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United Nations Council for Namibia  
Visiting Missions Dakar, 1976

6/01/1976 - 15/03/1976

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FOR CORRESPONDENCE BEFORE 1 JAN 1976

SEE FILE NO. TR 120 (2)

REGISTRY FILE CLOSURE FORM

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☒ FILE FOR PERIOD OF 1 JAN. 72  
THROUGH 31 DEC. 78 CLOSED.  
A NEW PERIODIC FILE WILL BE OPENED  
IF REQUIRED.

☐ PART \_\_\_\_\_ CLOSED.  
SEE PART \_\_\_\_\_

☐ FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_ CLOSED.  
CORRESPONDENCE CONTINUED UNDER FILE NO.  
\_\_\_\_\_



UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR

*Saw 8 April 1976*

TO:  
A: Mr. G. Lansky, Director  
Field Operation Services

THROUGH:  
S/C DE:

FROM:  
DE: M. Rego-Monteiro, Secretary  
Council for Namibia



DATE: 15 March 1976

REFERENCE: \_\_\_\_\_

*TR 145 DAKAR 76*

SUBJECT: Binding of documents of the International Conference on Namibia  
OBJET: and Human Rights held in Dakar

1. The Council for Namibia would like to have bound, for its own use, three sets of documents of the Dakar Conference. Each set occupies two volumes and is therefore a question of binding six volumes at an approximate cost of \$ 8.00 each.
2. I should be grateful if you would authorise the library to undertake this work, using the usual bookbinding contractor.
3. In addition, the Council is donating another three sets to the library, which the library will have bound at its own expense.

CC: Mr. P. Ruedas

Mr. I. Schwartz

*Ext 3734*

F.u. April 22

UNITED NATIONS  
INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM



NATIONS UNIES  
MEMORANDUM INTERIEUR

Saw 8 April 1976

TO: Mr. G. Lansky, Director  
A: Field Operation Services

DATE: 15 March 1976

THROUGH:  
S/C DE:

REFERENCE: \_\_\_\_\_

TR 145 (1)

FROM: M. Rego-Monteiro, Secretary  
DE: Council for Namibia

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2. I should be grateful if you would authorise the library to undertake this work, using the usual bookbinding contractor.
3. In addition, the Council is donating another three sets to the library, which the library will have bound at its own expense.

There are  
some papers  
missing. We  
should get them  
and see.

Call Mr.  
Scharfstein  
X 3728

R. L. 343  
finished

26/5/76

CC: Mr. P. Ruedas

Mr. I. Schwartz

Call 3734



*(copy in dakar)  
as in incoming*

RECORDS CONTROL

21 MAY 1976

16 January 1976

MAU/76-14

Mr. Donald La Harr, Director  
Accounts Division  
Office of Financial Services

George Lansky, Director  
Field Operations Service  
Office of General Services

Secretariat,  
Council for Namibia.  
Date received 19.1.76

TR 145 DAKAR

Per Diem Rate -- Dakar

1. As you know, the Council for Namibia travelled to Dakar, Senegal on 3 January 1976 for a conference that lasted until 9 January 1976.
2. All the participants were advised in accordance with DSA/6 effective 1 December 1975, that the basic daily rate was \$43.00 for Dakar.
3. As we have not received DSA/7 (which shows Dakar rate at \$42.00 per day effective 1 January 1976) dated 7 January 1976 until 16 January 1976, we wish to have your approval to hold the rate to \$43.00 for the purposes and duration of this conference.

c.c. O. Rives-Niessel  
A. Kawachi  
M. Flanagan  
R.L. Smith  
M. Rego-Monteiro



RECORDS CONTROL

3 MAR 1976

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UNATIONS

NEWYORK

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REGISTRY  
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~~TR 145~~ *f2)*

*TR 145 DAKAR 76*

UNIC/83 FOR TANG MING-CHAO FROM REGO-MONTEIRO COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA  
DECIDED AFTER INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS IN THE EVENING OF 5 JANUARY  
NOT TO HOLD AN OFFICIAL SESSION OF THE COUNCIL IN DAKAR ON 9  
JANUARY AS INITIALLY SCHEDULED TODAY 7 JANUARY THE COUNCIL  
MEMBERS WILL VISIT PRESIDENT SENGHOR OF SENEGAL REGARDS  
FERRET DAKOMNIPRESS

COL 83 5 9 7

UNITED NATIONS  
CABLE OPERATIONS  
1976 JAN -8 AM 7:47



RECORDS CONTROL

20 MAY 1976

PROGRAMME OF THURSDAY 8 JANUARY 1976

TR 145-*Dakar 76*

14:45 h : Plenary meeting under the chairmanship of President  
Kéba M'Baye

- General report by Mr. A. Dieye
- Adoption of the Declaration of Dakar on Namibia and Human Rights and of the Programme of Action

15:45 h : Adjournment

- Resumption of the meeting under the chairmanship of His Excellency Mr. Abdou Diouf, Prime Minister of the Republic of Senegal
- Presentation of the Declaration of Dakar on Namibia and Human Rights by Mr. Kéba M'Baye, President of the Conference
- Addresses of thanks by:
  - Mr. Ganshof Van Der Meersch, President a.i. of the International Institute of Human Rights
  - Mr. Seán Mac Bride, United Nations Commissioner for Namibia
  - Closing address by His Excellency Mr. Abdou Diouf, Prime Minister of the Republic of Senegal.

D R A F T

AIDE-MEMOIRE

TR 145 DAKAR 76

The Council for Namibia after informal consultations in Dakar decided that the agenda initially agreed upon for a meeting of the Council in Dakar at the end of the International Conference on Namibia and Human Rights was no longer justified in the light of developments related to the convening of the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity. In particular, the bringing forward of the address to the Council by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Senegal and the departure of the President of the Council for Namibia to attend discussions in Addis Ababa rendered it inappropriate to maintain the previous agenda.

The Council for Namibia looks forward to the honour of meeting with His Excellency the Prime Minister of Senegal at a suitable solemn occasion.

Dakar, 7 January 1976.



WITH

*Incorrect heading of text  
repared in the Presidency*

MEETING OF THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA

DAKAR, 7 JANUARY 1976

RECEIVED

TR 145 DAKAR/76

Statement by H. E. Mr. Leopold Sedar SENGHOR,  
President of the Republic of Senegal

---

Mr. Chairman, .

Members of the United Nations Council for Namibia,

I shall be brief, having made a lengthy statement  
at the Conference on Namibia and Human Rights.

In holding a Council Session in Dakar, you do  
honour to the Senegalese Government and People, and I should like to  
convey to you my warmest thanks.

I should like also to thank the United Nations  
Commissioner for Namibia who, with exemplary devotion, gives contin-  
uity to your activities.

Devoted to the basic principles of the United  
Nations, the Senegalese People and Government have always striven

.../...



to ensure the triumph of human rights, especially, freedom and equality.

The San Francisco Charter reflects the biological, political and cultural unity of human society in generous terms. We, Africans, are sharing in this humanism, as a matter of course, since it is consonant with our philosophy and traditions. The African conception of human relations is, indeed, based on respect for the individual. As a Wolof proverb puts it, Nit may garab u Nit : "Man's remedy is Man".

We have tried to overcome our truculent displays of selfishness : individual as well as national selfishness. Today we aspire to an ever-widening, ever-deepening solidarity, in a word, we aspire to the Universal as the ultimate aim of our policy. It is a fact that our initial impulse always takes us to what is nearest - our families, our social groups, our ethnic groups. As such, what is far off leaves us cold and, sometimes even appears hostile, attracting our own hostility.

But we must break through these familiar "barriers" and come together again, through the concentric circles of solidarity, beneath the free sky of human society, to which the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights refers in these terms: "Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world".

Quite clearly, each stage in this process of "self-transcendence" requires an effort at "self-abandonment", the better to achieve "the rediscovery of ourselves." The day will come when



the various forms of pettice now bred by barriers of race, religious or ideology will seem to future generations, as mere absurdities. And so we must, make an attempt to leap into the future and anticipate history.

I know that you, Gentlemen, as members of the United Nations Council for Namibia, have trod that path long before many others. We have followed your efforts with sympathy. Thus, from the very day we became members of the Council, we have endeavoured to make our contribution to the realisation of the ideals spelt out in the San Francisco Charter.

By virtue of a United Nations Resolution adopted on 19th May 1967, you were entrusted with the administration of Namibia. Yours is certainly an arduous task, for the climate of misunderstanding in which you work is not conducive to an easy solution of the problem; but the struggle is all the more exciting. Never forget that you have the mandate of the International Community and the backing of all Africa. On you rests the task of administering Namibia; you are, therefore, competent to take the necessary steps to discharge your duties, in consultation with the Namibian people as represented by SWAPO. Do so without unnecessary exaggeration, and without shy timidity, for right and justice are on your side.

From now on, pending Namibia's independence, you, together with the "people of the Territory", if I may use the General Assembly expression, are the legitimate authority in which, on behalf of the General Assembly, "Power" resides.

Let each of our acts, yours as members of the Council, and ours, as African States, be imbued with the clear desire to find



4.-

a solution to the painful problems of Namibia, on the basis of its people's inalienable right to shape their own destiny.

We must do so without hatred, with poise and realism, but with resolve; for it is on you and on us that the Namibian people are counting to recover freedom and dignity as men, their right to which is being questioned. Such questioning is in itself degrading to us and to those who do the questioning, for man is the be-all and en-all of every activity. Man, of course, in a state of freedom! And to be free means acting always as men in the interest of men. It means also refusing to deny the existence of the other person, for to do so, is to deny one's own existence.

We must do more than that. Man's characteristic principle is freewill, whose roots strike deep into human destiny. To be free, therefore, means accepting the freedom of others. As long as the world contains men to whom freedom is denied, as long as there are men who believe in the superiority of their race, the freedom of us all will be an illusion. If Freedom is to have reality, the human rights enunciated in 1948 in the Universal Declaration must prevail throughout the world.

Your Council is one of the distinguished bodies of the United Nations which is striving to turn the ideal enunciated in the Declaration into reality.

With the work achieved by the Committee on Decolonisation, the Committee on Apartheid and the Human Rights Commission, I am sure that our faith in a human society built upon values of respect for the individual, will eventually break the mountain-barriers of racism in South Africa and, from their roots, shall spring the dawn of a new Namibia.



One last word: It is essential that the problem of Angola should not impinge upon the problem of Namibia. Not that it matters little to SWAPO whether Angola is independent or not, but because, at present, quite apart from the clash and clang of the Liberation Movements, Angola is the theatre of a hot war involving blocs, by which I mean that different ideologies are locked in conflict there. And yet, in actual fact, what West and East, Parliamentary Democracies and Popular Democracies all need to do, is lend their united support this once to Africa, in order to secure Namibia's independence. I have had occasion to say this to the Ambassadors of the two Super-Powers. I know that, if a third World War were to take place, the "Big White Powers" would be the first to be decimated. We, Senegalese, would derive no consolation from this for the long genocide against Negro-Africans, for it would be an irreparable loss to mankind as a whole. That is why, today, we are asking them to still their long quarrel and work together, and with us, too, in a labour of humanity, for what is what Namibia's liberation really is.

These, then, are the few words I wished to leave with you as an old militant, not only for Negritude and Africanship, but better still, for the Civilisation of the Universal.

It now only remains for me to wish you every success in your deliberations.

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UNITED NATIONS  
COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA



STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY AMBASSADOR S. KARIM ON  
BEHALF OF THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA  
DURING THE OFFICIAL VISIT OF THE MEMBERS OF THE  
COUNCIL TO HIS EXCELLENCY MR. LEOPOLD SEDAR SENGHOR,  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SENEGAL, ON 7 JANUARY  
1976.

