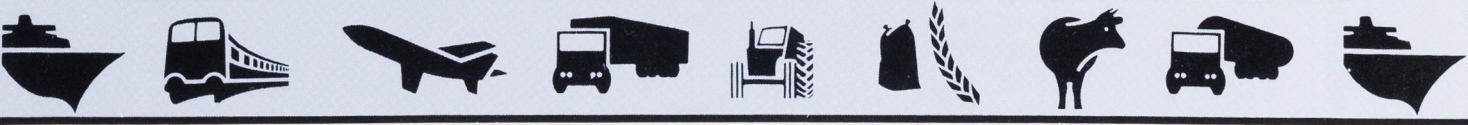


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AWEPA Series-3

NAMIBIA: A TRUST BETRAYED



AWEPAA Series-3

NAMIBIA: A TRUST BETRAYED

Background papers for:
AWEPAA Twin Conference, Lusaka-Harare
March 23-30, 1988

SOUTHERN AFRICA'S FUTURE
EUROPE'S ROLE



AWEPAA

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AWEPA

The Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid (AWEPA) was founded in Copenhagen in 1984. Members and associates are drawn from all national parliaments in Western Europe, the European Parliament, and the parliaments of the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and Japan.

The Association works in cooperation with the UN Council for Namibia, the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, the World Council of Churches, EC agencies and other organisations, to promote freedom and justice in South Africa and Namibia, and development and peace in Southern Africa. AWEPA provides practical assistance to parliamentarians throughout Western Europe, including information and analysis of developments in Southern Africa and government policies in the West, as well as coordinating and initiating parliamentary action in Western Europe.

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NAMIBIA: Basic Data

Government: International law recognizes the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal governing authority of Namibia. The United Nations recognizes SWAPO as the sole authentic representative of the Namibia people. However Namibia is illegally occupied by South Africa, which calls it South West Africa/Namibia.

Capital: Windhoek.

Area: 824,000 square kilometer (over three times the size of the United Kingdom and $\frac{2}{3}$ the size of South Africa).

Population: 1.5 million. Black 95%, white 5%. 70% of the black population is rural. Approximate growth rate of black population 3% p.a.

Language: Nine major languages or language groups, of which Oshiwambo is the largest being spoken by half the black population. Afrikaans is the main language used by S.A. Administration in Namibia. SWAPO officially uses English.

Land: 5,000 large white-owned farms occupy 77% of all viable farming land. 190,000 black peasant farming households are restricted to using small plots or land of inferior quality.

Health: Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)
- for blacks 155
- for whites 21

Economy: Gross Domestic Product GDP per capita R1,400 (R1 = US\$0.50).

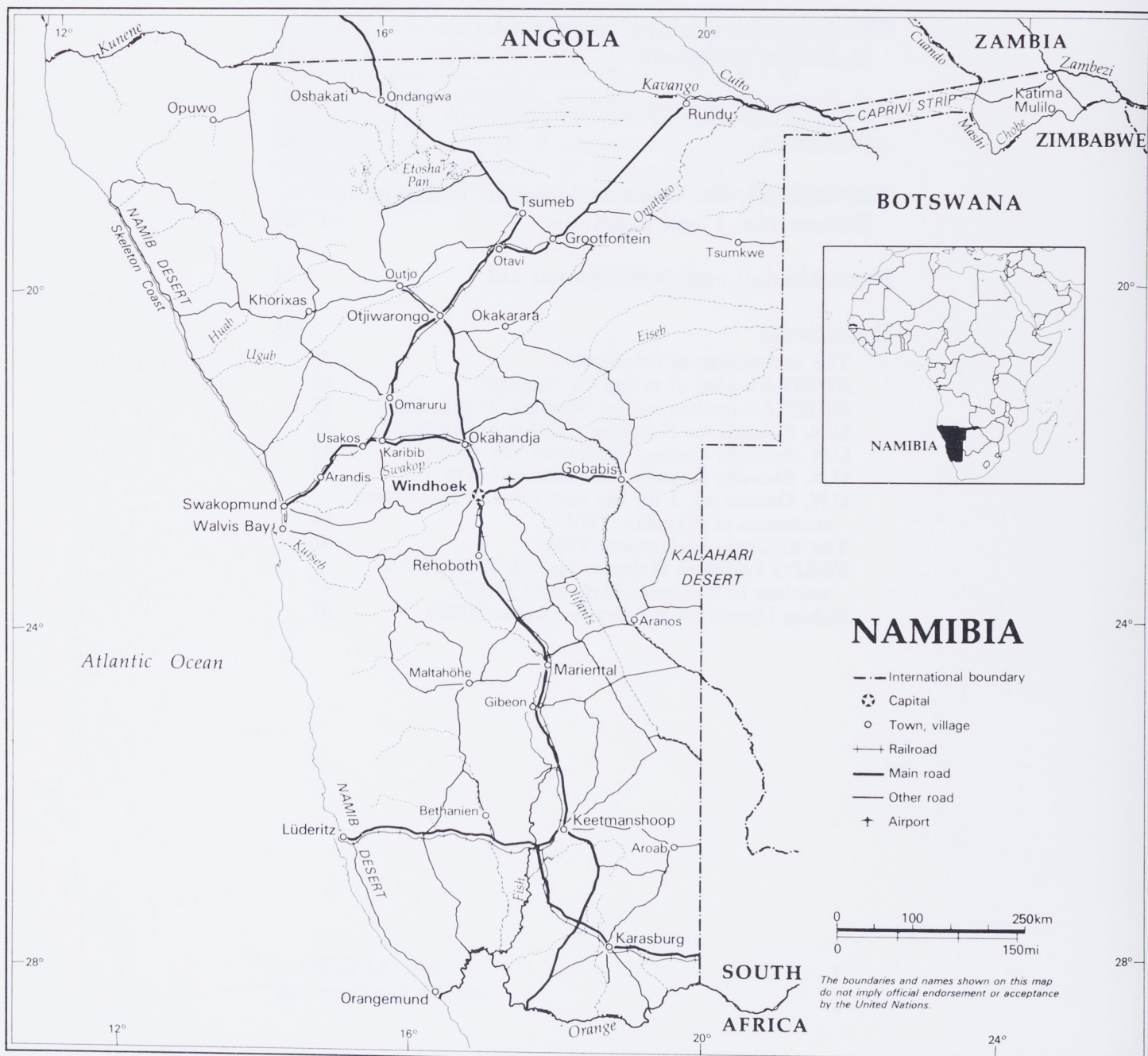
Gross National Product GNP per capita R1,200.

The difference between GDP and GNP represents income to foreigners, i.e. foreign economic interests earn R200 for each Namibian.

Major exports: diamonds, uranium, copper and other base metals, beef/cattle, fish and fish products, karakul (lamb pelts for fur coats).

Distribution of wealth:

GDP per capita: - whites	R5,800
- blacks	330
- black peasants	130



What South Africa wants out of Namibia



A question which is often put is 'Why does South Africa insist on remaining in Namibia in the face of so much international criticism?'. It is often not easy to interpret what South Africa's policy towards Namibia really is. It is clear, however, that its Namibia policy has changed from time to time.

During the early years of South Africa's Mandate Namibia served as an area where unemployed white Afrikaans-speaking farmers could be sent to take over farms vacated by the Germans.

After the Second World War the mining boom (copper and diamonds) began. The Namibian mining industry became more important to South Africa than its agricultural sector.

In the 1960's the suggestion of incorporating Namibia into South Africa as a fifth province was seriously considered. The South West African Affairs Act No. 25 of 1969, passed by the South African Parliament could almost be regarded as a *de facto* incorporation of Namibia into South Africa in all but name. During this time South Africa concentrated on dividing Namibian blacks up into ten 'homelands' according to different 'populations groups' along the lines of the apartheid system in South Africa itself. This was the period in which Namibia was a profitable venture for South Africa: the costs of government were minimal and the profits and the income from the taxes of the diamond and copper mines and the fishing industry were high.

