE LAWYER 
said that he quite confused and not in a fit mental 
STATE TO STAND TRIAL URGENTLY REQUEST YOUR IMMEDIATE INTERVENTION

COL LT

WL76449/11 LT
SECO PAA750/18

TO STOP PICTURES OF "MACLIBAN"
RETA 491 INCLUDING SHAPO CHAIRMAN MEMBER HELD 
INCONFIRMED SINCE FEBRUARY 6TH
INTERVIEWS SHAPO REPRESENTATIVE

COL 8TH
AIDE MEMOIRE

10th June, 1974.

We in SWAPO believe that the liberation of Namibia must be brought about by the Namibians themselves. To this end SWAPO has a programme to intensify the armed struggle as the only effective way to dislodge the illegal South African forces and achieve freedom and independence.

1. On the 11th of December 1973, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 342 which formally terminated the 'contacts' between the U.N. Secretary-General and the South African Government on the Namibian question.

2. This step was the culmination of the consistent efforts of SWAPO and supported by the O.A.U., to put an end to the 'contacts' because we firmly believed that the 'contacts' were an exercise in futility and that South Africa was not really sincere.

3. During the first months of these 'contacts' it became crystal clear that South Africa's action inside Namibia - the arrest of SWAPO members and the creation of new Bantustans - were in complete contrast to the undertakings given by that country to the Secretary-General that South Africa would 'shelve' all its policies pending the results of the contacts.

4. Since the termination of the 'contacts' between the Secretary-African General and the South/Government, we in SWAPO have addressed ourselves to the question: What next, now that the 'contacts' have been terminated?

5. SWAPO believes very strongly that the United Nations has explored all possible venues for the peaceful solution to the Namibian question. On the otherhand, South Africa has demonstrated
more convincingly than ever before, her defiance of the United Nations by not responding, positively, to the overtures of the United Nations as exemplified by 'contacts'.

6. Hence, in SWAPO's opinion, the most logical step, in answer to the question: What next?, is for the Security Council to convene as soon as possible to consider enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

7. In this regard, we may very well ask ourselves if there is a case for the invocation of Chapter VII in so far as the question of Namibia is concerned. SWAPO very strongly believes that there is indeed a case.

8. To begin with, South Africa has responded negatively to all efforts of the United Nations to arrive at a peaceful solution of the Namibian question.

9. Furthermore, South Africa, contrary to the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice, refused to withdraw its illegal administration from Namibia. This illegal administration constitutes a foreign presence in Namibia.

10. South Africa, as a foreign and illegal occupying power has committed acts of aggression against the Namibian people which are clearly within the preview of Article 39, Chapter VII of the Charter. There is no doubt, in SWAPO's view, that all arrests, detentions, floggings and brutal killings are acts which constitute a threat to international peace and security in accordance with Article 39.
11. More significantly, South Africa has carried-out numerous acts of aggression against independent Africa States - especially against the Republic of Zambia - using Namibia as a springboard. This in turn has created tension in Southern Africa thus creating a clear threat to international peace and security as defined under Article 39, Chapter VII of the Charter.

12. Most disturbing is the fact that there are moves afoot initiated by the South Atlantic Command of NATO to place South Africa under NATO's military and naval protective blanket. If this is not a threat to international peace and security, then what is?

13. In view of the afore-mentioned, SWAPO feels very strongly that the Security Council must meet as soon as possible to consider enforcement measures - under Chapter VII of the Charter.

14. In all this, we would like and are requesting the O.A.U., to take the initiative in having the Security Council convened as soon as possible and to consider enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.
Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, will be in N.Y. next week and would like very much to meet SC any time he is free from Kas-Sheua. Please contact NY SWAPO rep. Ben Gurirba, either directly 781-0946 or thru Mr. Geingob, ext. 4069.

Date: 30/V

FROM: Donie

Mr. Geingob informed us that Mr. Nujoma could not get visa to enter the United States and went directly to Africa.