TR 145 DAKAR/76

Your Excellency,

On behalf of the members of the United Nations Council for Namibia and on my own behalf, I should like to express to His Excellency the President of the Republic of Senegal our deep appreciation for receiving today the members of the Council for Namibia.

Called by his Government to participate in the discussions leading up to the summit conference of the OAU, Ambassador Kamana, with great regret was unable to remain in Dakar to present personally his thanks and salutations and has asked me to speak in his stead.

The Council for Namibia is also grateful for this opportunity to be able to express its deep thanks for the major contribution you, Mr. President, have made to the advancement of the cause of Namibian freedom and independence by providing in Senegal the facilities for this International Conference on Namibia and Human Rights.

We are deeply moved by the generous hospitality which has surrounded us since our arrival in Dakar. It is certainly one of the highest expressions of the universal sensibility of the African spirit.

Mr. President, your profound concern for the complete liberation of the African continent from colonialism and racism in order that the free and vigorous unfolding of the African personality may contribute to the universal culture echoes throughout the international community. Inspired by your leadership Senegal is in the forefront of the just cause of African liberation.

In the Council for Namibia we are particularly aware of the forceful and devoted participation of Senegal in contributing to the efforts of the Council to undermine and ultimately eradicate South African colonialism and racism from Namibia.



In an important contribution Ambassador Fall led a mission of the Council to Brussels for discussions with the European Economic Community (EEC) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Secretariats.

At the International Conference on Namibia and Human Rights complex and imaginative efforts are being made for another significant step forward in supporting the cause of the Namibian people. I am certain that your enlightened proposal to intensify the mobilization of world opinion and constructive action through the establishment of Namibia Solidarity Week starting on 27 October will be well received and seriously considered by the international community and by the Council for Namibia itself.

It is particularly gratifying to the members of the Council for Namibia to attend this international gathering in Dakar. The Council's initiatives to assist the Namibian people through the establishment of the Institute for Namibia, the enlargement of the Fund for Namibia and the Decree on the Protection of the Namibian resources find in the Dakar Conference a natural endorsement and continuation.

In the expanding scope of the activities of the Council it has counted with the lucid and energetic initiatives of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Mr. Sean MacBride.

The General Assembly of the United Nations gave to the Council for Namibia a decisive mandate to administer the territory of Namibia until full self-determination and independence is achieved by the Namibian people. We shall endeavour to effectively meet all challenges to this mandate.

The Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO are carrying out a determined struggle with one of the most ruthless colonial and racist regimes in history. They deserve our unswerving solidarity.

Looking to the future there is no doubt that the Council will be inspired by the great commitment shown by the Government of Senegal to the liberation of Africa, the development of African consciousness and the liberation of Namibia, and that it will, in the years ahead, redouble its efforts to eliminate the South African administration from Namibia, and to achieve the independence of Namibia as an unfettered, independent and unitary state.

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CONSEIL DES NATIONS UNIES

POUR LA NAMIBIE

MP/1/76

7 janvier 1976

DECLARATION FAITE PAR SON EXCELLENCE L'AMBASSADEUR  
S. KARIM AU NOM DU CONSEIL DES NATIONS UNIES POUR LA  
NAMIBIE, AU COURS DE LA VISITE OFFICIELLE QUE LES  
MEMBRES DU CONSEIL ONT RENDUE A SON EXCELLENCE MONSIEUR  
LEOPOLD SEDAR SENGHOR, PRESIDENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE DU  
SENEGAL, LE 7 JANVIER 1976.

Excellence,

Au nom des membres du Conseil des Nations Unies pour la Namibie et en mon nom personnel, j'aimerais exprimer à son Excellence le Président de la République du Sénégal, qui a bien voulu recevoir aujourd'hui les membres du Conseil pour la Namibie, notre profonde gratitude.

Appelé par son gouvernement à participer à des conversations précédant la conférence au sommet de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine (OUA), l'Ambassadeur Kamana, à son grand regret, n'a pu rester à Dakar pour présenter en personne ses remerciements et ses salutations, et m'a prié de parler en son nom.

Le Conseil pour la Namibie est également reconnaissant de l'occasion qui lui est donnée de vous remercier très sincèrement, Monsieur le Président, de la contribution importante que vous avez apportée à la cause de la liberté et de l'indépendance de la Namibie en faisant le nécessaire ici, au Sénégal, pour que la Conférence internationale sur la Namibie et les droits de l'homme puisse avoir lieu.

Nous sommes profondément touchés de la généreuse hospitalité qui nous a été accordée depuis notre arrivée à Dakar. C'est assurément l'une des plus nobles expressions de la sensibilité universelle de l'âme africaine.

Monsieur le Président, votre profond souci de voir le continent africain libéré complètement du colonialisme et du racisme afin que la personnalité africaine puisse s'épanouir librement et vigoureusement et apporter ainsi sa contribution à la culture universelle trouve un écho auprès de la communauté internationale toute entière. Inspiré par vos qualités de dirigeant, le Sénégal se tient à l'avant-garde de ceux qui luttent pour la juste cause de libération de l'Afrique.

TR 145 DAKAR 76



Le Conseil pour la Namibie est particulièrement conscient de la participation dynamique et résolue du Sénégal aux efforts que le Conseil fait pour affaiblir et, en fin de compte, éliminer le colonialisme et le racisme sud-africains en Namibie. C'est ainsi que l'Ambassadeur Fall a dirigé une mission envoyée par le Conseil à Bruxelles pour des entretiens avec la Communauté économique européenne (C.E.E.) et le Secrétariat de l'OTAN.

A la Conférence internationale sur la Namibie et les droits de l'homme, des efforts complexes et novateurs ont été déployés pour faire progresser sensiblement l'action en faveur de la cause du peuple namibien. Je suis persuadé que votre proposition judicieuse en vue d'intensifier la mobilisation de l'opinion mondiale et l'action constructive en instituant une semaine de la solidarité avec la Namibie qui commencerait le 27 octobre sera accueillie favorablement et étudiée sérieusement par la communauté internationale et par le Conseil pour la Namibie lui-même.

Il est particulièrement réconfortant pour les membres du Conseil pour la Namibie de participer à cette réunion internationale à Dakar. Les initiatives prises par le Conseil pour aider le peuple namibien grâce à la création de l'Institut pour la Namibie, à l'élargissement du Fonds pour la Namibie et à l'adoption du Décret sur la protection des ressources naturelles de la Namibie trouvent dans la Conférence de Dakar une consécration et un prolongement naturels.

En élargissant la portée de ses activités, le Conseil a pu compter sur les initiatives lucides et énergiques du Commissaire des Nations Unies pour la Namibie, M. Sean MacBride.

L'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies a donnée au Conseil pour la Namibie un mandat très clair : administrer le territoire de la Namibie jusqu'à ce que le peuple namibien soit parvenu à l'auto-détermination et l'indépendance complètes. Nous nous efforcerons de surmonter tous les obstacles à l'exécution de ce mandat.

Le peuple namibien, dirigé par la SWAPO, mène une lutte résolu contre l'un des régimes coloniaux et racistes les plus impitoyables de l'histoire. Il mérite notre solidarité inébranlable.

Si nous considérons l'avenir, il est certain que le Conseil sera inspiré par la préoccupation profonde que le Gouvernement sénégalais a manifestée à l'égard de la libération de l'Afrique, du développement de la conscience africaine et de la libération de la Namibie et que, dans les années à venir, le Conseil redoublera d'efforts pour éliminer l'administration sud-africaine en Namibie et pour faire de la Namibie un Etat libre, indépendant et uni.

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

POSTAL ADDRESS—ADRESSE POSTALE UNITED NATIONS, N. Y. 10017  
CABLE ADDRESS—ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE UNATIONS NEWYORK

REFERENCE:

Dakar, 7 January 1976

TR 145 ~~DAKAR~~ 76

Dear Mr. Rego-Monteiro,

I am grateful for your Aide-Mémoire dated 6 January 1976 which I shall bring to the attention of the Executive Committee of the International Conference. As was pointed out at the meeting yesterday the Rules of Procedures adopted by the International Conference provide that, inter alia:

"Governments and organizations participating in the Conference shall not be bound by the final declaration and action programme of the Conference until such document has been ratified and adopted by the appropriate authorities within the government or organization."

I am not clear, however, whether this Aide-Mémoire embodies decisions arrived at a meeting held subsequently to the meeting attended by the President of the Conference, Mr. Kéba M'Baye, Mr. Niall MacDermot and myself yesterday or whether it is intended to be a draft record of the decisions reached at the meeting attended by the President of the Conference, Mr. MacDermot and myself.

I am also not clear as to whether this matter was considered at a meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

Yours sincerely,

*Seán Mac Bride*

Seán Mac Bride, S.C.  
Assistant Secretary-General and  
United Nations Commissioner for Namibia

Mr. M. Rego-Monteiro  
Secretary to the  
United Nations Council for Namibia  
c/o Centre international  
d'échanges de Dakar  
Dakar



AIDE-MEMOIRE



The representatives of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the United Nations Special Committee with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, at a meeting held on 6 January 1976 agreed to convey to the Executive Committee of the International Conference on Human Rights and Namibia the following:

1. Reference in the final report to their participation in the Conference should indicate that:

"The following United Nations bodies were present at the opening and closing sessions of the Conference:

- The United Nations Council for Namibia;
- The United Nations Special Committee with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- The United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid.

"The views of these bodies in support of the aims of the Conference were presented in their statements at the opening session."

2. No reference to the above-mentioned United Nations bodies should be included in the Programme of Action or the Declaration drafted at the Conference.
3. The representatives of the above-mentioned bodies request that the unpublished drafts of the final report, the Programme of Action and the Declaration be shown to them before circulation.

Dakar, 6 January 1976.



UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

POSTAL ADDRESS—ADRESSE POSTALE UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. 10017  
CABLE ADDRESS—ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE UNATIONS NEWYORK

21 MAY 1976

Dakar, 6 January 1976

REFERENCE:

TR 145 DAKAR '76

Dear Mr. Rego-Monteiro,

Many thanks for your letter of today's date conveying to me the decision of an "informal discussion" of the United Nations Council for Namibia annulling the meeting of the Council which had been previously scheduled for 9 January 1976.

I shall take steps to inform His Excellency the Prime Minister of Senegal, who had kindly agreed to address the Council on this occasion, of the Council's decision not to meet.

I shall also inform the President of the Executive Committee of the Conference, Mr. Kéba M'Baye, that the President of the Council, H.E. Ambassador Kamana, desires that the reports of the Conference be transmitted to the Council through its Secretariat at the United Nations Headquarters in New York.

I should be grateful if you would be good enough to transmit a copy of this letter to the President and members of the Council.

Yours sincerely,

*Seán Mac Bride*

Seán Mac Bride, S.C.

Assistant Secretary-General and  
United Nations Commissioner for Namibia

Mr. M. Rego-Monteiro  
Secretary to the  
United Nations Council for Namibia  
c/o Centre international  
d'échanges de Dakar  
Dakar





6 January 1976.

*TR 145 DAKAR/76*

Dear Mr. Commissioner,

I have the honour to transmit to you the decision of the United Nations Council for Namibia after informal discussions held on the evening of 5 January 1976.

The Council for Namibia has decided not to hold an official session of the Council on 9 January 1976 in Dakar as has been previously scheduled.

The President of the Council, H.E. Mr. Kamana, has requested that I receive informally the reports of the Conference for transmission to the Council at United Nations Headquarters in New York.

Please accept, Mr. Commissioner, the assurances of my highest consideration.

M. Rego-Monteiro  
Secretary  
United Nations Council for Namibia

Mr. Sean MacBride  
United Nations Commissioner for  
Namibia  
c/o Centre International d'échanges  
de Dakar  
Dakar  
Senegal.



