

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

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OFFICIAL RECORDS: NINTH SPECIAL SESSION
SUPPLEMENT No. 1 (A/S-9/4)**



UNITED NATIONS

New York, 1978

NOTE

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

17 April 1978

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith the report of the United Nations Council for Namibia pursuant to section V of General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V). This report was adopted by the Council at its 277th meeting, on 14 April 1978, and covers the extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council held at Lusaka from 20 to 23 March 1978.

I should be grateful if you would have the report distributed as a document of the ninth special session of the General Assembly, to be held from 24 April to 3 May 1978 in conformity with Assembly resolution 32/9 F of 4 November 1977.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Gwendoline C. KONIE
President of the
United Nations Council for Namibia

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

I. ORGANIZATION OF THE EXTRAORDINARY PLENARY
MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA

1. By its resolution 32/9 F of 4 November 1977, the General Assembly requested that the United Nations Council for Namibia, in the implementation of its responsibilities as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence, to hold a series of plenary meetings in Africa in 1978 at the highest possible level, as and when required for the further proper discharge of its functions, and requested the Secretary-General to defray the cost of those meetings in Africa and provide the necessary staff and service for them.
2. At its 270th meeting on 18 January 1978, the Council decided to accept the offer of the Government of Zambia to serve as host to the extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council at Lusaka.
3. At its 271st meeting, on 8 February, the Council approved the report of the President containing recommendations related to the extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council to be held at Lusaka from 20 to 25 March 1978 (A/AC.131/L.67 and Corr.1). Summary records of the extraordinary plenary meetings were to be made available in accordance with the above decision of the Council.
4. At the same meeting, the Council approved the following agenda for its extraordinary plenary meetings:
 1. Adoption of the agenda.
 2. Statement by the representative of the Government of the host country.
 3. Statement by the Secretary-General or his representative.
 4. Statement by the representative of the South West Africa People's Organization.
 5. Consideration of the situation concerning Namibia:
 - (a) Struggle of the Namibian people for the liberation of the Territory;
 - (b) Implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions and responsibility of the Council for the Territory until independence;
 - (c) Reports of the missions of consultation.
 6. Consideration of a special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia (General Assembly resolution 32/9 H).

7. Assistance to Namibians:
 - (a) Implementation of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia (General Assembly resolution 32/9 A);
 - (b) Intensification of United Nations support for the Institute for Namibia.
 8. Other matters.
5. On the basis of the recommendations contained in the report of the President, the Council decided to organize three missions of consultation to Africa prior to the convening of the extraordinary plenary meetings at Lusaka, as follows:
- (a) Algeria, Gabon and Nigeria;
 - (b) Mozambique and the United Republic of Tanzania;
 - (c) Angola, Botswana and Zambia.
6. At its 271st meeting, on 8 February, the Council decided to accept an invitation from the Government of Yugoslavia to send a mission to promote co-operation between the International Centre for Public Enterprises in Developing Countries at Ljubljana and the Council. The mission was also invited to hold consultations with Yugoslav officials on the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on Namibia.
7. Invitations to attend and address the extraordinary plenary meetings were extended to the following:
- (a) President of the Security Council;
 - (b) Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
 - (c) Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid;
 - (d) President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).
8. The following were invited to attend the extraordinary plenary meetings:
- (a) Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU);
 - (b) Executive Secretary of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa.
9. The following were invited to attend the extraordinary plenary meetings as observers:

- (a) Interested specialized agencies and other organizations and bodies within the United Nations system;
- (b) Institute for Namibia.

10. The following agencies and bodies of the United Nations system appointed representatives to attend the extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council as observers:

- (a) Economic Commission for Africa (ECA);
- (b) United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO);
- (c) United Nations Development Programme (UNDP);
- (d) United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF);
- (e) United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR);
- (f) International Labour Organisation (ILO);
- (g) Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO);
- (h) United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO);
- (i) World Health Organization (WHO);
- (j) World Bank.

11. The following States attended the extraordinary plenary meetings at Lusaka in the capacity of observers: Angola, Ghana, Japan, Sweden and United States of America.

II. EXTRAORDINARY PLENARY MEETINGS

12. On 20 March, the Council held its first extraordinary plenary meeting (274th meeting) at Lusaka.

13. One minute of silence was observed in the name of Namibian patriots who had fallen in the struggle for self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

14. The meetings of the Council were inaugurated by the Right Honourable Mainza Chona, M.P., Prime Minister of Zambia. A message from the Secretary-General of the United Nations was read on his behalf by Mr. Tang Ming-chao, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs and Decolonization. Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, made a statement. The inaugural meeting was concluded with a statement by Miss Gwendoline C. Konie, President of the Council. The texts of the statements are reproduced below (see paras. 15 to 18).

A. Statement by the Prime Minister of Zambia

15. The Right Honourable Mainza Chona, M.P., Prime Minister of Zambia, made the following statement:

"On behalf of His Excellency the President, our Party UNIP, the Government and the people of Zambia, I am most delighted to welcome to Zambia the distinguished members of the United Nations Council for Namibia. Last Friday, it was a pleasure for me to receive at my Office a mission from this Council, led by His Excellency Ambassador Ion Datcu of Romania, and to exchange identical views with the Mission.

"We in Zambia feel greatly honoured to play host to the Council as it meets in extraordinary plenary session on the vexing and vital question of Namibia. I should like to take this opportunity to extend to you all Zambia's warmest fraternal greetings and to wish you a most pleasant and enjoyable stay in our country.

"Madam President, we consider the convening of the present session of the Council as an event of utmost importance. You are meeting at a critical time when the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, has intensified and when, because of the successes of this struggle, apartheid South Africa and international imperialism have also intensified their attempts to prevent genuine change in Namibia by trying to impose a puppet régime. Indeed, you are gathered here today in order to review and carry out yet another diagnosis of the intricate and urgent question of Namibia.

"The question of Namibia continues to grow in scope and intensity every day that passes. Several attempts have been made in order to find a durable solution to this dreadful problem without any meaningful result. There is

no doubt in our minds that the South African apartheid régime has been and continues to be the main hurdle in the efforts to reach a settlement in Namibia.

"Our position on the situation in Namibia, which is espoused by the United Nations, as reflected in its numerous resolutions and decisions, is clear and straightforward and should require no restatement. However, we would like to believe that it is not too late for the racists and their supporters to pay heed to the dictates of reason.

"We have repeatedly stated that the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa has brought that country into direct conflict with the rest of Africa and the world. As far back as 27 October 1966, the General Assembly, by resolution 2145 (XXI), terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia. South Africa was told to withdraw both its administrative and military staffs from Namibia, so that the indigenous people could freely mould a nation that would reflect their own wishes and aspirations.

"The South African régime made a declaration in 1974 that the future of Namibia should be decided by the Namibian people themselves. This move was welcomed by all progressive countries. But what have we witnessed ever since? It has been a scenario of attempts by South Africa to establish in Namibia a Bantustan-type of régime that would easily fall apart and disintegrate. We have all heard the sickening racist propaganda of the Constitutional Conference at Turnhalle in Windhoek and the piratical plans to annex Walvis Bay, a part of Namibia, to South Africa. In complete defiance of the ruling of the International Court of Justice 1/ and repeated resolutions of the United Nations (of which South Africa is still a Member), South Africa has refused to withdraw from Namibia. Instead, she has stepped up the campaign of mass and indiscriminate murders, maimings, imprisonment and torture against the innocent people of Namibia, who are resisting the forces of foreign occupation of their country. They want to be as free as the rest of Africa and as the rest of the people on this planet.

"What has compounded the situation in Namibia and increased racial confrontation in this part of the world is the assistance which some Western countries have been extending to South Africa, particularly in the economic, military and security spheres. We are fortunate to have progressive individuals and organizations in the West who detest this and who have exposed their own countries. We have, Madam President, repeatedly stated that it was this co-operation which some Western countries were providing to the racists which enabled South Africa to maintain and tighten up its stranglehold on Namibia, to threaten and to commit acts of wanton aggression against the neighbouring independent African countries of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. For example, the recent premeditated well-planned and unprovoked mass slaughter of innocent Zambians in the

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

Luangwa District by the rebel Rhodesian Forces is still vivid in our minds. Botswana and Mozambique are also frequent victims of rebel attacks. Unless the United Nations takes bold and effective steps, these attacks are bound to continue as the liberation war in southern Africa assumes greater dimensions.

"As humanists, we in Zambia support liberation movements because their cause is right and just. We support just causes whether in Africa, the Middle East or anywhere in the world. For us this is a matter of principle. Freedom fighters are fighting for freedom and independence in the same way as we did here. We would justly be condemned if we opposed people who are fighting for what is right. How could we prevent people from fighting for their birth rights? We would be agents of racism and oppression and the freedom fighters would have been obliged to fight against us for protecting their colonial targets. However, as I have said, what is really important to us is that we are supporting just wars of liberation and the people in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa are our fellow Africans and some are our blood relations.

"We have on numerous occasions emphasized the danger that apartheid South Africa and its continued illegal occupation of Namibia poses to southern Africa, to Africa and indeed to the world as a whole. A decade ago, His Excellency the President, Dr. Kaunda, warned the Western world that if they did not act to end the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, if they did not end South Africa's illegal occupation in Namibia and if they did nothing about apartheid in South Africa, the whole region of southern Africa would be engulfed in a bloody conflict. He hoped and prayed that he would be proved wrong. But, as I stand to address you, we can all see what is happening in Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. How long is the United Nations going to allow innocent people in independent neighbouring countries to be butchered by international outlaws? The Smith régime has not been recognized by a single country in the 13 years of its existence since UDI. No country has recognized Smith's recent settlement with the three African leaders. Yet the Smith régime is able to conduct massacres in neighbouring countries.

"Since the rebel régime feels that some African leaders support it, it has intensified its plans of aggression against innocent people in neighbouring countries and in its oppression against people inside Zimbabwe. The so-called internal settlement reached between Ian Smith and the three African leaders is designed to Africanize the civil war. It is not a serious settlement designed to end the war and bring peace. We will support a settlement accepted by all the leaders of political opinion in Zimbabwe. In any pre-independence Zimbabwe settlement, it is lunacy to expect that, after many years of the bloody war of independence, the only people to sign on behalf of the people of Zimbabwe would be those leaders who went back even before cease-fire. What we want is peace after a settlement which satisfies the fighting cadres, who will then lay down their arms when their leaders have said so. Zambia, as a loyal member of OAU, will follow the decision of the Patriotic Front as the recognized leaders of the suffering and struggling masses.

"In fact, if the internal Agreement were good, why was it necessary for the African signatories to tour foreign countries to explain what is good. I can understand their explaining the terms to their own people. But why did they have to explain a document written in the English language to Englishmen like Dr. Owen? Is it not surprising that it was the American and the British leaders who were telling the African signatories of the internal settlement that the terms they had accepted were not good enough for their people? In this respect, I must commend Ambassador Andrew Young and the United States State Department for being more forthright than Dr. Owen. We hope that Dr. Owen will resist pressure from the Conservative Party, which would not have accepted the terms had they been in power. Conservatives always want to push a Socialist Government into messing up things, like when they pushed the Labour Party to introduce a racist Central African Federation in 1953, which they (the Conservatives) later dissolved.

"We are glad to see that the international community and all peace-loving nations will not recognize any Government that would be born out of the internal settlement. We reaffirm our support for the Anglo-American proposals as a basis for negotiations and we accept that an intensified armed struggle is inevitable until acceptable terms are offered to the Patriotic Front. The international community has a duty to fulfil in ensuring that normalcy is restored in Zimbabwe. We believe that the only way to do it would be by exposing countries which support the rebels and by extending fullest support to the fighting masses of Zimbabwe. No country should ever consider recognizing the internal settlement, which is meant to set African against African in Zimbabwe. Madam President, history is irreversible. As sure as the sun will rise tomorrow, the racist minority régimes will crumble beyond recognition to give way to freedom, justice and self-determination for all the people of southern Africa still under racist foreign domination.

"Madam President, coming back to the question of Namibia, which is our main preoccupation today, I should like to highlight, once more, some of its basic features and how we look to the future in this respect.

"The basic challenge in the quest for a settlement in Namibia rests in the fact that racist South Africa should recognize that an independent Namibia will be in the interest of peace in southern Africa. Intransigence and unrealistic territorial ambitions for hegemony on the part of South Africa will not help achieve such an objective. Any delay in reaching an acceptable settlement in Namibia is an additional menace in the area. There is need to recapture the lost political momentum by facing the facts. These facts as we see them are as follows:

(a) "South Africa and its Western allies should make an option between an independent Namibia born out of a peaceful process of transfer of power and that born out of an armed and violent bloody revolution by the Namibian people, who have already taken up arms to replace the oppressive régime;

(b) "A peaceful settlement would only be reached under the conditions agreed upon by the United Nations in its Security Council resolution 385 (1976), namely, that:

- (i) "South Africa must withdraw all its armed forces from Namibia and dismantle its military bases in the Territory;
- (ii) "South Africa must respect the territorial integrity of Namibia, of which Walvis Bay is an integral part;
- (iii) "South Africa must desist forthwith from its attempts to reach a final settlement with so-called moderates, as this amounts to creating a puppet régime in Namibia, and to divide its people on ethnic and ideological bases;
- (iv) "South Africa must immediately abandon its exportation of apartheid policies and practices of bantustanization in Namibia and should begin to repeal all its racial legislation in the Territory;
- (v) "South Africa must immediately and unconditionally release all Namibian political prisoners, detainees and restrictees and allow all the political exiles safe return to Namibia to participate freely in the political life of their Territory;
- (vi) "Any general elections in Namibia must be on a territory-wide basis and under United Nations supervision and control;
- (vii) "Since South Africa is already preferring so-called moderates and if these elections are to be truly free, they should only take place after all South African military troops have been pulled out.

"We consider these to be minimum conditions which South Africa must satisfy if there is to be a peaceful change in Namibia. SWAPO has been very reasonable in the negotiations. It has made important concessions. It is South Africa which is stubborn, inflexible and intransigent. It is my sincere hope that the pressure that President Carter and other leaders in the West are putting on South Africa will bear fruit. Zambia, while supporting the armed struggle, is watching with interest the efforts of the five Western countries. In accordance with the Lusaka Manifesto on southern Africa 2/ we also welcome any efforts to bring genuine changes by peaceful means.

"We would like also to stress, as we have done before, that nothing should be done by South Africa to undermine SWAPO. South Africa should give SWAPO the recognition and respect which that organization deservedly enjoys all over the world today. We are very fortunate to have a national liberation movement of Namibia which is the sole authentic representative of its people. South Africa should join the rest of the world in the conviction that only a Government led by SWAPO would be capable of ensuring peace, stability, development and security in Namibia. We have heard, of late, suggestions from certain quarters that it was wrong to project SWAPO as the only movement that was representative of the Namibian people, because it prejudiced other political organizations in Namibia. Madam President, we know the motives behind such suggestions. It is simply that some western countries, in collusion with racist South Africa, would prefer to have what

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

they call 'moderates' in the Government of Namibia. Any settlement that is reached in Namibia without the full participation of SWAPO is doomed to fail and, instead, the intensified armed struggle will dictate the course of events. The General Assembly, which is universal and not sectional, has for very good reasons, already designated SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people and has even granted it observer status in the United Nations. Namibia's independence will be guaranteed under SWAPO, whose members and supporters have shown love for that country to the extent of sacrificing their own lives.

"Madam President, you as Members of the Council have an enormous task to fulfil. Indeed, the Council, as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia, has a mandate to discharge - that of seeing Namibia through to genuine independence. We in Zambia have carefully followed the work of the Council since its creation. We are aware of the difficult circumstances in which the Council has continued to operate owing to the intransigence of South Africa and the lack of necessary support from some States Members of the United Nations. I am happy to note, however, that in spite of the obstacles deliberately placed in its way by the forces opposed to change in Namibia, the Council has carried out its mandate in a highly commendable manner. The Council is hated and dreaded by some countries, because it is a vigilant and effective champion of the cause of the Namibian people for genuine national independence.

"Our serving as host to this important meeting bears testimony to Zambia's unequivocal support for the Council. It is also a demonstration of our firm desire that the Council should continue to play a vital and central role in the efforts of the United Nations and the international community as a whole to compel South Africa to withdraw from Namibia and to allow the people of the Territory to exercise their right to self-determination and national independence.

"On my part, I wish to reaffirm my Government's resolute and continued co-operation with the Council towards the fulfilment of its responsibilities over Namibia. The tasks ahead are heavy and very demanding. But having you, a very dependable and experienced Zambian, in this seat, having had discussions with Ambassador Ion Datcu and his colleagues and with the ability, drive and the high sense of duty which the members of the Council have hitherto demonstrated, I am convinced that the Council should be able to carry its load up to the final conclusion. The hour for a final victory has struck. We are confident that with closed ranks, dedication and commitment to the cause of freedom and justice, the objectives which this august Council is entrusted to achieve will not be in vain.

"His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zambia, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, who was very eager to open this session in person, had indicated that he would find time to receive the leaders of delegations. Madam President, I wish to reiterate my Government's support and co-operation in making the meeting of the Council and the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly successful."

B. Message from the Secretary-General of the United Nations

16. The following message from Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations, was read on his behalf by Mr. Tang Ming-chao, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization:

"I very much regret that prior commitments prevent me from being present at this extraordinary session of the United Nations Council for Namibia in Lusaka. You may be sure, however, that I will follow your deliberations with the closest attention.

"It is fitting that the Council should meet again in Zambia - a country whose people and Government have made an outstanding contribution to the work of the Council and to the cause of freedom and independence for Namibia.

"Under the inspiring leadership of His Excellency President Kaunda, Zambia continues to give steadfast support to the efforts of the United Nations to accelerate the process of decolonization in southern Africa. In this regard, it has shouldered its responsibilities with remarkable courage and at great sacrifice.

"This is a very critical period for Namibia and for the Council, which has a special responsibility in the matter. Developments are taking place both inside Namibia and on the international level which may radically affect the Territory's future. This current session of the Council will no doubt assess the situation and rally the international community in support of a just solution, in accordance with the principles laid down by the United Nations.

"It is now over a decade since the General Assembly took the historic decision to terminate South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and to assign to the United Nations the direct responsibility for administering the Territory until independence. During those years, great strides have been made in the process of decolonization in the African continent, and we can visualize the day when, with the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia, that process will have been completed. As I have had occasion to point out in the past, however, the final phase of decolonization has proved to be the most difficult. Unless the international community remains united in its efforts to find an early and just solution to the serious situation prevailing in southern Africa, there will be increasing danger to international peace and security. In this connexion, it is a matter for profound regret that repeated efforts by the various organs of the United Nations to obtain the withdrawal of South Africa from a Territory which it is illegally occupying have so far proved unsuccessful.

"In the past year, diplomatic initiatives have been undertaken by a number of States with a view to overcoming the difficulties that have hampered the solution of this serious and complex problem. To this end, it is essential that the basic principles laid down by Security Council resolution 385 (1976) be accepted by South Africa. These require, inter alia, that free elections be held under United Nations supervision and control in conditions that will enable every voter to cast his ballot without any form of coercion or intimidation, that Namibian political prisoners be unconditionally released and all exiles be permitted to return under

conditions which will enable them to participate fully in the campaign preceding the elections and that South Africa put an end forthwith to any actions designed to undermine the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia.

"I trust that the Government of South Africa will seize the present opportunity to disengage peacefully from Namibia and agree to a solution consistent with the demands of the United Nations. It is clear that any unilateral attempt by South Africa to pursue a so-called 'internal' solution without the participation of all parties involved would be unacceptable to the international community.

"In concluding these remarks, I should like to express my appreciation for the excellent co-operation that has developed between the Council and SWAPO. The presence of Mr. Sam Nujoma at the head of the delegation of SWAPO ensures that the voice of the national liberation movement of Namibia will be heard at this conference through its most eminent spokesman. I also wish to pay tribute to the Council which, under the wise leadership of its President, Ambassador Gwendoline Konie, is so tirelessly discharging its important mission towards the Namibian people.

"I take this opportunity to extend to you my best wishes for a successful session."

C. Statement by the President of the South West Africa
People's Organization

17. Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, made the following statement:

"On behalf of the Central Committee of SWAPO of Namibia, we would also like to welcome the distinguished members of the United Nations Council for Namibia and other invited guests to this beautiful capital city, Lusaka, where we maintain our provisional headquarters.

"We are meeting here at a time when the tensions between the progressive forces and the forces of imperialism and reaction in the international arena have escalated to a boiling point. Here in our own area, southern Africa, the confrontation between the forces of national liberation and the racist colonialist occupation régimes have entered a decisive phase, signalling a certain defeat for colonialism, racism and imperialism.

"Faced with this impending defeat, the racist minority régimes in Salisbury and Pretoria have become more and more desperate, as evidenced by their repeated and unprovoked attacks against, and military incursions into, the independent countries of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia.

"In Namibia, the confrontation between the liberation forces led by SWAPO and the forces of South African military occupation have reached a stage where the enemy has escalated its repression and where the Namibian patriots are making more and more sacrifices in order to ensure a total victory for our people.

"Madam President, we have irrefutable evidence from inside Namibia that South Africa has, over the last few months, embarked on a reinforcement of its already huge army of occupation in Namibia in preparation for what South Africa described as a military 'big push' against SWAPO with a view to creating favourable conditions for the imposition of a Turnhalle puppet régime. This plan involves the shipment into Namibia of large numbers of tanks and large quantities of ammunition. Furthermore, new barracks are being built in key positions to accommodate the ever-increasing number of troops. The number of fresh troops being brought in as of January this year is in the region of three battalions. These troops are being brought into Namibia from a base in Bloemfontein, South Africa.

"The objective of this military build-up is to consolidate the occupation régime's position and thereby carry out its hegemonic ambitions in this region. This entails continuous attempts at undermining the stability, peace and territorial integrity of the neighbouring independent African States, especially Angola and Zambia. But the immediate purpose of this build-up is to prevent the oppressed Namibian people from achieving genuine national independence.

"Madam President, this kind of military build-up is also coupled with officially instigated widespread violence against SWAPO by the Turnhalle collaborators of the racist régime. In the last three weeks, 18 people were killed, more than 200 wounded and many others detained. These mass killings, which started on 28 February in Windhoek and spread later to other parts of the country, were unleashed by the Turnhalle group, on the instigation of the fascist régime, against the members and supporters of SWAPO. Trucks and buses were put at the disposal of the Turnhalle tribal alliance to ferry hired thugs from different parts of the country to Windhoek, Okakarara, Otjiwarongo, Khorixas, Omaruru and other places to carry out indiscriminate attacks on SWAPO supporters and sympathizers. Men, women and children were brutalized, their houses burned and their properties destroyed. The police aided and abetted these thugs on their rampage by providing searchlights at night to identify the houses of known SWAPO supporters and sympathizers. When the public demanded that the colonial authority put an end to this reactionary terror campaign, Steyn, the South African colonial administrator in Namibia, declined to do anything, claiming he had no authority. Yet, when 5,000 workers in Windhoek downed their tools in protest against this organized violence, Steyn somehow found the authority to intervene. Confronted with the prospect of a nation-wide workers' strike if the reactionary violence did not end, Steyn rushed to Katutura township, the residence of the workers of Windhoek, to plead for reconciliation. Upon arrival there, the colonial official was presented with the following four demands:

- (i) Immediate end of the officially instigated and organized violence;
- (ii) Immediate release of fellow workers detained;
- (iii) Arrest of the perpetrators of violence and death;
- (iv) Workers on strike should not be persecuted.

"Madam President, the purpose of this calculated terror campaign against the patriots of Namibia is threefold. First, South Africa wants to use the violence, which she herself has organized, as a pretext to keep her armed forces in the country during the proposed electoral process and transitional arrangements. Secondly, Pretoria wants to fan ethnic strife and hostilities, which in turn will be used as an excuse for the consolidation of bantustans.

"Thirdly, the régime seeks to promote its puppets and quislings of Turnhalle as an alternative to SWAPO as the only authentic liberation movement of the Namibian people, which is fighting for genuine national and social liberation in Namibia as a solid political entity.

"This organized and officially backed violence against our people has been coupled with constant harassment and intimidation of SWAPO officials and militants in their political work to organize and mobilize the masses in opposition to any so-called internal settlement. In recent months, several SWAPO meetings were broken up. It has now become a standard practice that whenever SWAPO militants organize a meeting, public or otherwise, thugs are hired from tribal armies and UNITA reactionaries in Namibia to break up violently such meetings under the protective cover of South African troops and police. Increasingly, the occupation régime is supplying arms to its agent provocateurs, who are allowed to roam around freely and terrorize the innocent civilian population. Hand-in-hand with all this is the continuation of arbitrary mass arrests, torture, detention or imprisonment of many of our members. Prolonged kangaroo trials of SWAPO members are being conducted to drain our financial resources and to intimidate the masses. In addition, there is a concerted and vicious campaign by the occupation régime to drive a wedge of disunity and dissension between SWAPO and the Church leadership of Namibia. These efforts to sow seeds of disunity and dissension among us are being orchestrated through false charges that SWAPO is anti-Church, Communist and an undemocratic organization.

"In the meantime, the Turnhalle tribal alliance is being given a free field in preparation for a neo-colonialist solution, the so-called internal settlement, in Namibia. This group is provided with all the facilities, such as funds, transport, communication and armed protection. Never in the history of South African colonialism have puppets been provided with such extravagant bribery as in the Turnhalle group. With the unlimited funds they receive for their betrayal of the genuine interests of the Namibian people, the Turnhalle traitors are able to organize lavish social entertainment in the form of free banquets and barbecues in order to entice the Namibian people to their reactionary cause.

"Madam President, this is the real picture of the political situation in Namibia today.

"It is against this background that the position of the occupation régime of South Africa in the current Western-initiated talks must be viewed.

"These talks have been going on for nearly a year. SWAPO and the five Western members of the Security Council have held six rounds of talks so far regarding the independence of Namibia on the basis of resolution 385 (1976),

in its entirety. At this stage these talks are still inconclusive and their successful conclusion is becoming increasingly doubtful as a result of the continued intransigence and insistence by the South African régime to perpetuate its control over Namibia. Yet the impression being created and even fostered deliberately in certain quarters is that there has been progress, and it is cynically insinuated that, if only SWAPO were more flexible, a peaceful settlement could be achieved.