The coup in Portugal in April 1974 and the ensuing independence of Mozambique and Angola in 1975 made South Africa realize that it was not possible to indefinitely maintain Namibia as a colony or as a *de facto* incorporated territory. It was then decided to set up a system with a semblance of democracy, but based on South African supported tribal leaders from the ten homelands which had been established earlier. In this way South Africa would continue to control developments in Namibia through behind-the-scenes white political and economic domination. This meeting of tribal leaders was called the Turnhalle Conference and out of it emerged the political party known as the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA). The DTA formed the 'internal government' of Namibia from 1978-1983. Since 1985 the DTA has formed a major part of the Multi-Party Conference (MPC) 'internal government'.

Occupation becomes costly

But there is no question of financial gain any more. In 1982 a serious economic slump set in, mineral prices fell drastically and the revenues from exports were greatly reduced. At the same time the costs of governing the territory under the present system are enormous: ten expensive and inefficient tribal governments together with the so-called Multi-Party Conference (MPC) 'interim-government' for a total population of under 1 million people.

South Africa concedes that the war is costing them nearly R2 million per day. SWAPO estimates the total occupation force to be in the region of 100,000 people.

South African budgetary assistance to Namibia had to be increased from R285 million in 1983/4 to R467 million in 1986/7. In addition there is the cost of maintaining the army of occupation and waging the

war against SWAPO. (South Africa concedes that the war is costing them nearly R2 million per day. SWAPO estimates the total occupation force to be in the region of 100,000 people.) On the income side the fishing industry has collapsed and the profitability of the mines has dropped dramatically, despite the coming on stream of the Rössing uranium mine in 1978. Financially Namibia is today a large and growing drain on South Africa's budget.

It can also be said that South Africa has now decided that Namibia should at some stage in the future become independent; but this raises the question: what sort of independence will be granted and to whom? (This also by-passes the international legal position where South Africa, as the illegal occupier, has no right at all to decide what should happen in Namibia.) South Africa's present plan is to continue with its strategy of trying to build up its 'alternative to SWAPO' and grant a special kind of 'independence' to the present MPC 'interim-government'. It would prefer, however, to be able to include one or two more 'respectable tribal leaders' who can appear to be 'strong political figures' with an 'authentic power-base' included so as to 'broaden the base of support' for the MPC governing coalition.

South Africa insists, however, that Namibia be governed on a tribal or at least 'regional' basis. Whereas it appears that the majority of MPC participants realize that if they stick to their tribal links they have absolutely no chance of gaining any significant support. This explains why there is presently an impasse between the powerless MPC 'interim-government' and President Botha as to what should be done next.

South Africa seems at this moment to realize that each of its attempts since 1975 to build up an alternative to SWAPO inside Namibia have not succeeded. But the chance that it will agree to any independence plan, such as that contained in United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 435 of 1978 which is likely to produce a SWAPO (and therefore popular) government, is very small indeed.

South Africa realizes each of its attempts since 1975 to build up an alternative to SWAPO inside Namibia have not succeeded.

Not that a SWAPO government could pose a military or economic threat to its far more powerful Southern neighbour; the threat of a SWAPO government in Namibia is to be found in the political ramifications of its coming to power – political ramifications which would be felt in South Africa itself.

Fear of SWAPO victory

In the event of SWAPO coming to power (say through the internationally supervised elections envisaged in Resolution No. 435), whites in South Africa – particularly the right-wing official opposition Conservative Party – would fiercely criticize the government. They would question why had their children fought – and died – in the long war against SWAPO if SWAPO had majority support. (Compare this to the 'Vietnam syndrome' in the U.S.A.) And if South African government propaganda on SWAPO as 'a terrorist minority' was proved wrong, what other propaganda could also be false? There would be a white backlash in South Africa against a government

which allowed SWAPO to come to power. The Botha government has enough problems with the Conservative Party at the moment and it does not want unforeseen developments concerning Namibia to cause more problems in white South African politics.

A SWAPO victory would be a tremendous boost to the struggle in South Africa.

But the second reason for not tolerating a SWAPO takeover in Namibia is probably more important given the present political climate in South Africa as a whole. Were SWAPO, no matter through what process, to form the government in Namibia, blacks in South Africa could quite rightly claim that SWAPO had fought the white South African government for over twenty years *and had won!* This would encourage blacks in South Africa, who generally now already identify with SWAPO's struggle against South African colonial rule, to themselves engage in or continue the armed struggle. A SWAPO victory in Namibia would be a tremendous boost to the struggle of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, and the white South African government does not want this at all, given the present level of resistance against apartheid.

In practice training

These psychological considerations are certainly recognized by South Africa's military leaders, who have yet another reason to want to remain in Namibia. The low-level guerilla war now being waged against SWAPO provides an 'in practice training' for the South African army. Not only do soldiers gain combat experience, but also South African designed military vehicles and weapons systems can be tested 'in the field'. Yet all this can safely take place one thousand kilometers away from South Africa's own borders! The war in Namibia (and the spill-over into Angola) suit both the present day strategy and the long term planning needs of the South African military establishment. One element that would benefit the defence of apartheid were South Africa to withdraw from Namibia is that the borders to be protected by the South African Army would be reduced by several thousands of kilometers. But this is neglected by the military establishment which has, under South Africa's 1984 constitution, become inter-woven with the executive decision-making processes dominated by the white National Party of President P.W. Botha.

South Africa is not being forced to pay a higher price, which is the result of the lack of Western pressure.

It can be stated that the psychological effects in South Africa itself of a SWAPO victory in Namibia are probably the greatest stumbling block to independence. This is because the political and economic price that South Africa must presently pay for its continued occupation of Namibia is not yet high enough to force it to accept the consequences of SWAPO coming to power in Namibia. (That South Africa is not being forced to pay a higher price is the result of the lack of Western pressure.)

South Africa cripples Namibia economically

South Africa does now have some vision of a 'second-rate' Namibian independence; whereby SWAPO would be kept out of government; where South Africa's military interests would not be threatened and where Namibia's chances of developing to its full potential would be structurally limited. Apart from the present so-called Multi-Party Conference (MPC) interim-government's complete economic and security dependence on South Africa, the plans for 'independence' are for a 'handicapped' Namibia: the country's only deep water harbour Walvis Bay, with its large military base, is claimed by South Africa. This effectively makes Namibia a landlocked country dependent upon South Africa for its access to the sea. South African control of Walvis Bay would also prevent the government of an independent Namibia coming to an agreement with Botswana to develop a direct rail link between the presently isolated Western areas of Botswana (which are said to be rich in minerals) and the port of Walvis Bay. South Africa wants Botswana to remain dependent on it for its transport links. In addition, South Africa claims that Namibia's Southern border, the Orange River, belongs exclusively to South Africa and is not, like normal river boundaries, shared by both countries. South African control of one of Namibia's few major water resources places any future Namibian government in a still weaker position with regard to South Africa.

A poor black neighbour is less of a threat to South Africa than a rich black neighbour...

South African officials have in the past also claimed that the money that South Africa is presently spending to occupy Namibia and in funding the tribal and MPC-'governments' will, after Namibian independence, have to be paid back. It is their intention that a new Namibian government will be saddled with a huge 'loan' from South Africa which it will have to pay back (with interest) after independence. In this way South Africa wants the Namibians to pay for their own oppression. Any such 'loan' would be an added burden on a new government, limiting its economic flexibility and growth potential.

P.W. Botha said in S.A. Parliament, 31 January 1984:
'...If there is to be a choice between the interests of the Republic of South Africa and the interests of South West Africa, I shall give priority to the interests of South Africa.'