Dakar, 6 January 1976

TR 145 DAKAR 76

Dear President,

As indicated verbally to you, His Excellency President Leopold S. Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal, has indicated his desire to meet you and the Council for Namibia tomorrow morning, Wednesday 7 January 1976, at 10 a.m. at the Presidential Palace. He will then address the Council. President Senghor took this initiative because of his inability to be present at the meeting of the Council which is to be held on 9 January.

It is desired by the protocole of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that all the members of the Council and myself should be in attendance at the Presidential Palace not later than 9:45 a.m.

This announcement was made by the President of the Conference, President Kéba M'Baye at the plenary session of the Conference yesterday but I am writing to confirm it in case the members of the Council were not present when the announcement was made.

I think that it would be appropriate for you, as President of the Council, to express the thanks of the Council to the President for his invitation to meet the Council and for the assistance which he and the Government of Senegal have given to the cause for the liberation of Namibia. He will then make a short address to the Council.

It would probably be more convenient if the members of the Council went directly from their respective hotels to the Presidential Palace in the morning so as to arrive there before 9:45 a.m. instead of coming to the Conference Centre first.

Yours sincerely,

Seán Mac Bride, S.C.

Assistant Secretary-General and  
United Nations Commissioner for Namibia

H.E. Mr. Duncan W. Kamana  
President of the United Nations  
Council for Namibia

cc: Mr. M. Rego-Monteiro, Secretary to the Council for Namibia





Dakar, 6 January 1976

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Yours sincerely,

Seán Mac Bride, S.C.

Assistant Secretary-General and  
United Nations Commissioner for Namibia

H.E. Mr. Duncan W. Kamana  
President of the United Nations  
Council for Namibia

cc: Mr. M. Rege-Monteiro, Secretary to the Council for Namibia



RECORDED CONTROL

21 MAY 1976

Dakar, 6 January 1976

TR 145 DAKAR '76

Dear President,

As indicated verbally to you, His Excellency President Leopold S. Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal, has indicated his desire to meet you and the Council for Namibia tomorrow morning, Wednesday 7 January 1976, at 10 a.m. at the Presidential Palace. He will then address the Council. President Senghor took this initiative because of his inability to be present at the meeting of the Council which is to be held on 9 January.

It is desired by the protocols of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that all the members of the Council and myself should be in attendance at the Presidential Palace not later than 9:45 a.m.

This announcement was made by the President of the Conference, President Kéba M'Baye at the plenary session of the Conference yesterday but I am writing to confirm it in case the members of the Council were not present when the announcement was made.

I think that it would be appropriate for you, as President of the Council, to express the thanks of the Council to the President for his invitation to meet the Council and for the assistance which he and the Government of Senegal have given to the cause for the liberation of Namibia. He will then make a short address to the Council.

It would probably be more convenient if the members of the Council went directly from their respective hotels to the Presidential Palace in the morning so as to arrive there before 9:45 a.m. instead of coming to the Conference Centre first.

Yours sincerely,

Seán Mac Bride, S.C.

Assistant Secretary-General and  
United Nations Commissioner for Namibia

H.E. Mr. Duncan W. Kamana  
President of the United Nations  
Council for Namibia

cc: Mr. N. Rege-Monteiro, Secretary to the Council for Namibia



6.1.76

M. Rego-Monteiro Dakar

RECORDS CONTROL

21 MAY 1976

6/1/76

TR 145 DAKAR '76

UNATIONS  
NEW YORK  
(USA)

\_\_\_\_\_ FOR TANG MING-CHAO COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA DECIDED  
AFTER INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS IN THE EVENING OF 5 JANUARY NOT  
TO HOLD AN OFFICIAL SESSION OF THE COUNCIL IN DAKAR ON 9 JANUARY  
AS INITIALLY SCHEDULED. TOMORROW, 6 JANUARY THE COUNCIL MEMBERS  
WILL VISIT PRESIDENT SENGHOR OF SENEGAL. REGARDS

REGO-MONTEIRO  
COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA

6.1.76

M. Rego-Monteiro Dakar



TR 145 DAKAR 76

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REGO-MONTEIRO  
COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA



AIDE-MEMOIRE

RECEIVED  
21 JAN 1976

TR 145 DAKAR  
76

The representatives of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the United Nations Special Committee with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, at a meeting held on 6 January 1976 agreed to convey to the Executive Committee of the International Conference on Human Rights and Namibia the following:

1. Reference in the final report to the participation in the Conference should indicate that:

"The following United Nations bodies were present at the opening and closing sessions of the Conference:

- The United Nations Council for Namibia;
- The United Nations Special Committee with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- The United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid.

"The views of these bodies in support of the aims of the Conference were presented in their statements at the opening session!!"

2. No reference to the above-mentioned United Nations bodies should be included in the Programme of Action or the Declaration drafted at the Conference.
3. The representatives of the above-mentioned bodies request that the unpublished drafts of the final report, the Programme of Action and the Declaration be shown to them before circulation.

Dakar, 6 January 1976.

TR 145 DAKAR 76

AIDE-MEMOIRE

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Dakar, 6 January 1976.



6 January 1976

POINTS SUGGESTED FOR INCLUSION IN THE DRAFT  
ACTION PROGRAMME

The Conference,

TR 145 DAKAR '76

- (1) Calls on all participants to press the Governments of Japan and the United Kingdom and the companies involved (RTZ, MITSUBISHI) to break off uranium contracts, and decides to set up a Committee to study the matter [Committee will be in the United Kingdom].
- (2) Decides to give legal assistance to SWAPO in finalizing the draft Constitution of independent Namibia;
- (3) Calls upon all parties to organize boycotts of Namibian goods sold illegally abroad, especially karakul;
- (4) Calls upon the International Institute of Human Rights to maintain a record and collect evidence of human rights violations so that in independent Namibia prosecution can be brought against violators under law now in effect in Namibia [i.e. no retroactive legislation would be needed].
- (5) Calls upon those of its participants who are qualified to do so to make a study of links between EEC and South Africa with particular regard to, but not limited to goods of Namibian origin;
- (6) Calls on all participants to give assistance and press their Governments to observe the Decree;
- (7) All participants to assist the Institute for Namibia;
- (8) All participants to press for Walvis Bay to be clearly recognized as lying within the frontiers of Namibia;
- (9) Calls upon Council for Namibia to complete a military study, etc.;
- (10) Calls upon participants to report to the Council for Namibia any cases of Namibian goods being passed as South African goods, and to press their respective Governments to maintain separate statistics for Namibian trade and to demand correct labelling of the country of origin for all goods
- (11) Decides to produce a permanent record of the Conference, and to include in this record basic documents relating to the question of Namibia ("Recueil des documents sur la Namibie").

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OTHER POINTS REGARDING ACTION PROGRAMME

1. Arms embargo re. U.K. and Germany.
2. Vigilance regarding fragmentation and bantustans.
3. Follow up resolution 363 of Security Council.
4. Action in getting Chapter VII determination that threat to peace and international security exists.
5. Campaign and study by United Nations on Cunene River project.
6. Campaign to end consular relations.
7. Campaign regarding investments.
8. Study on EEC and Namibia links to be made by United Nations.
9. Pamphlet: Rossing and Governments by United Nations.
10. Call on Governments and international organizations and companies to require labels and statistics in trade with Namibia.
11. Officer in Human Rights Institute (Strasbourg) to deal with human rights in Namibia.
12. Karakul boycott.
13. Support for Institute for Namibia and Namibia Fund.
14. United Nations to make analysis in depth of so-called constitutional conference: history; names of people involved; names and background of delegates and results of Conference.
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LISTE DE PERSONNES A REMERCIER

Joseph SARR

STC / Ministère des Affaires Etrangères  
Dakar.

Mr. Guy Alain KOCHER.  
chef de Service.

TR 145 DAKAR/76

Mr. Gabriel SARR

Adj.

Stc = Service de Traduction et de Informations

Babacar SAMB  
Responsable du Centre des Langues  
B.P. 3329 Dakar

~~Babacar~~ Samba Mbodj.

Aboubakar Gueye. Protocole

~~LISTE DE PERSONNES A REMERCIER~~  
~~Dj. DASSO~~ ~~Amou~~ ~~guy~~  
Doul

Yelle OUMOU DRAYE  
Foire Internationale de Dakar  
B. P 3329 Dakar

1. Sady AIKARA  
Division ONU au  
Ministère des Affaires  
étrangères BP 4044  
Dakar

Mamadou M' Baye :  
Foire Internationale Dakar  
BP 3329 - D

Cheikhon Cisse - Technicien  
Foire Internationale BP 3329  
DAKAR



- 5 -

VI

21. It must be realised that South Africa will never willingly end its illegal occupation of Namibia and will never of its own accord abandon its policies of oppression and enslavement of the peoples of southern Africa.

22. That is why it must be compelled to do so by all means available to the international community, in which the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, governmental and non-governmental organizations, and the States of Africa -each according to its means- have their special role to play.

23. Economic or other measures of compulsion should be taken to oblige South Africa to comply with the decisions of the international community. In that connexion, the activities of trade unions and of social and information bodies should reinforce and stimulate the action of international governmental and non-governmental organizations.

24. Obviously, however, so long as the international community does not use the means with which it has endowed itself, or can endow itself, to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, all means, including armed struggle, are justified to liberate the country. Consequently, to that end it is necessary to enlist the effort of the international community and more particularly that of the countries of Africa, by giving SWAPO all the political, moral and material support it so sorely needs.

25. Accordingly, those Governments which have not yet done so should recognize SWAPO as the only authentic representative of the people of Namibia.

\* \* \*  
\* \* \*

## Liste de personnes à Dakar

|          |      |                                 |
|----------|------|---------------------------------|
| Adjoint  | DABO | pour les grands cars verts      |
| Sgt Chef | DOUF | pour les voitures individuelles |



NOTE FOR THE FILE



First Informal Meeting of the Council for Namibia in the International Conference Centre (Dakar, 5 January 1976).

Present:

TR 145 DAKAR '76

Algeria, Australia, Bangladesh, Botswana, Burundi, Chile, Egypt, Finland, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Liberia, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Zambia, SWAPO.

The representative of Romania stated that the Council was not having a high enough role in the Dakar Conference. The President of the Council should have spoken first in the morning.

Second informal meeting on the same day

The representative of Senegal said that problems between the Commissioner and the Council, the order of speakers and protocol should have been discussed in New York.

The President said that the Commissioner and the Senegalese Protocol had both been consulted. Problems between himself and the Commissioner could be left for New York.

The Council then decided that members would sit in the two Commissions of the Conference as follows:

Commission I

Australia  
Chile  
Liberia  
Bangladesh  
Indonesia  
Pakistan  
Senegal  
SWAPO

Commission II

Mexico  
Nigeria  
Poland  
India  
Indonesia  
Pakistan  
Senegal  
Turkey  
Finland  
Romania  
Yugoslavia  
Zambia  
Algeria  
Burundi  
Zambia  
SWAPO

The following members who had more than one delegate would sit in both commissions:

Botswana  
Egypt  
Indonesia  
Pakistan  
Senegal

The Council further decided not to hold an official session in Dakar on 9 January 1976 as had previously been scheduled, and that, when it was received by the President of Senegal, His Excellency Mr. Léopold Sédar Senghor, there would not be an official Council meeting.

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Dakar, 5 January 1976.



21 MAY 1976

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR KARIM ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED  
NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA

TR 145 DAKAR '76

Your Excellency, Mr. President,

On behalf of the members of the United Nations Council for Namibia and on my own behalf, I should like to express to <sup>Your</sup> His Excellency the President of the Republic of Senegal our deep appreciation for receiving today the members of the Council for Namibia.