"As the talks have continued since last April, sight has been lost of the repressive and brutal nature of the South African régime in Namibia. We were made to understand initially that the objective of the initiative of the five western Powers was to bring about the implementation of Security Council resolution 385 (1976). We were also made to understand that the five Powers had taken it upon themselves to put pressure on Pretoria in respect of this resolution, because they (the five) had economic, diplomatic and even military leverage over South Africa. SWAPO and the oppressed people of Namibia had hoped that the five Powers would use these special relations with the apartheid régime to ensure the creation of the necessary conditions that would enable our people to exercise freely their right to self-determination and genuine national independence, under the supervision and control of the United Nations. But, unfortunately, the talks have created the wrong impression in certain quarters whereby now the legitimate interests of the oppressed and colonized masses of Namibia are callously equated with the colonial interests of the South African occupation régime.

"What is happening now is that the colonial aggressor, which is what South Africa is in Namibia, is being depicted as having legitimate interests in Namibia, about which SWAPO must make concessions. The whole exercise has become a public relations affair whereby people are supposed to count which and how many concessions SWAPO or South Africa has made.

"Madam President, to illustrate what we are saying here, let us refer to what transpired in New York during the last round of talks. In New York, SWAPO made far-reaching and substantive concessions towards progress in the talks. These include an acceptance of 1,500 enemy troops, who will remain in Namibia throughout the proposed electoral process, while our own liberation forces will be under the confinement and surveillance of the United Nations peace-keeping force. Moreover, we reiterated our readiness to participate in free, fair and democratic elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations and to abide by the results of such elections.

"On the other hand, Madam President, this meeting and the world at large know the behaviour of the racist Foreign Minister of South Africa in New York. He walked out callously on the five Foreign Ministers of Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America. After walking out on them, he went on television and, before the press, abused not only SWAPO and the United Nations, but also the five Western Governments for having asked South Africa to end its colonial occupation of Namibia.

"Neither before nor in New York has South Africa ever made any genuine concessions. At the same time, the five Western Powers have been trying to mislead world public opinion that South Africa has made significant concessions. For example, it is claimed that South Africa has agreed to grant independence to the whole of Namibia. In reality, South Africa has nothing else in mind with this talk about independence but Turnhalle, in its present form or under a new guise in Namibia. It is also said that she has agreed to the principle of one man one vote. But what is important here is not the principle itself, but its implementation.

"South Africa is committed to run the show herself, in order to ensure that her interests and those of certain Western Powers are maintained and protected through a puppet régime of their choice. South Africa has the interests and purpose to contrive the outcome of the electoral process in the absence of an effective United Nations peace-keeping force to supervise and control the whole political process.

"A case is also being made by the five Western Powers that the mere claim by South Africa to reduce its military force in Namibia from an unknown figure to about 3,000 is a significant concession, despite the fact that those troops are to be deployed at 10 bases located all the way from the Atlantic Ocean along the Angola-Namibia border to Katimo Mulilo in the Caprivi Strip. In this connexion, it must be pointed out that South Africa has never accepted that the 1,500 troops proposed by the five Western Powers would remain in Namibia during the electoral process. Furthermore, South Africa has never in a true sense accepted the United Nations supervision and control of elections. If anything, South Africa is still insisting on mere United Nations observation of the electoral process. Let it be known in this case too that the five Western Powers have not succeeded in prevailing over that régime to accept the United Nations effective role and responsibilities for Namibia's independence.

"Another case being made and often repeated is that one of the successes of the initiative of the five Western Powers is that it prevented the installation of an interim régime in accordance with the Turnhalle tribal constitution. This is a false argument. What actually happened was merely the tactical postponement rather than the dismantling of the Turnhalle programme. Turnhalle is very much alive and is still being actively promoted as Pretoria's ultimate solution to the Namibia problem.

"From this it can be clearly seen that it is South Africa rather than SWAPO which has been intransigent, inflexible, and uncompromising in making real and genuine concessions. It is for these reasons that we in SWAPO are pessimistic as to the success of the initiative of the five Western Powers.

"I would like to state here that the question is not one of how many more concessions SWAPO should make. Nor should the world accept that South Africa has any genuine interests in Namibia about which SWAPO should make concessions.

"Madam President, we believe that the five Western Powers are not using to the full extent the influence and leverage they clearly possess vis-à-vis

South Africa to ensure the implementation of Security Council resolution 385 (1976). Instead, it is SWAPO that is being singled out as a scapegoat for the lack of political will on the part of the five Western Powers to bring South Africa to reason.

"This is the reality about the current talks and we want this Council to take due note of what we have said here. Madam President, we want everybody to know that we are prepared and willing to find a negotiated settlement in Namibia. But we are not ready to participate in schemes engineered to undermine and destroy the victories and achievements that we have made over the long years of bitter struggle against colonial oppression and exploitation. We, therefore, appreciate the opportunity provided by the Council in holding its extraordinary plenary session here in Lusaka.

"We have told the Council about the realities of the ever-deteriorating situation in Namibia and also in respect of lack of progress in the initiative of the five Western Powers in spite of our concessions to facilitate forward movement.

"It is that situation inside Namibia which must be given full attention by this Council and the rest of the international community. In other words, it is the repression in Namibia and our people's heroic resistance and supreme sacrifice which must be the basis of action by all our supporters and friends.

"Next month it will be a full year since the talks started and the ninth special session of the General Assembly must critically review the usefulness of the talks and take an appropriate decision in this regard. The talks cannot be allowed to go on indefinitely.

"Walvis Bay, which is an inviolable and non-negotiable part of Namibia, must be reaffirmed as such.

"In conclusion, Madam President, SWAPO insists that any solution to the Namibian problem within the context of the United Nations must involve the United Nations Council for Namibia and its Commissioner. SWAPO pledges to continue to co-operate with the Council to bring about the desired result of freedom and genuine national independence in Namibia."

D. Statement by the President of the United Nations
Council for Namibia

18. Miss Gwendoline Konie, President of the Council, made the following statement:

"For the second time in this decade, the United Nations Council for Namibia is holding a series of meetings in Lusaka. This event is the expression of the profound commitment of the Government and people of Zambia in support of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people and reflects, furthermore, the firm commitment of the United Nations to the cause of self-determination, freedom and independence for the people of Namibia. Between 1973 and 1978, five crucial years have witnessed the rising political consciousness of the people of Namibia in their irresistible striving to fulfil the basic aspirations of all mankind for the inalienable

rights of every man, woman and child to live a life of dignity and personal fulfilment in a free and independent society. The rising political consciousness of the people of Namibia has been achieved at an enormous cost, expressed by the heroic sacrifices of Namibian patriots, who have given their lives so that future generations of Namibians may proudly participate with their fellow men in the glorious enterprise of furthering human civilization.

"The Government and people of Zambia, in their generous hospitality to the Council in 1973 and in 1978, have underlined the unshakable solidarity of Zambia with the Namibian people, who have endured for so long the brutal and relentless oppression of an illegal régime obsessed by a false creed of racist and colonial exploitation. In his illuminating address, the Honourable Prime Minister of Zambia has clearly reaffirmed the conviction of the Government and people of Zambia in the cause of self-determination and national independence for the Namibian people. Zambia's commitment has not been rhetorical. Its geographical position and the scale of the resources, which have been enthusiastically shared with Namibian patriots in their struggle, requires no elaboration. It is thus with profound satisfaction and pride that I address you today both as a Zambian and as the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

"The Lusaka Declaration of 1973 ^{3/} symbolized the culmination of a period during which the Council for Namibia consolidated the basis of its support for Namibian patriots through a series of initiatives, among which I wish at this moment to emphasize the importance of the decision to open the doors of the international community to Namibians bearing travel documents of the United Nations recognizing them as Namibian patriots. The Lusaka Declaration of 1973 also marks the end of the difficult years of the beginnings of the armed struggle in Namibia - beginnings during which a small number of heroic freedom fighters, in their tenacity and faith, built, under extremely difficult conditions, the basis for the armed struggle of the Namibian people. In 1974, the Portuguese colonial empire crumbled. New and ever more favourable conditions rewarded the self-sacrifice and heroism of Namibian patriots.

"In 1978, the decision of the Council to hold meetings in Africa, based on the resolution on Namibia of the General Assembly at its thirty-second session (resolution 32/9 F), also reflects the culmination of another stage marked by decisive initiatives of the Council and the attainment of a full-scale war of national liberation of the Namibian people, led by SWAPO, their sole and authentic liberation movement.

"The complexity and the dangers which the Namibian people face today are such that the efforts of the Council in formulating relevant and effective policies in support of Namibian independence had to be based on extensive political consultations, in particular with certain countries of Africa. With this understanding, the Council decided to send missions of consultation which, by their direct and intimate contacts with African realities, could assist the Council by obtaining the well considered views of all those most directly concerned with the grave threat to international peace and security

3/ Ibid., Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 24 (A/9024), para. 157.

resulting from the obstinacy of the Pretoria régime in maintaining its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia in defiance of all resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

"The Council for Namibia shares the view of the majority of the Governments visited to the effect that SWAPO, the sole and authentic liberation movement of the Namibian people, must receive increasing international support at all levels in order to strengthen its capability to lead the Namibian people to the fulfilment of their national aspirations.

"The Namibian people, under the brutal yoke of the illegal occupation of South African troops, have the right to decide on the means of their struggle. Many Namibian patriots are languishing in racist jails and detention camps in South Africa and Namibia for their opposition to the illegal occupation by South Africa. Many others are tortured beyond endurance by the ruthless security police of the occupation régime. The Namibian people are continuously harassed and humiliated by the representatives of a racist and colonialist illegal administration. Such an abominable situation prevails in a Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. The Council strongly condemns the policy of apartheid and homelands, which the Pretoria régime has extended to Namibia in order to perpetuate its exploitation and control of the people and natural resources of the Territory. The illegal South African occupation in Namibia continues to follow a policy of brutal repression of the Namibian people. More recently, it is inciting violence of Namibians against Namibians in accordance with the maxim of divide and rule, thus ensuring the continuation of its own racist and colonialist control of the Territory. The organization of tribal armies and the promotion of its puppets through the legislative tribal council are flagrant examples of racist and colonialist manoeuvring against the interests of the Namibian people.

"South Africa's shameless duplicity is furthermore apparent in its recent attempts to impose an internal settlement through which its own appointed puppets would supposedly preside over the destiny of a proud and courageous people. These schemes mislead no one. The liberation struggle of the people of Namibia will continuously expose the destructive intentions of the Pretoria régime. Current tactics require misleading public opinion on an immense scale. But all these efforts shall be unable to deter the increasing international mobilization of progressive forces, which have time and time again demonstrated their solidarity with the armed liberation struggle of the Namibian people under SWAPO.

"The Western press has throughout the decade claimed that a small band of rebels have been perpetually quarrelling among themselves and would never be able to liberate any Territory much less a vast and wealthy country such as Namibia. The same Western press, which has reiterated such absurd and malicious concoctions, must now often admit that its leaders are most willing to be reasonable and to listen to the demands of Namibian patriots, who have fought an increasingly effective war of national liberation under SWAPO.

"The People's Liberation Army of Namibia is constantly inflicting serious casualties on the oppressor. Reports from the most diverse sources recognize the growing support of the broad masses of Namibians for SWAPO, which is recognized by a majority of Namibians as the only force capable of

leading the country to genuine independence - an independence in which the benefits of the exploitation of the immense natural wealth of Namibia will revert to the productive citizens of an independent and prosperous Namibia.

"The United Nations Council for Namibia, with a clear mandate from the General Assembly, shall pursue with vigour and imagination the tasks set forth in the numerous United Nations resolutions in support of Namibian self-determination and national independence. Through the years, the Council's programmes of assistance to Namibians have gained in depth and scope. Today, with the collaboration of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, the Council is initiating the implementation of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, a comprehensive programme of assistance in which most of the specialized agencies and other bodies of the United Nations system are actively contributing their skills and resources.

"This same energetic approach, which has guided the action of the Council in its programmes of assistance to Namibians, is even more crucial in maintaining the initiative in the complex international political situation related to Namibia today. The military and political effectiveness of SWAPO has created conditions for a favourable settlement of the question of Namibia. But all progressive forces which support the cause of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO must be permanently vigilant against all schemes through which South Africa may attempt at the last moment to deprive Namibian patriots of their rightful heritage.

"It is with a profound understanding of the complexity of the situation that the United Nations Council for Namibia consulted with the Secretary-General of the United Nations in order to convene, from 24 April to 3 May 1978, the ninth special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia. The basic objective of the special session must be the definition of the conditions which will ensure the genuine independence of the Namibian people in accordance with their legitimate aspirations for self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. Let all those who spread rumours insinuating that the progressive forces which support the Namibian people are confused and hesitant take heed. The Council, with the support of all the progressive forces in the international community, shall not cease its efforts in order to fulfil its mandate - the withdrawal of all South African troops and administration from the Territory of Namibia and the transfer of power to the authentic representatives of the Namibian people."

III. SUMMARY OF THE 275TH MEETING OF THE COUNCIL

19. At its 275th meeting on 21 March 1978, the United Nations Council for Namibia decided that, at the end of its extraordinary plenary meetings, it would approve a Lusaka Declaration containing a policy statement on the internal and international situation related to the question of Namibia. It would also adopt a set of recommendations on the organizational aspects of the special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia.

20. In order to prepare drafts of the final documents, the Council decided that the Steering Committee would meet as a working group with the participation of other interested Council members. The Working Group elected Mr. Chérif Bachir Djigo (Senegal) as Chairman.

21. The President of the Council drew attention to the observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination which, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 32/105 B of 14 December 1977, proclaimed the year beginning on 21 March 1978 the International Anti-Apartheid Year. The representative of the Special Committee against Apartheid made a statement.

22. The following chairmen of the missions of consultation introduced their reports and made statements (see sect. VIII below): Mr. Jakša Petrić (Yugoslavia), Chairman of the Mission to Mozambique and the United Republic of Tanzania; Mr. Faik Melek (Turkey), Chairman of the Mission to Algeria, Gabon and Nigeria; and Mr. Bariyu Adekunle Adeyemi (Nigeria), Deputy Chairman of the Mission to Angola, Botswana and Zambia, in the absence of Mr. Ion Datcu (Romania), who had returned to New York to attend to other official responsibilities.

23. The President of the Council introduced the report of the Mission to Yugoslavia and made a statement.

24. At the same meeting, the Council adopted the reports of the three missions to Africa and of the mission to Yugoslavia, the texts of which are reproduced in section VIII below.

IV. SUMMARY OF THE 276TH MEETING OF THE COUNCIL

25. At the 276th meeting (closed) on 22 March, the Chairman of the Working Group of the Steering Committee introduced the report of the Working Group containing the text of the draft declaration to be considered under item 5 of its agenda (see para. 4 above).

26. At the same meeting, the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia introduced for consideration under item 7 of its agenda, on the question of assistance to Namibians (see para. 4 above), a report on the implementation of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. At the same meeting, the Council approved the recommendations contained in that report.

27. Mr. H. Geingob, Director of the Institute for Namibia, made a statement, under item 7 of the agenda, on the current activities of the Institute. The Council took note with appreciation of the report of the Director of the Institute on its activities.

V. SUMMARY OF THE 277TH MEETING OF THE COUNCIL

28. At its 277th meeting, on 23 March, the Chairman of the Working Group of the Steering Committee introduced the report of the Working Group containing the draft recommendations on the organization of the special session of the General Assembly on Namibia, to be considered by the Council under item 6 of its agenda.

29. At the same meeting, the Council unanimously adopted the 1978 Lusaka Declaration (see sect. VI below) and recommendations for the ninth special session of the General Assembly (see sect. VII below).

30. At the end of its proceedings, the Council adopted by acclamation the following resolution of thanks to the Government and people of Zambia for having provided the Council with the necessary facilities for its meetings:

"The United Nations Council for Namibia,

"Having met from 20 to 23 March 1978 at Lusaka for the purpose of reviewing the internal and international situation regarding Namibia and mobilizing international support for self-determination, freedom and national independence for Namibians in a united Namibia,

"Having heard the very important and inspiring statement made by the Right Honourable Mainza Chona, Prime Minister of Zambia, at the inaugural meeting on 20 March 1978, 4/

"Expresses its profound gratitude to the President, the Government and

4/ See para. 15 above.

the people of Zambia for providing the United Nations Council for Namibia with the necessary facilities for its extraordinary plenary meetings, for the outstanding contribution they have made to the success of the meetings and, in particular, for the very generous and kind hospitality and the warm and cordial reception accorded to the participants and observers throughout their stay in Zambia."

VI. 1978 LUSAKA DECLARATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS
COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA

31. At its 277th meeting, on 23 March 1978, the United Nations Council for Namibia adopted the following Declaration (see paras. 25 and 28 above):

"1. The United Nations Council for Namibia, composed of Algeria, Australia, Bangladesh, Botswana, Burundi, Chile, China, Colombia, Egypt, Finland, Haiti, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Liberia, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Turkey, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia and Zambia, held a series of extraordinary plenary meetings at Lusaka from 20 to 23 March 1978, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 32/9 F of 4 November 1977. The meetings of the Council were also attended by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which has observer status in the Council.

"2. The meetings of the Council were inaugurated by the Prime Minister of Zambia, the Right Honourable Mainza Chona, M.P. At the opening meeting, the Council also heard a message from the Secretary-General and was addressed by the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma, who made a major policy statement. The members of the Council later visited the Institute for Namibia, where they met with the students and staff.

"3. In preparation for these extraordinary plenary meetings as well as for the ninth special session of the General Assembly, the Council sent missions of consultation to Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Gabon, Mozambique, Nigeria, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia. The missions held consultations, exchanged views and elicited opinions at the highest political level in the formulation of initiatives designed to ensure the speedy independence of Namibia.

"4. The General Assembly has declared that Namibia is a direct responsibility of the United Nations and has entrusted the Council with the exercise of internal and external administrative authority over Namibia until independence.

"5. The Council, the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence and the policy-making organ of the United Nations in respect of Namibia, in conformity with General Assembly resolutions 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 and 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, as well as all relevant resolutions of the Assembly and the Security Council, noted that it was meeting at a critical time when the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, had intensified and when, because of the successes of this struggle, apartheid South Africa and international imperialism had also intensified their attempts to prevent genuine change in Namibia.

"6. Therefore the Council stresses its commitment to end the illegal South African occupation of Namibia by ensuring its complete and unconditional withdrawal to enable the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, to exercise freely its right to self-determination and independence.

"7. The Council commends the valiant people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, for having intensified the armed struggle for the liberation of their country from illegal occupation by South Africa.

"8. The Council expresses its full support for the armed liberation struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole and authentic representative. It expresses its conviction that the intensified armed liberation struggle by the Namibian people continues to be a decisive factor in the efforts to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

"9. The Council further supports the political and diplomatic efforts of SWAPO to secure genuine independence for Namibia, in accordance with all relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and in particular, Security Council resolution 385 (1976) in its entirety.

"10. The Council strongly condemns the racist and colonialist régime of South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of repeated demands by the United Nations for its withdrawal from the Territory. The Council further condemns South Africa for its desperate attempts to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia and its escalated brutal repression of the Namibian people.

"11. Irrefutable evidence from inside Namibia shows that South Africa has, over the last few months, embarked on a reinforcement of its already huge army in Namibia in preparation for a major confrontation with the liberation forces led by SWAPO. South Africa's activities involve a huge military build-up within Namibia, including the shipment into Namibia of large numbers of tanks, large quantities of ammunition, construction of army barracks and the development of atomic weapons. The immediate objective of this military build-up is to consolidate the occupation régime's position, to carry out its hegemonistic ambitions in this region, to prevent the oppressed Namibian people from achieving genuine national independence and to create conditions for imposing a puppet régime in Namibia drawn from the Turnhalle group. This military build-up is coupled with officially instigated and organized widespread violence against SWAPO by South Africa's collaborators in Namibia. The Pretoria régime is provoking ethnic strife and hostilities within Namibia to consolidate the process of bantustanization of Namibia.

"12. The Council strongly condemns South Africa for its continued exploitation and plundering of the natural resources of the Territory of Namibia disregarding the legitimate interests of the Namibian people. The exploitation and plundering of those resources by South African and foreign economic interests, in violation of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, is illegal and contributes to the maintenance of the illegal occupation régime.

"13. The Council draws the attention of States Members of the United Nations and the rest of the international community to the continuing intensified preparation by South Africa to impose in Namibia a so-called 'internal settlement' designed to give the semblance of power to a puppet régime, to give a cover of legality to the racist occupation, to foster civil

war and to propagate the fiction that the struggle of the Namibian people for the liberation of the Territory would be aggression perpetrated from the outside.

"14. In this regard, South Africa is promoting its puppets and quislings of the Turnhalle tribal gathering as an alternative to SWAPO, which is fighting for the genuine national and social liberation of Namibia as a united political entity.

"15. Namibian patriots and members of SWAPO have been constantly harassed, intimidated and humiliated. Thugs are hired from tribal armies violently to break up SWAPO meetings under the protective cover of South African troops and police. The oppression régime is supplying arms to its agents provocateurs, who are allowed to roam around freely and terrorize innocent civilians. There has been an escalation of arbitrary mass arrests, torture, detention and imprisonment of SWAPO members. Prolonged illegal and fraudulent trials of SWAPO members have been conducted to drain the financial resources of that organization and to intimidate the masses.

"16. The aggressive nature of the South African occupation régime in Namibia is further reflected in its repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States. As part of its hegemonistic ambition, South Africa constantly attempts to undermine the stability and peace and to violate the territorial integrity of neighbouring independent countries, especially Angola and Zambia.

"17. The militarization of Namibia by South Africa, its preparations to develop nuclear weapons, its brutal repression of the Namibian people, its attempts to undermine SWAPO, the vanguard of the Namibian liberation struggle, its attempts to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia and its acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African countries clearly constitute a serious threat to peace and security in the region and to international peace and security.

"18. The Council reiterates the position that South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people and against the United Nations.

"19. The Council also appeals to the international community to render increased and sustained support and assistance to SWAPO in order to intensify its struggle for the liberation of Namibia.

"20. The Council condemns South Africa in the strongest possible terms for its decision to annex Walvis Bay. This decision is an act of aggression against the Namibian people and has been rejected by the United Nations as illegal, null and void. This illegal annexation of Walvis Bay is a deliberate attempt to deprive Namibia of its main port and vital economic avenue and to retain a strategic military base in this part of Namibia. Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia with which it is inextricably linked by geographical, historical, cultural, economic and ethnic bonds. The existence of South African military bases in Walvis Bay is a threat to the territorial integrity and national security of Namibia.

"21. The Council strongly and unequivocally reaffirms that Walvis Bay is

not a question of territorial claims; it is an inviolable and non-negotiable part of Namibia.

"22. The Council urges all States Members of the United Nations and the rest of the international community to reject and unequivocally condemn the illegal annexation of Walvis Bay by South Africa. The Council also urges all States to do their utmost to compel South Africa to renounce its spurious claims to Walvis Bay and to recognize that it is an integral part of Namibia.

"23. The Council commends SWAPO for its willingness to reach a negotiated settlement for achieving genuine independence for Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) in its entirety.

"24. The Council notes that SWAPO has made far-reaching and substantive concessions to facilitate the negotiating process. On the other hand South Africa, by its continued intransigence and inflexibility, has refused to demonstrate any good faith or willingness to enter seriously into meaningful negotiations for its withdrawal from Namibia.

"25. The Council rejects the idea that South Africa, as the illegal occupier of Namibia, has any legitimate interest in Namibia about which SWAPO should be pressed to make concessions in any negotiated and internationally acceptable settlement. South Africa has no right whatsoever to remain in Namibia or to procrastinate and prevaricate in any negotiating process on the question of genuine independence for Namibia.

"26. The Council warns that, unless effective political, economic and diplomatic pressures are demonstrably brought to bear on South Africa, the process of negotiation will not succeed. Moreover, any genuine attempt to resolve the problem of Namibia by negotiation must not undermine the position of SWAPO or diminish the role of the Council as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until its independence. It is imperative that any negotiated settlement be arrived at with the agreement of SWAPO and within the framework of the United Nations.

"27. The Council warns States Members of the United Nations and the rest of the international community against all manoeuvres engineered to deprive the Namibian people of their legitimate right to achieve genuine national independence in a united Namibia and to undermine and destroy the achievements of SWAPO, the liberation movement.

"28. The Council is fully convinced that, at this decisive stage in the struggle of the Namibian people, the international community must take definitive action to eliminate the dangerous threat to international peace and security created by South Africa and strongly urges the Security Council to apply the strongest measures, including sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, as is required by the present situation.

"29. The Council reaffirms its determination to continue its efforts for increased assistance to Namibians in the context of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, the Institute for Namibia at Lusaka, the United Nations Fund for Namibia and all other projects and programmes designed to prepare the Namibian people in the skills needed to build a prosperous and independent Namibia.

"30. The Council expresses its satisfaction with the effective work which the Institute for Namibia is accomplishing, both in training Namibian cadres to administer an independent Namibia and in researching basic problems concerning the human and natural resources of Namibia. These activities should be further intensified and widened. The Council therefore appeals to the international community for further financial and other contributions to the Institute as well as contributions to the United Nations Fund for Namibia.

"31. The Council received from the General Assembly at its thirty-first session the mandate to elaborate, in consultation with SWAPO, the guidelines and policies for the Nationhood Programme for Namibia and to direct and co-ordinate the implementation of the Programme. The Programme shall cover the present period of struggle for independence and the initial years of the independence of Namibia. The Council has now outlined the preparatory stages of the Programme aimed at the launching of an initial set of assistance projects to be approved and implemented. Following this first step, a continuous flow of additional projects will be developed systematically to extend the areas of assistance to the Namibian people.

"32. The Council notes with appreciation the preparedness of the specialized agencies and other bodies within the United Nations system to participate in the planning and implementation of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. The Council urges all the specialized agencies and other relevant United Nations bodies to contribute further to the implementation of the Programme. The Council calls upon all Governments to give their assistance so that the Programme can be effectively implemented.