28 May 1974
LETTER DATED 10 DECEMBER 1973 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OF GUINEA, KENYA AND THE SUDAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

We have the honour to request that in the course of the current discussion of the Security Council concerning the situation in Namibia an invitation under rule 29 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council be extended to Mr. Mishake Muyongo, Vice-President of the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

We request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Jeanne Martin CISSE
Permanent Representative of Guinea
to the United Nations

Joseph ODERO-JOWI
Permanent Representative of Kenya
to the United Nations

Rahmatalla ABDULLA
Permanent Representative of the Sudan
to the United Nations
Mr. Muyongo stated that the political situation in Namibia gave cause for much concern as the South African authorities continue their policy of arresting and deporting local people who spoke in opposition to their policies. He said that from the point of view of the struggle for freedom the situation was good. Namibians had begun to realize the issues at stake, people were responding to the need for more unity. People were showing better understanding of the political issues and accepted that independence could only be achieved through concerted action.

He said that SWAPO had been relatively successful in its relations with the international community by generating an interest in and support for the Namibian cause. However, he felt that the United Nations could do much more than it had done in the past and asked the Secretary-General for an appraisal of efforts made in that direction.

The Secretary-General in welcoming the visit of Mr. Muyongo said he found such visits from SWAPO leaders a valuable opportunity for an exchange of views on the question of Namibia.

a) Regarding the question of an appointment of a Commissioner for Namibia, the Secretary-General explained that the present incumbent—Mr. Agha Abdul Hamid—was working on a temporary basis and would relinquish his appointment as soon as the African Group could recommend to him a person who met with its approval. He understood that the African Group had reconfirmed the OAU decision made at Algiers four years ago that the Commissioner should be a non-African. Furthermore, he had been told that the African Group favoured the names of Ambassador Ole Algard of Norway and Mr. Sean McBride of Ireland. He said both men possessed excellent credentials.

b) Concerning the forthcoming debate in the Security Council on Namibia, the Secretary-General said that he had no recommendations to make to the Security Council on the course of action to be taken. He said that he had discharged his task to the best of his abilities, and that it was now for the Council to determine what should be done. In any case that responsibility belonged to the Council since it was that body which had originated and authorized contacts with the South African Government.

Mr. Muyongo remarked that the longer the appointment of the High Commissioner was delayed, the greater would be the impediments to the work of the Council. SWAPO preferred an African for the post; however, in view of the Algiers decision it would be satisfied with the appointment of either Ambassador Ole Algard or Mr. Sean McBride. He felt, however, that Mr. McBride’s age might create a problem.
3 October 1973

MR. PROHASKA

Mr. Munyongo, Vice President of SWAPO, arrived here last weekend. He will be representing SWAPO during the current session. He is very much interested in seeing the Secretary-General, if possible.

The Secretary-General met him in March 1972 at a reception arranged by me.

Reddy

Monday, 22 Oct.
11:00 a.m.
NOTE FOR THE FILE

6 August 1973

On the basis of Ambassador Bennett's letter of 3 August, I called Mr. Howison today and drew his attention to the fact that only the President of the Security Council is entitled to call meetings of the Security Council (rules 1 to 3 of the provisional rules of procedure). It was in view of this responsibility of the President that a copy of SWAPO's telegram had been transmitted to the President.

Mr. Howison made clear that Ambassador Bennett's reply was entirely "pro forma". The US Mission had made copies of SWAPO's telegram to have it available, should members of the Security Council request to be provided with such copies. However, so far the only delegation which had requested the US Mission to furnish it with a copy had been the delegation of Belgium. He himself would not think it likely that SWAPO's move would be repeated or would be supported by others, in view of the expressed African desire to hold a Namibia debate in September rather than August.
August 3, 1973

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

I am grateful for having been provided a copy of the message dated July 31, addressed to you by the Acting Vice President of SWAPO, which requested a meeting of the Security Council. Should you contemplate any further action in this respect, I will of course appreciate being kept informed.