<sup>Your</sup> Called by his Government to participate in the discussions leading up to the summit conference of the OAU, Ambassador Kamana, with great regret was unable to remain in Dakar to present personally his thanks and salutations and has asked me to speak in his stead.

<sup>President</sup> The Council for Namibia is also grateful for this opportunity to be able to express its deep thanks for the major contribution <sup>which</sup> you have made to the advancement of the cause of Namibian freedom and independence by providing in Senegal the facilities for this International Conference on Namibia and Human Rights.

We are deeply moved by the generous hospitality which has surrounded us since our arrival in Dakar. It is certainly one of the highest expressions of the universal sensibility of the African spirit.

<sup>Mr President,</sup> Your profound concern for the complete liberation of the African continent from colonialism and racism in order that the free and vigorous unfolding of the African personality may contribute to the universal culture echoes throughout the international community. Inspired by your leadership Senegal is in the forefront of the just cause of African liberation.

In the Council for Namibia we are particularly aware of the forceful and devoted participation of Senegal in contributing to <sup>the efforts of the Council</sup> effective manner to undermine and ultimately eradicate South African colonialism and racism from Namibia.

<sup>In an important Ambassade Fall led a mission to</sup> Brussels to hold discussions with the EEC and NATO.

At the International Conference on Namibia and Human Rights complex and imaginative efforts are being made for another significant step forward in supporting the cause of the Namibian people. I am certain that your enlightened proposal to intensify the mobilization of world opinion and constructive action through the establishment of Namibia Solidarity Week starting on 27 October will be <sup>well</sup> received and seriously considered by the international community and by <sup>certainly</sup> the Council for Namibia itself.

It is particularly gratifying to the members of the Council for Namibia to attend this international gathering in Dakar. The Council's initiatives to assist the Namibian people through the establishment of the Institute for Namibia, the enlargement of the Fund for Namibia and the Decree on the Protection of the Namibian resources find in the Dakar Conference a natural endorsement and continuation.

In the ~~continuously~~ expanding scope of the activities of the Council it has counted with the <sup>lucid</sup> ~~brilliant~~ and energetic initiatives of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Mr. Sean MacBride.

The General Assembly of the United Nations gave to the Council for Namibia a decisive mandate to administer the territory of Namibia until full self-determination and independence is achieved by the Namibian people. We shall endeavour to effectively meet all challenges to this mandate.

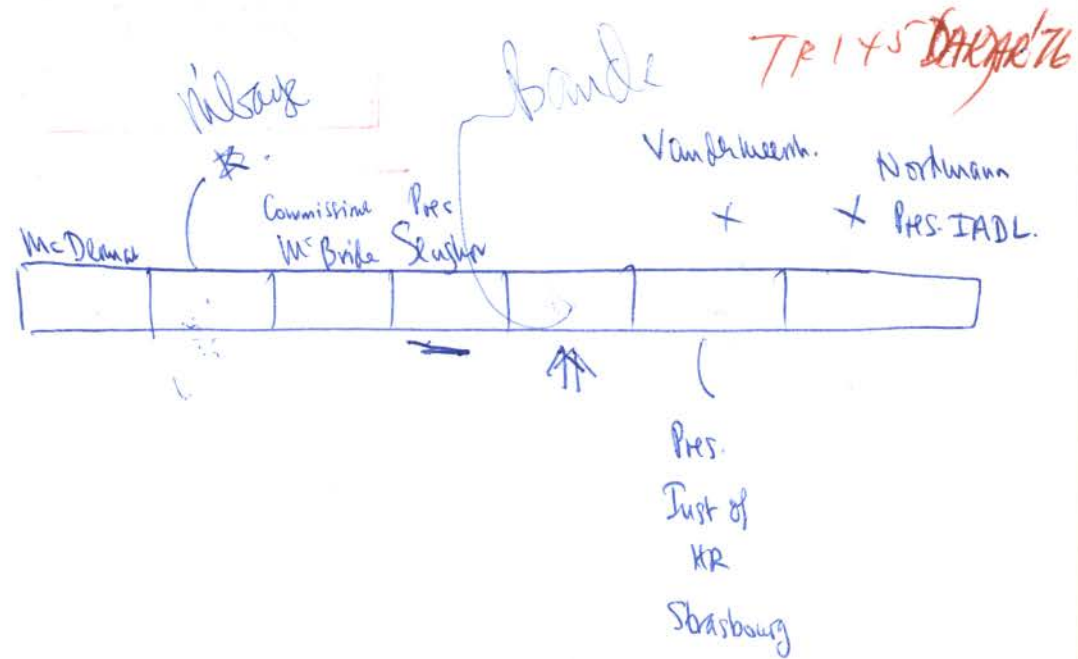
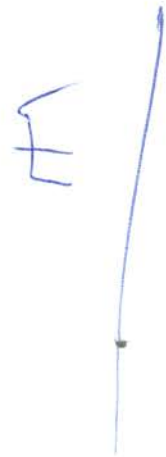
The Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO are carrying out a determined struggle with one of the most ruthless colonial and racist regimes in history. They deserve our unswerving solidarity.

Looking to the future there is no doubt that the Council will be inspired by the great commitment shown by the Government of Senegal to the liberation of Africa, the development of



African consciousness and the liberation of Namibia, and that it will, in the years ahead, redouble its efforts to eliminate the South African administration from Namibia, and to achieve the independence of Namibia as an unfettered, independent and unitary state.

Actual Seating on Podium 5/1/76 a.m.



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THE DAKAR INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

ON "NAMIBIA AND HUMAN RIGHTS"

(5 January, 1976)

THE IMPORTANCE FOR AFRICA AND THE WORLD OF THE  
STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN NAMIBIA

Opening statement

by

H. E. Leopold Sedar SENGHOR,

President of the Republic of Senegal

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TR 145 DAKAR '76

Mr. Chairman of SWAPO,

I salute our Namibian brothers and sisters. I pay tribute to their courage and determination in winning back their independence. We shall always be at your side.

As I read the moving statement your fellow-countryman, Katuutire Kaura, made before the special Expert Group of the Committee on Human Rights, I felt sad and indignant, but I also had the feeling that the Namibian people would derive from their sufferings the energy that ensures the success of worthy causes.

Kaura had this to say: "It is my turn to take you through the miserable hills of Branberg, along the skeleton, desert coast of Namib, and let you gaze at the spectacle of little boys and girls with hollow, sunken eyes, swollen knees, dragging themselves doggedly through mountains and valleys in search of something... It is my turn to take you along the dry, dusty tracks and plains of Namaland, where children sit the livelong day, not knowing what to do, just gazing out at the horizon..."

How much longer will the international community remain indifferent to our sufferings ?

The Dakar Conferencener, Mr. Chairman, does indeed help to provide young Kaura with an answer. For, as far as we are concerned, it is one further step in the fulfilment of our undertaking to ensure that Namibians have a land that is theirs, that they shape their own destiny, that their children shall go to



school, their women be treated with respect and their old people be cared for, in short, that within the comity of free nations, Namibia shall offer the original contribution of its people to the civilisation of the Universal.

To the Presidents and/or Chairmen of the  
United Nations Council for Namibia

The Committee on Decolonisation,

The Committee on Apartheid

The Human Rights Commission,

I should like to say that we have always carefully followed, and firmly supported the ceaseless efforts made by the Organisations you administer with competence and distinction. We shall always give them our unflinching support and assistance, to ensure that the voice of freedom and justice is heard, in all places, especially in Africa.

To the Director General of UNESCO, I would say we are aware of the support given by your Organisation to the Namibian people.

We have followed UNESCO's efforts to participate effectively in training Namibian youth and in illustrating the values of the Namibian people. In the near future, I am sure, the youth of Namibia will shape the destiny of their country.

To the OAU Secretary-general, I would say that in representing our Organisation at the Dakar Conference, you are once again displaying the unflagging interest and sustained action of the African Heads of State, in matters affecting the still dependent peoples of Africa, especially the Namibian people.

Mr. Speaker,  
 Mr. Prime Minister,  
 The President of the Economic and Social Council,  
 Honourable Ministers,  
 Your Excellencies,  
 The United-Nations Commissioner for Namibia,  
 Mr. Chairman,  
 Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Senegalese Government and people are particularly proud to welcome the participants to this Dakar Conference.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

You have come to discuss with us the recognition and promotion of Human Rights in Namibia. More than that, what we are trying to do is help find solutions that will enable the Namibian nation soon to exercise the basic right of self-determination.

Writing in a publication called "The Colonial Question", Lenin expressed the idea that "the right of Nations to self-determination meant their **right to political independence.**" And what is independence, if not freedom to conduct one's public and international affairs ?



We owe the best expression of freedom to the genius of the French people. "All men are born and remain free and equal in rights". It was the French Revolution of 1789 which brought the principle of such freedom into International Law. "The freedom of the individual" has become "the freedom of all men", the prerogative of the State. But it remains "Freedom", therefore a human right, and **this is what led the priest, l'Abbé Grégoire** to propose that the Convention should proclaim a "Declaration of the Right of Nations"

It is therefore not surprising that the 1966 Pacts relating, on the one hand, to economic, social and cultural rights and, on the other, to civil and political rights, postulate, in their very first article, as preceding every other right, the right of all peoples to self-determination.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I should like to thank the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, the International Institute of Human Rights, the International Committee of Jurists and the International Association of Democratic Jurists who, at the request of the Committee on Human Rights, were the originators of what will now always be referred to as the "Dakar Conference".

The Senegalese Government invited the organisers of this Conference to hold it in Dakar, because in Senegal, we pay attention to everything relating to human freedom and the independence of our continent, for these are the guarantees of our identity.

Less than twenty days ago, together with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), we inaugurated here in Dakar, a "Week devoted to Palestine". In due season, and for many years, we made our contribution to enable our Guinea-Bissao brothers to attain sovereignty. We did so within the limits of our material resources, but with all our heart and, sometimes, with the blood of our sons. SWAPO has had an office in Dakar for over a year, and we have granted its representatives diplomatic status to facilitate their task.

Convinced that the world cannot achieve peace except in an atmosphere of freedom and equality, having always fought for the advent of a world of concord, where each will bring a building block to the construction of a new edifice, a new economic and moral order, we resolved, ever since we became independent, to establish our presence wherever there were men fighting for the right to live in dignity, the right to live decent, human lives.

That is why we have always supported the activities of the United Nations and of the Organisation of African Unity, in their respective efforts to solve the tragic problem of Namibia.

Having said this by way of introduction, I should like to say what the United Nations, on the one hand, and the African States, on the other, have done to find a just solution to the problems of Namibia, before giving you a few thoughts towards the end.

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If one follows closely the action taken by the International Community, one is struck by the consistent and convinced backing given, in the past, by the League of Nations and, at the present



time, by the United Nations, to Namibia, within the strict framework of international law.

Unfortunately, at the same time, one is shocked by South Africa's obstinacy in making Namibia a theatre for its imperialist and racist policies.

It was in 1920 that the League of Nations granted the mandate of "South-west Africa", referred to as Namibia since 1958, by virtue of Resolution 2372(XXII), to Her Britannic Majesty, to be exercised, on its behalf, by the Government of the Union of South Africa.

But the Permanent Mandates Commission had already had several opportunities to level justified criticism at South Africa for its administration of "the sacred trust committed to it".

The United Nations, for its part, from the first meeting of the General Assembly in 1946, displayed interest in South West Africa on the lines indicated in the provisions of the San Francisco Charter, particularly Articles 73 et seq. In resolution after resolution, it recommended that Namibia should be placed under a trusteeship system, as in the case of the other territories which, at the time of the League of Nations, had had a similar legal system.

The first of these Resolutions was dictated by the attitude of South Africa which, through its representative at the General Assembly, had asked for Namibia to be incorporated purely and simply into its territory, invoking the very questionable decision of an all-white local Assembly and a so-called referendum, in respect of which it was not prepared to give any information, nor agree to supervision in any shape or form.