"33. In the framework of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, the Council's mission to Yugoslavia held consultations with the International Centre for Public Enterprises in Developing Countries in Ljubljana, and agreed on various forms of co-operation in which the Centre could offer assistance to Namibians. During that visit, the mission held consultations with the Government of Yugoslavia.

"34. The Council declares that its membership in the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system, in conformity with the recommendations of the General Assembly, is an indispensable element in the fulfilment of the responsibilities of the international community towards the people of Namibia, represented by SWAPO, their sole and authentic liberation movement. The Council has the responsibility of representing Namibia until genuine independence. Through the representation of Namibia by the Council until independence, the United Nations should endeavour to obtain an increasing contribution by the international community in support of the liberation struggle of Namibia. The membership of the Council in the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations is a significant step in achieving this objective. Further and more vigorous initiatives must be taken, however, in order to meet fully the responsibility of the United Nations towards Namibia.

"35. The Council considers the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa to be a threat to international peace and security. The Council therefore declares that the ninth special session of the General Assembly,

devoted to the question of Namibia, should be held at the highest possible political level and that it must have as its central objectives:

"(a) The reaffirmation of the direct responsibility of the United Nations for Namibia;

"(b) The determination of the conditions and steps which will ensure the immediate and genuine independence of Namibia;

"(c) The reaffirmation of the territorial integrity of Namibia;

"(d) The implementation of the Maputo Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia; 5/

"(e) The condemnation and unqualified rejection of any so-called internal settlement in Namibia;

"(f) The strengthening of SWAPO as the vanguard of the struggle of the Namibian people for genuine national liberation and independence;

"(g) A call upon those countries which have not yet done so to recognize SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people;

"(h) The broadening of membership in the United Nations Council for Namibia.

"36. The Council recommends that the General Assembly at its ninth special session should urge the Security Council to apply the measures necessary to terminate forthwith South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, bring to an end its aggression against the Namibian people and the United Nations and ensure the complete and unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from the Territory.

"37. The Council further recommends that, in the event of the Security Council's inability to adopt concrete measures, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to compel South Africa to end its illegal occupation by withdrawing from the Territory, the General Assembly, cognizant that this is a unique instance in which the United Nations has assumed direct responsibility for Namibia, should urgently consider necessary action in this regard."

5/ A/32/109/Rev.1-S/12344/Rev.1, annex V, sect. III.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR
NAMIBIA ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NINTH SPECIAL
SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

32. The United Nations Council for Namibia, cognizant of its responsibilities as legal Administering Authority for Namibia and acting in accordance with General Assembly resolution 32/9 H of 4 November 1977, decided to submit the recommendations set forth below to the ninth special session of the General Assembly with regard to the organization of work and documents.

A. Organization of the work of the special session

1. Provisional agenda

33. The United Nations Council for Namibia recommends that the following items should be included in the provisional agenda of the ninth special session:

1. Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Yugoslavia.
2. Minute of silent prayer or meditation.
3. Credentials of representatives to the ninth special session of the General Assembly:
 - (a) Appointment of the members of the Credentials Committee;
 - (b) Report of the Credentials Committee.
4. Election of the President of the General Assembly.
5. Organization of the session.
6. Adoption of the agenda
7. Question of Namibia (resolution 32/9 H of 4 November 1977):
 - (a) Report of the United Nations Council for Namibia:
 - (i) Direct responsibility of the United Nations;
 - (ii) Determination of the conditions and steps which will ensure the immediate and genuine independence of Namibia;
 - (iii) Territorial integrity of Namibia;
 - (iv) Implementation of programmes of action on Namibia;
 - (v) Condemnation and unqualified rejection of any so-called internal settlement in Namibia;

- (vi) Strengthening of the South West Africa People's Organization as the vanguard of the struggle of the Namibian people for genuine national liberation and independence;
- (vii) Call upon those States which have not yet done so to recognize the South West Africa People's Organization as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people;
- (b) General debate;
- (c) Enlargement of the United Nations Council for Namibia;
- (d) Adoption of a declaration on Namibia;
- (e) Adoption of a programme of action on Namibia.

2. President

34. Following the practice of previous special sessions, the General Assembly may wish to elect the President of the thirty-second regular session as the President of the special session.

3. Vice-Presidents

35. Vice-Presidents of the special session should be the same as at the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly, on the understanding that regional groups may make substitutions of Vice-Presidents allocated to each group.

4. Main Committees

36. The special session should establish a committee of the whole, which may constitute open-ended working groups as necessary. The Chairman of the committee of the whole should be elected by the General Assembly at its special session.

5. Credentials Committee

37. The Credentials Committee of the special session should be the same as that of the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly.

6. Rules of procedure

38. The rules of procedure of the General Assembly should apply to the special session.

7. Level of representation

39. It would be desirable that Member States be represented at the special session at the highest possible political level.

8. Public information activities

40. The Council suggests that the Secretary-General should instruct the Office of Public Information to carry out a comprehensive programme of dissemination of information on the special session in conformity with resolutions of the General Assembly dealing with dissemination of information on the question of Namibia.

B. Principal documents of the special session

41. The Council suggests that the main documents of the special session should include the following:

- (a) Declaration on Namibia;
- (b) Programme of action on Namibia.

VIII. REPORTS OF THE MISSIONS OF THE COUNCIL

A. Report of the Mission to Algeria, Gabon and Nigeria

2-16 March 1978

1. Introduction

42. At its 270th meeting, on 18 January 1978, the United Nations Council for Namibia decided to hold extraordinary plenary meetings at Lusaka in March 1978.

43. At its 271st meeting, on 8 February, by approving the report of the President on the question of the extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council to be held at Lusaka (A/AC.131/L.67), the Council also decided to send three missions of consultation to Africa prior to the convening of the extraordinary plenary meetings. The missions were to Algeria, Gabon and Nigeria; Mozambique and the United Republic of Tanzania; and Angola, Botswana and Zambia.

44. Following consultations which were conducted by the Chairman of Standing Committee I upon the recommendation of the President, the membership of the Mission to Algeria, Gabon and Nigeria was constituted as follows:

Chairman at Libreville and Algiers	Mr. Ilter Türkmen (Turkey)
Chairman at Lagos and to present the report at Lusaka	Mr. Faik Melek (Turkey)
Members	Mr. Fathih K. Bouayad-Agha (Algeria) (at Algiers) Mr. Abdelhamid Semichi (Algeria) Mr. Ronald S. Morris (Australia) Mr. Wisber Loeis (Indonesia) Mrs. Famatta R. Osode (Liberia) Mr. J. Shafashike Kahana (South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO))

45. The Mission was accompanied and assisted by the following staff members of the United Nations Secretariat: Mr. John F. Robson, Principal Secretary; Mr. Valery Gottingar, Press Officer; and Mrs. Yvette Chantre-Circu, Secretary.

46. The Council further decided that, after having visited Gabon, Algeria and Nigeria, the Mission would continue to Lusaka in order to submit its report to the Council and to enable its members, as members of the Council, to participate in the extraordinary plenary meetings.

2. Chronology of the Mission

47. A chronological summary of the Mission is given below:

Libreville

<u>Wednesday, 2 March 1978</u>	8.30 p.m.	Press interviews
<u>Thursday, 3 March 1978</u>	10.30 a.m.	Meeting with the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation
	4 p.m.	Working meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation
	6.30 p.m.	Meeting of the working group on the joint communiqué at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation
<u>Friday, 4 March 1978</u>	11 a.m.	Audience with the President of Gabon
	12 noon	Press conference (televised)
	12.45 p.m.	Radio interview

Algiers

<u>Monday, 6 March 1978</u>	1.30 p.m.	Press interviews
	5 p.m.	Meeting with the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
<u>Tuesday, 7 March 1978</u>	10.30 a.m.	Working meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
	4.30 p.m.	Meeting with the Director for External Relations of the National Liberation Front
<u>Wednesday, 8 March 1978</u>	10 a.m.	Discussion at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and first meeting of the working group on the joint communiqué
	4 p.m.	Second meeting of the working group on the joint communiqué
	6.30 p.m.	Audience with the President of Algeria

Algiers (continued)

<u>Thursday, 9 March 1978</u>	10 a.m.	Third meeting of the working group on the joint communiqué
	4 p.m.	Fourth meeting of the working group on the joint communiqué
	6 p.m.	Meeting with the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and publication of the joint communiqué
<u>Friday, 10 March 1978</u>	12 noon	Press conference

Lagos

<u>Sunday, 12 March 1978</u>	9 p.m.	Press conference
<u>Monday, 13 March 1978</u>	11 a.m.	Working meeting at the Ministry of External Affairs
<u>Tuesday, 14 March 1978</u>	11 a.m.	Meeting of the working group on the joint communiqué
<u>Wednesday, 15 March 1978</u>	1 p.m.	Meeting with the Commissioner for External Affairs
	5 p.m.	Press conference
	6 p.m.	Television interview
<u>Thursday, 16 March 1978</u>	9 a.m.	Meeting with the Chief of Staff of the Army

3. Consultations undertaken by the Mission

(a) Gabon

(i) Consultation with the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation

48. After having been welcomed by Mr. Pierre Mebaley, the Secretary-General, who explained that the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation was unable to meet the Mission as he had been called away on an urgent mission, the Chairman of the Mission briefly explained its purpose.

49. The Secretary-General asked the Mission for information regarding the negotiations which were taking place at New York between the five Western members of the Security Council and SWAPO on the one hand, and between the five members and South Africa on the other hand. In particular, the Secretary-General inquired what obstacles had been encountered in the negotiations.

50. The Chairman of the Mission explained that the negotiations or discussions were entirely outside the framework of the United Nations Council for Namibia and indeed of the United Nations as a whole. In fact, they were purely private activities. However, the Chairman was able to convey some information on the basis of a statement made by Mr. Sam Nujoma, the President of SWAPO, at the 272nd meeting of the Council on 14 February (see A/AC.131/SR.272), press reports and other sources.

51. According to that information, SWAPO has made a major concession in the discussions by agreeing to the presence of 1,500 South African troops during an interim period which would lead to elections. The five Western members of the Security Council had proposed that the South African troops be concentrated at two locations in the northern part of Namibia, but not at the frontier. South Africa had insisted upon eight locations in the northern part of Namibia, which would indeed be at the frontier, with the number of troops raised to 3,000.

52. The Chairman stated that the Council had no official knowledge of positions on any discussions regarding the future of Namibia which might be taking place outside the framework of the United Nations.

53. The representative of Algeria pointed out that it was important to show that African Governments were concerned about the situation in Namibia. The President of Gabon, in his role as current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), could be instrumental in inducing all African States to be represented at the highest level at the forthcoming ninth special session of the General Assembly. Representation should be at the level of foreign minister or even at the level of head of State. With regard to the activity of the five Western members of the Security Council, he stressed that that activity was purely private.

54. Mr. Sylvestre Ratanga, Deputy Secretary-General for International Organizations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, stated that the meeting was an occasion for the Mission to make suggestions to the Government of Gabon regarding what could be done to bring the Namibian people to genuine

independence. The Chairman stated that the Mission had brought with it a proposed text for a joint communiqué. It was agreed to discuss the matter at a later meeting.

(ii) Working meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation

55. The meeting was chaired by Mr. Ratanga, Deputy Secretary-General for International Organizations. The following officials of the Ministry were present:

Mr. François Maganga-Maganga, Adviser to the President on African Affairs
Mr. Thomas Franck Eyaa, Director for European Affairs
Mr. Thomas Mitoulou, Director for Asian Affairs
Mr. Michel Ongollo, Director of Press and Information
Mr. André Ndong Nsome, Chief of the United Nations Division
Mr. Emmanuel Mendoume Nze, Chief of the Africa Division
Mrs. Claire Oyone, Chief of the OAU Division
Mr. Marcel Odongui-Bonnard, Chief of Studies, Research and Documentation
Mr. Bernard Otha, Chief of the Specialized Agencies Division

56. The Chairman of the Mission gave a detailed exposition of the position of the Council concerning Namibia. In response to questions raised by the Gabonese delegation, the Chairman of the Mission provided unofficial information on the activities of the five Western members of the Security Council with regard to Namibia. It was decided at the meeting that a joint communiqué would be issued and a drafting group was set up to meet later that day.

(iii) Meeting of the drafting group on the joint communiqué

57. The delegation of Gabon and the Mission established a working group, which met to elaborate the text of a joint communiqué.

(iv) Consultation with the President of the Republic

58. The Deputy Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation introduced members of the Mission to President El Haj Omar Bongo and briefly explained the purpose of the visit.

59. The Chairman of the Mission provided more details on the purposes of the visit, explained the objectives of holding extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council at Lusaka and emphasized the importance of the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on Namibia. He also welcomed the initiative of the Gabonese Government in taking a decision to be represented at a high level at the special session and outlined the contents of the draft communiqué which had been agreed upon at the meeting of the working group.

60. The President inquired about the activities of the five Western members of the Security Council with regard to Namibia. The Chairman of the Mission indicated that the matter was strictly outside the framework of the Council and indeed of the United Nations as a whole. He outlined the information available to him, as he had done in the meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation.

61. The Chairman of the Mission explained the importance of the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on Namibia and the representative of Algeria stated

that the Council had taken a decision recommending that representation at the special session should be at the highest possible level, either at the level of foreign minister or head of State or Government. The President stated that, in his capacity as current Chairman of OAU, he would send a message to the Heads of State of all members of that organization recommending that they should be represented at the highest possible level at the special session.

62. Upon the proposal of the President and in order to underline his position as current Chairman of OAU, it was decided that the draft joint communiqué would be amended to show that it represented the position of the current Chairman of OAU rather than the position of the Government of Gabon (see appendix I below).

(v) Dissemination of information in Gabon

63. The Mission issued a press release on its arrival at Libreville describing the purposes of the Mission, an interim press release giving the tenor of the discussions that were taking place and a final press release summarizing the results of the Mission to Gabon as a whole and giving the main points of the joint communiqué. In addition, the text of the joint communiqué was issued as a press release. Press releases were distributed to members of the local and international press at Libreville and were also transmitted to the Office of Public Information of the Secretariat in New York for transmission to all United Nations information centres. In addition, the final press release summarizing the work of the Mission as a whole was transmitted directly to the United Nations information centres at Brussels, Copenhagen, Geneva, London and Paris. Similar procedures were followed in Algeria and Nigeria.

64. The Mission held a press conference, which was carried on Gabon Television, and extensive coverage was given in the local press to the activities of the Mission. A radio interview was also given.

(b) Algeria

(i) Press interviews on arrival

65. Upon arrival at Algiers, the Chairman of the Mission gave interviews to representatives of the local press, in the course of which he explained the purposes of the Mission.

(ii) Consultation with the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

66. The Chairman of the Mission briefly explained to Mr. Missoum Sbih, the Secretary-General, the purposes of the Mission.

67. In the course of the meeting, it was observed that distorted press reports were circulating, attributing to Mr. Nujoma, President of SWAPO, a position that SWAPO no longer wanted to have elections in Namibia, but simply wanted South Africa to hand over power to SWAPO. The representative of SWAPO with the Mission confirmed that Mr. Nujoma had not made the statement in question.

(iii) Working meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

68. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Sbih, the Secretary-General of the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The following officials of the Ministry were present: Mr. Abdelkader Bousselham, Director-General of Political Affairs; Mr. Abdelmajid Fasla, Director of International Organizations; Mr. Mohamed Bedjaoui, Ambassador to France; Mr. A. Kerroum, Deputy Director of the Department of International Organizations; and Mr. M. Bouyacoub, an officer of the Department of International Organizations.

69. The Chairman of the Mission made a detailed statement on the purposes of the Mission and the position of the Council.

70. The representative of SWAPO expressed his gratitude to the Government and people of Algeria for the support they had given to the struggle of the people of Namibia led by SWAPO, and expressed thanks for the active role that Algeria had played and continued to play in the Council. SWAPO considered that the United Nations, through the Council, continued to be the Administrative Authority for Namibia until independence.

71. In response to a question, he stressed that the talks which had been taking place between SWAPO and the five Western Powers and the South African Government had been a private activity, which had no connexion with the work of the international community. SWAPO had joined those talks because it felt that, as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, it had a responsibility to explore every avenue which might lead to a peaceful settlement. SWAPO had also accepted the invitation to join in the talks out of the conviction that the five Western Powers, because of their political and economic connexions with South Africa, could force it to relinquish Namibia.

72. Throughout the talks which SWAPO had had with the five Western Powers, SWAPO had made it very clear that at no point should those talks be used to replace the goal of the Namibian people, which was genuine independence within a united Namibia.

73. SWAPO had had six rounds of talks with the five Western Powers. The sixth had been more important than the others in the sense that the foreign ministers of the five Western Powers had participated, and SWAPO had been represented at the highest level. SWAPO had gone with an open mind. Unfortunately, agreement had not been reached because the South Africans had decided to withdraw from the talks.

74. The two main issues discussed had been the withdrawal of South African troops and Walvis Bay. The latter was an issue which was being deliberately fabricated by the Government of South Africa. SWAPO had made a very serious concession as far as South African troops were concerned.

75. As for Walvis Bay, the position of SWAPO was very clear and categorical. SWAPO would never agree or accept that it be regarded as part of South Africa.

76. The Secretary-General stated that Algeria supported the action of the Council and had always maintained that it could effectively carry out the tasks assigned to it. He observed that a serious preoccupation of the Algerian Government was the action being undertaken by the Western countries which should not be allowed to become a substitute for action by the Council, which was the only competent body in the question.

77. The Secretary-General asked whether the Mission could give information on its contacts with the current Chairman of OAU.

78. The Chairman of the Mission explained that the position of the current OAU Chairman was that he supported the action of the Council; however, he had shown keen interest in the negotiations being conducted by the five Western Powers. He attached particular importance to the forthcoming ninth special session of the United Nations and had decided to be represented there by his Vice-President.

79. The Secretary-General inquired what was the latest position of South Africa with regard to elections, the release of prisoners, the withdrawal of its forces and Walvis Bay. The Chairman explained that, according to information made available to him, although South Africa had not changed its position at all, SWAPO had agreed to accept the presence in the Territory of the South African Administration during the election period, and was willing to consider the release of certain persons detained by SWAPO in other countries. With regard to Walvis Bay, SWAPO was maintaining its position. The South African Minister for Foreign Affairs had left the talks in New York because he had not known what to do.

80. The Chairman stated that what was also important was the position of the five Western Powers themselves. On the question of United Nations control, they agreed on the need for a veto power for the proposed special representative of the United Nations Secretary-General; on the question of the size of the South African forces, they agreed with SWAPO that the forces should be limited to 1,500 men, but on the question of the deployment of that force, they were somewhere between the SWAPO position and the South African position. They had also stated that wherever the South African forces were stationed, they would be encircled by United Nations forces.

81. Regarding Walvis Bay, the five Western Powers agreed that it was an integral part of Namibia, but they saw the legal aspect of it and felt that the problem would be settled after the elections.

82. Regarding the size of the proposed United Nations force, the Chairman explained that SWAPO had stated that it should be 5,000 men, while the five Western Powers had reported that South Africa would never agree to that. They were trying to find a formula. Finally, if there were an agreement between the five Western Powers and SWAPO and South Africa, the solution would be implemented by a Security Council resolution. The five Western Powers had stated that their initiative was within the framework of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976.

83. The Chairman stated that the five Western Powers were attempting to schedule further talks on approximately 24 March; they said that they were hopeful because there was agreement on the basic principles and because the South Africans had agreed on the primacy of the proposed special representative of the United Nations Secretary-General. They thought that their efforts should be continued.

84. The Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs observed that the representative of SWAPO had stated that his organization was willing to accept 1,500 South African soldiers on condition that they were stationed at two places in the south and that the United Nations force would constitute 5,000 men, but these conditions had not been accepted by South Africa.

85. The Chairman of the Mission clarified that South Africa had refused to accept a specified number of men for the United Nations force, which was why the five Western Powers had attempted to obviate that difficulty by proposing that the level of the force should be fixed by the proposed special representative of the United Nations Secretary-General.

86. The Secretary-General sought a clarification of the position of the proposed South African force of 1,500 men in the light of the position of SWAPO that those forces should be withdrawn from Namibia immediately after the certification of the elections by the proposed special representative of the United Nations Secretary-General.

87. The Chairman explained that, according to the proposals of the five Western Powers, the South African forces would be withdrawn one week after the certification of the elections.

88. The representative of SWAPO amplified that the positions held by SWAPO and South Africa regarding the withdrawal of South African troops after the elections still remained the same and South Africa insisted that the withdrawal of their troops would be at the request of the new Government of Namibia. Furthermore, the South African Government did not agree to its troops being stationed in the south; it wanted them to remain in the north. SWAPO had agreed to a temporary stay of those troops in order to facilitate a peaceful settlement.

89. The Secretary-General observed that there had been a question of an exchange of political prisoners and certain persons detained in Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania. SWAPO had said that it was willing to release a certain number. Was that a result of action by the five Western Powers or a decision taken by SWAPO?

90. The Chairman explained that SWAPO was inclined to release certain people, but he did not have any details. Finally, there was the possibility of disagreement regarding prisoners: the South African Government had proposed a commission composed of two South Africans and two representatives of the United Nations Secretary-General to settle disputes. SWAPO had not agreed to that.

91. Mr. Bedjaoui, the Algerian Ambassador to France, stated that, according to the Chairman's information, South Africa's position had not changed perceptibly, which led him to fear that South Africa was embarking on a process of fraudulent decolonization with a view to setting up a puppet Government in Namibia after SWAPO had been undermined.

92. In case there were any doubts that those fears were exaggerated, he wondered what was the meaning of the action taken by the five Western Powers, who had taken an initiative to put aside the United Nations Council for Namibia in order to undertake negotiations. It had been said that those five countries, by reason of their economic links with South Africa, were able to exert pressure on South Africa. He feared the contrary, however, that it was not the five Western Powers which were exerting a moderating influence, but rather South Africa which possessed influence over the five Western Powers through the links in question.

93. If that analysis were correct, he continued, then perhaps the five Western Powers had taken an initiative to help South Africa snuff out the liberation movement and set up a puppet Government.

94. Mr. Bedjaoui continued by observing that the status of Namibia was indeed unique. In the nineteenth century, the Namibians had fought for 15 years against the aggressor, and in many areas half of the population had been exterminated. In the twentieth century, in the year 1945, the United Nations had taken up the matter by requesting that the League of Nations-mandated Territory of Namibia be placed under the Trusteeship Council. The United Nations had thus been involved in the question for more than 30 years.

95. In its struggle for freedom, the Namibian people had done infinitely better than any other people in the world. That meant that the international community was invested with a mission of much greater responsibility than the mission being carried out by the "honest brokers", about whose motives Algeria was wondering.

96. It was indeed a paradox that Namibia was still waiting for independence when a great number of countries, whose status as colonies without benefit of a League of Nations mandate had initially been much more disadvantageous, were now independent. It was important to appreciate correctly the games which were being played and the short-term interests which were involved. Algeria insisted that the Council should gather up its strength again and do its duty. One should not allow the Council to be emptied of its substance to the benefit of the five Western Powers.

97. The Council should not lose sight of its own mission and the possibility of bringing into action the Security Council, which was already seized of the question.

98. To sum up, Mr. Bedjaoui stated that South Africa had not changed its position. Progress had been blocked for 30 years, the situation had been declared illegal by all United Nations organs, including the International Court of Justice, territorial unity and integrity were being threatened and there was defiance of the United Nations. At the same time, the five Western Powers were playing a role which Algeria found dubious.

99. The Council was the legal Administering Authority for Namibia with precise rights and obligations. It was the legal Administering Authority with the agreement of SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. It was time to call for international sanctions against the South African Government, as had been put into effect by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977, when Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter had been applied.

100. The five Western Powers were not in a position to exert any pressure on South Africa; there was rather a risk that South Africa might exert pressure on those Powers.

101. The Chairman responded that the five Western Powers had taken as their starting point the abandonment by South Africa of the Turnhalle Conference, whose decisions had been cancelled. In any case, any solution they reached would need to be implemented by the Security Council, where they did not have a majority. He hoped that they realized the political limits within which they could move. One could certainly inquire into their motives.

102. It was a fact, however, that SWAPO had agreed to hold discussions with the five Western Powers and, as a result, the negotiations had acquired a certain legitimacy. Those Western Powers said that they were acting within the framework of Security Council resolution 385 (1976). On the other hand, South Africa could

try to create a fait accompli and say that they have tried to negotiate a solution and it had proved to be impossible. That was obviously a danger and, in such a situation, the Security Council should take appropriate action, including sanctions. The United Nations Council for Namibia had decided to remain outside the negotiations and to accelerate international action through its forthcoming meetings at Lusaka and the ninth special session of the General Assembly.

103. The Chairman said that there was also a duality between the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council. The Security Council resolution did not contain any dispositions recognizing direct action by the United Nations Council for Namibia; that was the difficulty which the United Nations Council for Namibia would eventually encounter. There were two possible attitudes: one which would ignore the negotiating process and envisage action outside that process; the other would have the United Nations Council for Namibia take a more flexible position and associate itself with a solution under the aegis of the Security Council.

104. As had been remarked, the United Nations Council for Namibia was, in principle, the legal Administering Authority for Namibia. It would be a contradiction to see the Council as a simple spectator to the decolonization process. However, it might be obliged to make a choice. The Chairman added that those were his personal views.

105. The United Nations Secretary-General, the Chairman added, had unofficially kept the Council informed about the talks between the five Western Powers and South Africa.

106. Mr. Bedjaoui responded that there were two fears, one of seeing the Council bypassed and the other of seeing SWAPO undermined.