Sincerely,

W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.
Acting

His Excellency
Mr. Kurt Waldheim,
Secretary General
of the United Nations,
United Nations, New York

UN 3042/286
IN ABSENCE OF SECGEN I ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT OF YOUR CABLEGRAMME
OF 31 JULY. MATTER HAS BEEN BROUGHT TO ATTENTION OF PRESIDENT OF
SECURITY COUNCIL AND COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA. SECGEN WAS ALSO
INFORMED:
C. V. HARASIMHAN CHEF DE CABINET UNATIONS +
COL 31 +
IN 005
IN VIEW OF THE SERIOUS SITUATION OF MASS ARRESTS BY ILEGAL OCCUPYING SOUTH AFRICAN TERROR FORCES IN NAMIBIA SWAPO
REQUESTS IMMEDIATE SITTING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING
STOP APARTHEIRD WHITE TERROR AGAINST AFRICAN POPULATION CREATED A VERY DANGEROUS SITUATION TO LIVES OF PEOPLE AND CONSTITUES DANGER TO PEACE IN TERRITORY AND AFRICAN CONTINENT STOP RESPECT FULLY REQUEST IMMEDIATE DEBATE ON YOUR APRIL 30 REPORT WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY STOP

MUYONGO SWAPO ACTING VICE-PRISIDENT
30 July 1973

Dear Mr. Nujoma,

In the absence of the Secretary-General, I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 29 June 1973, in regard to the Commissioner for Namibia, which has been brought to the attention of the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General is grateful for your recommendations, of which he has taken note, and shall certainly give most careful consideration to these candidatures.

Yours sincerely,

C.V. Narasimhan
Chef de Cabinet

Mr. Sam Nujoma
President
The South West Africa People's Organization
Dar es Salaam
P.O. Box 2603
Tanzania, East Africa
His Excellency
United Nations Secretary General
United Nations
New York, N.Y.

Your Excellency,

On behalf of Swapo of Namibia I have the honour to recommend to your Excellency Mr. Vernon Mwaanga, the former Namibian ambassador to the United Nations to be appointed as the Commissioner for Namibia (our first choice).

In view of urgency and need of the appointment of a full-time Commissioner for Namibia, we recommend Mr. McBride, former Secretary General of the International Commission of Jurists and a barister of high reputation (second choice).

We are confident that the aforementioned candidates if appointed to the position of a full-time Commissioner for Namibia will carry out their duties as stipulated in the General Assembly Resolution on Namibia.

Accept, Your Excellency, the assurance of my highest consideration.

President of Swapo of Namibia

c.c.

AU Administrative Secretary General
Addis Ababa
Ethiopia.

AU Liberation Committee
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania.
NOTE FOR THE FILE

Meeting with the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma

Present: The Secretary-General
Mr. James O.C. Jonah

President of SWAPO

The President of SWAPO, Mr. Nujoma, emphasized that South Africa was mainly responsible for the situation in Namibia. Not all the white population was opposed to the independence of Namibia; only the Afrikaners who are receiving full support from the South African Government were opposed. On the basis of the Secretary-General's report, contacts with South Africa should end. However, they could continue if the following conditions were met:

1) South Africa should lift the state of emergency in Namibia (R-17),
2) The terrorism act should be abolished,
3) There should be a UN presence in the territory,
4) South Africa must withdraw its troops from Namibia,
5) The policy of Bantustans should be abolished,
6) All political prisoners must be released.