Three years later, taking a new step in the rising clamour for the annexation of Namibia, South Africa informed the United Nations that it would no longer submit reports, nor reply to questions and comments on the administration of the territory.

Most anxious to preserve the semblance of legality, the United Nations, through the General Assembly, applied to the International Court of Justice, for its opinion on South Africa's legal obligations. The answer was clear. The International Court of Justice stated unequivocally, in a ruling given on 11 July 1950, that South West Africa was "a territory under international mandate held by South Africa, from 17 December 1920", and, moreover, the State exercising the mandate, South Africa, "was subject to international obligations as stated in Article 22 of the League of Nations Pact; consequently, "it was in duty bound to transmit petitions from the inhabitants of the territory, the functions of supervision being vested in the United Nations", to which annual reports should be submitted.

That ruling was steadily flouted by South Africa.

Although right lay on the side of the United Nations, that Organisation tried once more to negotiate with South Africa. But South Africa's attitude was clearly hostile. More than that, it treated the International Community with contempt, and proposed negotiating with the United States of America, France and the United Kingdom. By refusing to consider all United Nations Member-States as valid interlocutors, South Africa served up its racist idea in another form.



South Africa's counter-proposal was not in keeping either with the letter or the spirit of the ruling given on 11 July 1950 by the International Court of Justice. It could not be accepted, and was vigorously rejected by the United Nations.

The Special Committee which was then set set up by the General Assembly, was compelled to admit that its mission had failed, faced as it was by South Africa's steady refusal to listen to reason.

Nevertheless, to give practical expression to the Court's legal ruling, the General Assembly set up another Committee, referred to as the "South West African Committee". Its task was to make sure that it performed the supervisory duties allocated to it, on behalf of the United Nations. Once again, South Africa refused to co-operate frankly and sincerely with the newly created body.

Not discouraged by this negative attitude, the United Nations made a fresh attempt and set up a Good Offices Committee consisting of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and Brazil. Its mission was to discuss with the Pretoria Government, the basis of "an agreement which would accord international status to South-west Africa."

Once again, South Africa's obstinacy was under-estimated.

The various stands taken by the Mediation Committee, on behalf of the United Nations, were regarded as unacceptable by South Africa which, actually, seized the opportunity to disclose its real intention. It openly proposed partitioning Namibia

into a "white" zone, in the South, with built-up areas and rich, fertile lands, and a "black" zone in the North, which is rather arid country. The white zone was to be incorporated into South Africa, while the black zone would be subject to international status.

These suggestions were obviously unwelcome to most of the General Assembly members, who regarded them quite rightly as a new manifestation of racism.

In 1959, the Good Offices Committee submitted a record of negative achievement to the General Assembly.

The following year, Ethiopia and Liberia, former League of Nations Members, filed an action with the International Court against South Africa. They sought to impress upon the Court the fact that South Africa had violated the League of Nations mandate assigned it in 1920, and should be made not only to observe the terms of that mandate, but submit to supervision by the United Nations.

The case dragged on for six years. South Africa took advantage of this long period, to dig in its Apartheid heels more firmly in Namibia, and prepare the ground for the annexation of the territory.

Namibia was, in fact, incorporated into South Africa, and is now its fifth province. There, for over ten years, the South African authorities have established "bantoustans" or "national homelands". This is the practical implementation of the famous policy of "separate development" which, in effect, means "parking" Blacks in tribal reserves. These reserves which, in any case, should



not cover more than 40% of the territories available for Blacks who form 85% of the total population are, quite clearly, a negation of the right to self-determination. In Senegal we have accepted self-determination and have always fought against any form of balkanisation which does not respect the democratic principle of "one man, one vote".

In 1961 the "Special Committee for South-west Africa" had been set up to replace the "South-west African Committee". In May 1962, the President and Vice-President of the new Committee accepted the Pretoria Government's invitation to visit South Africa and Namibia. But both the President and his Vice returned from their trip more than ever convinced that the Committee was doomed to failure, first, because of the Namibian people's aspirations and, secondly, because of South Africa's attitudes. Unless, of course, coercive measures were used, including, force.

That very year, the Odendaal Committee was appointed by the South African Government, to discover ways and means which might "to a large extent promote" the well-being of the Namibian population. It submitted recommendations which amounted in fact to a new formulation of Apartheid principles.

In essence, the recommendations urged the fragmentation of Namibia into "homelands" where Non-Whites would be brought together on a tribal basis, while the whites would live in an exclusively white zone, except that Blacks would be free to go and work there, as and when their "Masters'" needs required.

In 1964, the South African Government approved the conclusions of the Odendaal Committee. The United Nations General Assembly reacted by declaring that any attempt to fragment the territory would be regarded as a violation on the part of South Africa of the terms of its mandate.

This was the prevailing atmosphere in which on 18th January 1966, after the President of the International Court of Justice used his casting vote, since the voting was equal, the Court gave an embarrassed ruling, to the effect that it would not examine the substance of the case submitted in 1960 by Ethiopia and Liberia. In the Court's view, those States had not established any right or legal interest which could warrant action on their part.

This decision greatly affected and disappointed all law-abiding persons and lovers of justice, especially the peoples of Africa. SWAPO, in desperation, decided on 26th August of the same year, to embark on an armed struggle. On 27th October, the United Nations General Assembly, for its part, reacted by ending South Africa's mandate. It declared that from then on South-west Africa came under the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

The following year, it set up the United Nations Council for Namibia, vesting it with power to administer that territory, which had been legally withdrawn from South Africa. The Council is assisted in its task, by a United Nations Commissioner, whose devotion to his task is not in doubt.

Three years after that important decision, the Security Council recognised that the General Assembly had effectively ended the South African mandate, and decided that all action taken by Pretoria with regard to Namibia, since the ending of the



the mandate, was illegal.

Even the, <sup>^</sup>South Africa did not modify its position. It informed the Security Council that it did not recognise the Assembly's decision which purported to end its mandate, and regarded all United Nations resolutions as invalid, including those taken by the Council itself.

After a series of resolutions which grew steadily firmer in tone, the Council consulted the International Court of Justice on the Namibian problem.

In 1971, the Court declared South Africa's presence in Namibia illegal and stated that the members of the United Nations were in duty bound to recognise its illegality. They should, among other things, refrain from any relations with the South African Government.

The Council drew the necessary conclusions from this ruling by a decision dated 20th October 1971, and emphasized, in particular, the effect the South African Government's refusal to withdraw from Namibia could have in creating conditions inimical to the maintenance of peace and security in the region.

In February 1972, it invited the United Nations Secretary General, in consultation with a group of three members, to get in touch with the interested parties, to make sure that the people of Namibia would, in due course, exercise their right to self-determination. Once again, the talks ended in total failure, and the Secretary-General, in his report to the Council, was careful to point out that the South African authorities were not anywhere near the United Nations' concept as regards relations between

South Africa and Namibia, and was even further away from the idea of any exercise of the right of self-determination.

Again, United Nations efforts met with South Africa's unwarranted obstinacy. Contact between the Secretary General and the South African authorities, was considered useless, and was abandoned.

Then on 27th September 1974, an unprecedented event in the history of the United Nations occurred. The United Nations Council for Namibia which had been appointed by the General Assembly in 1967 to administer Namibia on behalf of the United Nations, after the ending of South Africa's mandate, promulgated its first decree designed to protect Namibia's natural resources.

This piece of legislation which is of considerable historical and legal significance, places the entire exploitation of Namibia's resources under the authority of the Council, and cancels all previous authority. It penalises any violation of these provisions by seizure and confiscation of products and transport, and provides for compensation for Namibians against any offenders.

The jurists will have the task of discussing the basis and efficacy of the Council's decree. We regard its legitimacy as beyond dispute. It now only remains for the Member-States of the Organisation, especially those in the forefront of world affairs, to see that it is fully implemented.

Thus, the International Community, unceasingly, and by a firm stand on absolutely sound legal principles, has used all the ordinary processes to bring South Africa to respect its obligation as a United Nations Member-State.



It has never failed to seize the slightest opportunity to support Namibians fighting for Freedom. Last year, it allowed SWAPO and all the African Liberation Movements to take part in Conferences and Committee Meetings arranged under the aegis of the United Nations. This decision is of outstanding importance, because it enables those directly involved in liberation struggles to make their voices heard.

But it still does not appear that we have succeeded in getting the South African Government to agree to abide by its obligations.

As far back as 1967, the Committee on Human Rights, through the special Expert Group, submitted almost ten reports, in which violations of human rights were described with meticulous care. Detailed recommendations have been made and the Committee's resolutions as well as those of the Economic and Social Council, can be counted by the score.

Even the ultimatum from the Security Council on 17th December 1974 to the South African Government, hardly created any impression. Indeed, at that very moment, on the 20th May last, to be precise, ten days before the deadline expired, in spite of the intervention of the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and France, South Africa proclaimed its firm intention not only to refuse to withdraw from Namibia before 30th May 1975, but also to refuse to alter its policy. And it is certain that no one is deceived by the proposals for consultation and the so-called self-determination plans which are given so much publicity. They certainly do not deceive the Namibian people who, acting under SWAPO's directives, steadily refused to have any truck with the "phoney" elections staged by the South African authorities at the end of last year.

The time has perhaps come for the International Community to shoulder its responsibilities. Surely it is impossible for one of its members day after day to flout the aims and principles for which it stands, without casting doubts on its ties with the Organisation! Surely the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter were laid down precisely to prevent a State from acting in a manner likely to disturb international law and order. A clear answer will certainly have to be given to these questions in the near future.

The Organisation of African Unity, for its part, has spared hardly any effort to secure the liberation of Namibia. I should now like to tell you briefly about this, before moving to a conclusion.

As soon as it was set up in 1963, the OAU began eliminating all forms of colonialism. The first words of the preamble of the Addis Ababa Charter relate to the right of self-determination: "Convinced that all peoples have the inalienable right to determine their own destiny", the Heads of African States have set themselves, in addition to the other objectives of the Organisation, the task of eliminating all forms of colonialism in Africa". Among the principles enunciated, complete devotion to the total emancipation of African territories still dependent, stands high on the list.

Our preoccupations are modest and legitimate. We wish to be independent and enjoy the fruits of our labour, in all justice.

To give practical effect to its stand in the anti-colonialist struggle, the Organisation of African Unity set up an appropriate body, namely, "The Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa". That was the first committee it set up. We were anxious, in so doing, to demonstrate the determination of our respective Governments to carry on the struggle for the freedom of the



Continent, and also to mark the importance of this problem as far as our Organisation is concerned. The Committee centralises and distributes financial and military help. Recently, too, in April 1975, at Dar es Salaam, to be precise, the OAU set up a "Special Committee", responsible for questions relating to Namibia. It is made up of African members of the Council for Namibia. And its main task is to keep close track of all problems relating to Namibia.

It is worth pointing out that the efforts of the Organisation of African Unity are not directed towards the setting up of a black State or a "racist State in reverse". These efforts are intended to achieve, in Namibia, a multinational society where all men of good will, whether White or Black, can find a place.

This is the spirit which clearly pervades the Lusaka Manifesto and the Mogadiscio Declaration, which set out, to some extent, the philosophy of the Organisation of African Unity, as regards the liberation of Southern Africa.

The Lusaka Manifesto, published in 1968 during the Central and East African States Summit, was adopted at the 6th ordinary session of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government. It is really a contribution of the first importance to Africa's determination to create a world of understanding and peace. This important document is, unfortunately, not very well known.

Nevertheless, on behalf of the Organisation of African Unity, the Lusaka Manifesto has already been submitted by my friend, the President of the Republic of Cameroon, Mr. Ahamadou AHIDJO, at the 24th session of the United Nations General Assembly. It is a carefully reasoned argument, expressed in dispassionate terms, stemming

from a firm resolve to build and not destroy.