Yet another disturbing factor of the continuing South African occupation of Namibia is the speed at which the existing diamond and uranium resources are being mined. In the last few years the rate of extraction of some minerals has been speeded up considerably. It is clear that South Africa hopes that the government of an independent Namibia will not have the benefit of a steady income from the diamond and uranium mines. A poor black neighbour is less of a threat to South Africa than a rich black neighbour... South Africa would like Namibia to become a country such as Lesotho or Swaziland now, totally in the grip of its powerful neighbour and serving as a buffer state

against 'black, hostile states in the North'.

In recent months a further reason has emerged as to why South Africa holds on to Namibia. In October 1987 the French oil rig, 'Asterie', started drilling a test hole in Namibian waters more than 100 kilometers from the Namibian port of Lüderitz. It will try and define the resources of what is known as the Kudu gas field, which was first discovered by an American company in 1974. If the drilling results are as successful as South Africa hopes they will be, the Kudu gas field could supply between 10% and 30% of South Africa's liquid fuel requirements. Such a large cheap source of energy would help South Africa enormously: it would save vast amounts of foreign currency and would probably lead to an oil-from-gas project which would be far cheaper than South Africa's present oil-from-coal process. With a SWAPO government in Namibia South Africa could not satisfactorily control the development of and sales from the Kudu gas field. With secure sources of energy essential to the survival of the apartheid system, Namibian gas is one more reason why South Africa will not leave the territory.

Destabilisation from Namibia

At the moment Namibia is also of special importance to South Africa in its campaign to destabilize the governments of the front-line states. The South African government wishes to show white South Africans (and possibly some blacks as well) that black-governed states in the region are in chaos and that their inhabitants suffer under this instability. Control of Namibia gives South Africa and its military forces access to the highly strategic Caprivi Strip, which borders on Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Military bases in the Caprivi increase South Africa's potential to strike at far more targets throughout Southern and Central Africa with its air force than if its planes flew from Pretoria or the border with Zimbabwe. The Mpacha military base in the Caprivi was used by South Africa as one of the launching pads for its attacks on Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe in May 1986.

US arms for UNITA would not be allowed to be channelled through Namibia, were SWAPO to come to power.

Namibia plays a crucial role in the destabilization of Angola, as much support to the UNITA rebels of Jonas Savimbi is channelled through Namibian territory. Given the Reagan Administration's desire to support UNITA, South African-controlled supply lines to UNITA form yet another U.S.A.-South Africa link. In July 1986 a U.S. State Department official, Robert C. Frasure, confirmed before the Foreign Affairs Commission of the British Parliament that U.S.-supplied arms had been reaching UNITA covertly through South Africa. Were SWAPO to come

to power in Namibia then it is clear that aid to UNITA, from whatever source, would not be allowed to be channelled through Namibia. Therefore the implementation of Res. 435 in Namibia would be a severe blow to UNITA cutting one of their major supply lines. This would enable a greater degree of peace and stability to return to Angola, which as an oil-producing and a fertile country, has the potential to develop into a strong regional economic power. This is precisely what the white South African government does not want, and is one more reason to continue the occupation of Namibia.

By remaining in Namibia, South Africa can continue to claim that it is in the 'frontline' in 'the fight against communist expansionism' because of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. South Africa knows that this claim will get it a more sympathetic hearing from the governments in Washington, London and Bonn, and this claim is central to the 'Cuban linkage' issue.

The Cuban troops protecting central Angola have acted with the utmost restraint.

This has led to the situation where the major Western powers have been satisfied to undertake no serious initiative on Namibia in recent years, thereby giving South Africa more time to follow its own Namibian policies. South Africa's claim ignores, of course, the fact that the Cubans arrived in Angola in 1975 to successfully save the country from the invading South African Army, and that while South African troops still occupy Southern Angola and regularly penetrate areas further North – as evidenced by the heavy fighting in Angola in November 1987 – the Cuban troops protecting central Angola have acted with the utmost restraint in order to prevent the possibility of a major Cuban/South African clash.

The South African government has, from its own perverted perspective, every reason not to tolerate resistance to its occupation of Namibia. This is why the list of human rights violations against Namibians grows daily, with the army, police and most of the tribal governments all being guilty of shocking deeds against the Namibian people showing an utter disrespect for human life and property.

The sad conclusion is that South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia largely for reasons which have nothing to do with the Namibian people themselves: internal South African political considerations and regional power politics. A hostage is someone who is detained by force against his or her will until a set of demands is met – demands over which the hostage personally has no control. One could therefore justifiably claim that Namibia was 'being held hostage' by South Africa for the wide-ranging set of reasons explained above.

U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 435 (1978)



For the Namibians themselves, the colonial history of Namibia has been both traumatic and tragic. Brutally colonised by the Germans in 1884; invaded by the South Africans in 1915; entrusted under a Mandate by the League of Nations to South Africa in 1919; subjected to systematic discrimination under South Africa's apartheid laws, the Namibians have watched for generations how the international community has refused to shoulder its responsibilities and intervene.

With the United Nations taking over from the League of Nations in 1945, South Africa continued to impose its will on Namibia in defiance of world opinion. In 1966 the United Nations General Assembly voted to end South Africa's Mandate over the territory. In June 1971, the International Court of Justice in The Hague confirmed in an advisory opinion that South Africa's occupation of Namibia was illegal. This opinion, together with the publicity generated by a mass strike by Namibian workers, led to a new diplomatic initiative in 1972 spearheaded by the then newly-appointed U.N. Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim. Dr. Waldheim later appointed a Swiss diplomat, Dr. Alfred Escher, to assist him.

The Namibians have watched for generations how the international community has refused to shoulder its responsibilities and intervene.

By the end of 1973 Waldheim's initiative had foundered on South Africa's continued obstinate refusal to leave Namibia and the U.N. General Assembly then granted SWAPO the status of 'sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people' to preclude any recognition of South Africa's illegal occupation. It was clear that the revolution in Portugal in April 1974 would dramatically change the political face of Southern Africa with the independence of Mozambique and Angola. South Africa began a new policy in Namibia by trying to set up a conservative political alternative to compete with SWAPO for support inside Namibia – the tribally constituted Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA). In 1975 the U.N. Security Council also launched a new initiative and in January 1976 adopted Res. 385. This called for the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and the taking over of the administration by the United Nations which would then itself organise and supervise elections for an independent Namibian government. SWAPO promised complete co-operation with the U.N., but South Africa refused.

The South African refusal to co-operate with the implementation of Res. 385 (1976) sparked off a call led by African countries for compulsory sanctions against South Africa: South Africa had rejected the 1971 Opinion of the International Court of Justice, Waldheim's 1972/3 initiative had failed and South Africa was now ignoring a Security Council Resolution.

West avoids sanctions

U.N. procedures led to the situation where, apart from the United States, the United Kingdom and France (three permanent members of the Security Council), Canada and West Germany also had seats on the Security Council in 1977 and 1978. None of the Western countries, each of which had major trading links with South Africa and Namibia, were in favour of sanctions. In order to avert the call for compulsory

sanctions against South Africa due to its policy on Namibia, the five Western countries in the Security Council in 1977/8 (the United States, United Kingdom, France, Canada and West Germany) decided to form a Contact Group to pressurize South Africa into accepting elections under Res. 385. Their stated intention was that Namibia should gain its independence by the end of 1978!