107. He said that it was also clear that the five Western Powers were operating on two different levels: on the one hand, they were maintaining that their activities were taking place within the framework of Security Council resolution 385 (1976); on the other, they were desirous of a rapprochement with SWAPO. First, the five Western Powers were ~~not~~ members of the United Nations Council for Namibia and had always abstained in the Security Council and in the General Assembly when difficult questions concerning Namibia were being discussed. Secondly, in the attempt to achieve a rapprochement with SWAPO, that organization had stated that it had participated in several rounds of talks on the basis that they were private; there was thus no official engagement of SWAPO and, in fact, nothing could be done without it, which had made great sacrifices and had shown political wisdom. SWAPO had also shown a willingness to move away from fixed positions. That was a sign of its aptitude to represent the Namibian people and to do all in its power to lead the Namibian people to independence.

108. Mr. Bedjaoui observed that the Council had not approved the principle of the present talks but did not want to be bypassed. It would thus be better for the Council to work out an entirely new strategy. At the appropriate time, the Algerian Government would make a proposal in that regard.

109. The Chairman responded that the Council had not given its approval to the negotiations, which were private talks taking place outside the Council. As far as the future was concerned, however, that position was only valid as long as South Africa maintained its intransigence. If the negotiations began to make progress,

the Council should move toward a position which would allow it to reaffirm its principles and associate itself with any process of negotiation.

110. Mr. Bedjaoui warned that the bartering that had been set in motion by the initiative of the five Western Powers carried with it the danger that, if South Africa made no movement towards its interlocutors, the Namibians could well be cheated. So far there was no sign of any flexibility on the South African side.

111. At this point, the representative of SWAPO emphasized that as long as it continued to recognize the United Nations through the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia, SWAPO would not agree to take any action that would affect the status of the Council. Furthermore, SWAPO had always been a single entity. The question of internal and external factions was a creation of the enemies of SWAPO.

112. Concluding the discussion, the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasized the importance of the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, the total support of Algeria for SWAPO and the support of Algeria for the Council as the sole legal Administering Authority for Namibia. With regard to the initiative taken by the five Western countries, he emphasized that the Council might wish to adapt itself to new situations; this should not be done to the extent at which the Council would let go its responsibilities to the profit of a group of countries which was acting outside the appropriate United Nations organs. Algeria would continue to act within the OAU committee set up at Libreville in 1977, consisting of Algeria, Senegal and Zambia, to reinforce the role of the Council.

(iv) Consultation with the Director of External Relations of the National Liberation Front

113. After the Chairman of the Mission had briefly summarized the purposes of the visit to Algeria, Mr. Slimane Hoffman, Director for External Relations of the National Liberation Front, expressed the view that the obstacle to a settlement in Namibia was not merely South Africa, but the five Western Powers who were engaged in a kind of "parallel activity". At the same time the five Western Powers were trying to fabricate a solution which would involve the setting up of a puppet Government and allow them to keep on exploiting the natural resources of Namibia. Furthermore, as far as publicity was concerned, the five Western Powers had recently been attracting much more attention than the Council.

114. In response to the Chairman's observations that the five Western Powers had appeared to be approaching a compromise solution when South Africa had become intransigent, the Director responded that it was not a solution merely to place responsibility on South Africa. Objectively speaking, South Africa possessed allies and those allies were the five Western Powers. Furthermore, it was not adequate simply to achieve the political liberation of Namibia; it was also essential to achieve the liberation of its natural resources. If that were not done, the independence of the future Namibia and even the independence of neighbouring countries would be endangered.

115. The Director also stated that support for liberation movements was a fundamental element of Algeria's policy.

116. The representative of SWAPO stated that SWAPO policy had three cardinal

points: (a) the armed struggle, which was tied to the mobilization of the people; (b) the mobilization of the international community through the Council; and (c) continued recognition by SWAPO of the Council.

117. With regard to the talks which had been taking place, they were, as SWAPO had repeatedly stated, a private activity which SWAPO had entered into with two points in mind: (a) they might possibly lead to genuine independence and therefore should not be ignored; and (b) they should not be allowed to replace the genuine need of the people to obtain real independence. So far the talks had produced no results and it appeared that South Africans were using them to strengthen their occupation of Namibia.

118. The Director observed that imperialists and neo-colonialists always operated in the same manner; notably, they only gave up one position when they had prepared another position to fall back upon. The imperialists were not against independence per se; even South Africa was in favour of independence. But the question was what kind of independence? The Director concluded that as long as Namibia was not independent, the feeling in Algeria was that Algeria itself could not be considered fully independent.

(v) Meetings of the working group on the joint communiqué

119. The Algerian delegation and the Mission set up a working group to prepare a joint communiqué and four meetings were held in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The text of the joint communiqué is to be found as appendix II below.

(vi) Consultation with the President of Algeria

120. The Chairman outlined the purposes of the Mission and Mr. Bedjaoui summarized the previous discussions which had taken place (see above). The representative of SWAPO explained its position, as has also been reported.

121. Responding, President Houari Boumediene stated that the basic views of Algeria on the Namibian question were, firstly, profound suspicion of the activities of the five Western Powers and, secondly, full support for the Council. These basic principles should be seen within the framework of the fact that the principal struggle taking place in Africa since the Algerian revolution was the struggle against racism in southern Africa.

122. With regard to the talks which were taking place on Namibia outside the framework of the United Nations, there was, in fact, no great need for elections. SWAPO had been conducting the struggle for independence, and it was right that authority should be transferred to SWAPO. If there were to be elections, they should be organized by SWAPO. The task of the international community should be to assist SWAPO either with the armed struggle or with the establishment of an electoral process. As far as Namibia was concerned, the fundamental problem was in Pretoria and among the Western Powers which were assisting South Africa. The Council should develop more dynamism to help solve the problem.

(vii) Dissemination of information in Algeria

123. Extensive coverage was given to the Mission in the Algerian press and on television. These interviews were given upon arrival, and a full press conference was given on the last day of the Mission. The meetings with the President, the

Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Director for External Affairs of the National Liberation Front were televised.

(c) Nigeria

(i) Working meeting at the Ministry of External Affairs

124. The meeting was presided over by Mr. E. Olu Sanu, Director of the International Organizations Department of the Ministry of External Affairs. Also present on the Nigerian side were Mr. Oladele Akadiri, Director, Africa Department; Mr. O. Fafowora, Deputy Director, Africa Department; Mr. J. K. Umar, Deputy Director, External Information and Cultural Department; and Mr. S. Subair and Mr. M. Ofor, International Organizations Department.

125. The Chairman of the Mission described the purposes of the Mission and the position of the Council.

126. The representative of SWAPO outlined its position, stating that:

(a) SWAPO had decided to step up the armed struggle;

(b) Any peaceful solution to the Namibian question must be in accordance with the provisions of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) and all relevant resolutions of the General Assembly on Namibia;

(c) SWAPO recognized the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia.

127. Mr. Sanu described the position of the Nigerian Government. Nigeria, he said, appreciated the role of the Council, which had created greater understanding of the question of Namibia, and had allowed pressure to be built up against South Africa. In addition, the Council had played an important role in protecting the natural resources of Namibia to the extent possible by taking up the matter with multinational corporations. The Council had also done important work in preparing the Namibian people for independence, notably through the Institute for Namibia. The fact that a Nigerian was Chairman of the Senate of the Institute was an indication of the Nigerian Government's interest in that institution.

128. The Nigerian view concerning the situation in Namibia was that SWAPO was the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, a legitimate liberation movement that possessed the capacity to lead them to genuine independence. The Nigerian Government was aware that attempts were being made to create so-called moderate groups inside Namibia, but Nigeria believed that those groups could not bring real independence and that economic exploitation would continue. In brief, Nigeria was providing "sovereign support" for SWAPO.

129. The role of the Council had been defined in resolutions of the General Assembly, which had charged the Council with the task of preparing Namibia for independence. After the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 385 (1976), there had been an attempt by several of its members to work in parallel with the United Nations Council for Namibia to seek a peaceful solution. The Nigerian Government was interested to know the view of the Council, firstly, on whether the five Western Powers had had any contact at all with the Council and, secondly, how

would their activities affect the future work of the Council, in particular regarding the extraordinary plenary meetings at Lusaka and the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on Namibia. The Nigerian Government was interested to learn the position of the Council, particularly as it would soon be time for General Assembly members to formulate their views on the matter.

130. The Chairman of the Mission explained that the talks were taking place outside the framework of the United Nations and that no official information had been provided to the Council. However, the President of SWAPO had informed the Council of its position on the talks and other information had also been made available to the Council. Mr. Sanu, observing that the last round of talks in New York had just concluded, inquired whether the Council had taken any cognizance of those talks and whether it had formed a view on them.

131. It was explained that the Council had given no official recognition to the talks nor had it condemned them. The talks could not affect the future action of the Council. Furthermore, even though the Council did not agree with the principle that the future of Namibia could be discussed outside the United Nations, in view of the fact that SWAPO was involved in the talks, the Council would not impede them. What was important at the present time was to strengthen the Council, bearing in mind that considerable manoeuvring was taking place. The whole problem would be discussed at Lusaka.

132. The Chairman sought from the Nigerian representatives suggestions which the Mission could take with it to Lusaka.

133. Mr. Akadiri, Director of the Africa Department, observed that there was a danger of non-authentic independence being created in Namibia, which would be in keeping with efforts made in that direction in the past by the South African Government. There were four basic ingredients in the policy of the Nigerian Government:

(a) Namibia should become independent with the least possible delay and, if possible, it should take place in 1978;

(b) Namibia should attain independence under the leadership of SWAPO, which had done all the fighting and struggling;

(c) The natural resources of Namibia should be protected;

(d) The imperative need to preserve the territorial integrity of Namibia as one sovereign entity should be respected. Nigeria would formally reject any South African attempt to partition Namibia in accordance with the policy of "bantustanization" or in any other manner. It was absurd to say that Walvis Bay was part of South Africa.

134. With regard to the activities of the five Western Powers, Nigeria's policy was to wait and see. If any positive result were achieved, it could be a step forward. If a solution were to be proposed which departed from Nigeria's principles, Nigeria would not accept it. The Nigerian Government had understood from the five Western Powers that they were in contact with the Council. The Government wondered what details had been provided, what had been the reaction of the Council's members and whether there were any co-ordination between the dates of

the extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council at Lusaka (to begin on 20 March) and the next round of talks of the five Western Powers which, Nigeria understood, would commence on about the same date.

135. The Chairman provided to the Nigerian representatives such information as he possessed regarding the activities of the five Western Powers. It appeared that SWAPO had been flexible in the talks, while South Africa had been intransigent. He remarked that he had been informed that the five Western Powers still hoped to hold their next meeting by 20 March 1978.

136. The representative of Algeria observed that what was happening at the present time was what had frequently happened in the past, namely, that whenever the international community was preparing itself to take action, the Western countries brought forward a diversionary manoeuvre. That had also been the case at the Maputo Conference 6/ and at the Lagos Conference. 7/

137. With regard to the Nigerian view on the motivation of the five Western Powers, Mr. Sanu observed that, while Nigeria was a member of the Council and thus bound by its decisions, the five Western Powers had continued to keep Nigeria briefed on their activities. Nigeria believed that if any solution to the Namibian problem were devised which involved a period of interim administration which had a United Nations character, the Council should be associated with that interim administration. Mr. Akadiri observed that, when the Western Powers had provided information to Nigeria, it had been informed that the Powers did not, by themselves, possess the competence to grant independence to Namibia and that what was important was the consent of SWAPO. Mr. Sanu stated that regarding the motivation of the Western Powers, the analysis of Algeria was correct. The Western countries wanted a solution that would minimize or eliminate the armed struggle and preserve their economic position. They possessed large investments in Namibia and they feared that if the armed struggle continued, fundamental changes might take place in the thinking of Namibians. Nigeria had no illusions regarding the motives of the Western Powers. On the other hand, anything which would diminish bloodshed was desirable. It was also clear that the Western Powers were pursuing the same goals in Namibia as in Zimbabwe. Mr. Akadiri observed that caution should be used with regard to the activities of the five Western Powers.

138. In response to a question by the Chairman as to how an association between the Council and the interim administration might be achieved if there were a negotiated settlement in Namibia, Mr. Sanu observed that it was essential that the Council be associated. He also observed that, if the Security Council saw a threat to international peace and security in Namibia, "the whole situation would be different".

139. In response to questions from the Chairman regarding suggestions for Lusaka, the Nigerian delegation stated that they would subscribe to any decision taken

6/ For the report of the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held at Maputo from 16 to 21 May 1977, see A/32/109/Rev.1-S/12344/Rev.1.

7/ For the report of the International Conference for Action against Apartheid, held at Lagos from 22 to 26 August 1977, see A/CONF.91/9 and Corr.1 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2 and Corr.1).

by the Council at Lusaka "no matter how radical it might be". They then recommended that the Council should:

(a) Strengthen the position of SWAPO;

(b) State that any approaches to the Namibian question must be within the framework of the United Nations;

(c) Recognize that discussions have taken place, and recall relevant United Nations resolutions.

140. On the proposal of the Chairman, the Nigerian delegation agreed to the principle of high-level representation at the ninth special session of the General Assembly.

(ii) Meeting of the working group on the joint communiqué

141. A working group consisting of representatives of the Nigerian Government and the Mission was set up. The group met the following day and prepared a joint communiqué, the text of which appears as appendix III below.

(iii) Consultation with the Commissioner for External Affairs

142. After having been welcomed by Brigadier Joseph N. Garba, the Commissioner, the Chairman of the Mission briefly indicated the purpose of the visit to Nigeria, emphasizing the need for suggestions which the Mission could take to Lusaka.

143. Mr. Sanu, Director of the International Organizations Department, summarized the Nigerian position described above. He observed that the Council should be ready to assist Namibia during a transitional period and that the meetings of the Council at Lusaka should be used to strengthen the position of SWAPO in its dealings with the five Western Powers.

144. The Commissioner stated that it was time to move forward on the Namibian question and that SWAPO should be more flexible. It was advisable to proceed step by step and make some concessions on the question of legality. The important thing was to have an independent Government in Namibia and provide a proper climate for its stability.

145. The Chairman remarked that it was his understanding that SWAPO had made concessions and that it was South Africa which was being intransigent.

146. The Commissioner observed that the question of the exact location of the proposed 1,500 South African troops should not be an obstacle, although Nigeria agreed that the troops should not be stationed in northern Namibia. He felt that the Security Council should meet on Namibia and formalize the work of the five Western Powers. He did not see clearly what would come out of the ninth special session of the General Assembly on Namibia, but the United Nations Council for Namibia should be associated with any solution elaborated by the Security Council.

147. In response to the Chairman's observation that, during the Mission, other Governments had expressed serious doubts about the activities of the five Western Powers and had stated that they were being given many different versions of the same events, the Commissioner stated that it was time to bring the activities of

the Western Powers out into the open. It was clear, he remarked, that both the talks regarding Southern Rhodesia as well as those regarding Namibia were intended to forestall nationalist victories in the field. Mr. Sanu observed that the circulation of the differing versions was a serious problem and that Nigeria did not want the activities of the Western Powers to be prolonged as they had been proceeding for three years already.

148. The Chairman referred to the decision taken by President Bongo to the effect that, in his capacity as the current Chairman of OAU, he would send a letter to all African heads of State recommending that they be represented at the highest level at the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on Namibia (see para. 61 above). The Commissioner stated that he would attend the special session in person unless he were prevented by some unforeseen and exceptional event. He added that he would inform his Head of State of the substance of the meeting.

(iv) Consultation with the Chief of Staff of the Army

149. The Chairman of the Mission described the purposes of the Mission and mentioned the ways of assisting Namibia that had been conveyed to the Mission by the Presidents of Algeria and Gabon.

150. Brigadier Shehu M. Yar'adua, the Chief of Staff, stated that every country had the right to determine its own future, and he inquired what Nigeria could do for Namibia. He observed that there had been considerable activity in the first half of 1977 with SWAPO participating in many discussions, but Nigeria was apprehensive about the present lull.

151. The Chairman stated that the activities which had taken place had been outside the framework of the United Nations, although those involved had stated that they were following principles of territorial integrity and elections supervised by the United Nations.

152. The Chief of Staff observed that Nigeria would listen attentively to any new ideas which the Council might develop at Lusaka. He hoped that the Council and the five Western Powers could harmonize their positions, which would lead to less dissipation of energy, and that the General Assembly and the Security Council could be brought to speak with one voice. He also hoped that the Council and the Western Powers would soon be talking about the same things.

153. The Chairman observed that the Council was the legal Administering Authority for Namibia and that the efforts of the five Western Powers should not jeopardize the efforts of the Council. From the information that had been conveyed to him, it appeared that SWAPO had made substantial concessions in talks with the five Western Powers, while South Africa had remained intransigent. With regard to the observation of the Chief of Staff that the United Nations Council for Namibia should become associated with activities in the domain of the Security Council, he wondered how that could be done.

154. The Chief of Staff, in conclusion, stated that it was important to recognize reality, and suggested that perhaps the United Nations Council for Namibia could approach the five Western Powers.

(v) Dissemination of information in Nigeria

355. In Nigeria, reports of the activities of the Mission were featured on the radio and in the press. Press interviews were held on arrival, and a press conference, held at the United Nations Information Centre and attended by the Nigerian and international press, was followed by a television interview. The consultations of the Mission with the Commissioner for External Affairs and the Chief of Staff of the Army were also televised.

4. Conclusions

156. The Mission has carefully examined and compared the views of the three Governments 8/ with which it held consultations. The Mission has noted a number of common views and a number of important divergences.

157. All three Governments agreed on the importance of the forthcoming ninth special session of the General Assembly, and all stated that they would take steps to ensure that their countries would be represented there at a high level.

158. All agreed that it was time to move forward on the Namibian problem, which was one of the oldest problems facing the United Nations, and that the Council should become more active and dynamic.

159. All agreed that it was particularly important to increase assistance to SWAPO at the current critical stage.

160. All agreed that, despite reports, the current activities of the five Western members of the Security Council were indeed of a private nature, and were being conducted outside the framework of the United Nations. An internationally acceptable settlement of the Namibian problem would require United Nations involvement.

161. All agreed that the current activities by the five Western Powers were an attempt to achieve a settlement in Namibia which would allow their economic activities in Namibia and South Africa to be pursued without hindrance. The Algerian and Nigerian Governments drew attention to the situation in Southern Rhodesia and in Namibia and stated that the Western Powers were pursuing similar goals in both Territories.

162. There was a serious divergence of views in two important areas: the meaning of the current activities undertaken by the five Western Powers and the direction which the United Nations Council for Namibia should now follow.

163. Regarding the activities of the five Western Powers, the Algerian Government stated that, while these activities could be allowed to continue as long as SWAPO considered that the talks might lead to a peaceful settlement in the near future, in all probability they were a subterfuge designed to deceive public opinion, undermine SWAPO and lead to the setting up of a puppet Government in Namibia. The same goal was being pursued by the same forces in Southern Rhodesia.

164. While the Algerian Government pointed out that there were indeed numerous economic and other links between the five Western Powers and South Africa, a fact which gave credence to the view that they were able to influence and even exert pressure on South Africa, it believed that in reality the situation was the opposite: it was these same links which enabled South Africa to influence the policies of the five Western Powers.

165. The Nigerian Government felt that the Council should do nothing which would hamper the activities of the five Western Powers, and was cautiously optimistic that a settlement might be reached within a reasonably short time. It thought that

8/ As indicated in the joint communiqué (see appendix I below), the views expressed in Gabon represent the position of the current Chairman of OAU.

the Council should be associated with all activities leading towards a negotiated settlement.

166. Regarding the future direction to be followed by the Council, the Government of Gabon stated that its position was reflected in the resolution adopted by the OAU Council of Ministers at its thirtieth ordinary session, held at Tripoli from 20 to 28 February 1978 (see appendix IV below).

167. The Algerian Government urged the United Nations Council for Namibia to become more dynamic and to step up its campaign against South Africa by attempting to obtain agreement for stronger measures of coercion, particularly through the Security Council. The Algerian Government welcomed the first application of action against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, which had been taken with regard to the situation in South Africa, and recommended that such action now be taken against South Africa in respect of its illegal occupation of Namibia.

168. The Nigerian Government also felt that the Council should become more active, but in a different way. If any solution to the Namibia problem were devised involving a period of interim administration which had a United Nations character, the Council should be associated with that interim administration. The Council could also consider making an approach to the five Western Powers. An attempt should be made to harmonize the positions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on Namibia. In any case, the Nigerian Government felt that the activities of the five Western Powers should be brought out into the open as quickly as possible, and that they should submit a report to the Security Council.

169. The Algerian Government stated that it would continue to act within the OAU committee set up at Libreville in 1977 to reinforce the role of the Council.

5. Recommendations

170. The Mission wishes to report to the Council the recommendations which were conveyed to it and are set forth in paragraphs 171-176 below.

171. In all three countries visited, it was recommended that, at its extraordinary plenary meetings at Lusaka, the Council should reiterate its full and unconditional support for SWAPO in order to dispel any equivocation with regard to the representation of SWAPO in its capacity as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

172. The President of Gabon, in his capacity as current Chairman of OAU, recommended that all African States should be represented at the forthcoming ninth special session of the General Assembly at a very high level and announced that a letter to this effect would be sent to all African heads of State.

173. The Algerian Government recommended that Namibia, represented by the Council, should be admitted to full membership in all international organizations and conferences, including the General Assembly.

174. The Nigerian Government recommended that, if any solution to the Namibian problem were to be devised involving a period of interim administration which had a United Nations character, the Council should be associated with that interim administration.

175. The Nigerian Government also recommended that the Council should prepare for the eventuality that the Security Council might determine the existence of a threat to international peace and security in Namibia and thus assume jurisdiction over the Namibian question.

176. In all three countries, it was recommended that, in view of the critical stage now reached, the Council should make full use of the extraordinary plenary meetings at Lusaka to ensure that a clear direction is given to the future policies of the Council.

6. Adoption of the report

177. The Mission wishes to place on record its appreciation for the opportunities provided by the Governments of Algeria, Gabon and Nigeria to participate in thorough discussions of the Namibian question.

178. The Mission wishes to express its thanks to the Government and people of Algeria, the Government and people of Gabon and the Government and people of Nigeria for the exceptionally warm hospitality which was extended to the Mission.

179. The Mission also wishes to record its thanks to the Government of Kenya for the hospitality accorded to it during its stay in Nairobi en route from Lagos to Lusaka and for the interest which was shown in the work of the Mission.

180. The present report was adopted at a meeting of Mission members held at Nairobi on 17 March 1978.

APPENDIX I

Joint communiqué issued at Libreville on 5 March 1978 by the Government of Gabon and the Mission

1. At the invitation of the current President of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), a mission of consultation of the United Nations Council for Namibia visited Libreville from 2 to 5 March 1978.
2. The two delegations discussed ways and means of accelerating the process of liberation of the Territory of Namibia and its accession to independence.
3. The Mission thanks the current Chairman of OAU and the people of Gabon for their support for the cause of the Namibian people in their struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. The current President of OAU reaffirms his support of the Council as the legal Administering Authority of Namibia until independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967.
4. In the course of the discussions, attention was concentrated on ways and means of strengthening the joint action of the Government of Gabon and of the Council during the forthcoming ninth special session of the General Assembly, to be held in accordance with Assembly resolution 32/9 H of 4 November 1977, in order to mobilize greater support for the efforts of the Namibian people to fulfil their inalienable and imprescriptible right to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.
5. In this context, the current Chairman of OAU and the Mission reiterate their full support for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of their sole and authentic liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. The legitimacy of the armed struggle by the Namibian people led by SWAPO has been solemnly proclaimed by resolutions of the General Assembly. The current Chairman of OAU and the Mission are of the view that the struggle of the people of Namibia for self-determination, freedom and national independence under the leadership of SWAPO, their liberation movement, has reached a new and decisive stage.
6. The current Chairman of OAU and the Mission condemn South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and for its intensified repression and acts of violence against the Namibian people. In its attempts to perpetuate its illegal occupation, the Pretoria régime carries out brutal and systematic acts of aggression against the Namibian people through the use of arbitrary detention, torture and assassination of Namibian patriots. The fragmentation of the Territory through the establishment of bantustans and the creation of tribal armies are acts of defiance of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. The continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people as well as against the United Nations as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until independence.

7. The current Chairman of OAU and the Mission reiterate that any solution to the Namibian problem must be within the framework of the United Nations and must be in strict conformity with Security Council resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976 as well as with other relevant United Nations resolutions on the question. Strict conformity is also demanded by the whole membership of OAU.
8. The current Chairman of OAU and the Mission reaffirm their conviction that South Africa must comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, including resolution 385 (1976). The implementation of the United Nations resolutions will allow the free and unfettered exercise by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence within a united Namibia, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966.
9. The current Chairman of OAU and the Mission reiterate their demand that South Africa recognize the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia. The current Chairman of OAU and the Mission categorically condemn South Africa for its recent decision to annex Walvis Bay, thereby attempting to undermine the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia. They furthermore declare that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia, with which it is inextricably linked by geographical, historical, economic and cultural bonds. The decision of South Africa to annex Walvis Bay is an act of aggression against the Namibian people and has been rejected by the United Nations as illegal, null and void.
10. The current Chairman of OAU and the Mission reiterate that only the Council, in its capacity as the sole legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence, can represent Namibia at international organizations and conferences and reject any solution aimed at installing any puppet régime issuing from the so-called Turnhalle Conference or elsewhere.
11. The current Chairman of OAU and the Mission are convinced that the forthcoming ninth special session of the General Assembly, to be held from 24 April to 3 May 1978, should ensure the mobilization of support for the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia and the full withdrawal of South Africa from the international Territory.
12. The Mission thanks the President of the Republic of Gabon for his effort, in his capacity as current Chairman of OAU, towards a solution to the Namibian problem which would be in conformity with United Nations resolutions, and welcomes the importance that the President attaches to the holding of the special session by the General Assembly on Namibia.
13. The current Chairman of OAU and the Mission, on behalf of the Council, have decided to continue to co-operate and mobilize support for the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. In this regard, they have decided to encourage the specialized agencies and other organizations and bodies within the United Nations system to participate in the implementation of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia in co-operation with the Council. The current Chairman of OAU and the Mission jointly appeal to States Members of the United Nations to increase their assistance through the Programme, a comprehensive assistance programme within the United Nations system covering both the period of struggle for Namibia's independence and the initial years of independence.