The Manifesto reaffirms the principle of the right of self-determination, deplores the situation which prevails in African territories under foreign rule, links racism with colonialism, and lays down the principle of the liberation of Africa as a priority aim.

This Manifesto humbly recognises the fact that African States have not found ideal solutions to their problems. It rejects anti-racist racism, and considers violence as a last resort. As far as it is concerned, yes, indeed, the Whites of Africa have no more rights than the Blacks, they have just as many, in a framework of the rule of law. It is well worth quoting a few short passages from the Manifesto to get a better grasp of its underlying spirit.

"Our aims in Africa ... stem from our attachment to this principle of human equality. We are not hostile to the administration of the States in that region~~x~~ because their conduct and supervision are in the hands of Whites. We are opposed to that administration because it represents systems of minority control, based on doctrines of human inequality". Another quotation:

"We believe that all who have made their homes in African countries ... are Africans, in spite of the colour of their skin, and we are opposed to a majority racist Government which adopts a philosophy of deliberate and permanent discrimination against citizens on grounds of race".



"In May 1973, at the 10th anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity, the Heads of State adopted a general policy statement. That important document, summing up the work of OAU, affirms the Organisation's belief in the efficacy of armed struggle, and lays the foundations for future action. The essential feature of such action lies in development, especially in decolonisation. We have never under-rated the ways of peace, on the contrary.

The Senegalese Government which, for its part, is deeply attached to law and justice, lost no opportunity in trying to discover, in tranquil serenity, the best solution to the problems of Southern Africa, especially, those of Namibia. A year ago, we were still prepared to do so, in circumstances we regarded as objective and in keeping with our methods, by sending a delegation of jurists to those States. But we had laid down conditions regarding the liberation of political prisoners and the total freedom of our own observers. Our initiative was used as a publicity stunt, and we are still waiting for a reply from our interlocutors.

We are men of dialogue, but let us not be misunderstood. We have never, in any shape or form, sought dialogue in our own interest, between ourselves and the South African Government. We should like once again to say that dialogue must be undertaken by the parties concerned, in other words, the Government and each of the ethnic groups : Whites, Blacks, Indians and Coloureds. Our role should be confined to promoting this peaceful discussion face to face, in circumstances which will ensure the freedom of those engaged in talking across the board.

Mr. President,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Having tried to set before you, as clearly as possible, the efforts made by the United Nations and the African States, to find just solutions to the problems of Namibia, I shall now move slowly to my conclusion.

Because of SWAPO's intensification of its struggle the repressive measures against the Namibian people have become more savage than ever. The terrible treatment meted out to migrant labourers, the wretched living conditions in the homelands, the large number of "camps", public floggings of men and women, inhuman treatment of prisoners, all these practices are fed by feelings of hatred and scorn which we can only describe as "racism". They are, in effect, just a new form of the old Albo-European theory that the black Man is a "sub-man".

I said recently, in Tunis, that if Albo-Europeans bought and resold Negroes, "it was hardly because they were workers, proletarians; they had often been warriors, even princes; it was because people were bent on regarding them as members of another race, another ethnic group, above all, (and this is the crux of the matter), as representatives of another culture".

To justify Apartheid, the South African Whites draw attention to the difference in the level of development between Whites and non-Whites, as if prosperity were a sign of superiority. As if the founders of western civilisation were not the Greeks who, some 2,000 years ago, lived a sober, even a parsimonious life, on rocky hills.



In this connection, it is perhaps not idle to recall the fact that Europe of the Middle Ages was certainly not the richest place in the world. If Marco Polo's stories about the fabulous wealth of the East sometimes have legendary overtones, we now know that the countries of Asia at that time were much richer and more advanced in civilisation than the countries of Europe.

It is fitting, in this context, to recall that Mohenjo-Daro and Harrapa writing is in the Dravidian language, and Black Dravidians, referred to by the Greeks as "Eastern Ethiopians" were the Blacks of Asia who had built up the first civilisation of the Indus valley, a thousand years before the arrival of the White "Aryans".

Scholars have now demonstrated that the black Man, the white Man and the yellow Man, all sprang from a common ancestor - Homo sapiens. The racial differences which are observable are, in effect, only the result of geographical, historical and cultural evolution. More than this, it is accepted that there is no such thing as a hierarchy when it comes to the cultural heritage of the different ethnic groups in the world. It has been proved, in short, that all the great civilisations were, and still are, civilisations of cultural miscegenation. This is precisely what the White South Africans refuse to accept, but it is happening in spite of them, and through their agency, at the same time. For the stubborn facts are there : as against 4 million Whites, there are 2 million Coloureds, not to mention 2 million Indians who are, by definition, "Coloureds".

God forbid that we should champion the idea of assimilation. On the contrary, the defence and illustration of the identity of the values of civilisation of individual ethnic groups is a legitimate undertaking and a factor making for the progress of mankind.

Sentimentally influenced by the atrocities of "racism as practised by Whites against Whites" during the Second World War, men gave free rein to their sense of solidarity, and there arose a desire for communion which crystallized in the San Francisco Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. When it comes to "racism as practised by Whites against Blacks", we need a new impulse of lucidity and generosity to overcome our truculent selfishness and bend our energies, with one swing, towards the civilisation of the Universal, by breaking down barriers of race.

The "Dakar Conference on Namibia and Human Rights", has come at the right time.

The Decade of Struggle against Racism and racial Discrimination which began on 10 December 1973, should not end leaving these scourges still firmly rooted, for they simply degrade man - the racist as well as his victim.

According to Santa Cruz, Apartheid can be explained "in terms of the White Man's duty to maintain, at all costs, the purity of his race ... a mission for South African whites, the heirs of Western civilisation, to propagate and defend that civilisation. They must therefore ensure supremacy over the Non-Whites, and reject the principle of racial equality". Thus it appears the crime of Apartheid has been committed in the name of all Whites, except those who, by concrete acts, opt out of the South African racist camp.



And now, by way of conclusion, I must leave the participants in this Conference with a few thoughts that might perhaps pave the way for concrete action.

One fact seems to me to be significant. Not so long ago the "International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights", came into force. The "Pact relating to Civil and Political Rights", will come into force on 23rd March this year.

This augurs well for the later results of the Dakar Conference.

Namibia should adhere to the Second Pact, as well as to the one relating to Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The onus rests on the jurists to say how, and through which Organisation, such adherence can be obtained.

We know that the United Nations Council for Namibia has been authorised by the General Assembly, in accordance with Resolution 2248(S-V) of 16th May 1967, to administer Namibia until that country attains independence "with the largest possible participation of the people of the territory". Here, too, there is a beam of light to guide those who care to exploit the idea.

The United Nations has set up the Lusaka Institute in the interest of Namibia. That Institute's main task will be to enable Namibia to assume its functions soon, as a free and independent State, especially by helping to train its future executive staff. It would be fortunate if, in a large number of European States, in Africa, America and Asia, the Lusaka Institute had correspondents

who could co-operate directly in its work, in ways to be determined by individual States.

Many countries have agreed to participate in the training of Namibian youth, through the granting of scholarships. This practice should become more general and widespread, and young Namibians should be taken into the local administrations, to start immediately familiarising themselves with the organisational methods and operation of the public services.

The 26th August is observed each year by the United Nations as "Namibia Day". It marks the launching of the armed struggle by SWAPO. I should like to suggest that 27th October, the anniversary of the ending of SouthAfrica's mandate, should also be commemorated as the starting point of a week of solidarity with the Namibian people. To give more fitting recognition to such solidarity, a "National Aid to Namibians Committee" should be set up, in each of the countries concerned. These Committees would determine the type of aid each would be prepared to give. They could be organised regionally and be put in touch with the special OAU Committee for Namibia.

In conclusion, no stone should be left unturned to make Freedom something more than an empty word, and ensure the triumph throughout the world of the ideal of justice in equality, which is the basis on which OAU as well as the United Nations rest.

Ladies and Gentlement,

I declare open the Dakar Conference on "Namibia and Human Rights".

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PROGRAMME DU LUNDI 5 JANVIER 1976



TR 145 DARE '76

9 h 15 : Les participants prennent place

9 h 30 : Séance inaugurale plénière ouverte par S.E. le  
Président de la République du Sénégal

Allocutions inaugurales par

- M. Amadou Makhtar M'BOW, Directeur général de l'UNESCO,
- M. ETEKI MBOUMOUA, Secrétaire général de l'OUA
- M. Issoufou DJERMAKOYE, Secrétaire général adjoint  
des Nations Unies ,
- M. Sam NUJOMA, Président de la SWAPO ,
- S.E. M. Rupiah B. BANDA, Ministre des Affaires  
étrangères de la République de Zambie ,
- S.E. M. Léopold Sédar SENGHOR, Président de la République  
du Sénégal .

11 h 00 : Suspension de séance pour 5 minutes

11 h 05 : Ouverture de la séance par le Président de la Conférence  
M. Kéba MDAYE

Adoption du Règlement intérieur de la Conférence

Présentation générale des documents de travail

14 h 30 : Ouverture de la séance par le Président Ganshof Van Der  
Meersch

Exposés :

S.E. M. l'Ambassadeur Duncan W. Kamana, Président du  
Conseil des Nations Unies pour la Namibie

→ M. Allana, Président de la Commission des droits de  
l'Homme des Nations Unies .

S.E. Mme Joka-Bangura , Présidente de la Quatrième Commission durant la XXXe session de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies et représentante du Comité des 24 .

S.E. M. l'Ambassadeur Franck Boaten, représentant du Comité contre l'apartheid .

Monsieur Johannes Dyba, Auditeur de la Pro-Nonciature au Caire, représentant du Saint-Siège .

M. Hellberg, représentant de la Fédération luthérienne mondiale .

M. Dwain Epps, représentant du Conseil oecuménique des Eglises .

40.00  
→ 16 h 00 : Passation de la présidence au Président Kéba MABAYE

Composition du Bureau de la Conférence et Etablissement des Commissions I et II .

21 h 00 : Séance inaugurale du Festival international du film sur la discrimination raciale au Théâtre Daniel Sorano .

La Commission I siègera dans la Salle des 200

La Commission II siègera dans la Salle de la Conférence générale .



CONFERENCE INTERNATIONALE  
SUR LA NAMIBIE ET LES DROITS DE L'HOMME

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4 janvier 1976

NOTE D'INFORMATION N° 2

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TR 145 DAKAR 76

Un certain nombre de festivités et réceptions sont prévues à l'occasion de la Conférence internationale de Dakar sur la Namibie et les Droits de l'Homme :

Le lundi 5 janvier 1976, à 21 h.15 au théâtre Daniel Sorano, séance de gala pour l'inauguration du Festival du Film sur la Discrimination raciale . Deux films seront projetés : " Namibie, une confiance trahie " et " La dernière tombe à Dimbaza " .

Les autobus conduiront les participants à la Conférence au théâtre et quitteront :

- l'hotel de Ngor et le Village à 20 h. 15 ;
- les hôtels en ville à 20 h. 30 .

Le mardi 6 janvier 1976 à 12 h. 30', le Président de la République , Son Excellence Monsieur Léopold Sédar SENGHOR, offrira au Palais de la République une réception en l'honneur des participants à la Conférence .

Les autobus quitteront le lieu de la Conférence à 12 heures précises pour conduire les participants au Palais .