The Secretary-General recalled that in his report, he had made no recommendation regarding the continuation of the contacts with South Africa. While he was not satisfied with the response of the South African Government he wondered what the alternatives to the talks would be. It would be up to the Security Council to reach a decision on the matter. He wanted it to be clearly understood that it was the Security Council that initiated the new procedure of talks with South Africa. He was merely the servant of the Council. The impression had been unfortunately created that it was he who had wanted the talks to continue. He hoped that SWAPO would see to it that the necessary clarification be made. With reference to the conditions set out by Mr. Nujoma for the continuation of the talks, the Secretary-General pointed out that it was unlikely that South Africa would accept most of them. In response, Mr. Nujoma stated that even if only one of the conditions were met, it would be sufficient to continue the talks.
The possibility of suspending the present contacts until an improved atmosphere is created was explored. Mr. Nujoma agreed that the talks could be suspended until such time as the conditions he had set out earlier had been met by South Africa.

Mr. Nujoma urged that OPI should issue a special bulletin about the whole circumstances in which Mr. Escher negotiated with the South African Government. He made this request because in his view, South Africa had distorted the talks that Mr. Escher had in South Africa. He also suggested that the UN should make it a policy to issue notices from time to time to clarify erroneous statements made by South Africa. The Secretary-General promised to look into the matter. Mr. Nujoma further requested that travel funds should be provided to enable him to travel to New York for meetings relating to Namibia. This request was made because SWAPO does not have the necessary funds for travel. The Secretary-General agreed to look into the matter on his return to New York.
PRESIDENT OF COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA CALLS SWAPO OFFICIAL IN WINDHOEK

The following is issued on behalf of the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia:

The President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Paul J.F. Lusaka (Zambia) held a long distance telephone conversation this morning with David Meroro, National Chairman of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), in Windhoek, Namibia.

On behalf of the Council for Namibia, Mr. Lusaka expressed the solidarity of the Council with the people of Namibia and requested Mr. Meroro to convey the sentiments of the Council to the people of Namibia.

Mr. Meroro thanked the President and assured him that the expression of solidarity of the Council for Namibia would be conveyed to the people of Namibia.

* *** *

Press Release NAM/62
3 May 1973
COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA HEARS PRESIDENTS OF SWAPO
AND OF EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN FOR SOUTH AFRICA

Discusses Planned Trip to Africa and Europe

The United Nations Council for Namibia this afternoon heard a further statement by Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), who said that the Secretary-General's report on Namibia (document S/10921 and Corr.1) showed that the Secretary-General's contacts with South Africa had borne no fruitful results.

On behalf of the people of Namibia, he "categorically rejected further diplomatic contact, dialogue or negotiations with the enemy", and added: "I pledge here and now that we will continue to talk to the South Africans in the only language they understand, and that is the intensification of armed liberation struggle".

The President of SWAPO said he hoped the policy of the Council for Namibia would also be to reject continued contacts between the United Nations and the South Africans, unless the South Africans indicated in clear terms that they were prepared to hand over power unconditionally to the people of Namibia.

The President of the Council for Namibia, Paul J.F. Lusaka (Zambia), said that the Council would discuss the Secretary-General's report at its next meeting, scheduled for 3 p.m. Monday, 7 May.

At this afternoon's meeting, the Council also heard a petitioner, William Johnston, President of the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, who explained the shareholder proposals that his organization has placed before the annual stockholders meetings of American Metal Climax, Inc., and Newmont Mining Corporation, both of which have interests in the Tsumeb Corporation in Namibia.

He suggested that the Council for Namibia might want to send representatives to speak at these two meetings. The American Metal Climax meeting would take place tomorrow, 3 May, in New York, and the Newmont meeting next Monday in Wilmington, Delaware.

(more)
UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA HEARS STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT OF SWAPO

Discusses Planned Trip to Africa and Europe

The United Nations Council for Namibia this afternoon heard a statement by Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), who declared that Namibia today was "a complete police state", that the situation was deteriorating constantly, and that the people of Namibia had decided that the only way to independence was through armed struggle.

In other developments this afternoon, the Council approved its programme of work for 1973 and discussed its planned trip to Africa and Europe in May and June.