14. The current Chairman of OAU and the Mission reaffirm their full support for the Institute for Namibia at Lusaka. Since its opening on 26 August 1976, the Institute has made a significant contribution in the preparation of Namibians in the administrative and organizational skills needed for the construction of a united and independent Namibia.

15. The Mission thanks the current Chairman of OAU and the Government and people of Gabon for the warm welcome and the generous hospitality extended to the Mission and expresses its appreciation for the firm and consistent position taken by the Government of Gabon with respect to the efforts of the Council in support of self-determination, freedom and national independence for the Namibian people.

16. In this connexion, the Mission also thanks the President of Gabon for his decision to have Gabon represented at a very high level at the special session of the General Assembly.

APPENDIX II

Joint communiqué issued at Algiers on 9 March 1978 by the Government of Algeria and the Mission

1. At the invitation of the Government of Algeria, a mission of consultation of the United Nations Council for Namibia visited Algiers from 6 to 9 March 1978.
2. The delegation of the Algerian Government and the Mission proceeded to a wide-ranging exchange of views on all aspects of the Namibian question. They also dealt with the worsening of the situation as a result of recent developments in the region and of the continued denial to the Namibian people of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.
3. The delegation of the Algerian Government and the Mission examined ways and means of accelerating the process of liberation of the Territory of Namibia and its accession to independence and of strengthening support by the international community to the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole and authentic representative, in their struggle for independence.
4. The Algerian Government reaffirms its support to the Council for its action as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967.
5. The representative of SWAPO, in his capacity as a member of the Mission, emphasized the private nature of the discussions which had taken place on the initiative of the five Western members of the Security Council, stated that in no way should that initiative have any influence on the role and responsibilities of the United Nations, particularly the Council, in the decolonization of the Territory and stated that the armed struggle was continuing.
6. The Algerian delegation expressed its feeling of strong concern caused by the initiative taken by the five Western Powers and its fear that that initiative was only a manoeuvre intended to break SWAPO in order to allow South Africa to continue its domination over and its spoliation of the wealth of the Territory and to allow the Western Powers to preserve their economic and other interests by installing a puppet Government, which would be subordinate to the racist régime of Pretoria.
7. The two delegations are convinced that the efforts of the international community towards a solution to the problems of decolonization should be encouraged on condition that they take place within a framework of genuine decolonization and that they do not in any way sacrifice the sacred rights of peoples to self-determination and independence.
8. The two delegations expressed themselves to be apprehensive with regard to any initiative aimed at working out, outside the framework of the United Nations, a solution contrary to the principles laid down in United Nations resolutions which would lead to a bogus independence preserving the economic and strategic interests of foreign Powers to the detriment of the inalienable rights of the Namibian people.

9. The two delegations examined ways and means of strengthening joint action by the Algerian Government and the Council on the occasion of the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on Namibia provided for by General Assembly resolution 32/9 H of 4 November 1977 in order to mobilize increased support for the struggle of the Namibian people so that their inalienable and imprescriptible right to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia might be respected and to ensure the complete withdrawal of South Africa from the Territory.

10. In this connexion, the Government of Algeria and the Mission consider that the ninth special session of the General Assembly should make an urgent appeal to the Security Council concerning the adoption, in accordance with its responsibilities under Chapter VII of the Charter, of economic and military sanctions against South Africa.

11. The Algerian Government and the Mission reaffirm their full support for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of their sole and authentic liberation movement, SWAPO, to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. The legitimacy of the armed struggle by the Namibian people led by SWAPO has been solemnly proclaimed by resolutions of the General Assembly. The Algerian Government and the Mission consider that the struggle of the people of Namibia for self-determination, freedom and national independence under the leadership of their liberation movement, SWAPO, has entered a decisive stage.

12. The Algerian Government and the Mission condemn South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and for its intensified repression and acts of violence against the Namibian people. In its attempts to perpetuate its illegal occupation, the Pretoria régime carries out systematic acts of aggression against the Namibian people through the use of arbitrary detention, torture and assassination of Namibian patriots. The fragmentation of the Territory through the establishment of bantustans and the creation of tribal armies are acts of defiance of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. The continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people as well as against the United Nations as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until independence, and also against the international community.

13. The Algerian Government and the Mission condemn South Africa for its recent decision to annex Walvis Bay as well as any other attempt aimed at undermining the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia. They declare that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia. The decision of South Africa to annex Walvis Bay is an act of aggression against the Namibian people and has been rejected by the United Nations as illegal, null and void.

14. The Algerian Government and the Mission reaffirm the demand that any solution to the Namibian problem must take place within the context of the United Nations and must be in strict conformity with Security Council resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976 as well as with all other relevant United Nations resolutions on the question. This strict conformity is also demanded by the whole membership of OAU. The Algerian Government and the Mission reject any solution aimed at installing any puppet régime issuing from the so-called Turnhalle Conference or any similar attempt.

15. In this connexion, the Algerian Government and the Mission issue a warning to the international community on the grave dangers of a false independence; these dangers are illustrated by the developments which have taken place most recently in the southern African region.
16. The Algerian Government and the Mission request all international organizations and conferences and United Nations specialized agencies to admit Namibia, represented by the Council, to participate in their work as a full member in accordance with General Assembly resolution 32/9 E.
17. The Algerian Government and the Mission on behalf of the Council have decided to continue their co-operation with a view to mobilizing support for the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. In this regard, they have decided to encourage the specialized agencies and other organizations and bodies within the United Nations system to participate in the implementation of the Programme in co-operation with the Council. The Algerian Government and the Mission jointly appeal to States Members of the United Nations to increase their assistance to the Programme, an integrated assistance programme within the framework of the United Nations system dealing both with the present period of struggle for independence and with the first years of independence of Namibia.
18. The Mission expresses again its appreciation to the Algerian Government for the active support which it has given the Institute for Namibia at Lusaka, as well as for its contribution to the United Nations Fund for Namibia. Since its opening on 26 August 1976, the Institute has made a notable contribution towards the training of Namibians for the administration and organizational tasks which the establishment of a united and independent Namibia will require.
19. The Mission welcomes the firm support of the Government and people of Algeria for the cause of the Namibian people. In the course of the audience which he granted to the Mission, the President of Algeria reaffirmed this support and encouraged the Council to intensify efforts with a view to accelerating the accession to independence of the Namibian people.
20. The Mission thanks the Algerian Government for its decision to be represented at the highest possible level at the special session of the General Assembly, to be held at New York from 24 April to 3 May 1978.
21. The Mission thanks the Government and people of Algeria for the warm welcome and generous hospitality which they have granted to it. On behalf of the Council, the Mission expresses to the Government and people of Algeria its gratitude for the firm support which they have given to the efforts undertaken by the Council in support of the self-determination, freedom and national independence of the Namibian people.

APPENDIX III

Joint communiqué issued at Lagos on 16 March 1978 by the Government of Nigeria and the Mission

1. Upon the invitation of the Government of Nigeria, a mission of consultation of the United Nations Council for Namibia visited Lagos from 12 to 16 March 1978.
2. The Mission expresses appreciation to the Government of Nigeria for its support of the cause of the Namibian people in their efforts to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. The Government of Nigeria reaffirms its support of the Council as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967.
3. The Mission and the Government of Nigeria examined ways and means of strengthening the joint action of the Government and the Council during the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly, to be held in accordance with General Assembly resolution 32/9 H of 4 November 1977, and of mobilizing greater support for the efforts of the Namibian people to fulfil their inalienable and imprescriptible right to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.
4. The Government of Nigeria and the Mission reiterate their full support for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole and authentic liberation movement, to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. The legitimacy of the armed struggle by the Namibian people led by SWAPO has been solemnly proclaimed by resolutions of the General Assembly. The Government of Nigeria and the Mission are of the view that the struggle of the people of Namibia for self-determination, freedom and national independence under the leadership of SWAPO, their liberation movement, has reached a new and decisive stage.
5. The Government of Nigeria and the Mission condemn South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and for its intensified repression and acts of violence against the Namibian people. In its attempts to perpetuate its illegal occupation, the Pretoria régime carries out brutal and systematic acts of aggression against the Namibian people through the use of arbitrary detention, torture and assassination of Namibian patriots. The fragmentation of the Territory through the enforcement of homelands and the creation of tribal armies are acts of defiance of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. The continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people as well as against the United Nations as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until independence.
6. The Government of Nigeria and the Mission reaffirm their conviction that South Africa must comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, including Council resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976. The implementation of the United Nations resolutions will allow the free and unfettered

exercise by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence within a united Namibia, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966.

7. The Government of Nigeria and the Mission reiterate their demand that South Africa recognize the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia. The Government of Nigeria and the Mission categorically condemn the Government of South Africa for its decision to annex Walvis Bay, thereby attempting to undermine the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia. They furthermore declare that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia. The decision of South Africa to annex Walvis Bay is an act of aggression against the Namibian people and has been rejected by the United Nations as illegal, null and void.

8. The Government of Nigeria and the Mission declare that the forthcoming ninth special session of the General Assembly should ensure the mobilization of support for the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia and the full withdrawal of South Africa from the Territory.

9. The Government of Nigeria and the Mission, on behalf of the Council, have decided to continue to co-operate and mobilize support for the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. In this regard, they have decided to encourage the specialized agencies and other organizations and bodies within the United Nations system to participate in the implementation of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia in co-operation with the Council. The Government of Nigeria and the Mission jointly appeal to States Members of the United Nations to increase their assistance through the Programme, a comprehensive assistance programme within the United Nations system covering both the period of struggle for the independence of Namibia and the initial years of independence.

10. The Government of Nigeria and the Mission reaffirm their full support for the Institute for Namibia at Lusaka. Since its opening on 26 August 1976, the Institute has made a significant contribution to preparing Namibians in the administrative and organizational skills needed for the construction of a united and independent Namibia.

11. The Mission thanks the Government and people of Nigeria for the warm welcome extended to it and for their generous hospitality, and expresses its appreciation for the firm and consistent position taken by the Government of Nigeria with respect to the efforts of the Council in support of self-determination, freedom and national independence for the Namibian people.

APPENDIX IV

Resolution adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization
of African Unity at its thirtieth ordinary session, held at
Tripoli from 20 to 28 February 1978

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its thirtieth ordinary session in Tripoli, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, from 20 to 28 February 1978,

Having re-examined the grave political and military situation in Namibia resulting from the continued illegal occupation of the Territory by the apartheid régime of South Africa,

Mindful of the continued intransigence of the racist régime of South Africa in its refusal to relinquish its illegal occupation of Namibia and its perpetuation of the policy of bantustans in the Territory,

Noting SWAPO's constructive attitude to Security Council resolution 385 (1976),

Noting with grave concern the manoeuvres of the racist South African occupationist régime to effect an "internal settlement", using her puppets in the so-called Turnhalle talks,

Reaffirming Africa's unequivocal support for the just and legitimate armed liberation struggle waged by the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, for their freedom and national independence,

1. Reaffirms the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations and other international organizations on Namibia;

2. Commends SWAPO for its political mobilization of the Namibian people and the intensification of the armed struggle against the racist South African armed forces of occupation in Namibia;

3. Reiterates its total support for the armed struggle waged by SWAPO as the principal weapon for ending the South African occupation of Namibia;

4. Condemns the racist régime of South Africa for its intransigence and continued refusal to relinquish its illegal occupation of Namibia and for its perpetuation of the policy of bantustan in the Territory;

5. Strongly condemns the creation of the tribal armies aiming at perpetuating the illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African régime;

6. Further condemns and rejects any elections in Namibia not held under the auspices of the United Nations;

7. Reiterates its vehement condemnation of the illegal annexation of Walvis Bay by the South African régime; reaffirms unequivocally that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia and demands that South Africa scrupulously respect the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia;

8. Once again calls upon all Member States of the Organization of African Unity and the international community as a whole not to engage in any contacts with the so-called moderate Africans in the Turnhalle alliance or any other agents of the South African régime;

9. Decides to increase diplomatic, material and financial assistance to SWAPO to enable it to intensify the armed struggle for the liberation of Namibia from the illegal occupation by the racist South African régime;

10. Reaffirms that any agreement negotiated to lead Namibia to genuine independence must be acceptable to SWAPO as the sole and legitimate representative of the people of Namibia and to the United Nations as the legal Administering Authority of Namibia.

APPENDIX V

Statement by His Excellency Mr. Faik Melek, Chairman of the
Mission, delivered at the 275th plenary meeting of the Council
on 21 March 1978

It was a great honour for my country when you requested Turkey to lead the Mission of Consultation of the United Nations Council for Namibia to Algeria, Gabon and Nigeria.

We have carried out our task as conscientiously as possible and, from the nature of the discussions in which we have been engaged, we believe that this has been an important mission for the Council.

I say "we" because, at the outset, it was my colleague Ambassador Ilter Turkmen, Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations, who was appointed to lead this Mission. He carried out his duties in Gabon and Algeria at which point he was recalled to New York for urgent consultations and I was appointed to take his place.

It is my pleasure today to introduce to members of the Council the report on the consultations conducted, which has been circulated to all Council members. The Mission was composed of representatives of Algeria, Australia, Indonesia and Liberia, and a representative of SWAPO.

Although one of the principal tasks of our Mission was to gather suggestions from the countries which were visited and to bring these suggestions to Lusaka, it developed that government representatives in each capital visited sought information from us. In fact, a thorough and wide-ranging exchange of views on the question of Namibia took place. In each of the countries which we visited, the Mission was asked about the activities concerning Namibia of the five Western members of the Security Council. We explained in each case that these talks were being conducted outside the framework of the United Nations and were thus an entirely private activity. We did have available information which had been provided to the Council by the President of SWAPO, Mr. Sam Nujoma, and information from other sources. In addition, a representative of SWAPO took part in our Mission and provided further information and clarification as required. In this way, it turned out that the activities of the five Western Powers were discussed in some detail and we believe that these discussions were useful and served to clarify the present situation.

In each of the countries visited, drafting groups drawn from representatives of Governments and members of our Mission were formed, and views were exchanged during the drafting of the communiqués. a/ We believe that these three joint communiqués represent important position statements, which will be valuable for the work of the Council.

It should be noted that in Gabon, the joint communiqué was issued on the Gabonese side by the President of Gabon in his capacity as current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity. The positions expressed in the joint communiqué,

a/ For the texts of the three communiqués, see appendices I, II and III above.

therefore, represent the positions of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity rather than simply the views of the Government of Gabon.

In all three countries visited, it was agreed that due and proper preparation would be necessary for the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on Namibia, and that they would take steps to ensure that their countries were represented at the special session at a very high level.

All agreed that it was time to move forward on the Namibian problem and that the Council should become more active and, repeating an expression that was used, dynamic.

All agreed that it was particularly important to increase assistance to SWAPO at this critical stage.

It was also agreed that, despite whatever had been reported, the current activities of the five Western members of the Security Council were, indeed, of a private nature and were being conducted outside the framework of the United Nations. An internationally acceptable settlement of the Namibian problem would require United Nations involvement.

All agreed that the current activities of the five Western Powers were an attempt to achieve a settlement in Namibia which would allow their economic activities in Namibia and South Africa to be pursued without hindrance. The Governments of Algeria and Nigeria drew a parallel to the situation in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia and stated that the five Powers were pursuing similar goals in Southern Rhodesia as well as in Namibia.

Now, having covered areas on which there was wide agreement, it is my duty to report to the Council that there was a divergence of views in two important areas: the meaning of the current activities undertaken by the five Western Powers and the direction which the Council should now follow.

The Government of Algeria stated that in all probability the activities of the five Powers were a subterfuge designed to deceive public opinion, undermine SWAPO and lead to the setting up of a puppet Government in Namibia. The Government was of the view that the same goal was being pursued by these same forces in Southern Rhodesia.

While the Government of Algeria pointed out that there were, indeed, numerous economic and other links between the five Western Powers and South Africa, a fact which gave credence to the view that they were able to influence and even exert pressure upon South Africa, it believed that, in reality, the situation was the opposite: it was these same links which enabled South Africa to influence the policies of the five Powers.

On the other hand, the Government of Nigeria felt that the Council should do nothing which would hamper the activities of the five Powers, and they were cautiously optimistic that a settlement might be reached in a reasonably short time. They thought that the Council should be associated with the activities leading towards a negotiated settlement.

The Government of Algeria strongly urged the United Nations Council for Namibia to become more dynamic and to step up its campaign against South Africa by

attempting to obtain stronger measures of coercion, particularly through the Security Council. The Government welcomed the first application of action against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, which had been taken with regard to the situation in South Africa, and recommended that Chapter VII action should now be taken against South Africa in respect of its illegal occupation of Namibia.

The Government of Nigeria also felt that the Council should become more active, but in a different way. If any solution to the Namibian problem were devised involving a period of interim administration which had a United Nations character, the Council should be associated with the interim administration. The Council could also consider making an approach to the five Western Powers. An attempt should be made to harmonize the positions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on Namibia. It was the Nigerian view, in fact, that a meeting of the Security Council would be more propitious than a special session of the General Assembly. None the less, Nigeria would be represented at the special session at a very high level. In any case, the Nigerian Government felt that the activities of the five Powers should be brought out into the open as quickly as possible, and that they should submit a report to the Security Council.

The Government of Algeria stated that it was ready to continue to act within the Committee of the Organization of African Unity set up at Libreville in 1977 to reinforce the role of the United Nations Council for Namibia. For the information of members of the Council, the members of this OAU Committee are Algeria, Senegal and Zambia.

In accordance with what the Mission considered to be one of its principal tasks, the Mission obtained concrete recommendations in the countries which it visited.

It was recommended that, at its extraordinary meetings in Lusaka, the Council should reiterate its full and unconditional support for SWAPO, in order to dispel any equivocation with regard to the representation of SWAPO in its capacity as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

It was recommended that all African States should be represented at the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly at a very high level. In this regard, the President of Gabon, in his capacity as current Chairman of OAU, announced that a letter to this effect would be sent to all African Heads of State.

It was recommended that Namibia, represented by the Council, should be admitted to full membership in all international organizations and conferences, including the General Assembly.

It was recommended that, if any solution to the Namibian problem were devised involving a period of interim administration which would have a United Nations character, the Council should be associated with this interim administration.

The Government of Nigeria also recommended that the Council should prepare for the eventuality that the Security Council might determine the existence of a threat to international peace and security in Namibia and thus assume jurisdiction over the Namibian question.

In all three countries visited, it was recommended that, in view of the critical stage now reached, the Council should make full use of the extraordinary plenary meetings in Lusaka to ensure that a clear direction is given to the future policies of the Council.

In this connexion, I should like to add that, while the importance for Namibia of the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly is generally agreed upon, it is my sincere hope and the hope of all the members of this Mission that the extraordinary plenary meetings here in Lusaka will enable the Council to take concrete decisions which will lead to solid achievements at the special session of the General Assembly.

In accordance with the decisions of the Council, the Mission also paid particular attention to the question of the dissemination of information. There was considerable press, radio and television coverage and the interest of the international news media was aroused in addition to the interest shown by the media of the countries visited. Further details on dissemination of information are contained in the report of the Mission.

In conclusion, Madam President, on behalf of all the Mission members and on my own behalf, I should like to express our warmest thanks to the Government and people of Algeria, to the Government and people of Gabon and to the Government and people of Nigeria for the exceptional hospitality which was accorded to us.

We should also like to record our thanks to the Government of Kenya for its hospitality during the stopover in Nairobi which the Mission made en route from Lagos to Lusaka. Although it was an unofficial visit, this provided an occasion for a valuable exchange of views with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kenya, who reiterated his Government's full support for SWAPO and its confidence in the ability of SWAPO to lead Namibia to independence.

B. Report of the Mission to Angola, Botswana and Zambia

6-19 March 1978

1. Introduction

181. At its 270th plenary meeting, on 18 January 1978, the Council decided to hold extraordinary plenary meetings at Lusaka in March 1978. In order to enhance the effectiveness of these meetings and the ninth special session of the General Assembly, the Council also decided to send three missions of consultation to Africa prior to the convening of the meetings in Lusaka.

182. The decision to hold extraordinary plenary meetings at Lusaka was based on General Assembly resolution 32/9 F of 4 November 1977, by which the Assembly requested the Council, in the implementation of its responsibility as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence, inter alia, to hold a series of meetings in Africa in 1978 at the highest possible level, as and when required for the further and proper discharge of the functions of the Council.

183. In pursuance of the foregoing decisions, the Council dispatched a Mission to Angola, Botswana and Zambia. The Mission travelled to the capitals of those countries between 6 and 19 March 1978. The membership of the Mission, as constituted by the Council on the recommendation of its President, was as follows:

Chairman:	Mr. Ion Datcu (Romania)
Members:	Mr. Bariyu Adekunle Adeyemi (Nigeria) Mrs. Veena Sikri (India) Mr. Tapio Kalevi Saarela (Finland) Mr. Zdzisław Nicinski (Poland)
South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO):	Mr. Herman Ithete (at Luanda).

184. The Mission was accompanied and assisted by the following staff members of the United Nations Secretariat: Mr. Abdul Hamid Kabia, Principal Secretary; Mrs. Marcia Cooper-Pinchas, Press Officer; and Miss Gloria U. Shepherd, Secretary.

185. The Mission wishes to place on record its profound gratitude to the Governments of Angola, Botswana and Zambia for the opportunity they so generously accorded the Mission to participate in extremely friendly and thorough exchanges of views on the question of Namibia. The Mission also wishes to express deep appreciation to the Governments and people of those countries for the cordial hospitality and warm reception extended to the Mission during its visit. The Mission further wishes to express its gratitude to the Government of Portugal for the courtesies extended to members of the Mission during their overnight stopover at Lisbon. The Mission is also most grateful to the Secretary-General for making available the necessary supporting staff and facilities and, in that connexion, wishes to acknowledge with appreciation the dedicated services of the staff, as well as the assistance extended to the Mission by various United Nations offices at the capitals visited.

2. Chronology of the Mission

186. A brief chronology of the Mission is given below:

<u>Lisbon</u>		
<u>Tuesday, 7 March 1978</u>	6.30 a.m.	Interview with a correspondent of the Agencia Nacional Oficiosa Portuguesa (ANOP).
	1.30 p.m.	Luncheon given by the Director of Political Affairs for members of the Mission.
<u>Luanda</u>		
<u>Wednesday, 8 March 1978</u>	11 a.m.	Press conference at Belas Airport attended by radio, television and press services in Angola.
	4.15 p.m.	Interview by a representative of SWAPO Radio Services.
<u>Thursday, 9 March 1978</u>	10.30 a.m.	Meeting with a delegation of government officials headed by the Director of Political Affairs of the Ministry for External Relations.
	4 p.m.	Meeting with the Secretary for the Department of External Relations of the Central Committee of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA)/Workers' Party and with the Minister for External Relations.
<u>Friday, 10 March 1978</u>	12 noon	Meeting with the Prime Minister, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA/Workers' Party.
<u>Saturday, 11 March 1978</u>	10 a.m.	Press conference attended by representatives of the radio, press and television services of the Government of Angola and correspondents of the Agence France-Presse, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Swedish Television and Radio, <u>Izvestia</u> and <u>Afrique-Asie</u> .

Gaborone

Monday, 13 March 1978

9 a.m. Meeting with a delegation of government officials led by the Secretary for External Affairs.

2.30 p.m. Meeting with the Vice-President.

Tuesday, 14 March 1978

9 a.m. Interview on Radio Botswana.

7.30 p.m. Reception given at the House of Assembly by the Minister for Home Affairs.

Lusaka

Wednesday, 15 March 1978

6 p.m. Press conference at Lusaka Airport.

Thursday, 16 March 1978

11 a.m. Meeting with the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Friday, 17 March 1978

12.30 p.m. Official luncheon.

6.30 p.m. Meeting with Mr. Mainza Chona, the Prime Minister.

Sunday, 19 March 1978

6 p.m. Press conference.

3. Consultations undertaken by the Mission
in Angola, Botswana and Zambia

(a) Angola

187. During its visit to Angola between 8 and 12 March, the Mission met with Mr. Lopo Fortunato Ferreira do Nascimento, the Prime Minister, and held consultations with a delegation of government officials.

188. The membership of the Angolan delegation comprised the following:
Mr. Pascoal Luvualo, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary for External Relations of the Central Committee of the MPLA/Workers' Party;
Mr. Paulo Teixeira Jorge, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the MPLA/Workers' Party and Minister for External Relations; Ms. Olga Lima, Director of Political Affairs, Ministry of External Relations; Mr. Paulo dos Anjos, Chief of the International Organizations Division, Ministry of External Relations;
Mrs. Celeste Natalia Rodrigues de Carvalho, Secretary for External Relations in the President's Office; Mr. Toko Diakenga Sero, Officer, Africa Division, Ministry of External Relations.

(i) Consultations with the Director of Political Affairs of the Ministry of
External Relations

189. The Director reiterated her Government's deep commitment to the cause of the Namibian people and the liberation struggle being waged by SWAPO. She stated that Angola was prepared to continue to support the Council in its efforts to discharge its responsibilities as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence. Angola was committed to the liberation of the whole of Namibia. Walvis Bay was an integral part of Namibia and her Government condemned the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist minority régime of South Africa.

190. She condemned the attempts to annex Walvis Bay by the South African racist minority régime and expressed concern over its creation of tribal armies in Namibia. She said that the attempts to annex Walvis Bay were aimed at subverting and blackmailing a future SWAPO Government of an independent Namibia. She reaffirmed her Government's total and continuous support for SWAPO, despite acts of intimidation carried out by the South African racist minority régime against the territorial integrity of Angola.

191. Regarding the forthcoming ninth special session of the General Assembly, the Director assured the Mission that her Government would do its best to contribute to the success of the session, as it was an important medium for political pressure. She expressed appreciation to the United Nations for the establishment of the Institute for Namibia, which trained Namibians in administrative and organizational skills for service in a future independent Namibia.

192. She urged the five Western members of the Security Council to apply effective economic, political and diplomatic pressure on the racist minority régime in South Africa so as to end its illegal occupation of Namibia.