From the beginning it was clear that South Africa, under the leadership of Prime Minister John Vorster, was not prepared simply to withdraw from Namibia and leave the administration over to the United Nations. However, in order to entice South Africa to accept some form of elections leading to Namibian independence, SWAPO was prepared in its discussions with the Western Contact Group to make some concessions. South Africa – although the illegal occupying power – would temporarily be allowed to appoint an Administrator-General for Namibia and would itself *organise* the elections for a constituent assembly. The U.N. would merely *supervise* the elections, guarantee the peace and organise the return of the Namibian refugees. This new plan – a clearly watered down version of Res. 385 – was finally accepted by Prime Minister Vorster on 25 April 1978. The Contact Group thought success was just around the corner.

P.W. Botha said in S.A. Parliament, 14 August 1987:

'...Although I abide by the decision taken by the Government in relation to Resolution 435 under the leadership of my predecessor, I personally have never been in favour of the acceptance of Resolution 435. ... When my predecessor called for a Cabinet decision, I stated my standpoint very clearly and forcefully. To tell the truth, there was an argument in the Cabinet about it – but subsequently, when the Cabinet decided that Resolution 435 was to be accepted, I resigned myself to that decision.'

At the beginning of May 1978 the Contact Group was meeting with SWAPO in New York to get SWAPO's final agreement on the plan South Africa had accepted days before. On 4 May 1978 the South African Army, in a move clearly designed to undermine the talks which were still in progress in New York, launched a large-scale attack on SWAPO camps in Angola. At Cassinga, the large SWAPO refugee settlement, some 800 Namibians – mainly women and children – were brutally murdered by South African soldiers. The SWAPO leadership immediately suspended all further negotiations and returned to Angola 'to bury the dead'. However on 12 July 1978, despite the South African provocation, SWAPO accepted the proposals of the Contact Group.

Military not happy with settlement

It appears that the South African military strategists were not happy with the prospect of a negotiated settlement in Namibia. Being on the spot in Namibia they realised that SWAPO would in all probability win any free and fair election. By the Cassinga massacre they hoped to prevent any negotiated solution, even though Prime Minister Vorster had agreed to U.N. supervised elections. Vorster probably believed his own propaganda that SWAPO had little support in Namibia and that no guerrilla group could win an election.

Once SWAPO unexpectedly accepted the Contact Group's plan the South African military had to adopt

another strategy: on 20 September 1978 Prime Minister John Vorster announced that despite his previous agreement to the Namibian settlement plan, South Africa was now withdrawing its support. In the same statement he also announced his own immediate resignation as Prime Minister. Vorster's long-serving Minister of Defence, P.W. Botha, took over as Prime Minister!

Resolution 435 of 29 September 1978

The Security Council,

(...)

Reaffirming the legal responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia,

(...)

2. Reiterates that its objective is the withdrawal of South Africa's illegal administration from Namibia and the transfer of power to the people of Namibia with the assistance of the United Nations in accordance with Security Council resolution 385 (1976);

(...)

6. Declares that all unilateral measures taken by the illegal administration in Namibia in relation to the electoral process, including unilateral registration of voters, or transfer of power, are null and void;

(...)

On 29 September 1978, nine days after South Africa's rejection, the U.N. Security Council adopted the proposals contained in the Contact Group's plan as Res. 435 (1978). After nearly two years of negotiations the Western Contact Group had delayed the call for sanctions against South Africa and presented the world with a watered down form of Res. 385 (1976) providing for elections in Namibia. But there was still no security whatsoever that South Africa would agree to implementing Res. 435 and hold these elections.

The Betrayal of Resolution No. 435

After the adoption of Resolution No. 435 by the United Nations Security Council at the end of September 1978, the countries of the Western Contact Group wanted to follow up on the momentum which had been created around Namibia. It was decided to send the strongest ever diplomatic mission to South Africa to negotiate with the new South African Prime Minister, P.W. Botha, and force the implementation of Resolution No. 435.

From 15 to 18 October 1978 the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, West Germany and Canada and the Deputy Foreign Minister of France visited Pretoria, but after three days of negotiations with the South African Government left empty-handed. They had failed to persuade South Africa to cancel unilateral internal elections in Namibia scheduled by Pretoria for December 1978 instead of the U.N. sponsored elections. They did also not have any clear idea on South Africa's future plans for Namibia. P.W. Botha had merely said that in the course of 1979 he would be prepared to resume negotiations – *after* the unilateral Namibian elections. Later he menacingly added that the 'internal leaders' of Namibia would have to be involved in these negotiations to 'achieve international recognition'.

But the Western Contact Group was not prepared to admit its defeat in public, as this would have meant a renewed call for sanctions against South Africa: and negotiations had been started in 1977 precisely to

avoid sanctions. So the members of the Contact Group put on a brave face. The Canadian Foreign Minister proclaimed himself 'obviously optimistic' and said, 'This is a significant breakthrough'. The British Foreign Minister described the achievements of the mission as 'of profound significance for Southern Africa as a whole'. The British and West German Prime Ministers congratulated their Foreign Ministers for what they described as 'this unique diplomatic achievement'.

The Contact Group's economic interests in Namibia and South Africa were more important than Namibia's independence.

P.W. Botha, on the other hand, was delighted by the results of his first confrontation with the Foreign Ministers. He had made no concession whatsoever. He had merely promised that he was prepared to talk again the following year and had gained time to promote the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) as 'internal leaders' in opposition to SWAPO. Had the Western Foreign Ministers been serious about forcing South Africa to implement Resolution No. 435 they would have threatened to impose sanctions immediately on their return. But the round of self-congratulation within the Contact Group was proof to P.W. Botha in his first weeks as Prime Minister that he had nothing to fear from the Western countries. The Contact Group's weakness in doing nothing to punish South Africa's slap-in-the-face showed that their own economic interests in Namibia and South Africa were more important to them than Namibia's independence. The betrayal of Resolution No. 435 was more or less a fact less than a month after it had been adopted!

Reagan protects South Africa

Further rounds of negotiations between the Contact Group, South Africa, the United Nations and SWAPO in 1979 and 1980 led to a new series of objections by South Africa. In 1979 these were over the size of the United Nations' military presence during the transition period and the location of SWAPO bases after the ceasefire. In 1980 there were objections as to how the concept of a Demilitarized Zone along the Angolan border would be put into practice and as to the impartiality of the United Nations. In an attempt to solve these problems an 'all-party' Conference was held in Geneva in January 1981. Here South Africa introduced the DTA leaders as part of the South African delegation. The Geneva Conference was meant to iron out all remaining problems and end with the signing of a cease-fire between SWAPO and South Africa as the first stage of the implementation of Res. 435.

South Africa realized that SWAPO would win any election.

Despite SWAPO's expressed willingness to sign an immediate cease-fire, South Africa sabotaged the conference. Ronald Reagan had already been elected as the next President of the United States and South Africa knew it would be protected against reprisals (sanctions) by the incoming Reagan Administration.

This would gain it several years respite with the possibility of new rounds of negotiations. In addition South Africa realized that the DTA 'interim-government' imposed on Namibia was neither popular nor efficient and that SWAPO would certainly win any U.N. supervised-election in Namibia.

The internationally supervised elections in Zimbabwe in 1980 had been a great shock to the white South African government. They had been convinced that a liberation movement fighting a guerilla war could not win a fair election. But with the sweeping victory of Robert Mugabe's ZANU in Zimbabwe, South Africa realized that SWAPO would in all probability also win any election organized in terms of U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 435. South Africa's gamble in sabotaging the Geneva Conference paid off. Western vetoes in the U.N. Security Council in 1981 once again prevented the imposition of sanctions resulting from the continuing illegal occupation of Namibia.

Cuban linkage next obstacle

In 1981 South Africa also complained about the proposed election procedure. However Chester Crocker, the new Reagan Administration's negotiator on Namibia, came to South Africa's rescue with a plan which effectively took all the pressure off South Africa. He proposed to the South Africans that they need only agree to the implementation of Resolution No. 435 if Cuban forces assisting the MPLA government in Angola were to be withdrawn from Angola.