The Council agreed to hear a petitioner, William Johnston, President of the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, at its next meeting, scheduled for Wednesday, 2 May. Mr. Johnston has asked to address the Council to explain the shareholder proposals that his organization has placed before the annual stockholders meetings of American Metal Climax, Inc., and Newmont Mining Corporation, both of which have interests in the Tsumeb Corporation in Namibia.

At this afternoon's meeting, the Council also heard a report by Humberto Diaz Casanueva (Chile), who represented the Council at the International Consultative Meeting held in Moscow in March, for the World Congress of the World Peace Council (WPC).

The Council discussed an invitation from the WPC to send a representative to a meeting of the Presidential Committee of the WPC, to be held in Warsaw from 5 to 8 May.

The President of the Council, Paul J.F. Lusaka (Zambia), said he would hold consultations with the members regarding the invitation and, if it was accepted, on who should represent the Council at the Warsaw meeting.

Statement by President of SWAPO

Mr. Nujoma, President of SWAPO, in his statement this afternoon, said that the political situation in Namibia had reached "a danger point", with increasing repression of the people by "the fascist white minority regime" in South Africa.
Dear Mr. Katjavivi,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt and thank you for your letter dated 1 February 1973, transmitting a note from the Labourers of Namibia.

I shall bring the contents of this note to the Secretary-General's attention upon his return at Headquarters.

Yours sincerely,

Anton Prohaska
Personal Assistant to the Secretary-General

Mr. P. Katjavivi
S'APRO Representative
10 Dryden Chambers
119 Oxford Street
London W.1
Dear Sirs,

We have the honour to transmit the enclosed letter received from Namibia at this office as it pertains to the Secretary General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim's talks on Namibia.

Yours faithfully,

P. Katjivivi,
SWAPO Representative in Britain.
To whom it may concern;

Dear Dr. Escher;

We hope that you have come to set us free from the slavery of South Africa and we want to say that talks take many years while we are being in fire of South Africa.

What kind of trust do the U.K. want to see or know; People have spoken to the world, but nothing has happened to our freedom. Our friends are still in prisons. People are being beaten by the police for nothing.

We sometimes think that the U.K. is being paid by South Africa not to give us our freedom. God says that U.K. go and tell South Africa to let His people go freely. U.K. is very slow in action towards South Africa for our freedom.

We exhort you to go round the country and see the wages and salaries of the blacks; sure you can see yourself, now the white men are being parasites on the blacks. See the statistics. See our locations; see how small our houses are. See the cow and pigsty compound; food they give them. No calling on. Stables and pigsties are better than our houses.

People are being arrested; banned because they want to work for the reconciliation of the peoples of Namibia. If you say the wrong things South Africa do to the people you will be in prison for ever. We want God to hear our prayers and take away prisons of South Africa over us.

God did not create us to be slaves or to be ill treated but He wants everybody to be as a human being. We are very thirty for our freedom of all peoples of Namibia.

We wish you luck and safety arrival to your destination.

Thank you; by T.A.

FOR THE LABOURS.
The Security Council, continuing debate this afternoon on the Secretary-General's report on Namibia, heard a statement by Peter Mueshihange, Secretary for Foreign Relations of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

The Council had agreed previously to a request by Somalia and the Sudan (document S/108/1) that a hearing be given to Mr. Mueshihange under rule 39 of the Council's rules of procedure. This rule provides that the Council "may invite ... persons, whom it considers competent for the purpose, to supply it with information or to give other assistance in examining matters within its competence".

The Council will meet again at 3:30 p.m. Monday, 4 December, with the representative of Burundi listed to speak at that time.

The President of the Council, Samar Sen (India), said he understood that consultations had already begun regarding the "final outcome" of the present discussions.

In his statement this afternoon, Mr. Mueshihange said that the Secretary-General's Representative for Namibia, Alfred M. Escher, had been "led astray by the unscrupulous ruling clique in Pretoria" instead of obtaining the necessary clarifications regarding South Africa's withdrawal of its illegal administration from Namibia.