(ii) Consultations with the Secretary for the Department of External Relations of the Central Committee of the MPLA/Workers' Party and the Minister for External Relations

193. The Secretary welcomed the Mission on behalf of MPLA and praised the joint efforts of the member countries of the Council. He expressed the hope that the consultations would help in finding a solution to the Namibian problem.

194. The Minister associated himself with the remarks of the Secretary and expressed satisfaction at the composition of the Mission. He stated that during his country's armed struggle, MPLA had worked closely and developed concrete solidarity with SWAPO. The fact that Angola was now an independent State imposed a greater responsibility on it to assist SWAPO in the liberation struggle of the Namibian people. Angola had no intention of interfering in the policies and aims of the armed struggle being waged by SWAPO, which had always determined the type of assistance it required from Angola for the development of the liberation struggle. Within the limits of its resources, Angola had provided the assistance requested.

195. The continuing illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist minority régime of South Africa was a source of serious concern to Angola, which shared a common border with Namibia. Troops and planes of the racist minority régime had, on several occasions, violated the territorial integrity of Angola. Notwithstanding those acts of provocation and intimidation, the Government and people of Angola would continue to support the people of Namibia through SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative.

196. It was important to mobilize international opinion in order to increase support for the people of Namibia and SWAPO. Another very important method of achieving the aims of the Namibian people, however, was to intensify the armed struggle, despite the initiatives of other interested parties. Clothes, medicine and ammunition should be included in the types of assistance extended to SWAPO. The international community should recognize that the racist minority régime of South Africa had agreed to have talks with the five Western members of the Security Council only as a consequence of the armed struggle waged by SWAPO and the efforts of the United Nations through its Council.

197. Regarding the proposals of the five Western members of the Security Council, the Government of Angola regretted that, among other things, the role of the Council, as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence, was omitted. The Council must have an important role to play in any interim period. The Government of Angola supported the principle of complete and unconditional withdrawal of South African armed forces from Namibia. However, should SWAPO accept the principle of gradual withdrawal, Angola would support the SWAPO position. A puppet organization, called União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) was being trained and armed by the South African armed forces stationed at the Grootfontein base to infiltrate Angola and provoke misunderstanding between the MPLA and SWAPO. The elimination of all South African bases near the Angolan-Namibian border was important if further clashes between the armed forces of the racist régime of South Africa and the armed forces of Angola were to be avoided.

198. With reference to the forthcoming extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council at Lusaka, the Minister expressed the hope that the front-line States and other

States supporting SWAPO and the liberation struggle in Namibia would attend and contribute to the efforts of the Council in finding a solution to the Namibian problem. Angola hoped to be represented at both the meetings of the Council at Lusaka and at the ninth special session of the General Assembly at New York. Although Angola was aware of the recommendatory nature of General Assembly resolutions and the difficulties the Council faced in implementing resolutions relating to the question of Namibia, Angola would continue to collaborate with the Council in helping it discharge its responsibilities towards the people of Namibia. Angola would continue to provide facilities for the Voice of Namibia broadcasts to the Territory, conducted by SWAPO. The international community should apply effective sanctions against the racist minority régime of South Africa. Pressure must be brought upon certain Western States to stop investing in Namibia and South Africa and supplying it with arms and nuclear technology.

(iii) Meeting with the Prime Minister

199. On behalf of President Agostinho Neto, the Prime Minister welcomed the Mission. He stated that Angola was only fulfilling its duty by supporting the liberation struggle in Namibia, through SWAPO. His Government would continue to give its full support and recognition only to SWAPO and would not take any decisions that were contrary to its interests and wishes. Angola had a vested interest in the settlement of the Namibian problem because it believed in the principle of self-determination, freedom and independence for all colonial peoples and because it shared a common border with Namibia. Angola would continue to share its very limited resources with the people of Namibia. He expressed appreciation for the various forms of assistance provided by friendly countries which had enhanced the liberation efforts of the Namibian people, and he stressed that the armed struggle waged by SWAPO had played a major role in the liberation struggle in Namibia.

200. The United Nations recognition of SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia was consistent with the position MPLA and the Government of Angola had always adopted on the question of Namibia. Within that context, SWAPO should be the only political force in Namibia to participate in the processes leading to the transfer of power to the people of Namibia. The Council, as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory, should also play a dynamic role in those processes until power was handed over to the people of Namibia. There was no need to create new structures to supervise a period of transition when there was already an organ created by the international community to administer the Territory until independence.

201. The situation in southern Africa was becoming increasingly explosive as a result of the outright and naked violation of the territorial integrity of independent African countries in the region by the racist minority régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. The concentration of South African armed forces near the Angolan-Namibian border constituted a threat to the security of Angola. The Government and people of Angola would have to increase their military preparedness to protect the territorial integrity of their country, although this would require the diversion of essential resources from national reconstruction. The United Nations had helped to create a climate of peace in Angola; it could make a greater contribution to peace in both Angola and Namibia if it resolved the Namibian problem quickly and peacefully.

202. The Government would continue to collaborate with the Council in its efforts to find a solution to the problem of Namibia. Consequently, Angola would be represented both at the extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council at Lusaka and at the ninth special session of the General Assembly at New York.

203. On 11 March, the Government of Angola and the Mission issued a joint communiqué, the text of which is contained in appendix I below.

(b) Botswana

204. During its visit to Botswana between 12 and 15 March, the Mission met with Mr. Q. K. J. Masire, the Vice-President, and also held consultations with a delegation of government officials. The membership of the Botswana delegation comprised the following: Mr. L. M. Mpotokwane, Secretary for External Affairs; Mr. T. D. Mogami, Deputy Secretary for External Affairs; Mr. L. M. Legwaila, Senior Private Secretary to the President; Mr. G. G. Garebamono, Counsellor, External Affairs; Mr. M. Modisi, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of Botswana to the United Nations; Messrs. D. Rendoh and P. Sekwababe, External Affairs Officers.

(i) Consultations with the Secretary for External Affairs

205. The Secretary reaffirmed his Government's support for the Council and SWAPO and expressed appreciation of the Council's efforts in helping the people of Namibia in their struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence.

206. He said that the position of the Government of Botswana had remained consistent in its support of the people of Namibia in their legitimate struggle for independence. The Government of Botswana continued to denounce the illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia and rejected any internal settlement that did not include SWAPO. Botswana did not support the policies of "bantustanization" and had denounced attempts by South Africa to create homelands in Namibia. The current South African manoeuvres to create an impression that it was liberalizing its stand and would eventually allow the Namibian people to exercise their right to self-determination and independence were fraught with contradictions. In the view of the Government of Botswana, the position inside Namibia had not changed and, consequently, Botswana's attitude towards Namibia had not changed.

207. His Government supported the preservation of the territorial integrity of Namibia and considered Walvis Bay as an integral part of Namibia. He recalled the statement by the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly during the general debate, which demonstrated Botswana's adherence to its conviction that it would not serve the interests of peace for Namibian territory to be severed. 9/

208. The Government of Botswana had noted with satisfaction that SWAPO had declared publicly that it was prepared to participate in free and fair elections under United Nations control and supervision and that it remained ready and willing to continue negotiations with interested parties.

209. To the surprise of its enemies, SWAPO had proved itself to be a reasonable and serious organization that was well disposed towards discussions and willing to negotiate seriously and in good faith on questions vital to the interest of the Namibian people. The Council might wish to take measures that would keep in check the false and hateful propaganda that had been noted from certain quarters

9/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 30th meeting, paras. 44-66.

of the Western media. If it remained unchecked, that propaganda might colour public opinion, which, as was well known, was significantly affected by the public media. The Secretary noted that, of late, public opinion in the Western countries was turning in favour of the position of the Council.

210. SWAPO had made substantial concessions in response to the proposals of the five Western members of the Security Council regarding a settlement of the Namibian problem. It should therefore not be pressured into making more concessions in the absence of similar concessions from South Africa. The Secretary expressed the hope that the five Western members of the Security Council would succeed in their efforts at resolving the Namibian problem quickly and peacefully.

211. Although Botswana continued to suffer the consequences of the instability and explosive situation in Namibia and Zimbabwe, it would continue to give its support to its neighbours in their struggle for independence and racial equality. Botswana was interested in a quick and just settlement of the problem in Namibia and Zimbabwe because of its geographical location and its belief in self-determination, independence and racial equality for all.

212. The Secretary informed the Mission that the clinic for Namibian refugees, constructed with the aid of Council funds, was now operating at Charles Hill. The clinic had originally been planned for the Makunda Settlement, which had a smaller population than that of Charles Hill. Charles Hill was very near Makunda; patients could be referred from the health centre at Makunda to the clinic at Charles Hill.

(ii) Consultations with the Vice-President

213. The Vice-President said that the Government and people of Botswana were very concerned about developments in the neighbouring Territories of Namibia and Zimbabwe. The situation in those Territories was explosive and endangered peace in the region. A quick settlement of the problem in the Territories concerned would enable Botswana to concentrate its attention on its own economic reconstruction, but Botswana would not pressure the people of Namibia to accept a settlement that did not meet with their aspirations. The people of Namibia had an inalienable right to determine their own future and Botswana would do all it could, within the limits of its meagre resources, to help them in their struggle for self-determination and independence. The struggle of Namibia was the struggle of Botswana because there were strong cultural and historical links between the two countries and their people.

214. As a matter of principle, Botswana did not recognize bantustans or the breaking up of any Territory, nor did it support the division of Namibia on ethnic lines, which was the typical colonial policy of "divide and rule".

215. On 14 March, the Government of Botswana and the Mission issued a joint communiqué at a press conference, the text of which is contained in appendix II below.

(c) Zambia

216. During its visit to Zambia between 15 and 18 March, the Mission was received by Mr. Mainza Chona, the Prime Minister, and held consultations with a delegation of officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The membership of the Zambian

delegation comprised the following: Mr. Harry M. Nzunga, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Gibson R. Zimba, Under-Secretary for Political Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Francis Kabembe, Director of Information Research, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Paul Kaunda, Director of International Organizations; Mr. Pierson C. Monga, Deputy Director of International Organizations.

(i) Consultations with the Permanent Secretary and other officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

217. The Permanent Secretary stated that the position of Zambia was in consonance with that of the Council on the question of Namibia. Zambia had given and would continue to give support to the people of Namibia in their struggle for self-determination, freedom and independence. South Africa should withdraw its forces from Namibian soil to allow the free exercise of the political process.

218. Any suggestion that residual South African forces might be located near the Zambia-Namibia border was unacceptable, because Zambia was not at war with Namibia. The conflict was between South Africa and Namibia and, if the people of Namibia decided to accept the principle of gradual withdrawal, the remaining forces should be located near the border of those two countries.

219. With reference to the question of Walvis Bay, Zambia was suspicious of the circumstances that led to the revival of the question by South Africa, especially at a time when everything seemed geared towards the independence of Namibia. Walvis Bay could not be thought of as belonging to or being part of South Africa; it was an integral part of the Namibian mainland and should not be discussed as a separate item. The problem of Namibia was one of total and not partial decolonization.

220. The Permanent Secretary informed the Mission that Zambia had made its broadcasting facilities available to SWAPO so as to enable it to counteract the hateful and vicious propaganda being launched against it by the racist minority régime in South Africa.

221. He agreed with the Chairman of the Mission that the Council should open its doors to States Members of the United Nations whose attitudes were in favour of the liberation struggle in Namibia. He also expressed the view that the five Western members of the Security Council should have been operating within the United Nations Council for Namibia in their efforts to arrive at a settlement of the Namibian problem, because the Council was the sole organ created by the United Nations to administer Namibia until independence.

(ii) Courtesy call on the Prime Minister

222. The Prime Minister informed the Mission that his Government was appreciative of the Council's decision to hold its forthcoming plenary meetings in Zambia.

223. He stated that the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist minority régime of South Africa was provocative and should not be tolerated by the international community. While the armed struggle was being intensified, the Council should increase its efforts at mobilizing world public opinion in support of the legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia. The Prime Minister

also stated that Zambia would welcome a peaceful solution brought about by the talks initiated by the five Western members of the Security Council, provided that the solution would be in accordance with Council resolution 385 (1976), of 30 January 1976, and acceptable to SWAPO. He emphasized, however, that Zambia was not committed to the talks.

224. The Prime Minister reaffirmed his Government's support for the Namibian people in their struggle for self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative.

225. On 18 March, the Government of Zambia and the Mission issued a joint communiqué, the text of which is contained in appendix III below.

4. Recommendations

226. In the light of the views reflected in the preceding chapters, the Mission deems it necessary to recommend to the Council that it broaden its membership to include all the front-line States. The membership might also include a limited number of States Members of the United Nations, whose declared positions on the question of Namibia do not conflict with the position of the Council.

227. The Mission also recommends that, in order to intensify the mobilization of world public opinion in support of the people of Namibia and SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, the Council should, inter alia, consider sending missions of consultation to countries in Western Europe, Asia and the Americas not already covered by previous missions of the Council.

5. Adoption of the report

228. The members of the Mission adopted unanimously the present report on 18 March 1978.

APPENDIX I

Joint communiqué issued at Luanda on 11 March 1978 by the Government of Angola and the Mission

1. The Government of Angola and the Mission had friendly and fruitful discussions on the question of Namibia.
2. The Mission expresses its appreciation to the Government of Angola for its deep commitment to, and total support for, the cause of the Namibian people in their struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence and to preserve the territorial integrity of their country. The Government of Angola reaffirms its total solidarity with the Namibian people in their struggle for independence under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). It also reiterates its support for the Council as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, and expresses greater appreciation for the concrete efforts of the Council in promoting and protecting the interests of the people of Namibia, in close co-operation with SWAPO.
3. The Mission held consultations with the Government of Angola concerning the extraordinary plenary meeting of the Council at Lusaka and the forthcoming ninth special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia, to be convened in accordance with Assembly resolutions 32/9 F and H of 4 November 1977. They examined ways and means of mobilizing greater international support for the efforts of the Namibian people to fulfil their inalienable and imprescriptible right to self-determination, freedom and national independence.
4. The Government of Angola and the Mission reiterate their full support for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic liberation movement, to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence. The legitimacy of the armed struggle by the Namibian people led by SWAPO has been solemnly proclaimed by resolutions of the General Assembly.
5. The Government of Angola and the Mission express great concern over the deteriorating situation in Namibia. Both sides condemn the South African racist régime for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and for its intensified repression and acts of violence against the Namibian people. In its attempts to perpetuate its illegal occupation, the racist Pretoria régime carries out brutal and systematic acts of aggression against the Namibian people through the use of arbitrary detention, torture and the assassination of Namibian patriots. The discredited Turnhalle Conference aimed at a so-called internal settlement through the installation of a puppet régime in Namibia, which has been decisively rejected by the international community. Both sides condemn the fragmentation of the Territory through the enforcement of homelands and the creation of tribal armies. These acts of defiance of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations are aimed at provoking a civil war in Namibia. The continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African racist minority régime constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people and the United Nations as the legal

Administering Authority for the Territory until independence, as well as a threat to international peace and security.

6. The Government of Angola and the Mission reaffirm their conviction that the South African racist régime must comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, including Council resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976. The implementation of the United Nations resolutions will allow the free and unfettered exercise by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966.

7. The Government of Angola and the Mission reiterate their demand that the racist régime of South Africa recognize the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia. Both sides categorically condemn the South African racist régime for its attempts to annex Walvis Bay with a view to undermining the territorial integrity of Namibia. They furthermore declare that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia with which it is inextricably linked by geographical, historical, economic, and cultural bonds. The attempts by the South African racist régime to annex Walvis Bay constitute an act of aggression against the Namibian people and have been rejected by the United Nations as illegal, null and void. a/

8. The Government of Angola and the Mission are of the view that the struggle of the people of Namibia for self-determination, freedom and national independence under the leadership of SWAPO, their liberation movement, has reached a new and decisive stage. Both sides declare that the forthcoming ninth special session of the General Assembly should ensure the mobilization of support for the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and national independence and the full withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia, which remains the legal responsibility of the United Nations until independence.

9. The Government of Angola and the Mission have decided to continue to co-operate and to mobilize support for the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, launched by the General Assembly in its resolution 31/153 of 20 December 1976. In this regard, they have decided to encourage the specialized agencies and other organizations and bodies within the United Nations system to participate in the implementation of the Programme in co-operation with the United Nations Council for Namibia and SWAPO. The Government of Angola and the Mission jointly appeal to States Members of the United Nations to increase their assistance to the people of Namibia through the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, a comprehensive assistance programme within the United Nations system covering both the period of struggle for independence and the initial years of independence.

10. The Government of Angola and the Mission note with appreciation the significant contribution of the Institute of Namibia in the training of Namibians in the administrative and organizational skills needed for the construction of an independent Namibia.

11. The Mission thanks the Government and people of Angola for the warm welcome extended to it and for their generous hospitality and expresses its appreciation for the firm and consistent position taken by the Government of Angola with respect to the efforts of the Council in support of self-determination, freedom and national independence for the Namibian people.

a/ General Assembly resolution 32/9 D, para. 6.

APPENDIX II

Joint communiqué issued at Gaborone on 14 March 1978 by the Government of Botswana and the Mission

1. The Government of Botswana and the Mission had useful and comprehensive exchanges of views on the question of Namibia. They examined ways and means of mobilizing greater international support for the efforts of the Namibian people to fulfil their inalienable and imprescriptible right to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.
2. The Government of Botswana reiterates its full support for the Namibian people in their struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia. The legitimacy of the struggle has been solemnly proclaimed by resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council.
3. The Government of Botswana reaffirms its support for the Council as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, and expresses appreciation for its efforts in carrying out its mandate.
4. The Government of Botswana and the Mission are of the view that the struggle of the people of Namibia for self-determination, freedom and national independence has reached a new and decisive stage. Both sides express the hope that the forthcoming ninth special session of the General Assembly will ensure the mobilization of support for the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and national independence and the territorial integrity of Namibia.
5. The Government of Botswana and the Mission denounce the continued illegal presence of the South African régime in Namibia and condemn its repression and acts of violence against the Namibian people.
6. The Government of Botswana and the Mission reaffirm their conviction that South Africa must comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, including Council resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976. The implementation of the United Nations resolutions will allow the free and unfettered exercise by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence within a united Namibia, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966.
7. The Government of Botswana and the Mission decided to continue to co-operate and to mobilize support for the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. In this regard, they have decided to encourage the specialized agencies and other organizations and bodies within the United Nations system to participate in the implementation of the Programme in co-operation with the Council for Namibia. Both sides jointly appeal to States Members of the United Nations to increase their assistance to the people of Namibia through the Programme, a comprehensive assistance programme within the United Nations system covering both the period of struggle for independence and the initial years of independence of Namibia.

8. The Government of Botswana and the Mission reaffirm their full support for the Institute for Namibia at Lusaka. Since its inception on 26 August 1976, the Institute has made a significant contribution in the preparation of Namibians in the administrative and organizational skills needed for the construction of a united and independent Namibia.

9. The Mission thanks the Government of Botswana for the warm welcome extended to it and for their generous hospitality and expresses its appreciation for the firm and consistent position it has taken with respect to the efforts of the Council in support of self-determination, freedom and national independence for the Namibian people.

APPENDIX III

Joint communiqué issued at Lusaka on 19 March 1978
by the Government of Zambia and the Mission

1. The Government of Zambia and the Mission had friendly and fruitful discussions on the question of Namibia.
2. The Mission expresses its appreciation to the Government of Zambia for its support of the cause of the Namibian people in their struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. The Government of Zambia reaffirms its support of the Council as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967.
3. The Mission held consultations with the Government of Zambia concerning the forthcoming ninth special session of the General Assembly on Namibia, convened in accordance with General Assembly resolution 32/9 H of 4 November 1977. They examined ways and means of mobilizing greater international support for the efforts of the Namibian people to fulfil their inalienable and imprescriptible right to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.
4. The Government of Zambia and the Mission reiterate their full support for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic liberation movement, to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia. The legitimacy of the armed struggle by the Namibian people, led by SWAPO, has been solemnly proclaimed by resolutions of the General Assembly. The Government of Zambia and the Mission are of the view that the struggle of the people of Namibia for self-determination, freedom and national independence, under the leadership of their liberation movement SWAPO, has reached a new and decisive stage.
5. The Government of Zambia and the Mission condemn South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and for its intensified repression and acts of violence against the Namibian people. In its attempts to perpetuate its illegal occupation, the Pretoria régime carries out brutal and systematic acts of aggression against the Namibian people through the use of arbitrary detention, torture and assassination of Namibian patriots. The discredited Turnhalle Conference, aimed at a so-called internal settlement intended to install a puppet régime in Namibia, has been decisively rejected by the international community. The fragmentation of the Territory through the enforcement of homelands and the creation of tribal armies are acts of defiance of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. The continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people as well as against the United Nations, as the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until independence.
6. The Government of Zambia and the Mission reaffirm their conviction that South Africa must comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, including resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976. The implementation of the United Nations resolutions will allow the free and unfettered

exercise of the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and independence within a united Namibia, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966.

7. The Government of Zambia and the Mission reiterate their demand that South Africa recognize the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia. The Government of Zambia and the Mission categorically condemn the Government of South Africa for its decision to annex Walvis Bay, thereby attempting to undermine the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia. They furthermore declare that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia, with which it is inextricably linked by geographical, historical, economic and cultural bonds. The decision of South Africa to annex Walvis Bay is an act of aggression against the Namibian people and has been rejected by the United Nations as illegal, null and void. a/

8. The Government of Zambia and the Mission express the hope that the forthcoming ninth special session of the General Assembly will ensure the mobilization of support for the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia and the full withdrawal of South Africa from the international Territory.

9. The Government of Zambia and the Mission decided to continue to co-operate and mobilize support for the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. In this regard they have decided to encourage the specialized agencies and other organizations and bodies within the United Nations system to participate in the implementation of the Nationhood Programme in co-operation with the Council. The Government of Zambia and the Mission jointly appeal to States Members of the United Nations to increase their assistance to the people of Namibia, through the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, a comprehensive assistance programme within the United Nations system covering both the period of struggle for independence and the initial years of independence.

10. The Government of Zambia and the Mission reaffirm their full support for the Institute for Namibia at Lusaka. Since its opening on 26 August 1976, the Institute has made a significant contribution in the preparation of Namibians in the administrative and organizational skills needed for the construction of a united and independent Namibia.

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

a/ General Assembly resolution 32/9 D, para. 6.

APPENDIX IV

Statement by Mr. B. A. Adeyemi, Acting Chairman of the Mission,
delivered at the 275th meeting of the Council on 21 March 1978

I have the honour to present the report of the Consultative Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia to Angola, Botswana and Zambia. But please permit me to say that I am holding brief for His Excellency Ambassador Ion Datcu, Permanent Representative of Romania to the United Nations, who had to return prematurely to New York for unavoidable reasons and who provided the Mission with distinguished and eminent leadership from the moment we left New York right to the end of our consultations here in Lusaka with the Zambian authorities.

In Angola, the Mission held consultative meetings with the Angolan authorities in three stages, namely, at the level of officials in the Ministry of External Relations with Dr. Olga Lima, Director of Political Affairs in the Ministry, leading the Angolan side; then, at the level of the MPLA/Workers' Party under the chairmanship of the Honourable Pascoal Luvualo, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary for External Relations of the Central Committee of the ruling party, assisted by Mr. Paulo Teixeira, an Alternate Member of the Central Committee and Minister for External Relations; finally, the Mission held consultations with the Prime Minister, His Excellency Mr. Lopo Fortunato Ferreira do Nascimento.

In Botswana, the Mission held consultations in two stages, first, with officials of the Ministry of External Affairs, led by Mr. L. M. Mpotokwane, Permanent Secretary, and at a second stage with the Botswana Vice-President, His Honour Mr. Q. K. J. Masire.

In Zambia, the Mission similarly held consultations in two stages. Talks were held in the Zambian Ministry of Foreign Affairs with officials of the Ministry led by Mr. Harry M. Nzungu, Permanent Secretary. There was a second meeting with the Right Honourable Prime Minister Mr. Mainza Chona in the Cabinet Office.

Madam President, I shall now proceed to enunciate the salient points emanating from our consultations which seem common to all the three countries visited. In the course of our assessment of the situation in Namibia, the Council delegation and the host authorities were unanimous in their view that the situation in the Territory continues to deteriorate and still represents a serious threat to international peace and security. There was strong condemnation of the excesses of the racist administration in Namibia and its savage brutality in dealing with all semblances of opposition. There was also condemnation of the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria régime in defiance of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and the decisions of the International Court of Justice.

The Council delegation and the authorities of the host countries were unanimous in their denunciation of the increasing militarization of the Territory by the Pretoria régime in its desperate effort to retain its stranglehold over the Territory

just as the two sides were equally unanimous in their demand for the unconditional dismantling of such militarization of Namibia by the racists. The Governments of the host countries reiterated their condemnation of the diabolical extension to Namibia of South Africa's discriminatory laws and the obnoxious policies of apartheid in flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The bantustans were also not spared, like the creation of tribal armies through which the racist administration planned to perpetuate minority control in Namibia and undermine national unity and cohesion among the majority African population in the country.

The racist policies of harassment and incarceration of Namibian patriots, particularly the political adherents of SWAPO, as well as the escalating racist acts of criminal aggression against neighbouring independent sovereign African States were denounced during the exchange of views between the Council Mission and officials of Governments of host countries at every level of our discussions. The two sides reaffirmed their support for the territorial integrity of Namibia as presently politically defined, including Walvis Bay. There was a unanimous call for a categorical rejection of all racist manoeuvres calculated to falsify the status of the bay, which continued to be linked with the rest of Namibia by cultural, historical and ethnic bonds. Finally, all the Governments reiterated their solemn commitment to rendering continued support to SWAPO in the organization's current legitimate struggle for freedom and genuine independence for Namibia.