South Africa was delighted with this 'linkage'. It effectively meant that Namibia was no longer being regarded solely as a problem caused by South Africa's illegal occupation and its refusal to comply with international law; the regional interests of the United States were now also part of the problem. South Africa, therefore, grabbed at this opportunity to delay things further. By invading Southern Angola and putting more military pressure on the Angolan Government by supporting the UNITA rebels of Jonas Savimbi South Africa could practically ensure that the Cubans would have to stay in Angola! This tactic has successfully been used since that time. The Western Contact group soon stopped functioning and since 1983 all the negotiations have been left solely in the hands of the United States of America.

The introduction of the 'Cuban linkage' factor meant that since 1981 South Africa could claim that the delays in implementing Res. 435 were not its fault. Inside Namibia, however, its plans to create a client alternative to SWAPO ran into problems and the DTA 'interim-government' was abolished as corrupt and inefficient in 1983. South Africa began almost immediately with a second attempt. This time the Multi-Party Conference (MPC) was put together, still largely on an ethnic basis and with the DTA as a major component, in yet another attempt at building an alternative to SWAPO. In February 1984, outside the framework of the Contact Group, the South Africans and the Angolans agreed in Lusaka on a plan for the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola as a preliminary process to the implementation of Res. 435 and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Southern Angola. The United States even went so far as to temporarily set up a monitoring office in Windhoek. Differences of opinion as to how the time schedule was being implemented finally undermined any

possible result of the Lusaka agreement and the United States monitoring office was finally closed.

South African troops remain in Southern Angola and South Africa still remains unpunished.

In May 1984 there were talks between SWAPO and South Africa which now included the MPC in its delegation in Lusaka, but these never really got started due to the excessive demands made by the South African delegation. All the while South African troops remained in Southern Angola and because of the attitude of the major Western countries, South Africa still remained unpunished.

Since 1985 the thrust of the negotiations carried out by the United States has not been aimed at South Africa, but rather at Angola. As a result the United States' created 'linkage' problem has been addressed, rather than the illegal occupation of Namibia. This has given South Africa much needed time to continue trying to impose its own plan on Namibia. In June 1985 South Africa installed the MPC as an 'interim-government' in Namibia. The United Nations Security Council condemned South Africa for this step in Resolution No. 566 (1985), but did not specifically punish South Africa for its continued defiance of international law. Despite the mild wording of Resolution No. 566, the United States and the United Kingdom abstained from supporting it.

From: U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL Resolution nr. 566

The Security Council, (...)

- commending the South West Africa People's Organization for its preparedness to co-operate fully with the United Nations Secretary-General and his special representative, including its expressed readiness to sign and observe a cease-fire agreement with South Africa, (...)

3. Further condemns the racist regime in South Africa for its installation of a so-called interim government in Windhoek, (...)

4. Declares that action to be illegal and null and void and states that no recognition will be accorded either by the United Nations or any member state to it or to any representative or organ established in pursuance thereof, (...)

7. Rejects once again South Africa's insistence on linking the independence of Namibia to irrelevant and extraneous issues, (...)

9. Reiterates that Security Council Res. 435, embodying the United Nations Plan for the Independence of Namibia, is the only internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problems and demands its immediate and unconditional implementation,

10. Affirms that the consultations undertaken by the Secretary-General (...) have confirmed that all the outstanding issues relevant to Security Council Res. 435 have been resolved, except for the choice of the electoral system, (...)

12. Demands that South Africa co-operate fully with the Security Council and the Secretary-General in the implementation of the present resolution,

13. Strongly warns South Africa that failure to do so would compel the Security Council to meet forthwith to consider the adoption of appropriate measures under the U.N. Charter including chapter VII as additional pressure to ensure South Africa's compliance with the above mentioned resolutions,

14. Urges member states of the U.N. that have not done so to consider in the meantime taking appropriate voluntary measures against South Africa, which could include, (...)

2) re-examination of maritime and aerial relations with South Africa, (...)

West keeps supporting South Africa

Two years later, in April 1987, United Nations Security Council debated a draft resolution which would have imposed sanctions on South Africa because of its continuing refusal to implement Resolution No. 435 of 1978. The United States and the United Kingdom vetoed the resolution, West Germany voted against it while France, Italy and Japan abstained. South Africa could still rely on Western support.

In October 1987 the United Nations Security Council met yet again on the question of Namibia. The U.N. Secretary-General reported that all the outstanding technical issues relevant to the implementation of Resolution No. 435 had been removed (these included the objections raised by South Africa on the voting system, the impartiality of the United Nations etc.), but that South Africa still insisted on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a precondition to withdrawing from Namibia. (Later it was revealed that exactly during this period the South African Army was involved in heavy fighting with the Angolan Army some 200 kilometers deep in Angolan territory.)

In its twentieth resolution on Namibia since the ending of the Mandate in 1966, the Security Council, in Resolution No. 601 of 1987, authorised the U.N. Secretary-General to arrange a ceasefire between South Africa and SWAPO as a first step in implementing Resolution No. 435. This resolution was adopted by 14 votes to one abstention by the United States. Resolution No. 601, however, contains no time limits and makes no mention of punishing South Africa if it refuses to comply. South Africa, therefore, has no more reason to comply with Resolution No. 601 now than it did for implementing Resolution No. 385 (1976) or No. 435 (1978).

While the Reagan Administration is still in power it is highly unlikely that the 'Cuban linkage' demand will be dropped. The United Kingdom and West Germany (and other Western countries) officially deny supporting this 'linkage', but they are prepared to accept it as a fact. A week after of the adoption of Resolution No. 601 – which the United Kingdom had supported – the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, wrote a letter to some Members of Parliament claiming that the best way to ensure implementation of Resolution No. 435 would be 'through an agreement of Cuban troop withdrawal'.

10 years of failure by the West

Since 1977 the Namibians have seen how first the Western Contact Group, and later the United States of America have pushed the United Nations and the Security Council into the background. The illegal occupation of Namibia is now not seen by the West as a problem in its own right, but merely as part of a regional problem. The West failed dismally in its stated intention of getting Namibian independence by the end of 1978.

The last ten years of negotiations have seen the rule of international law undermined and United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 435 (1978) betrayed as the West has served its own interests at the cost of the interests of the Namibian people. The Namibians are still waiting for the international community to shoulder its responsibilities and force South Africa to withdraw from their country. International dialogue and negotiations on their own have proved unsuccessful.

The Namibians are now waiting for action – not more words.

From: U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL Resolution 601 (1987)

The Security Council,

(...)

1. Strongly condemns racist South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its stubborn refusal to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the Security Council, in particular resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978);

(...)

3. Affirms that all outstanding issues relevant to the implementation of its resolution 435 (1978) have now been resolved as stated in the Secretary-General's reports of 31 March 1987 and of 27 October 1987;

4. Welcomes the expressed readiness of the South West Africa People's Organization to sign and observe a cease-fire agreement with South Africa, in order to pave the way for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978);

5. Decides to authorize the Secretary-General to proceed to arrange a cease-fire between South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization in order to undertake the administrative and other practical steps necessary for the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group;

6. Urges States Members of the United Nations to render all the necessary practical assistance to the Secretary-General and his staff in the implementation of the present resolution;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress in the implementation of the present resolution and to submit his report as soon as possible;

8. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Observers criticise constitutional meeting

A six hour meeting in Windhoek last week finally destroyed any illusion that the "Transitional Government of National Unity" could exist independently of its creator, South Africa's President P. W. Botha. The president's emissaries, foreign minister Pik Botha, and defence minister General Magnus Malan, flew in to the Namibian capital to inform the "government" that its plans for a non-apartheid independence constitution were unacceptable.