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Grande Salle

Channel

5 reserve

Ayglan 3

Channel  
1

Right  
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Francas 2

6

Reserve

top booth

middle booth

bottom booth

Salle des 200

Channel

5 ayglan

6 francas

3, 4 reserve

Salle des 50

Channel

1 ayglan

3 francas

2 reserve

TR 145 DREAR 76



PROGRAMME DU LUNDI 5 JANVIER 1976

RECORDS CONTROL

21 MAY 1976

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9 h 30 : Séance inaugurale plénière ouverte par S.E. le  
Président de la République du Sénégal

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- M. Eteki Mboumoua, Secrétaire général de l'OUA
- M. Issoufou Djermakoye, Secrétaire général adjoint  
des Nations Unies
- M. Sam Nujoma, Président de la SWAPO
- S.E. M. Rupiah B. Banda, Ministre des Affaires  
étrangères de la République de Zambie.
- S.E. M. Léopold S. Senghor, Président de la République  
du Sénégal.

TR 145 DAKAR '76

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au Caire, représentant du Saint-Siège

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mondiale

M. Dwain Epps, représentant du Conseil oecuménique des  
Eglises



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- Conf. Dakar (NDH76) I : Human Rights in Namibia - Les droits de l'homme en Namibie - par Elizabeth S. LANDIS. (73 et 84 pages) {E F ✓}
- X ~~Trans~~ <sup>2nd priority</sup> Conf. Dakar (NDH76) II : Selected Aspects of the Activities of the United Nations concerning Namibia and Human Rights - by the Division of Human Rights, United Nations. (15 p.) {E F ✓}
- Conf. Dakar (NDH76) III : Flogging in Namibia - La flagellation en Namibie - by Felix ERMACORA. (20 et 21 pages) {E F ✓}
- Conf. Dakar (NDH76) IV a : Namibia and the International Rule of Law - La Namibie et la primauté internationale du droit - by SWAPO of NAMIBIA. (15 et 12 pages) {E F ✓}
- Conf. Dakar (NDH76) IV b : Discussion Paper on the Constitution of Independent Namibia - Document de discussion relatif à la Constitution de la Namibie Indépendante - by SWAPO of NAMIBIA. (21 et 15 pages) {E F ✓}
- X ~~Trans~~ <sup>1st priority</sup> Conf. Dakar (NDH76) V : Constitution of the South West Africa Peoples Organisation. (11 pages) et "Gushikuku de la Swazie" {E F ✓}
- Conf. Dakar (NDH76) VI : Self-Determination : Techniques of Implementation and the United Nations - (29 pages) L'autodétermination : les techniques de mise en oeuvre et les Nations Unies (résumé) (5 pages) - by a Member of the Staff of the International Institute of Human Rights. {E F ✓}
- Conf. Dakar (NDH76) VII : Self-Determination : its Continuing Validity - L'autodétermination : sa validité constante (résumé) (16 et 3 pages) - by M. SORNARAJAH. {E F ✓}
- X ~~Do not trans~~ Conf. Dakar (NDH76) VIII : Independent Namibia : Survey of Methods Utilized to Ensure the Protection of Minorities - by a Member of the Staff of the International Institute of Human Rights. (50 pages) E ✓
- X ~~Do not trans~~ Conf. Dakar (NDH76) IX : Les droits de la femme : normes internationales - programmes de mise en oeuvre - par Jean-Bernard MARIE. (33 pages) F ✓
- X ~~Do not trans~~ Conf. Dakar (NDH76) X : Labour Regime and the Namibian Worker : Some Reflections on Human Rights - by Dr. Osita C. EZE. (20 pages) E ✓
- X ~~Trans~~ <sup>3rd priority</sup> Conf. Dakar (NDH76) XI : La Namibie et les Parlements : diverses activités parlementaires relatives à la Namibie - par un membre du Secrétariat de l'Institut International des Droits de l'Homme. (40 pages) F ✓
- X ~~Do not trans~~ Conf. Dakar (NDH76) XII : La Namibie et les Conventions Internationales des Droits de l'Homme - document préparé par un groupe de travail à Strasbourg (rapporteur : A.C. KISS). (13 pages) F ✓

RECUEIL DE DOCUMENTS RELATIFS A L'HISTOIRE JURIDIQUE DE LA NAMIBIE  
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- Discours de la délégation du royaume de Hollande
- la Namibie et l'application du droit internat.

Pastor Holberg Pastor de Vain 10E 10A (2) what is it?

Etude SWAPO

F ✓



DAKAR ~~NH~~ ~~76~~ 76

DAKAR / NDH (76) / 1  
discuss Kamana TR 145 DAKAR 76  
F.E.

/2 M. Banda discuss

/3 case histories from Namibia  
(doc. SWAPO)

/4 Political primer in  
Namibia (doc. Apartheid)

/5 Statement Sam Nujoma  
(SWAPO)

/6 Statement ALLANA (PT con-  
duite de l'homme)

/7 Statement by H.E.  
Amb. BOATHEN (Apartheid)

/8 Pr. RIGAUX - Devis sur les  
ressources naturelles

/9 Forces for change in Namibia  
(Bishop Richard Wood's address)

/10 List of Namibian Political prisoners  
(Amnesty Int<sup>l</sup>)

/11 Preliminary draft Programme  
of action (E, F) // 11 Rev<sup>l</sup> Proj. d'acte

/12 Rapport de II<sup>e</sup> Commission (F, E)

/13 Statement from a group of  
Church representatives

/14 Projet de résolution ~~pour~~  
(E & F) de remerciements

/15 Population estimates in  
Namibia (E)

/16 Statement Okavango Summit  
(E)

/17 Rapport des travaux de la  
1<sup>ere</sup> Commission (F)

/18 Rapport général (F)



DAKAR

~~NDH~~  
~~NDH~~

76

RECORDED  
21 MAY 76

DAKAR/NDH (76)/1

discuss Kamana F.E.

/2 H. Banda discuss

TR 145 DAKAR  
76

/3 can history from Namibia  
(doc. SWAPO).

/4 Political prisoners in  
Namibia (doc. Apartheid)

/5 Statement Sam Nujoma  
(SWAPO)

/6 Statement ALLANA (P<sup>r</sup> con  
du droit de l'homme)

/7 Statement by H.E.

Amb. BOATHEN (Apartheid)

/8 P. RIGAUD - Début sur les  
ressources naturelles

/9 Force for change in Namibia  
(Bishop Richard Wood's address)



/10 List of Namibian Political prisoners  
(Amnesty Int<sup>l</sup>)

/11 Preliminary draft Programme  
of action (E, F) // 11 Rev. Prog. d'ach

/12 Rapport de II<sup>e</sup> Commission (FE)

/13 Statement from a group of  
church representatives

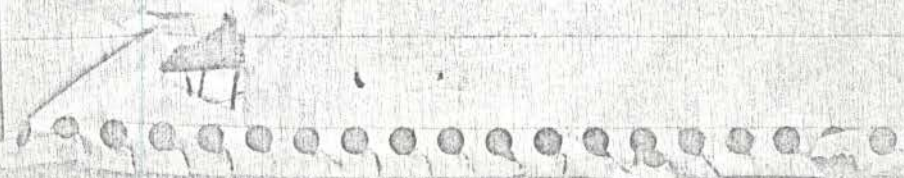
/14 Projet de résolution finale  
(E & F) de remerciements

/15 Population estimates in  
Namibia (E)

/16 Statement OKahandja Summit  
(E)

/17 Rapport des travaux de la  
1<sup>ère</sup> Commission (F)

/18 Rapport général (F)





CONFERENCE INTERNATIONALE DE DAKAR  
DAKAR INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

TR 145 DAKAR 76

LISTE DES DOCUMENTS - LIST OF DOCUMENTS

- Conf.Dakar(NDH76) I : Human Rights in Namibia - Les droits de l'homme en Namibie - par Elizabeth S. LANDIS
- Conf.Dakar(NDH76) II : Selected Aspects of the Activities of the United Nations concerning Namibia and Human Rights - by the Division of Human Rights, United Nations.
- Conf.Dakar(NDH76) III : Flogging in Namibia - La flagellation en Namibie - by Felix ERMAKORA.
- Conf.Dakar(NDH76) IVa : Namibia and the International Rule of Law - La Namibie et la primauté internationale du droit - by SWAPO of NAMIBIA
- Conf.Dakar(NDH76) IVb : Discussion Paper on the Constitution of Independent Namibia - Document de discussion relatif à la Constitution de la Namibie indépendante - by SWAPO of NAMIBIA
- Conf.Dakar(NDH76) V : Constitution of the South West Africa Peoples' Organisation
- Conf.Dakar(NDH76) VI : Self-Determination : Techniques of Implementation and the United Nations - L'autodétermination : les techniques de mise en oeuvre et les Nations Unies (résumé) - by a Member of the Staff of the International Institute of Human Rights.
- Conf.Dakar(NDH76) VII : Self-Determination : its Continuing Validity - L'autodétermination - sa validité constante (résumé) - by M. SORNARAJAH.
- Conf.Dakar(NDH76)VIII : Independent Namibia : Survey of Methods Utilized to Ensure the Protection of Minorities - by a Member of the Staff of the International Institute of Human Rights.
- Conf.Dakar(NDH76) IX : Les droits de la femme : normes internationales - programmes de mise en oeuvre - par Jean-Bernard MARIE.
- Conf.Dakar(NDH76) X : Labour Regime and the Namibian Worker : Some reflections on Human Rights - by Dr. Osita C. EZE.
- Conf.Dakar(NDH76) XI : La Namibie et les Parlements : diverses activités parlementaires relatives à la Namibie - par un membre du Secrétariat de l'Institut Internationale des Droits de l'Homme.
- Conf.Dakar(NDN76) XII : La Namibie et les Conventions Internationales des Droits de l'Homme - Document préparé par un groupe de travail à Strasbourg (rapporteur : A.G. KISS).

RECUEIL DE DOCUMENTS RELATIFS A L'HISTOIRE JURIDIQUE DE LA NAMIBIE  
(Institut International des Droits de l'Homme)  
LEGAL HISTORY OF NAMIBIA THROUGH DOCUMENTS  
(International Institute of Human Rights)

## CONFERENCE INTERNATIONALE DE DAKAR

### Liste des documents : Addendum

1. Conf.Dakar II : Division des Droits de l'Homme  
en français
2. Déclaration de Sam Nujoma, Président de la SWAPO  
(Anglais/Français)
3. Déclaration de S.E. M. D.W. Kamana, Conseil pour la Namibie  
(Anglais/Français)
4. Allocution de M. Mbow, Directeur général de l'Unesco  
(Anglais/Français)
5. Déclaration de M. Rupiah Banda, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères,  
Zambie - (Anglais/Français)
6. L'importance pour l'Afrique et le Monde de la lutte pour les  
Droits de l'Homme en Namibie -  
Discours d'ouverture de S.E. M.Léopold S. Senghor, Président de  
la République du Sénégal - (Anglais/Français)
7. Responsabilité chrétienne en Namibie par Lukas de Vries,  
Fédération Luthérienne Mondiale - (Anglais/Français)
8. Déclaration du Dr Carl-Johan Hellberg, Fédération Luthérienne  
mondiale - (Anglais/Français)
9. Déclaration de M. Thulam Allana, Président de la Commission  
des Droits de l'Homme des Nations Unies - (Anglais/Français)
10. Message de S.E. M.K.Waldheim, Secrétaire général des Nations  
Unies - (Anglais/Français)
11. Déclaration de S.E. M.Boaten, Comité spécial de la Lutte contre  
l'Apartheid. - (Anglais).