Madam President, it is pertinent to say a few words on a number of nuances in the relative positions held by the Governments of host countries vis-à-vis those already adopted or endorsed by the Council. In Botswana, the Government expressed satisfaction with the agreement of SWAPO to participate in elections if only to vindicate its claims as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. It was also conceded that, while it could not be doubted that Walvis Bay was indeed a very important issue in the current negotiations going on at the initiative of the five-nation Western Contact Group in the Security Council, it was equally hoped, without prejudice to Namibia's right to the Bay, that this sole issue would not be allowed to stand in the way of independence. In both Angola and Zambia, the Mission was pleased with the current of strong endorsement for the legitimacy of armed struggle, as practised by SWAPO, in order to accelerate the decolonization process in the Territory. It should be noted, however, that the aforementioned nuances do not, by themselves, represent a significant departure from the known positions of the Governments visited as already enunciated in the General Assembly.

During the course of our stay in Angola and Botswana, the Mission was confronted with the Governments' understandable anxiety for an early resolution of the impasse in Namibia, obviously because of the positive impact such a development would have for either country. For Angola, independence for Namibia would automatically bring about the elimination or dismantling of rebel UNITA sanctuaries presently based in Grootfontein inside Namibia, from where UNITA elements are alleged to be carrying out their treasonable activities of destabilizing their own country. For Botswana, an independent Namibia would herald greater security on its long border with Namibia, which would permit the Government to concentrate on the superior task of improving the social and economic conditions of the people.

But in all the three States visited by the Council delegation, Madam President, we were pleased by the unanimous endorsement of the decision to hold a special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia. All the countries

underscored the advantage inherent in such a special session in terms of keeping up the momentum of pressure on the racist administration thereby accelerating its withdrawal from the Territory and, more importantly, in terms of mobilizing international support for the Namibian people in their legitimate aspirations for self-determination, freedom and national independence.

Joint communiqués were issued on the basis of the consultations held in Luanda, Gaborone and Lusaka and these are attached, respectively, as appendices I, II and III to the report.

Recommendations

From the series of consultations held in the places visited, the members of the Mission would like to make two recommendations for the urgent consideration of the Council:

(a) The Council should broaden membership to include ALL front-line States and those in other geographical regions whose policies and positions in the General Assembly do not conflict with the position of the Council on matters pertinent to Namibia. In making this recommendation, members of the Mission would like to point out that one of the countries visited has a very long border with Namibia and presently holds a pivotal position in the current liberation struggle going on in Namibia.

(b) It is also recommended that consultative missions of the Council be sent to Europe, Asia and the Americas, as there is urgent need to counteract the false and hateful propaganda launched against the SWAPO leadership both by the racists and the media in the West.

Presentation of a racist prisoner of war to the international press in Luanda

The SWAPO President, Mr. Sam Nujoma, held a press conference in the Angolan capital on Saturday, 11 March 1978, immediately after the press conference held by the United Nations Consultative Mission in the same venue in Luanda. During his press conference, Mr. Nujoma presented a racist prisoner of war captured during a recent engagement in Namibia.

The SWAPO press conference, in the assessment of the Mission, has helped the SWAPO cause on the international scene. Mr. Nujoma was able to demonstrate the readiness of SWAPO to participate in elections as long as the conditions in Namibia are right and if such elections are supervised and controlled by the United Nations. This has taken the edge off the racist propaganda that SWAPO is fighting shy of elections. Furthermore, Mr. Nujoma also demonstrated his willingness to negotiate for a peaceful transition to majority rule in Namibia. The nationalist leader informed reporters that his delegation stayed on in New York long after the racist Foreign Minister walked out of the Proximity Talks last February. Finally, by granting the racist prisoner access to a telegram sent to him by his family in South Africa, through the SWAPO office in Luanda, and by agreeing to send a reply of the prisoner to South Africa at the expense of SWAPO, Mr. Nujoma showed humane qualities before the international press to the effect that SWAPO remains committed to the principles of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners

of War. a/ This would appear to contrast sharply with the well known savagery and brutality to which freedom fighters are subjected in South Africa whenever they are taken prisoner by the racist army.

Madam President, the Mission has a responsibility to inform the Council that the initiative of the five-nation Western Contact Group of the Security Council on the means of finding peaceful methods in resolving the conflict in Namibia features throughout our deliberations in the three countries visited. We find that there is deep appreciation for the concessions made by SWAPO in response to this initiative which even go beyond the provisions of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976 as, for example, on the issue of withdrawal of racist forces from the Territory. SWAPO is said to have conceded that some South African residual force be allowed to stay during the period of transition.

In view of the overwhelming interest espoused by the Governments of the host countries, the Council may have to decide if the time is now ripe or not for it to show more than a casual interest in this initiative.

In rounding up my presentation of this report, Madam President, I should like to place on record the warm hospitality with which the Council delegation was received throughout the period of consultations. In Lisbon, for example, the Director of Political Affairs gave a luncheon party in honour of the Mission, even though we were slated to stay in the Portuguese capital only for a few hours. In other areas, namely Luanda, Gaborone and Lusaka, receptions and luncheon parties were held in our honour and attended by top government functionaries and Cabinet Ministers. Such warm hospitality and lavish generosity are themselves a reflection of the commitment of support of these Governments for the Council as well as its work and programmes.

Secretariat

I must say a word on the industry and loyalty of the secretariat, composed of Mr. Abdul Kabia, Principal Secretary, Mrs. Marcia Cooper Pinchas, Press Officer, and our able secretary, Miss Gloria U. Shepherd. The Mission is deeply appreciative of the rare dedication exemplified in the output of the supporting staff, for which the Secretary-General can be very proud.

Conclusion

Having said this, I now have the honour, Madam President, to present the Mission's report to the United Nations Council for Namibia. We, as members of the Mission, take full responsibility for any of its imperfections. At the same time, we hope the Council will be able to glean from it information and data which will help it to plan a sound strategy in anticipation of the special session of the General Assembly later next month which, in sum total, will map out an effective programme to enable Namibia to move forward towards nationhood after shaking off the lingering vestiges of colonialism and oppression, which had plagued the country under the racist régime for so long.

a/ United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 75, No. 972, p. 135.

C. Report of the Mission to Mozambique and
the United Republic of Tanzania

8-16 March 1978

1. Introduction

229. By its resolution 32/9 F of 4 November 1977, the General Assembly requested the United Nations Council for Namibia, in the discharge of its responsibilities as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia, to hold a series of plenary meetings in Africa. Pursuant to an invitation extended to it by the Government of Zambia, the Council decided to hold plenary meetings at Lusaka in March 1978.

230. At its 58th meeting, on 12 January 1978, the Steering Committee of the Council decided to set up a working group, headed by the Representative of Zambia, to consider matters relating to the meetings to be held at Lusaka.

231. At its 59th meeting, on 25 January, the Steering Committee approved the report of the Working Group and recommended to the Council that, prior to the convening of the plenary meetings at Lusaka, three missions should be sent to Africa, each comprising five members, to be led by an ambassador and accompanied by a representative of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

232. The objective of the missions was to hold consultations with the Governments of the host countries, to exchange views and to seek guidance on the question of Namibia. The missions were requested to report to the Council at its plenary meetings in Lusaka.

233. The Mission to the United Republic of Tanzania and Mozambique was composed of the following members:

Chairman: Mr. Jakša Petrić (Yugoslavia) 10/

Members: Mr. M. K. Abdel Fattah (Egypt)
Mr. L. G. Robinson (Guyana)
Mr. M. T. Siddiqui (Pakistan)
Mr. N. J. Sikaulu (Zambia)

SWAPO: Mr. K. Katamila 11/

The Mission was accompanied by the following staff members of the United Nations

10/ On 8 and 9 March, Mr. B. Vemic, Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Yugoslav Embassy at Dar es Salaam, was Acting Chairman of the Mission.

11/ Mr. P. Mushihange, Foreign Secretary of SWAPO, joined the Mission during the consultations with the President and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania.

Secretariat: Mr. J. M. Sechele, Principal Secretary; Mr. Keith Beavan, Press Officer; and Miss Mimi Chang, Secretary.

234. The Mission is grateful to the Secretary-General for making available the necessary staff and facilities and, in that connexion, wishes to acknowledge with appreciation the competent and dedicated services of the Secretariat staff members as well as the generous assistance extended to the Mission by the United Nations offices at Dar es Salaam and Maputo.

235. On 8 March 1978, while in London, the Mission was interviewed by the Domestic Radio Service of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). On arrival in the United Republic of Tanzania, the Mission held a press conference with representatives of local news media at the Dar es Salaam airport. Radio Tanzania also broadcast the activities of the Mission throughout its visit in the Republic and news stories were carried in the local press. In addition, the Mission issued a press release after its consultations with President Julius K. Nyerere (see appendix I below) and also issued a joint communiqué with the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania (see appendix II below). The local media of Mozambique covered the activities of the Mission throughout its visit to Maputo. Radio Mozambique interviewed the Chairman of the Mission the day before the Mission departed for Lusaka. In addition to media coverage, the Mission released a joint communiqué on the day of its departure (see appendix III below).

2. Chronology of the Mission

236. A brief chronology of the Mission is given below:

London

<u>Tuesday, 7 March 1978</u>	12 p.m.	Interview with the Domestic Radio Service of the BBC
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Dar es Salaam

<u>Wednesday, 8 March 1978</u>	11.30 a.m.	Interview with the local press
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Arusha

<u>Thursday, 9 March 1978</u>	3.30 p.m.	Meeting with the President of the United Republic of Tanzania
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	7.15 p.m.	Meeting with the Minister for Foreign Affairs
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Dar es Salaam

<u>Saturday, 11 March 1978</u>	12.30 p.m.	Press conference at the airport and release of the joint communiqué
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Maputo

<u>Monday, 13 March 1978</u>	3 p.m.	Meeting with the representatives of the Government of Mozambique
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<u>Tuesday, 14 March 1978</u>	9 a.m.	Meeting with the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs
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<u>Wednesday, 15 March 1978</u>	3.30 p.m.	Interview with Radio Mozambique
	7.30 p.m.	Dinner with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique

<u>Thursday, 16 March 1978</u>	1 p.m.	Release of the joint communiqué
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3. Visit to the United Republic of Tanzania

(a) Consultations with the President

237. The Mission visited the United Republic of Tanzania from 8 to 11 March for the purpose of consulting with the Government on the question of Namibia.

238. The Mission was received by President Nyerere on 9 March. Present at the consultations were Mr. Joseph Butiku, Private Secretary to the President, Mr. Amos Babana, Assistant Private Secretary to the President, and Mr. Peter Pallangyo, Deputy Director of African Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

239. The Mission expressed to the President its gratitude for his having taken time from his busy schedule to receive them. The Mission outlined the various issues on which it was seeking the guidance and advice of the President and the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania.

240. In reply, the President stated that the international community as a whole agreed on the objective in Namibia, which was the withdrawal of South Africa from the Territory and the exercise by the people of Namibia of their right to self-determination and national independence. He stressed the illegality of South Africa's occupation of Namibia and pointed out that the United Nations position on that issue was clear and unequivocal. The United Nations had appropriately accorded recognition to SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

241. The President added that, although it could not do the fighting for SWAPO or negotiate on its behalf, the United Nations should continue to put maximum pressure on South Africa in order to compel it to withdraw from Namibia. He stressed the necessity for SWAPO to continue to intensify its armed struggle for the liberation of Namibia. He emphasized that without armed struggle, South Africa would never withdraw from Namibia and that the people of Namibia would continue to be denied their inalienable right to self-determination and national independence. In that connexion, the President called on the international community to continue to provide military assistance to SWAPO. He added that those countries which could not, because of their policies, provide military assistance, should provide other forms of assistance, including positive votes at the United Nations on the question of Namibia.

242. With reference to the manoeuvres of South Africa, the President stated that the racist occupation régime was intent on proceeding with a so-called internal settlement. For that purpose, South Africa was propping up some individuals to whom it could hand over the semblance of power in an attempt to ward off pressure from SWAPO, thus negating the authority of the United Nations. In that context, the President warned that the so-called internal settlement in Southern Rhodesia could encourage Vorster to follow suit. He cautioned the United Nations to be on its guard against such manoeuvres by the illegal minority régimes of southern Africa.

243. With specific regard to the status of Walvis Bay, the President reaffirmed his Government's stated position that Walvis Bay was an integral part of the Territory

of Namibia, as reflected in resolutions of the United Nations. The President stated that it was not for the United Nations to compromise on the matter and that the United Nations should continue to be guided by SWAPO in that regard.

244. Regarding the option for negotiations, the President reaffirmed his Government's support for Security Council resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976. He stressed that South Africa still had to demonstrate to the international community its good faith regarding the genuine independence of Namibia. He pointed out that South Africa had remained intransigent, whereas SWAPO had shown a willingness to negotiate seriously.

245. The President viewed the forthcoming ninth special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia as an important initiative designed to put pressure on South Africa, through the United Nations, to compel it to withdraw from Namibia. In conclusion, the President observed that only SWAPO could liberate Namibia and that any action undertaken by the international community should be supportive of the national liberation struggle of the Namibian people.

(b) Consultations with the Minister for Foreign Affairs

246. Also on 9 March, the Mission met with Mr. Benjamin Mkapa, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who reiterated the position of his Government regarding Namibia as expressed by the President. Regarding the negotiating option, the Foreign Minister said that his Government continued to support SWAPO in its struggle for the liberation of Namibia. His Government was being briefed about the initiative of the five Western Powers. He said that South Africa had been intransigent in the talks and had not shown any seriousness about negotiating. SWAPO, on the other hand, while remaining firm on the principles endorsed by United Nations resolutions, had shown flexibility and had negotiated seriously.

247. Regarding the forthcoming ninth special session of the General Assembly, the Foreign Minister hoped that the Assembly would deal with the deteriorating situation in Namibia and take effective measures to ensure the speedy liberation of the Territory. The Foreign Minister concluded by assuring the Mission that his Government would do all it could to solicit further assistance from the international community, not only to SWAPO, but also to the United Nations Fund for Namibia and to the Institute for Namibia.

4. Visit to Mozambique

248. The Mission visited Mozambique from 11 to 16 March 1978 for the purpose of holding consultations with the Government on the question of Namibia.

249. On 13 March, the Mission met with Mr. Sergio Vieira, Member of the Central Committee of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) and Representative in the Popular Assembly, who was accompanied by Mr. Fernando Honwana, Representative in the Popular Assembly, and Mr. Maraqu Isaac Murargy, Adviser, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

250. On 14 March, the Mission was received by Mr. José Oscar Monteiro, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, who was accompanied by Mr. Vieira and Mr. Murargy.

251. During the meetings, the Chairman of the Mission outlined the various issues on which the Mission was seeking the guidance and views of the Government of Mozambique.

252. The representative of the Government of Mozambique welcomed the Mission as a delegation of freedom fighters and said that the struggle of SWAPO for the independence of Namibia had entered a crucial phase and that the victories of revolution in Angola and Mozambique had changed the balance of forces in southern Africa. He noted that imperialist forces were seeking to prevent a repeat of Angolan and Mozambican victories. Those forces, which had opposed the independence of Angola and Mozambique, had since changed their tactics and were presenting proposals designed to safeguard their interests in southern Africa.

253. He reaffirmed the commitment of his Government not only to the genuine liberation of Namibia, but also to the rest of southern Africa.

254. He stressed the impossibility of neighbouring independent States coexisting with either the illegal minority régimes or their puppet creations. He added in that regard that only the assumption of power by genuinely independent national Governments in southern Africa could guarantee the security of neighbouring independent African States and remove the threat to international peace and security.

255. The representative of the Government of Mozambique stressed that the racist régime of South Africa remained as determined as ever to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia and, to that end, had now embarked upon a set of manoeuvres designed to placate and to confuse outraged international public opinion. He noted that South Africa was seeking to install in Namibia a puppet régime under the facade of a so-called internal settlement. Such a manoeuvre on the part of the racist South African régime must be exposed, condemned and totally rejected by the international community.

256. The perceived strategy of South Africa was to use that so-called internal settlement as a ruse to give legality to its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia, thereby paving the way for the perpetuation of its exploitation of the human and natural resources of Namibia. He further noted that in promoting a so-called internal settlement, South Africa was, in fact, seeking to change the course of the struggle for national liberation and, to that end, was trying to sow seeds of civil war in Namibia. A salient element of that double strategy would be South

Africa's continued depiction of SWAPO as a "terrorist" organization with foreign support, thus allowing South Africa to continue its military build up in Namibia and to perpetuate its acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African States.

257. With regard to the status of Walvis Bay, the representative of the Government of Mozambique said that that was not a problem of territorial claims, but one of externally imposed and enforced partition of the Territory of Namibia. The people in Walvis Bay were the same as those in the rest of Namibia. South Africa's illegal annexation of Walvis Bay was a deliberate attempt to deprive Namibia of its main port and vital economic avenue and to retain a strategic military base in Namibia. He made it clear that the position of the Government of Mozambique on the question of Walvis Bay was that it was an integral part of Namibia. He urged the international community to use all the means at its disposal to compel South Africa to terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia, including Walvis Bay.

258. The representative of the Government of Mozambique stressed the imperative need for the international community to rally solidly behind SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, particularly in light of the political gimmickry and the dangerous design of South Africa and international imperialism. Any attempt to undermine SWAPO and thus the struggle of the Namibian people for genuine and national independence must be exposed, condemned and rejected.

259. He noted in that regard that SWAPO had chosen to pursue both the course of armed struggle and negotiations. He said that there was, in fact, no contradiction in the strategy of armed struggle and negotiations. Without armed struggle, the process of negotiation could never succeed. He congratulated SWAPO on its intensified armed struggle and urged the international community to increase its support to that organization.

260. With regard to the talks held under the auspices of the five Western countries, the representative of the Government of Mozambique emphasized the seriousness to negotiate demonstrated by SWAPO. Whereas SWAPO had made very important concessions, South Africa had, by its continued intransigence, failed to demonstrate good faith or a willingness to enter seriously into negotiations. He pointed out that any genuine attempt to resolve the problem of Namibia by negotiations must not at the same time diminish the role of the United Nations Council for Namibia. He emphasized that Namibia remained a direct responsibility of the United Nations and especially of the Council, the only legal Administering Authority of the Territory until independence. He reiterated the position that no negotiated settlement was possible without the agreement of SWAPO or outside the framework of the United Nations.

261. With regard to the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly, the representative of the Government of Mozambique said that his Government would do all that it could to make it a success. He observed that the Programme of Action 12/ adopted by the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and

12/ Maputo Declaration in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia (A/32/109/Rev.1-S/12344/Rev.1, annex V.

Namibia, held at Maputo from 16 to 21 May 1977, remained valid. He expressed the view that both the plenary meetings of the Council, to be held at Lusaka, and the ninth special session of the General Assembly should have as their main objectives the reaffirmation of the territorial integrity of Namibia, the implementation of that part of the Maputo Programme of Action which concerns the condemnation and rejection of any so-called internal settlement in Namibia and the strengthening of SWAPO as the vanguard of the struggle of the Namibian people for the genuine national liberation and independence of their country.

APPENDIX I

Press release issued at Dar es Salaam on 9 March 1978
following consultations with the President of the
United Republic of Tanzania

1. On 9 March 1978, the Mission met at Arusha with Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania and Chairman of the front-line States.
2. In assessing the current situation in southern Africa, the President said that both Smith and South Africa were playing the same game of trying to achieve a so-called internal settlement in an attempt to ward off the external pressures, those of the Patriotic Front regarding Zimbabwe and those of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) regarding Namibia.
3. He stressed that the United Nations must be on its guard against the double games of the illegal minority régimes in both Zimbabwe and Namibia. The United Nations must not become confused about its fundamental aims. Those fundamental aims regarding Namibia, the President stressed, were to assure that South Africa left Namibia and thus allowed the Namibians to assume power and take complete charge of their own affairs. He expressed the hope that those countries giving arms to SWAPO would continue to do so. If the guerrilla pressure of the national liberation movements were removed, South Africa would never withdraw.
4. The countries which did not feel they could give arms should continue to assist the national liberation movements by all other means, even if only by votes, so as to ensure that there would be maximum international pressure on South Africa. The President emphasized, however, that only SWAPO could liberate Namibia and that other methods were merely supportive to the national liberation struggle.

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APPENDIX II

Joint communiqué issued at Dar es Salaam on 11 March 1978 by
the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and the
Mission

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1. On 9 March 1978 the Mission conferred at Arusha with Mr. Julius K. Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania. The Mission also held extensive consultations with Mr. Benjamin Mkapa, Foreign Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, and officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
2. The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and the Mission of the Council warned that both Smith and South Africa were playing the same game of trying to achieve so-called internal settlements in an attempt to ward off the external pressures, those of the Patriotic Front regarding Zimbabwe and those of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) regarding Namibia.
3. They stressed that the United Nations must be on its guard against the double games of the illegal minority régimes in both Zimbabwe and Namibia. The United Nations, they agreed, must not become confused about its fundamental aims. Those fundamental aims regarding Namibia, they stressed, were to ensure that South Africa relinquished its illegal occupation of Namibia, thus allowing the Namibian people to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence.
4. The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and the Mission agreed on the need for the international community to continue to provide every assistance to SWAPO in order to strengthen both its fighting and negotiating positions. Despite South Africa's efforts to placate and confuse an increasingly impatient world public opinion, it remained evident that South Africa still had to demonstrate to the international community good faith regarding the genuine independence of Namibia. They expressed their concern at recent developments in the Territory, such as the harassment of SWAPO supporters at public meetings, strengthening of tribal armies, policies of "divide and rule" and incitement to violence by the South African occupiers, along with mounting evidence of detailed planning for a spurious "internal settlement". They demand the immediate withdrawal of the illegal régime of South Africa from Namibia and the unimpeded exercise by the people of the Territory of their right to self-determination and national independence.
5. The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and the Mission agreed that the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly could be a milestone in the continuing efforts of the international community to achieve that desired solution.
6. The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and the Mission expected that the special session would undertake effective measures to ensure the territorial integrity of Namibia. It was not for the United Nations to make any compromise on that issue. They categorically condemned South Africa's pretence to annex Walvis Bay, which they viewed as null and void.

7. The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and the Mission expressed their complete solidarity with SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, in its legitimate struggle to free Namibia from the illegal occupation of racist South Africa. They called upon all States to strengthen both the fighting and negotiating position of SWAPO and expressed the hope that those providing military assistance would continue to do so, while those contributing to the United Nations Fund for Namibia for humanitarian purposes and to the Institute for Namibia would maintain and increase their contributions.

8. Both the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and the Mission congratulated SWAPO on the intensification of its struggle on all fronts and expressed confidence that SWAPO's struggle would result in the speedy achievement of a genuinely independent Namibia.

APPENDIX III

Joint communiqué issued at Maputo on 16 March 1978 by the Government of Mozambique and the Mission

1. On 15 March 1978 the Mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia conferred with Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Earlier, it held extensive consultations with Mr. José Oscar Monteiro, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister of State, and with senior government officials.
2. The Government of Mozambique and the Mission agreed that, following the victories of the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau over Portuguese colonialism, international imperialism had changed its strategy, but not its fundamental aims of preserving its interests. They warned that the strategy of creating so-called "internal settlements" was a device of imperialism, just as colonialism and apartheid were.
3. The Government of Mozambique and the Mission further warned that the plans of South Africa for a so-called "internal settlement" were designed to give the semblance of power to a puppet régime, to give a cover of "legality" to the racist occupation, to foster civil war and to propagate the fiction that the struggle of the people of Namibia for the liberation of the Territory would take the form of aggression perpetuated from outside the Territory.
4. The Government of Mozambique and the Mission agreed that a constituent element in those manoeuvres was the attempt to diminish the role of the Council in search of a solution to the problem, with the aim of removing the United Nations, and thus the international community, which was militant in its support for SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the people of Namibia, from the process of decolonization of the Territory.
5. The Mission congratulated the Government of Mozambique for its steadfast support of the liberation movement.
6. In the face of the repeated aggression of the illegal racist minority régimes and their desire to internationalize the conflict, the Mission confirmed the existence of a grave threat, not only to the peace and security of the neighbouring African States, but also to the whole of the African continent, and indeed to international peace and security. Both the Government of Mozambique and the Mission stressed that only the assumption of power by genuinely independent national and democratic Governments in southern Africa could guarantee the security of the neighbouring independent African States and remove the threat to international peace and security.
7. The Government of Mozambique and the Mission agreed that the determination of the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO, their sole and authentic representatives, to use armed struggle to attain self-determination and independence was the single most important factor in foiling the plans of South Africa and international imperialism. They called on the international community to help SWAPO strengthen both its fighting and negotiation positions in the face of those plans.

8. They emphasized that Namibia remained a direct responsibility of the United Nations, and especially of the Council, the only legal authority until independence, and reiterated their position that no negotiated settlement was possible without the agreement of SWAPO or outside the framework of the United Nations.

9. In that regard, the Government of Mozambique and the Mission agreed that the forthcoming special session of the United Nations General Assembly on Namibia was an important initiative for the formulation of ways and means to remove the illegal racist occupation of Namibia by South Africa, to strengthen SWAPO and thereby ensure the speedy exercise by the people of Namibia of their right to self-determination and independence.

10. The Government of Mozambique and the Mission reaffirmed that Walvis Bay was an integral part of Namibia and that attempts to present the question as that of a territorial claim could only encourage the expansionist intentions of South Africa with a view to the partition of the Territory of Namibia and the consequent continued occupation of Walvis Bay by South Africa.

11. The Government of Mozambique and the Mission congratulated SWAPO on the mounting successes in its struggle and called on all States Members of the United Nations to increase both military and humanitarian assistance to SWAPO in its legitimate struggle for the self-determination and independence of Namibia.

12. The Mission warmly thanked the Government of Mozambique for the hospitality afforded it.

APPENDIX IV

Statement by Mr. Jakša Petrić, Chairman of the Mission, delivered
at the 275th meeting of the Council on 21 March 1978

Allow me, first of all, to express my deep gratitude to the Government of Zambia for its kind and traditional hospitality extended to us so generously. We have great admiration for Zambia as one of the front-line States which has so many times given proof that the interests of free Africa are very dear to her and that she is ready to make great sacrifices in order to help the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia to liberate their own countries from the racist, illegal régimes of Smith and Vorster.