Botha appointed his "government" in Namibia in June, 1985, to provide an alternative to the Namibian liberation movement, SWAPO, which most observers believe would overwhelmingly win any free UN monitored election process to choose the constitutional direction for the new nation.

Refusing to implement the UN plan, Botha chose representatives of six small political parties, already anti-SWAPO and beholden to Pretoria, and gave them nominal powers over the territory, except for defense and foreign affairs. A special council was appointed from this group to prepare a constitution agreeable to South Africa.

In an open effort to bolster their image among a skeptical populace, four of the six parties in this council recently completed a draft constitution which made no mention of protecting "group", in other words, "white", rights. This draft was rejected by President Botha, though its contents have not been made public. The president has now given the constitutional council a further three months to come up with a more acceptable version.

This means that the two most outspoken protagonists of a non-racial constitution, Andreas Shipanga, leader of the miniscule SWAPO "D" party, and Moses Katjiuongua of the splintered SWANU party, have had to make an ignominious climb down. At a press conference in Windhoek on Monday (June 22), the "interim government" ministers agreed that their decision to go along with Pretoria was "unanimous".

But General Malan and "Pik" Botha at least got a whiff of the strength of local feeling when 2,000 people, led by the Council of Churches of Namibia, protested outside their Windhoek hotel. The crowd insisted that South Africa implement the United Nations plan for Namibian independence.

No more than 75,000 of Namibia's 1.2 million people are white, but they, along with South Africa's seconded administrators and the South African-led army and police, control all important aspects of the country's economy and infrastructure. The insistence on "group" rights, which has the determined support of the "interim government's" powerful white National Party, does not bode well for a settlement of the dispute. Instead, the whites want guarantees that their "cultural and ethnic identity" (translate continued segregation in schools, hospitals, clubs, and libraries) will not be lost in any South African created "independence". They also want assurances about other important "rights", in particular their ownership of much of the territory's best farm land, seized by German and South African settlers in the years before and after World War I.

And so it is expected that "group rights" will be at the heart of the new constitution, with "group" lines drawn where racial and tribal borders exist under the current system.

It is not likely that this slight of hand will strengthen popular support for the "interim government" inside Namibia. Namibia's churches, whose membership comprises 75% of the population, have dismissed Botha's appointees as "unrepresentative" and instead support the the United Nations plan as the only hope for a just independence.

But South Africa is not known for changing its policies in response to black demands. Instead its propaganda efforts abroad promoting its "interim government" and painting SWAPO and Namibia's Christian churches as Communist terrorists will continue apace. If it is able to convince West Germany, the United States and Great Britain that the "interim government" is worth supporting instead of the West's own plan for Namibian independence (UNSCR 435), then the people of Namibia will be held captive by Pretoria for many years to come.

Namibian (Nam), 87 11 13

BANTUSTANS EXTENDED FOR ANOTHER YEAR

THE INTERIM government Cabinet has extended the term of office of ethnic governments by a period of one year.

In a press release this week, Mr Dirk Mudge said that the decision did not affect the legislative assemblies of the Damara or Owambo groups, since the term of office of the former lapsed only on March 28 1989, and the latter had not yet held an election.

The Cabinet said it had taken the decision with the knowledge that they had the legislative capability to disband the ethnic authorities if, during the extended term of office, an understanding was reached concerned another constitutional dispensation for the country.

Elections 'urgent'

WINDHOEK — South Africa has told the transitional government in Windhoek that elections to second-tier ethnic authorities and to municipalities should be held "as a matter of urgency".

Pretoria's representative in Windhoek, Administrator-General Mr Louis Plenaar, delivered this message to the Cabinet of Ministers of the government during a long meeting yesterday. According to a statement from Mr Plenaar's office, the Windhoek politicians were given until August 19 to reply.

The Administrator-General made it clear no polls on a national basis could be considered.

Business Day (SA), 87 07 15

Mudge unveils budget

WINDHOEK — Namibian Finance Minister Dirk Mudge yesterday presented a budget of R1 837,6m to the National Assembly in Windhoek.

Civil servant salary increases of 12% and no tax adjustments were among the more important announcements. An increase of R60 per annum for old-age pensions was also announced.

Mudge said revenue of R1 146m was anticipated from the government's own sources. That left a difference of about R750m between expenditure and revenue. This would be supplemented by a R308m budget assistance allocation from SA, coupled with a surplus of R276m from the previous financial year.

After provision had been made for certain loan commitments, it left an expected deficit of R100,7m, which would be financed from local loans on the local market.

Business Day (SA), 87 07 02

Cash leak

WINDHOEK — Namibia's gross domestic investment was about 250% less than gross domestic savings, which indicated that large amounts of money were leaving the country, Finance Minister Dirk Mudge said yesterday.

According to a SWABC news report, Mudge said gross domestic savings of R972m were generated last year, but investments totalled only R382m.

Windhoek Adv.(Nam), 88 01 22 (abr)

White election

INTERNAL POLITICS in Namibia appear to be headed for a major showdown following white executive chairman Kosie Pretorius' latest salvo on the holding of white elections.

In a statement late yesterday afternoon, Pretorius said the executive had decided earlier in the day to request the Cabinet to disband the white legislative assembly on April 1 and hold elections on June 22.

Windhoek Adv.(Nam), 88 01 19 (abr)

Cabinet minister and Republican Party leader, Dirk Mudge, has called on all prospective white voters not to register for the proposed white election.

Mudge also warned that the future of the Transitional Government would be placed in jeopardy by "unnecessary and meaningless party political conflict".

Namibian (Nam), 87 12 04 (abr)

IT WOULD be compulsory for all whites to register as voters in the forthcoming ethnic election, unless their identity document classified them as belonging to a group other than the 'whites'. This was said by Mr Kosie Pretorius, leader of the National Party, at a press conference this week.

Mr Pretorius, justifying the decision to hold ethnic elections, said that the Executive Committee was absolutely correct in implementing legislation of the Legislative Assembly for Whites, and which had been approved by the interim government Cabinet.

Herero Administration faces fiasco

THE HERERO Ethnic Authority saga involving a lack of funds for Herero pensioners and teachers' salaries could lead to a dramatic turn of events next week, as close to 150 headmasters and senior teachers representing 23 Herero Schools throughout the country vowed to close down their schools unless their grievances are addressed by Monday.

But in a late move yesterday, interim government Minister of Education, Mr Andrew Matjila, is understood to have told the teachers that he would meet with Finance Minister Mr Dirk Mudge and that their salaries could be ready today.

He is also understood to have assured the teachers that he agreed to the taking over of the education department of the Herero Administration and that he would conduct the transaction with the present Herero Authority — which has agreed to the takeover.

In the meantime, the teachers have been trying to bring together the Herero Executive Committee and members of the Herero Legislative Assembly in order to strike a unanimous agreement on their demands.

Early this week, the Executive Committee acceded to the teachers' major demand — that the Herero Authority hand over responsibility for education to the Central Government.

A question of lack of funds for teachers' salaries was the last straw

and the teachers expressed disgust at the fact that their administration had not even taken the trouble to inform them that they would not get their salaries on time.

In a related development, a meeting of traditional leaders attended by Headmen from various parts of Hereroland, was held in Windhoek on Thursday.

At the meeting the Headmen expressed their concern at the expulsion of nine prominent Nudo leaders, including several Headmen from the party.

They further accused the Paramount Chief of having bought liquor valued at R390,10 on the Administration's account at a bottle store in Gobabis.

They alleged that the Chief then used an administration vehicle and transported the liquor to Aminius without the knowledge of the members of the Executive Committee, and the Chief had been aware of the fact that there was no money to pay pensions.

Windhoek Adv.(Nam), 88 02 03 (abr)

Conscriptees lose challenge

ATTEMPTS by two men to have their military call-up orders declared invalid failed when their application was dismissed by the Windhoek Supreme Court this week.