The Namibian people, he said, were not interested in such "colonial gimmicks" as an "advisory council" and so-called preparation for self-determination. They wanted an immediate end to South Africa's illegal administration in Namibia. They demanded "nothing short of immediate and total independence for their country as a single and unified entity".

The representative of SWAPO said "we openly call for the termination of all talks being conducted under Security Council resolutions 309 and 319 (1972) between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the cynical ruling clique in Pretoria".

Political, economic and military pressure should be brought to bear upon South Africa until it accepted United Nations authority, he said. He also urged the appointment of a full-time United Nations Commissioner for Namibia.
LETTER DATED 28 NOVEMBER 1972 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OF SOMALIA AND THE SUDAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The delegations of Somalia and the Sudan to the United Nations have the honour to request that, in the course of the forthcoming meeting of the Security Council concerning the situation in Namibia, an invitation, in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, be extended to Mr. Peter Mueshihange, Secretary for Foreign Relations of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

We would request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Hussein NUR ELMI
Permanent Representative of Somalia to the United Nations

(Signed) Rahmattala ABDULLA
Permanent Representative of the Sudan to the United Nations
10 October 1972

Dear Mr. Nujoma,

On behalf of the Secretary-General I take pleasure in acknowledging receipt and thanking you for your letter dated 29 September 1972.

The Secretary-General is grateful to you for conveying this information to him and he has arranged that copy of your letter be also brought to the attention of Mr. Alfred Escher, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General under Security Council Resolution 319 (1972).

Please be assured that Mr. Escher, who is at present travelling to South Africa and Namibia, will give your letter his full attention.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Anton Prohaska
Personal Assistant to the Secretary-General

Mr. Sam Nujoma
President of SWAPO
P. O. Box 2603
Dar Es Salaam
Tanzania
The Secretary General
United Nations
New York, New York

September 29, 1972

Ref. No. Op/ON/87/72

CONFIDENTIAL

Your Excellency:

I, on behalf of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia and the African people of my country, take the liberty to communicate to you, Sir, the following:

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN NAMIBIA: Following the great strike of the Namibian workers against the semi-slave "contract" system and all it stands for, following the visit Your Excellency paid to our country, the situation in Namibia has gravely deteriorated and continues day by day to be critical.

Firstly, without much repetition, I wish to briefly mention specific cases solely for the purpose of underlining our points of view. As a start, when South African regime accepted your mission to Namibia, we did expect that Pretoria would put a halt to all its racist schemes in Namibia— if not to discard them altogether—in order to facilitate a good atmosphere in which to discuss all the issues and problems pertaining to the question of our country. On the contrary, the opposite is exactly what happened. The South African illegal rulers in Namibia accelerated their tempo to disintegrate the Territory through their obnoxious "Bantustan" schemes just immediately when you left the country. Just two weeks after your departure from the Territory, the Pretoria regime proclaimed the Eastern Caprivi area as a "Bantustan". Furthermore, South African propagandists started planting stories in the mouths of the illegal administration's own appointed and paid tribal agents in the northern regions of Namibia, that is, Ovamboland and Okavango, to the effect that the people in the said areas are, allegedly, "demanding" autonomy, etc. The Damara people were intimidated to accept the same "Bantustan" status, but because of their determined opposition to the evil schemes of the illegal Pretoria administration this has so far failed to materialise.

Even prior to your visit a "state of emergency" was proclaimed and a news blackout was and still is in operation in the northern territories of Namibia. This continued to be so during and after your visit until today. The "state of emergency" proclamation was and is being used as an umbrella and cover under which the Pretoria rulers, using their regular armed forces, have unleashed a veritable white terror on the African population of our country. Cases of mass and calculated murders, electric...
shock torture, brutal beatings, disappearance of people, detentions, bannishments and overcrowded prisons and detention camps have become the order of the day throughout Namibia.