Madam President, I have the honour to introduce the report of the mission of the United Nations Council for Namibia to Mozambique and the United Republic of Tanzania. The mission, composed of the representative of Yugoslavia, Chairman, and representatives of Egypt, Guyana, Pakistan and Zambia, was accompanied throughout by representatives of SWAPO.

The mission is grateful to the Governments concerned for the high-level representatives who participated in the consultations. It is especially grateful to the President and Foreign Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania and the Foreign Minister of Mozambique for taking time to meet with the mission.

It became abundantly clear in the talks that the overriding concern of the Governments is that the illegal racist occupiers in Namibia are bent on bringing about a bogus "internal settlement" in Namibia in the same way that Smith has attempted in Zimbabwe. The detailed planning of the occupiers to create tribal armies, harass SWAPO supporters and bolster the puppets was made clear to the mission. The aim would be to give a semblance of power to a puppet régime, to give a cover of "legality" to the racist occupiers, to foster civil war and to propagate the fiction that the struggle of the people of Namibia for the liberation of the Territory would be aggression perpetuated from outside.

Both Governments stressed the importance of the United Nations being on its guard against these plans and of taking effective action to foil these manoeuvres. They emphasized that there would be no settlement without SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the people, or outside the framework of the United Nations. Attempts to bypass either SWAPO or the United Nations were bound to fail.

Both Governments made their view plain that it was only because of the armed struggle that any talk of a settlement had even come about. They stressed the vital importance of the international community continuing to support SWAPO in the armed struggle and to find effective means to strengthen both its fighting and negotiating position.

Finally, both Governments pointed out to the mission the threat, not only to neighbouring countries and the African continent, posed by the illegal régimes in southern Africa, but the increasing danger of their manoeuvres to world peace and security, as exemplified by their escalating aggression against independent African States.

It was within this context of the threat to international peace and security that our discussions took place. And it is within this context that the report of the mission is presented today to the Council for its consideration.

In conclusion, I wish to thank both Governments for their hospitality, frankness and co-operation. I wish also to acknowledge with appreciation the competent and dedicated services of Mr. Sechele, Mr. Bevan and Miss Chang, members of the United Nations Secretariat, as well as the generous assistance extended to the mission by the United Nations offices in Dar es Salaam and Maputo.

I now present the report for the Council's consideration.

D. Report of the Mission to Yugoslavia

12-15 March 1978

1. Introduction

262. At its 271st meeting, on 8 February 1978, the United Nations Council for Namibia decided to accept an invitation from the Government of Yugoslavia to visit the International Centre for Public Enterprises in Developing Countries at Ljubljana and to carry out consultations with officials of the Yugoslav Government aimed at intensifying joint action to support the struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination, freedom and national independence.

263. The decision of the Council was taken in conformity with its programme of work and in accordance with its mandate contained in General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967 and subsequent resolutions on Namibia, in particular resolution 32/9 of 4 November 1977.

264. The membership of the Mission, as constituted by the Council on the recommendation of the President, was as follows:

Chairman:	Miss Gwendoline C. Konie (Zambia) President of the United Nations Council for Namibia
	Mr. Chérif Bachir Djigo (Senegal) Chairman of Standing Committee I
	Mr. Vladimir Pavićević (Yugoslavia) Chairman of Standing Committee III
	Mr. Petre Vlasceanu (Romania) Rapporteur of the Committee on the United Nations Fund for Namibia
	Mr. Shapua Kaukungua South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)

The Mission was accompanied by Mr. M. Ahtisaari, United Nations Commissioner for Namibia.

265. The Mission visited Ljubljana and Belgrade from 11 to 15 March 1978. The chronology of the Mission is given in paragraph 267 below. A summary of activities related to the visit to the International Centre for Public Enterprises in Developing Countries is contained in section 3 below. Section 4 contains a summary of the consultations with officials of the Government of Yugoslavia, and the recommendations of the Mission are presented in section 5.

266. The Mission wishes to place on record its deep appreciation for the opportunity that the Government of Yugoslavia and the International Centre so generously accorded it to participate in an extensive exchange of views relating to the question of Namibia and to the intensification of assistance to the Namibian people through SWAPO. The Mission also wishes to express its profound gratitude to the Government and people of Yugoslavia for the cordial hospitality and warm reception extended to its members.

2. Chronology of the Mission

267. A chronological summary of the visit to Yugoslavia is given below:

Ljubljana

<u>Sunday, 12 March</u>	12.30 p.m.	Arrival of the delegation
	7 p.m.	Dinner given by Mr. Žiga Vodušek, Director of the International Centre for Public Enterprises in Developing Countries
<u>Monday, 13 March</u>	11 a.m.	Meeting with Mrs. Vida Tomsic, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia
	12 p.m.	Meeting with Mr. Miran Mejak, member of the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and President of the Committee for Economy and Finance of the Executive Council
	1 p.m.	Luncheon at Vila Podrožnik given by Mr. Miran Mejak
	3.30 p.m.	Talks with the Director and staff at the International Centre for Public Enterprises in Developing Countries
	5.30 p.m.	Talks with Mr. Beno Župančič, Vice-President of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia
	9 p.m.	Departure for Belgrade

Belgrade

<u>Monday, 13 March</u>	10.30 p.m.	Arrival of the delegation
<u>Tuesday, 14 March</u>	11 a.m.	Talks with Mr. Lazar Mojsov, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs and President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly
	12.30 p.m.	Talks with Mr. Alexander Bakočević, President of the Division for International Relations of the Socialist Alliance

Tuesday, 14 March

- 5 p.m. Press conference at the International Press Centre
- 8 p.m. Dinner offered by Mr. Marko Kosin, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

Wednesday, 15 March

- 9.30 a.m. Talks with Mr. Anton Vratuša^v, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council and President of the Governing Board of the International Centre
- 11 a.m. Talks with Mr. Miljan Komatina, Assistant Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Z. Jazić, Director of the Department of International Organizations
- 12.30 p.m. Courtesy call on Mr. Cvijetin Mijatović, member of the Federal Presidency of Yugoslavia
- 1.30 p.m. Luncheon offered by Mr. Miljan Komatina, Assistant Secretary for Foreign Affairs
- 4.20 p.m. Departure for Lusaka

3. Visit to the International Centre for Public Enterprises
in Developing Countries

268. The Mission visited the International Centre from 2 to 13 March. It held discussions concerning the work of the Centre with Mr. Anton Vratuša, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, in his capacity of President of the Governing Board of the Centre. The Mission also held talks with Mr. Žiga Vodusek, Director of the Centre, and was given the opportunity to visit the Centre's facilities.

(a) Talks with the President of the Governing Board of the
International Centre

269. The President of the Governing Board explained that the idea for the creation of the Centre was conceived seven years ago during the United Nations Seminar on Public Enterprises, held in Yugoslavia. Four years ago, the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia decided to establish the Centre in Slovenia. In 1974, the new Centre organized an international seminar on planning in public enterprises in developing countries, in which 32 countries and several United Nations agencies participated. At that seminar, a number of participants suggested that the Centre be transformed into a joint institution of developing countries. Subsequently, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) helped to finance the Centre's projects.

270. Mr. Vratuša indicated the concern of the International Centre with the role of the public sector in the strategy of economic development in developing countries. He elaborated on its main activities, in particular the five major permanent research programmes:

(a) All aspects of the education and training of personnel in public enterprises;

(b) Planning in public enterprises which, he emphasized, was of central concern to the Centre, since planning of national development was receiving increasing attention in developing countries;

(c) The financing of public enterprises and related systems of information and control in public enterprises;

(d) Workers' self-management and participation in decision-making as a factor of social change and economic progress in developing countries;

(e) Examination of the role of the public sector in developing countries.

271. The President of the Governing Board explained that the activities of the Centre reflected the increasing role and importance of the public sector in the national economy of developing countries. Available official information had revealed that the number of public enterprises in developing countries was increasing evidence of the determination of the developing countries to achieve full sovereignty over their natural resources.

272. The International Centre was considering the organization of a training programme in the main areas defined by its statutes, although a programme of this type had not yet been put in practice. All activities of the Centre were undertaken as consultancies at the request of Governments and individual enterprises.

273. The statutes of the International Centre would enter formally into force after 15 countries had officially notified the Yugoslav Government of their acceptance of the statutes. Once that formality had been completed, the first Assembly of the Centre would be convened to adopt a biennial programme of work, to determine the criteria for the regular financial contribution of member States to its budget and to elect the governing body of the Centre.

274. For the time being, the financing of the International Centre was based on Yugoslav resources, while some funds were provided by United Nations agencies, contributions from Governments or the development agencies of some developed countries and earmarked for specific purposes.

275. In the implementation of the activities defined by its programme, the International Centre had been able to establish working-level contacts with international institutions, in particular with some specialized agencies and other bodies within the United Nations system, including the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) and UNDP.

276. At its third ministerial meeting, held at Havana from 17 to 19 March 1975, the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries recommended that the non-aligned countries examine the possibility of joining the International Centre. Subsequently, at its meeting held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975, the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries invited non-aligned and other developing countries to join the Centre and welcomed the decision to convene a meeting with a view to adopting a statute for the Centre (A/10217 and Corr.1, annex, para. 173). At the invitation of the Yugoslav Government, the conference was held at Ljubljana from 2 to 4 March 1976.

277. Mr. Vratuša went on to say that the establishment of the International Centre was another significant contribution by Yugoslavia to the efforts of the developing countries to strengthen national independence and to build prosperous societies. In that connexion, the Centre was in a position to assist the Namibian people in acquiring important skills needed for the development of their country after independence. The 1978 work programme of the Centre indicated several areas in which a working relationship could be established between the Council and the Centre, which would include the exchange of research material as well as the participation of the Council in seminars and workshops organized by the Centre.

278. The head of the Mission thanked the President of the Governing Board for his stimulating and enlightening statement which, she said, revealed yet another dynamic and creative contribution of the Government and people of Yugoslavia to the efforts of the developing countries in strengthening national independence and

building prosperous societies. She affirmed that the Mission would make recommendations to the Council with a view to considering all possible approaches for close co-operation between the Centre and the Council.

(b) Talks with the Director of the International Centre

279. After welcoming the Mission, the Director of the International Centre explained the activities forming the 1978 programme of work of the Centre, as well as the general characteristics of the statutes, by which many developing countries shared responsibility for the formulation and implementation of the policies of the Centre.

280. In accordance with its terms of reference, the International Centre was to plan and carry out research projects and other studies on the status, organization, direction, business management, financing and planning of public enterprises and the management and organization of public multinational enterprises. With respect to the organization and work of those administrative governmental bodies concerned with public enterprises, the Centre was to collect and make available information and research findings on the methods of organization, direction, financing and operation of public enterprises in various countries, as well as on their technological innovations. The Centre was also to organize co-operation among those bodies, as well as exchange information on the management of public enterprises. In addition, it was actively organizing symposia, seminars, discussions and consultations on topics related to the status, organization, direction, business management, financing and planning of public enterprises. It was also considering the organization of courses and other means of training personnel to meet the needs of public enterprises in developing countries, including all forms of educational and training methods related to its field of activities, the latter to be developed in co-operation with universities and other academic centres of learning.

281. The Director indicated that, for 1978, a number of activities were scheduled both in Yugoslavia and in other developing countries, as set forth below.

282. In the field of education and training of personnel, the International Centre was establishing the basis for comparative research in co-operation with interested developing countries. The objective of this research was to analyse the needs of those countries in the above-mentioned fields to help meet requirements in personnel planning and to set up programmes for their financing.

283. Preparations were under way for a seminar on management and training in public enterprises, to be held at Ljubljana from 18 September to 6 October 1978. It would be based on the results of the seminars held at Ljubljana in September 1976 (23 participants from 14 developing countries) and in October 1977 (28 participants from 24 developing countries). The seminar could be adapted to the needs of interested developing countries.

284. An international workshop was under preparation on the subject of the transfer and development of knowledge and technology to public enterprises in developing countries. An international preparatory meeting of experts would be organized at the Centre prior to the seminar, which would be held from 28 June to 3 July 1978.

285. On the project concerning planning in public enterprises in developing countries, international research activity, with participation from developing countries, was planned, together with workshops and seminars, and would take place in Somalia, the United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia.

286. With regard to the project on the financing and management in public enterprises, an international workshop on this theme would be held at the Centre from 22 to 27 May 1978. It was expected that representatives of public enterprises and officials from the finance ministries of 16 developing countries would attend the seminar.

287. An international seminar on the information system needed for the evaluation of business efficiency in public enterprises is planned also for 1978.

288. Research activities on the project concerning workers' self-management and participation in decision-making as a factor of social change and economic progress in developing countries (joint research with the participation of research teams from 10 countries) would cover the following in the first phase:

- (a) Presentation of national reports (conclusion of the first phase of research) and adoption of a programme of research for the second phase;

- (b) Preparation of a compendium of regulations on workers' self-management and participation in the decision-making process in developing countries.

289. The Director concluded with a reference to the project on the role of the public sector in the national economies of developing countries, whose programme for international research had been accepted in December 1977 at an international meeting of 13 developing countries at Ljubljana. The work on the project would be continued in 1978 with the initial preparation of national reports of the participatory research teams from developing countries.

290. Within the framework of consultancy, an international workshop, with participation from developing countries, would take place at the Centre in June 1978 with a view to promoting co-operation in this field among developing countries.

291. At the end of the talks, the Mission and officials of the International Centre issued a joint communiqué, the text of which is appended below.

292. Among the important practical matters considered by the Mission and the International Centre, there was agreement on the following initiatives:

- (a) The Centre would keep the Council regularly informed of its programme of activities;

- (b) The United Nations Commissioner for Namibia would inform the Centre of the initiatives taken in the context of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, having in view the activities of the Centre as well as the programme of the Institute for Namibia;

- (c) On the basis of a regular exchange of information, the Centre and the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia would propose concrete areas and forms of co-operation within the framework of the activities of the Centre and of the

mandate of the Council. The Centre would undertake to invite one or two participants from Namibia to the seminar on management and training of personnel scheduled to take place on 18 September 1978 (see para. 283 above). Invitations to other international activities of the Centre would also be addressed to the Office of the Commissioner. The Commissioner agreed to recommend to the Institute for Namibia that information be exchanged with the International Centre with a view to possible joint participation in their respective workshops and activities. The Director of the Institute for Namibia would be invited to the Centre;

(d) The Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia and the International Centre would regularly exchange publications, documentation and other information;

(e) The United Nations Commissioner for Namibia agreed to recommend that the Institute for Namibia invite the Director of the Centre to visit the Institute.

4. Consultations with officials of the Government of Yugoslavia

293. While in Ljubljana, the Mission held talks with Mrs. Vida Tomsic, member of the Presidency of Slovenia, and with Mr. Miran Mejak, member of the Executive Council of Slovenia and President of the Committee for Economy and Finance of the Executive Council, and also paid a courtesy call on Mr. Beno Zupančič, Vice-President of Slovenia.

294. The Mission held talks with senior officials of the Yugoslav Government in Belgrade on 14 and 15 March 1978. It was received in audience by Mr. Cvijetin Mijatović, member of the Federal Presidency of Yugoslavia, and paid a courtesy call on Mr. Alexander Bakočević, President of the Division for International Relations of the Socialist Alliance.

295. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Mission held talks with Mr. Lazar Mojsov, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, who was also the President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. Further discussions were held with Mr. Miljan Komatina, Assistant Secretary for Foreign Affairs and Mr. Z. Jazić, Director of the Department of International Organization.

(a) Consultation with the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs and President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly

296. In his talks with the members of the Mission, the Acting Foreign Minister, while expressing his views on different aspects of the question of Namibia, was particularly concerned with the issues of the ninth special session of the General Assembly.

297. He reaffirmed the strong support of the Government of Yugoslavia for the Council and for SWAPO. He also emphasized the decisive character of the armed struggle in achieving the national liberation of the people of Namibia and referred to the long experience of Yugoslavia in supporting liberation movements in southern Africa, particularly in Namibia. SWAPO had always maintained close relations with the people and Government of Yugoslavia. He recognized the special complexity of the struggle in Namibia and indicated that progressive forces should remain alert to the endless manoeuvres of South African racists and colonialists. He expressed the appreciation of his Government for the efforts of the Council to create conditions of support for the liberation struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO.

298. In his remarks concerning the special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia, the Acting Foreign Minister emphasized the importance of having a clear outlook in order to overcome the hesitation expressed by certain Governments. In fact, the extraordinary plenary meetings of the Council in Lusaka would constitute the real beginning of the preparatory work of the special session. Three problems deserved priority consideration at the forthcoming session. In the first place, it was necessary to dispel the hesitation of certain Governments regarding the special session, which had been convened by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. It was in the interest of the United Nations, in general, to have a successful special session on Namibia. Second, there was a need for high-level

representation at the special session to emphasize the importance of the final document of the session. Members of the Council, particularly African States, should give special attention to the question of representation and, if possible, appoint very high-ranking delegations, preferably at the ministerial level. The Government of Yugoslavia had already decided that its Vice-Prime Minister and its Minister for Foreign Affairs would attend the special session. Third, he expressed the view that the final document of the special session should not simply repeat the contents of resolutions of regular sessions of the Assembly. It would be preferable for the Council to consider the adoption of a declaration by the special session containing the essential points, without extensive details, of the position of the United Nations on the question of Namibia.

299. The Acting Foreign Minister also emphasized that it was important for the Council to clarify the main purposes of the special session and to set up a working group to prepare a basic document, which should be circulated as early as possible at United Nations Headquarters. Furthermore, it would be appropriate, in his view, that the special session should have a committee of the whole to prepare a final document for consideration by the session. The position of Governments unsympathetic to the Council should not prevent the preparation of a strong text indicating the key points of the United Nations position on the different aspects of the problem of Namibia. He indicated that the patterns of the documents of the Preparatory Committee for the special session on disarmament would be a useful background for the preparatory work of the Council for the special session on Namibia. Since the General Committee is not expected to meet during the special session, the Council would have an important role to play in the preparations for the special session in order to ensure its success.

300. The head of the Mission expressed her appreciation for the support that Yugoslavia had always given to the Council and for its active interest in Namibia at a particularly critical stage in the struggle of the Namibian people. She elaborated on the efforts of the Council to denounce the illegal manoeuvres of South Africa in its attempt to promote an internal settlement in Namibia. She further stated that the Council was fully committed to a successful special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia in support of SWAPO, recognized by the General Assembly as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

(b) Consultations with other government officials

301. In the talks held between the Mission and officials of the Yugoslav Government, several issues related to the internal and international situation of Namibia were extensively discussed. Government officials reiterated the support of the people and Government of Yugoslavia for the efforts of the United Nations to bring about the withdrawal of South Africa from the Territory as a whole, including Walvis Bay, and to allow the Namibian people to establish their freedom and national independence. They recognized the responsibility of the United Nations, through the Council, to administer the Territory until independence.

302. The officials expressed their full support for the armed liberation struggle of SWAPO, as well as its diplomatic and political efforts to achieve independence for Namibia, and said that their Government pledged moral, political and material support and assistance to SWAPO until genuine independence was achieved. They

expressed concern at the implications of the internal settlement in Southern Rhodesia for future political development in Namibia. These developments suggested that South Africa was manoeuvring to impose a similar puppet régime in Namibia and would then attempt to obtain international recognition. Such a régime would create a situation of civil war. As a result, there would be an increase in the insecurity among neighbouring African States, creating conditions of great instability in the region. Yugoslavia supported genuine independence for Namibia and hoped that it could be attained soon, thus allowing Namibia to join the United Nations as a non-aligned, independent State.

303. Yugoslavia fully supported SWAPO as the only authentic and genuine representative of the Namibian people in their struggle to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence in a united Namibia.

304. Views were exchanged on the current situation in Namibia and it was agreed that South Africa was actually doing everything in its power to create conditions to perpetuate its control over Namibia with a view to establishing a puppet régime. For that purpose they had expanded militarization in Namibia, intensified their efforts to strengthen tribal groups and other collaborators in Namibia, annexed Walvis Bay and were insisting on retaining their military forces and their racist colonial police during the transition to independence, in order to confuse the political situation and create conditions for civil war. In such a context, they would attempt to manipulate an international solution in order to obtain support for their puppets.

305. Great interest was shown in the talks of the five Western Powers being carried out, on the one hand, with the Pretoria régime and separately with SWAPO. It was recognized that the last round of talks in New York had not produced substantive results, although SWAPO had made significant concessions. It was agreed that South Africa did not want a genuine solution to the problem and that, furthermore, the Western Powers were not pressing decisively on South Africa to withdraw from Namibia. Yugoslavia was in favour of the genuine independence of Namibia and the high officials of the Yugoslav Government underlined that only genuine independence and the real self-determination of the Namibian people could solve the Namibian problem and ensure peace and security for African countries. The security for Western interests should be based on principles of mutual benefits and co-operation with a free and independent Namibia, and not on the basis of the exploitation of the people and natural resources of Namibia protected by South African military and police forces.

306. Special attention was given to the need for the non-aligned nations to strengthen their unity in order to withstand pressures directly aimed at overcoming their solidarity in the struggle against colonialism.

307. The Mission, on behalf of the Council, reaffirmed its full support for the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia.

308. The Mission also reaffirmed its condemnation of the racist and colonialist régime of Pretoria for its illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of repeated demands for its withdrawal by the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations. In addition to its brutal repression of the Namibian people, the Pretoria régime had been carrying out continuous manoeuvres to perpetuate its

control of Namibia and to mislead the international community with respect to its expansionist and neo-colonialist designs. South Africa continued to pursue its objective of fragmenting Namibia into a powerless collection of tribal homelands manipulated for its own exploitative and racist ends.

309. The Mission emphasized its continuous denunciation of the military bases maintained in Namibia by the Pretoria régime. From its bases in Namibia South Africa had launched armed attacks against neighbouring independent African countries with the obvious intention of intimidating Governments and perpetuating its racist and exploitative policies in southern Africa.

310. The Mission expressed its profound appreciation for the firm, consistent and generous support of Yugoslavia for the cause of the liberation of the Namibian people and its satisfaction with the decision of the Yugoslav Government to designate the Vice-Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs as its representatives at the special session of the General Assembly on Namibia.

311. In the view of the Mission, the forthcoming special session should endeavour to intensify the mobilization of international support for the struggle of the Namibian people led by SWAPO, their sole and authentic liberation movement. In the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council, the United Nations Council for Namibia had the responsibility of ensuring the integrity and unity of Namibia in achieving its genuine independence in accordance with the aspirations of the Namibian people. Thus the basic objective of the special session must be the definition of the conditions which will ensure the genuine independence of the Namibian people.

5. Recommendations

312. The Mission recommends to the Council that it should:

(a) Request membership for Namibia in the International Centre for Public Enterprises in Developing Countries, and that Namibia should be represented by the United Nations Council for Namibia until it achieves genuine independence;

(b) Request that the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, in consultation with SWAPO, and, in the context of the implementation of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia and the joint communiqué signed by the Mission and the International Centre for Public Enterprises in Developing Countries, organize the systematic exchange of information and documentation at the Centre and facilitate the participation of Namibians in their training programmes, workshops and seminars. The Commissioner should furthermore facilitate the participation of the Centre in the implementation of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, taking into account particularly the needs of SWAPO and the Institute for Namibia at Lusaka;

(c) Consider the extraordinary plenary meetings in Lusaka as preparatory meetings for the participation of the Council in the ninth special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia. Accordingly, the extraordinary plenary meetings in Lusaka should prepare systematic guidelines on organizational matters for the preparation of the special session and should adopt substantive guidelines for the final document to be adopted by the special session.

APPENDIX

Joint communiqué issued at Ljubljana on 13 March 1978 by the International Centre for Public Enterprises in Developing Countries and the Mission of the Council

1. The Mission met with Mr. Anton Vratuša, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council and President of the Governing Board of the International Centre at Ljubljana.
2. The officials of the International Centre welcomed the opportunity for an exchange of views with the members of the Mission. The Centre was represented by Mr. Žiga Vodusek, Director of the International Centre. The following officials of the International Centre participated in the talks:
 - Mr. Edo Pirkmajer, Secretary-General of the Research Community of Slovenia, member of the Administrative Board of the Centre
 - Mr. Janez Batis, Professor at the University of Ljubljana, member of the Administrative Board of the Centre
 - Mr. Lojze Kersnik, Director of the Institute for International Scientific, Technical and Cultural Co-operation of Slovenia.
3. The Mission expressed its appreciation to the International Centre for its invitation to consider the ways and means of establishing close co-operation between the Council and the Centre, in accordance with the purposes defined in the statutes of the Centre.
4. The Mission and the International Centre agreed that the objectives of the Centre in education, training, planning, financing and organization of workers' self-management in public enterprises in developing countries could make a significant contribution to the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of their sole and authentic liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), to achieve self-determination and independence in a united Namibia. The Centre and the Mission are of the view that, in the future, continuous consultations should determine the specific areas of assistance to Namibians, in consultation with SWAPO and in conformity with the statutes and the programme of activities of the Centre.
5. The Mission, on behalf of the Council, expressed interest in the Council's becoming a member of the International Centre, in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations giving the Council the responsibility for administering the Territory, which has international status until independence. The Mission will recommend to the Council that it should consider becoming a member of the Centre, in accordance with the procedure elaborated by the statutes of the Centre. The officials of the Centre welcomed the interest expressed by the Mission and stated that appropriate steps would be taken to invite the Council to the First Assembly of the Centre. They assured the Mission of their readiness to support the Council's eventual proposal for membership in the Centre.

6. The Mission explained the objectives and scope of the Nationhood Programme for Namibia, a comprehensive assistance programme under the responsibility of the Council covering both the period of struggle for independence and the initial years of independence of Namibia. The Programme, together with the United Nations Fund for Namibia and the Institute for Namibia, comprise the Council's major programmes of assistance for the benefit of the Namibian people.

7. The International Centre expressed its interest in participating in the programmes of assistance to Namibians, in conformity with its statutes.

8. The Mission thanked the officials of the International Centre for the warm welcome extended to it and for their generous hospitality, and expressed its appreciation for the interest shown by the Centre in developing close co-operation with the Council in support of self-determination, freedom and national independence for the Namibian people.