The application was made by A Kotjipati and E Amporo against the South African Minister of Defence, the Interim Government, the General Officer Commanding the SWA Territory Force and the SWATF Registering Officer.

Kotjipati and Amporo maintained that the call-up notices were in conflict with the Bill of Fundamental Rights.

Mr Justice Mouton agreed with a previous Supreme Court finding that an existing law which restricted a fundamental right remained in effect even after the Bill of Fundamental Rights was accepted.

"Therefore, the Defence Act Nr.44 of 1957, is not applied

in this Territory in the light of, the provisions of the Bill of Rights and I express no opinion whether there is any restriction on a fundamental right," the judge said.

"The actions which have affected the applicants must therefore be adjudged in terms of the provisions of the Defence Act and not the Bill."

Mr Justice Mouton found that the Registering Officer did not have the authority to exempt anybody "on any of the grounds mentioned by the applicants".

The application was refused with costs which included two teams consisting of two legal counsels each.

Namibian (Nam), 88 02 12 (abr)

DETENTIONS CONTINUE

THE DEPUTY Government Attorney, Mr F.C. Brandt this week confirmed the continued detention without trial of nine persons in terms of security Proclamation A.G. 9 of 1977.

He said that the names of four other persons were not identifiable with persons being detained by the Cabinet of the interim government, and added that it was not known whether they are being detained under different names.

Mr Brandt told lawyers acting on behalf of the detainees that all the persons concerned were arrested between January 18 and 21, 1988, and that they are being detained in northern Namibia.

Meanwhile, Defence Force headquarters in Windhoek has for the third week now, failed to reply to queries from this newspaper concerning allegations that it is responsible for the latest spate of detentions.

Police said earlier that a number of persons were being held without trial as a result of "alleged contraventions of a statutory nature, and that their names cannot be made known at this stage."

CABINET LOSES OUT

THE CABINET of the interim government this week lost its appeal in the Windhoek Supreme Court in which it sought the arrest and detention without trial of six prominent Swapo leaders.

The Cabinet earlier appealed against a ruling by Mr Justice Ken Bethune, ordering the immediate release from detention of the six Swapo leaders, being Pastor Hendrik Witbooi, Swapo Vice-President, Niko Bessinger, Joint Foreign Affairs Secretary, Dan Tjongarero, Vice-Chairman, Ben Ulenka, MUN Secretary General, John Pandeni, NAFU Secretary General, and Anton Lubowski, NUNW Treasurer.

The Cabinet claimed that the men were being held in terms of the Terrorism Act, as they were allegedly withholding information, and that they were being detained for interrogation.

Dismissing the government's appeal with costs, a full bench of the Supreme Court found that the appellants' decision to keep the detainees in detention could have been based on valid grounds, but that according to the ap-

pellants' own affidavits and letters, they were influenced in the exercise of their discretion by grounds which they should never have taken into consideration.

The bench found that it was obvious that information could not be withheld unless it was first possessed.

Indicating that the arresting officer, Colonel Badenhorst who is also Deputy Chief of the Security Branch, failed to act strictly within the ambit and according to the provisions of Section 6(1) of Act 83 of 1967 (the Terrorism Act), the bench pointed out that the arresting officer should not be influenced by irrelevant and extraneous matter.

The bench consisted of the Judge President of the Windhoek Supreme Court, Mr Justice Hans Berker, Mr Justice Harald Levy, and Acting Judge W.R. Henning.

Windhoek Adv.(Nam), 87 12 24

Std 8 results shock

NAMIBIA'S 1988 Std 8 pass-rate dropped to a shocking 28.1% this year.

Results for Department of National Education schools and seven Representative Authority schools have now shown a steady drop since 1984.

Thirty-six percent passed in

1985 and 33% last year.

Of the 8 432 National Education candidates who wrote the Standard 8 external examination this year "only" 2 372 passed.

Windhoek Adv.(Nam), 87 12 02 (abr)

A door slams shut

THE WHITE Administration has reneged on a decision that children of all population groups be allowed to attend Swakopmund's English-medium Primary School.

This shock announcement was made yesterday by white executive committee chairman Kosie Pretorius.

The Swakopmund school was the first, and only, white school to apply to the White

Admin to throw open its doors to other races.

"One reason hinted at by Pretorius for excluding "other" population groups was "the maintaining of standards".

Windhoek Adv.(Nam), 87 01 20

Teacher numbers drop

ONLY 35 first year students registered for the new academic year at the White Administration's Windhoek Teachers' Training College yesterday.

This drop of 22 from last year's intake of 57 comes in the wake of regular calls that the College open its doors to all races, if only to utilize its extensive facilities to the full.

One of the reasons cited for last year's shocking national Std 8 and matric results is poorly qualified teachers.

Rector, Prof Dok Nel, said today that altogether a total of about 166 students were ex-

pected at the institution this year.

Nel said the college had teaching facilities for about 600 students, while the residences could house 324. The majority of students stayed in the residences.

"We suspect that the drop in the first year numbers, especially men, is due to the army not giving exemption from service", Nel said.

Another blow for human rights

WIDESPREAD condemnation has met the interim government's decision to crack down on all public meetings which were aimed at the commemoration of Namibian Women's Day on December 10.

The Cabinet of the interim government earlier proclaimed December 10 as a public holiday, to be known as "Human Rights Day," but later on December 9, contradicted its own so-called Bill of Rights, by issuing a banning order on all gatherings on the particular day.

The Cabinet of the interim government claimed that the move was aimed at "protecting the public peace."

In clear reference to Namibians planning to mark the events of December 10, 1959, when 13 people,

mainly women, were gunned down by South African Police for protesting against forced removals from the Old Location to Katutura, Cabinet Chairman Jannie de Wet threatened the public with "strict police action."

Although no incidents marked the day, uniformed as well as plainclothes policemen were patrolling Katutura streets, while the army manned several roadblocks at certain points in Katutura.

A light aircraft was also seen circling low over the Old location graveyard.

Amongst other progressive groups and individuals, CCN General Secretary, Dr Abisai Shejavalu, in a statement to the World Council of Churches strongly condemned the interim government action.

New Nation (SA), 87 08 13

Priest 'never recovered from beating'

THE recent death of Namibia's Rev Frederick Nghihalwa (65) was linked to his beating by members of Koevoet and the South African Defence Force (SADF) earlier this year, according to church sources.

At Rev Nghihalwa's funeral, Bishop Kleopas Dumeni spoke of his "deep sorrow at the way soldiers and members of the Koevoet counter-insurgency police, under the leadership of SA soldiers, beat innocent people".

"The peace we long for could come if SA signed a ceasefire with the South West African People's Organisation," said Dumeni.

Rev Nghihalwa was beaten until he was unconscious after being dragged from his car and thrown into a truck.

He was then driven into a bush several miles from his office, where most of the beating took place.

"His face was badly swollen, his right eye bloodstained and his right arm and leg bruised," said a member of his family.

His health had never improved since April 22, the night he was beaten, said the family member.

He died in hospital on July 22.

Namibian (Nam), 88 02 05 (abr)

SHOCK DISMISSAL

IN A shock move last week, the Editor of the English daily Windhoek Advertiser, Jean Sutherland, was dismissed from her post. Sutherland has been editing the Windhoek Advertiser since mid-1987 and was the fifth editor of the Advertiser in a period of 18 months.

Interviewed this week, Sutherland said the dismissal had been "very sudden" and she felt she had been "kicked in the teeth".

Observers believe the decision to boot out Sutherland is in all probability politically-motivated.

Namibian (Nam), 88 02 12

Parade of bodies on Casspirs continues in the far north

THE PARADE of dead bodies, apparently those of dead Swapo insurgents, has once again been reported in northern Namibia.