As of 3 January 1976

Revised 4/1/76

PARTICIPANTS IN CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND NAMIBIA  
(Dakar, 5-8 January 1976)

|                                 | <u>Hotel</u>  | <u>Room</u> |
|---------------------------------|---|-------------|
| <u>COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA</u>      |   |             |
| Mr. Kamana (Zambia, President)  | N'Gor   | 4554        |
| Mr. Taleb (Algeria)             | <del>N'Gor</del> Vichy  |             |
| Mr. Campbell (Australia)        | Village N'Gor   | 630         |
| H.E. Mr. Karim (Bangladesh)     | 318.70 <sup>amb</sup> 20.391 (Amb's res)<br>Embassy of Bangladesh |             |
| H.E. Mr. Mogami (Botswana)      | N'Gor   | 4595        |
| Mr. Micanagu (Burundi)          | N'Gor   | 4592        |
| Mr. Phumaphi (Burundi)          | N'Gor   |             |
| Mr. Holger (Chile)              | N'Gor   | 2482        |
| Mr. (China)                     |   |             |
| Miss Obregon (Colombia)         | N'Gor   | 506         |
| Mr. El-Khazindar (Egypt)        | Village N'Gor   | 594         |
| Mr. Talvitie (Finland)          | Village N'Gor   | 580 604     |
| Mr. L. Robinson (Guyana)        | Village N'Gor   | 590         |
| H.E. Mr. Siclait (Haiti)        | N'Gor   | 2462        |
| Mr. Budhiraja (India)           | Village N'Gor   | 589         |
| Mr. Abduljalil (Indonesia)      | N'Gor   | 2474        |
| Mr. Marpaung (H.E.) (Indonesia) | N'Gor   | 2474 4574   |
| Mr. Wilson (Liberia)            | N'Gor   | 4545        |
| Mr. Cantu (Mexico)              | Village N'Gor   | 731 546     |
| Mr. Jimeta (Nigeria)            | N'Gor   | 2456        |
| Mr. Mahmud (Pakistan)           | <del>N'Gor</del> Croix du Sud                                     | 337         |
| Mr. Nicinski (Poland)           | N'Gor   | 3507        |
| Mr. Vlasceanu (Romania)         | Village N'Gor   | 593         |
| Mr. Djigo (Senegal)             |   |             |
| Mr. Demirok (Turkey)            | Village N'Gor   | 596         |
| Mr. Pavicevic (Yugoslavia)      | N'Gor   | 3526        |
| H.E. Mr. Petric (Yugoslavia)    | N'Gor   |             |
| Mr. Sikaulu (Zambia)            | Village N'Gor   | 587         |

|                                   | <u>Hotel</u>                 | <u>Room</u>     |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| <u>COMMITTEE OF 24</u>            |                              |                 |
| Mr. Diakite (Mali)                | N'Gor                        | 3515            |
| Ms. Joka-Bangura (Sierra Leone)   | <del>N'Gor</del> Village 505 | <del>2460</del> |
| Mr. Abdulla (Trinidad and Tobago) | N'Gor                        | 4591            |
| Mr. Vraalsen (Norway)             | N'Gor                        | 3531            |

COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

|                            |                             |                 |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| H.E. Mr. Boaten (Ghana)    | N'Gor                       | 1405            |
| Mr. Valderama (Phillipine) | <del>N'Gor</del> Sudan Emb. | <del>3511</del> |
| Mr. Noor (UN Secretariat)  | Village N'Gor               | 715             |

SWAPO

|                                    |                 |      |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|------|
| Mr. Hujoma (President of SWAPO)    | Village N'Gor   | 4543 |
| Mr. Ben-Gurirab (from New York)    | Village N'Gor ⑧ |      |
| Mr. Katjavivi (from London)        |                 |      |
| Mr. Amathila (from Stockholm)      |                 |      |
| Mr. Hisongwa (from Dakar)          |                 |      |
| Mr. Tjiriange (from Dar-es-Salaam) |                 |      |

UNITED NATIONS INSTITUTE FOR NAMIBIA

|                        |         |
|------------------------|---------|
| Mr. Geingob (Director) | Diamara |
| Mr. Boman              | Diamara |
| Mr. Thornicroft        | Diamara |

UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT

|   |               |                    |
|---|---------------|--------------------|
| Mr. MacBride (Commissioner for Namibia) | N'Gor         | 4549               |
| Mr. Caine                               | Village N'Gor | <del>597</del> 550 |
| Mr. Omayad                              | Village N'Gor | 566                |
| Miss Garvey                             | Village N'Gor | 727                |
| Miss Haniss                             | Village N'Gor | 523                |
| Mr. Kandjou                             | Village N'Gor | 621                |
| Mrs. Rives-Miessel (Adm. Officer)       | Village N'Gor | 564                |



|  | <u>Hotel</u>  | <u>Room</u>         |
|--|---------------|---------------------|
| <u>UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT (cont'd)</u> |               |                     |
| Mr. Rego-Monteiro (Secretary of Council)   | N'Gor         | <del>5529</del> 589 |
| Mr. Santos (Press Officer)                 | Village N'Gor | 520                 |
| Mr. J. Robson                              | Village N'Gor | 565                 |
| Mr. Bungaroo                               | Village N'Gor | 565                 |
| <u>RAPPORTEURS</u>                         |               |                     |
| Mrs. Landis                                | Village N'Gor | 543                 |
| Miss Rogers                                | Village N'Gor | 543                 |
| Prof. Falk                                 | Village N'Gor |                     |
| <u>LANGUAGE STAFF FROM GENEVA</u>          |               |                     |
| Mr. Abaza                                  | Village N'Gor | 510                 |
| Ms. Nicole Sion                            | Village N'Gor | 525                 |
| Mr. Yakovlev                               | Village N'Gor | 509                 |
| Ms. Françoise Young                        | Village N'Gor |                     |
| Mr. Goodman                                | Village N'Gor | 551                 |
| Mr. Keraudren                              | Village N'Gor | 567                 |
| <u>UNDP</u>                                |               |                     |
| Mr. Borna                                  |               |                     |
| Mr. Nerman                                 |               |                     |

R. BANDA

SIYOLWE

M'TESA

MBEWE

(?)

(?)

Teranga

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"

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Compte rendu de la

4<sup>ème</sup> Réunion du sous-groupe chargé d'examiner la situation  
(en ce qui concerne la conférence)

TR 145 DAKAR 76

1. Ouverture de la première séance à 09.30<sup>h</sup> lundi 5 janvier, au lieu de 10.00 h. Les participants devront être en place à 09.15 h. Enregistrement à partir de 8.30 h.
2. Festival films : chaque soir. Nombre Trahie; Dernière Tombe à Dimbaga. To be selected from attached list.
3. Constitution d'un comité de travail : M. Marie - Institut des Droits de l'Homme  
M. Aidara M.A.E.  
M. Gabriel Sar M.A.E.

Le comité doit consulter Mme River-Niessel

4. Séance de clôture :

5. Séances spéciales du Conseil des Nations Unies pour la Namibie  
(a) pour entendre le Prs. Seughor - le 7/1/76  
(b) pour recevoir les conclusions de la conférence - le 9/1/76



SELECTION DE FILMS (LONGS METRAGES)  
SUR LA DISCRIMINATION RACIALE

1. Au nom de la race - France, 1975, M. Hillal et E. Henry.
2. Bronco Apache - U.S.A., 1954, Robert Aldrich.
3. Les biscuits nègres nos voisins - France, 1974, Med Hondo.
4. Le carnaval des dieux - U.S.A., 1957, Richard Brooks.
- X5. La casse de l'oncle Tom - U.S.A., 1970, Ossie Davis.
- X6. Les collines de la terreur - U.S.A., 1972, Michael Winner.
7. Come back, Africa - U.S.A. et Union Sud-Africaine, 1959, Lionel Rogosin.
8. Conrack - U.S.A., 1974, Martin Ritt.
9. La dernière tombe à Bimbaze - Grande Bretagne, 1975, Alec Horsley et James Johnson.
10. Le dictateur - U.S.A., 1940, Charles Chaplin.
- 11. Dreyfus ou l'intolérable vérité - France, 1975, Jean Chéresse.
12. Dupont Lajoie - France, 1975, Yves Boisset.
13. Elise ou la vraie vie - France-Algérie, 1969, Michel Drach.
14. Esclaves - U.S.A., 1969, Biberman.
15. Haines - U.S.A., 1949, J. Losey.
16. L'intrus - U.S.A., 1949, Clarence Brown.
17. L'Indien - U.S.A., 1970, Carol Reed.
18. La jeune fille - Mexique, 1960, Luis Bunuel.
- X19. Little Big Man - U.S.A., 1970, Arthur Penn.
20. Mandingo - U.S.A., 1975, Richard Fleisher.
21. Mekroub ? - France, 1970, Ali Ghalem.
22. Le mur invisible - U.S.A., 1947, Elia Kazan.
23. On n'achète pas le silence - U.S.A., 1970, William Wyler.
24. Putney Swope - U.S.A., 1970, Robert Downey.
25. Lusimada - Italie, 1969, Gillo Pontecorvo.
26. Le sang du condor - Bolivie, 1969, Jorge Sanjinés.
27. Sans pitié - Italie, 1948, Alberto Sordi.
28. Soleil 0 - Mauritanie, 1970, Med Hondo.
29. Sounder - U.S.A., 1973, Martin Ritt.
30. Tick, tick, tick... et la violence explose - U.S.A., 1969, Ralph Nelson.
31. Two Gentlemen - Royaume-Uni, 1969, Ted Kettleff.

Discussion of protocol questions

3/1/76

Séance d'ouverture

lundi 5/1/76 5-6 discours

am. Senghor à (10-15) 9.45

Mbow UNESCO

OUA

Djermakoge USG

Nyongue SWAPO



TR 145 DAKAR '76

pm Bauda présidera la séance  
Bureau (known as Executive Committee)  
To be announced at second meeting.

IADL

Nordmann Co-Chairman of Commission I

Van der Meer<sup>HR Inst.</sup> Co-Chairman " " I

Mc Dermott<sup>ICJ</sup> Co-Chairman of " II

Allana<sup>UNHR</sup> Co-Chairman " " II

Rapporteurs Prof Falk in Commission I

Prof ... de Louvain " " "

Médone Juriste Camériounais in Commission II

... " " "

Secretariat of Commission I + II provided by Human Rights Institute

Rapporteurs généraux : ... Juriste Sénégalais

At Council for Namibia meeting: M'baye will present conclusions



Check list of documents in Dohat

RECORDS CONTROL

3/1/76

21 MAY 1976

Report of Council for Namibia (Vol I) E 230

" " " (Vol II) E 230

" " " (Vol I) F 150

" " " (Vol II) F 150

Council for Namibia Publications E 1000

" " " F 1000

Declaration Bulletin on Namibia E few

" " " F 150

AIREI 3399 E 5000

AIREI ~~3399~~ 3399 F 5000

AIREI 3400 E few

AIREI 3400 F 5000

SIRES 366 1 big packet E

Namibia Trust Receipts 4 parcels F 100's

ICJ above

" " 2 boxes F

WFJNA Res 1 box E

Namibia Bulletin 1 box E

" " 2 boxes F

Namibians of SWA E 120

Report of SC E few

" " " F few

Human Rights in Namibia 4 1/2 boxes E 500

Inter Parliamentary Res. 2 pkt E

Business Week at 1 pkt E

Neth. Statement 4<sup>th</sup> edn 2 pkt E

Namibia Revolution E 1

" " a few F

TR 145 DARE '76

RECORDS CONTROL

29 APR 1976

TR 145 DAKAR '76

NK20 (UN) NEWYORK 30 02 2046Z =

LTP

MHE. RIVES-NIESSEL

OMNIPRESS

DAKAR =

02 BOTSWANA MISSION INFORMED THAT MR PHUNGAPHI HAS CHANGED TRAVEL  
PLANS AND WILL ARRIVE ON 4 JANUARY 1976, 02 FLIGHT NUMBER 050  
AT 1700 HOURS =

REGO-MONTEIRO +

COL 02 4 1976 02 050 1700 +

UNITED STATES  
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
1510 JPB-2 PM 9-17