Show trials of the opponents of the illegal South African administration have been staged and continue to be staged. The cases in point are those of the 12 leaders of the striking workers who were tried, and as to be expected in the racialist courts of the regime, found "guilty", sentenced to imprisonment and fined. This month the illegal Pretoria regime in Namibia hauled another nine Africans before its kangaroo court in Windhoek. These men are facing even more serious charges which many observers and even the defence lawyer have described as inconsistent and obviously frame-ups. This case is still proceeding.

There is still a case of Mr. Lazarus Makahwa and 15 other workers who were arrested by the South African police at Walvis Bay immediately after the African workers went on strike. To this day their fate and whereabouts are unknown to anyone including the members of their families. Unreported too was the killing of an African worker by the South African police on December 13, 1971 outside the workers' compound. His body was buried by the police in the coastal desert area unmarked. Though the white settlers' press reporters knew about it, the story was suppressed.

Mr. Johannes Musheko, a SWAPO activist at Ongudi, northern Namibia, (Ovamboland) was arrested early in January in the presence of his family. He has not been heard from since to this day. Thus his fate became that of his fellow compatriots who in their hundreds are languishing in the South African regime's new and greatly expanded concentration camps that are situated at Oshakati, Ondangua, Ongwena, Omundaugeilo, Ohopoho, Grootfontein, Windhoek, Swakopmund, Walvis Bay and other scattered districts in the southern part of Namibia.

With orders to shoot first and question later, the South African armed forces in Namibia continue to slaughter Africans at will. A case in point is that of what took place at Epinga, Ovamboland region, on January 30, 1972 when a group of South African armed forces opened fire on African worshipers who were leaving the church ceremony with nothing but bibles and hymn books in their hands. Three were killed on the spot and three others were seriously injured. Some are still in a hospital. The murdered ones are: Messrs. Thomas Mueshiange, Lukas Veiko, Benjamin Helumani, and those wounded are Messrs. Semiba Muxika, Philipus Nghidinwa.

Even clergymen are not spared the South African brutalities in Namibia. On February 29th this year, the Reverend Olavi Nailenge of Ovamboland was brutally attacked, arrested and is still being detained by the police simply because he was found with written material on the "contract" labour system. Recent reports say that he is now totally paralyzed from torture.

On July 14, 1972 the illegal regime of South Africa banned and confined SWAPO's Acting President, Mr. Nathaniel Maxuilili at Walvis Bay's township of Kuisebmond which is a notorious place to live in because of its adverse climatical conditions.
Last but not the least, is the fact that most of the SWAPO leaders who presented petition to you during your visit have either been detained, arrested or are subjected to intense interrogations.

The introduction of South African black, coloured and Asian combat troops early in April this year is a most serious matter which, we hope, Your Excellency has taken a corresponding serious note of. By no means should the illegal and racialist rulers of South Africa be permitted to play with the lives and the territory of Namibia as if it is their own property. Something must not only appear to be done by the world body which is the de jure authority of Namibia, but it must be seen to be done in concrete terms and actions.

In view of the fact that your personal representative on Namibia will soon leave for Namibia and South Africa, it is our ardent desire and view that during his discussions there on the future of Namibia, he should do all that is possible to meet with two especially important leaders of the African people of Namibia who are currently imprisoned by South Africa on Robben Island off Cape Town. They are Herman Toivo ja Toivo and Eliazer Tuhadeleini serving 20 years and life imprisonment respectively. There can never be useful discussions on the problem of our country without the views of these two men being taken into account.

Equally, we do hold the view that is of utmost importance for your personal envoy on Namibia to consult extensively with our people's leaders in Namibia. These are Mr. Nathaniel Maxuilli (Walvis Bay), and Mr. Brendon Sinibwaye (SWAPO vice-President) imprisoned without trial since 1964. At present he is in prison at Otjiwarongo.

For these African leaders' views represent the overwhelming majority of our people's aspirations and wishes to be free and determine their own future in an independent Namibia, as one entity. Obviously, the South African illegal rulers will do their best to parade, as usual, their own hand-picked and paid tribal quislings. History taught that stooges of all sorts can never be said to represent the views of oppressed people, let alone speak on their behalf.

In addition, we strongly urge your special envoy to Namibia to have adequate meetings and discussions with the following African leaders in Namibia:

1. Bishop Auala and Moderator Paulus Gowaseb, leaders of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of S.W.A. (Namibia).

2. Messrs Levy Nganyone, Jason Mutumbulua, David Meroro, E. Kurita and John Otto, all members of the National Executive Committee of SWAPO inside Namibia.
3. Chief Clemens Kapuuo
4. Chief Samuel Witbooi
5. Mr. Johannes Nangutuuala, Chairman of the Workers' Committee.
6. Mr. B. Beukes (Rehoboth)
7. The Rev. G. Karuaera (Windhoek)

The South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia wishes to reiterate its position that the duties and functions of your special Representative to Namibia should be:

- to impress upon the South African government that
  (a) South Africa must accept the total withdrawal of its illegal administration from Namibia;
  (b) South Africa must accept Namibia's right to complete independence and national sovereignty as one entity;
  (c) SWAPO of Namibia rejects categorically the fragmentation of Namibia on ethnic basis.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Sam Nujoma
President of SWAPO

[Signature]
COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA HEARS STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT OF SWAPO

The United Nations Council for Namibia this morning heard a statement by Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), who declared that the South African Government was now "using Africans to kill Africans" by recruiting South African blacks, coloureds and Asians for its armed forces and sending them to Namibia, to fight against the freedom fighters.

These forces were "part and parcel of the South African apparatus", said Mr. Nujoma, and "in a war situation, whoever comes within the range of our bullets we will definitely shoot down".

The Council for Namibia also gave a hearing this morning to the Rev. Michael Scott, who criticized economic exploitation of Namibia. He said it was "perhaps the wealthiest country in the world", with oil, copper, diamonds and other mineral resources under its deserts.

Mr. Scott spoke in open session, while the earlier part of the meeting was closed.

Statement by President of SWAPO

The President of SWAPO, Mr. Nujoma, in his statement, said that the people of Namibia appreciated the efforts of the Council for Namibia which had contributed to their liberation struggle. The Council had issued travel documents which had enabled many Namibians to travel to other parts of the world.

In order to make the Council's work more effective, he proposed that the Council designate a SWAPO representative to attend all its meetings as an ex officio member, without the right to vote.

He also suggested a quota system in the allocation of scholarships financed through United Nations funds to ensure that Namibian students were not discriminated against because of their inferior educational opportunities in the early grades.

He asked, in particular, for scholarships for post-graduate studies.

(more)
determine their future without external interference, SWAPO of Namibia will categorically reject any further contact between the United Nations Secretary General and the illegal occupying South African forces in respect to the question of Namibia.

At this juncture, we feel that the current talks initiated by the Secretary General under the Security Council Resolutions 309 and 319 (1972) are not being focused on the central question which is the freedom and independence of the Namibian people. Rather, we have been observing with great dismay that the South African racist government has managed to divert the discussions with the Secretary General and his personal representative to issues of secondary importance. This means that talks are focused on bits and pieces of policy adjustments such as regionalism and the creation of advisory council under Vorster, which in themselves presume the continuation of the illegal regime of South Africa in Namibia.

However, because of our unyielding commitment to our people's demand for the immediate and total withdrawal of the occupying forces of South Africa, and because of our conviction that the current talks have failed to produce any positive results, we openly call for the termination of all talks being conducted under Security Council resolutions 309 and 319 (1972), between the Secretary General of the United Nations and the cynical ruling Clique in Pretoria.

We in SWAPO, however, remain fully convinced that the United Nations Organization is quite capable of more effective and direct measures to oblige the Government of South Africa to