On Wednesday of last week, in the vicinity of the Outapi Secondary School in the Ombalantu area, Koevoet Casspirs were once again reported to be parading dead bodies in front of schoolchildren.

Witnesses to the 'parade' said they were uncertain as to the number of Casspirs and bodies but there were "a few".

They said that the 'parade' had taken place in the afternoon, when students of the Outapi Secondary School were busy with sporting events.

Residents speculated that Koevoet were trying to warn the students of the consequences of going over the border to join the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN).

This newspaper has carried several reports of similar incidents over the past two years, all of which culminated in army and police denials that they were responsible for such actions. After publication of a photograph however, the police finally admitted responsibility.

At the time the 'parades' were condemned by church leaders and residents of the north.

Namibian (Nam), 87 11 20

JOURNALIST ON POLICE ACT CHARGE

A WINDHOEK JOURNALIST attached to The Namibian newspaper has been charged with an offence under the Police Act of 1958.

Mr Mark Verbaan (27), faces a charge arising from an incident which occurred at Lüderitz on July 3, this year.

The charge sheet states that Mr Verbaan unlawfully took photographs of prisoners inside the cells at the Lüderitz Police Station without the written permission of the Commissioner.

The matter stems from a police raid

on the workers' compound at the small sea harbour during the early hours of July 3.

Following the seven-hour raid, 200 residents were arrested and more than 50 injured by rubber bullets, quirts and batons.

Half of Lüderitz's total population was affected by the raid.

Namibian (Nam), 87 10 23 (abr)

SADF WARN DOCTORS

A MEDICAL PRACTITIONER conceded in the Windhoek Supreme Court this week that the SADF issued a warning to army doctors not to take down comprehensive medical reports about patients brought in by members of the security forces — in the event such cases were later referred to a court of law.

Testifying in the trial of South African Security Policeman, Captain Patrick David King, who is charged for assault and murder, doctor Stephanus Jacob Erasmus conceded that there was an SADF regulation warning army doctors "not to get involved, but to get someone else, like a District Surgeon," for the purposes of taking comprehensive medical reports of patients brought in by security forces.

Doctor Erasmus was this week replying to questions from both Mr Justice Herbert Hendler and the State Prosecutor, Mr Velten Bassermann, and denied that he or any of his other colleagues would have ignored or delayed to write up or report injuries sustained by patients as a result of assault by security force members.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Namibian (Nam), 87 11 27 (fragm)

SECURITY POLICE this week searched the home of Anglican priest, Michael Yates, in Walvis Bay, confiscating 34 documents and questioning him in detail. Reacting angrily to the raid, Father Yates said that "quite frankly I am surprised that the police found it necessary to question me about the Post Office (two weeks ago a bomb containing 4kg of explosives exploded at the Walvis Bay post office) and my movements some evenings earlier.

Namibian (Nam), 87 12 11 (fragm)

POLICE HEADQUARTERS in Windhoek could not confirm or deny a report from northern Namibia concerning the alleged recent assault by members of the South African Security Forces on a group of school children, a pregnant woman, and an old man.

Namibian (Nam), 87 12 11 (fragm)

KOEVOET Sergeant Daniel Johannes Calitz was sentenced to ten years imprisonment for the murder of a civilian in northern Namibia on August 16, last year.

Windhoek Adv. (Nam), 87 09 16 (abr)

Bishop's brother

THE head of the Evangelical Lutheran church in Owambo and Kavango, Bishop Kleopas Dumeni, is disputing the official version of events surrounding the death of his brother, who was shot and killed by security forces in an ambush last week.

According to the SWATF spokesman 41-year-old Mr Josef Dumeni died when he cycled into an ambush about 10km north of Ombalantu at 1.27am last Saturday.

Quoting an eyewitness, Bishop Dumeni claimed yesterday that his younger

Z81: Namibian (Nam), 87 12 04 (fragm)

TEACHERS and students at the Max Makushe Secondary School, some 220km east of Rundu, in the Mbukushu Gebiet, have voiced great concern about the interference of the army at their school.

brother was shot and killed by South African security forces in Angola at around 5am last Sunday.

Bishop Dumeni claims that as far as he knew his brother was in possession of the required official documents to lawfully recover his cattle in Angola.

Namibian (Nam), 87 12 11 (fragm)

SIX MEMBERS of the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) were found guilty of raping a 16-year-old girl in northern Namibia and were this week sentenced in the Windhoek Supreme Court to varying periods of imprisonment.

Public's money for propaganda

THE Interim Government, the South West African Broadcasting Company and two Windhoek companies have been accused of unlawfully using public monies to sponsor propaganda projects.

The two companies implicated in the alleged misuse of the Central Revenue Fund are Transcontinental Consultancy (Pty) Ltd and Republikein Printers (Pty) Ltd.

Transcon is headed by former Chief Director in the AG's office, Sean Cleary.

The allegations are contained in a court action brought yesterday by the Council of Churches in Namibia, the Owambo Christian Democratic Action Party for Social Justice and the Damara Council.

The Namibia Peace Plan Study and Contact Group 435 and Joshua Hoebeke, a "South African citizen and member of Swapo" are also cited as plaintiffs.

It is claimed that the Cabinet has "withdrawn and expended monies from the Central Revenue Fund" in breach of sections 31(2) and 3(2)(b) of Proclamation R101 of 1985 by which the Interim Government was constituted.

The Cabinet stands accused of using its publications, The New Nation and On Record, for propaganda characterised

Windhoek Adv.(Nam), 88 01 19

by "bias, partiality and deception".

These are fully financed by the Central Revenue Fund which is also used to pay Republikein Printers for printing these publications.

The New Nation and On Record is distributed free of charge throughout the country and is also sent overseas by the Interim Government.

It is further alleged that Transcontinental Consultancy, otherwise known as Transcon, has received and expended money from the Fund as provided by the Cabinet.

The applicants also implicate the SWABC by virtue of its being allocated public money in the annual budget.

The Corporation is condemned for allegedly refusing to report any statements by Swapo.

The applicants have requested a court order declaring that the parties cited are acting in breach of Proclamation R101.

They also request that the defendants be interdicted from withdrawing and spending further monies from the Fund to use for propaganda purposes.

Black school shortage

WHILE nearly 11 000 young Namibians are expected to start school today, a national educationist has expressed doubt that the country will ever be able to fulfil the increasing need for facilities.

"There just isn't enough money for the country to keep up with a continuously growing population," National Education Director of Management Dr Daan Gresse told The Advertiser yesterday.

However, he added, present classroom facilities were being used to their optimum following the introduction of a morning and afternoon shift at many schools.

"If this system were not adopted, thousands of children would be out on the streets. The luxury of a classroom for one subject, used for only half the day, can no longer be afforded," Gresse said in answer to critics of the "double shift" system.

He said this system would have to be continued for a good many years.

With pupils across the country registering today and

tomorrow, no figures were available at the time of going to press. However, an increase had to be expected, Gresse said.

Last year the Department of National Education had about 361 000 pupils in its classrooms, a three percent increase on the number in 1986.

Meanwhile, 20 National Education schools will be switching to English as a medium of teaching today, the department's Adolf de Klerk told The Advertiser.

These included nine in Katutura, three in Tsumeb and eight Roman Catholic schools in the central and northern parts of the country.

Six schools will give lessons in English in the bridging year and Sub A, while St Barnabas in Katutura will start with Std 3 and the Katutura Secondary School at the Std 6 level.

Unemployment is strangling the country

PRESENT ECONOMIC growth and development in Namibia is inadequate to meet the country's single most worrying problem, unemployment.

Real growth is happening at a snail's pace, and has failed to keep pace with population growth, and because of a let-down in expectations, social tensions are increasing.

These are among the main findings of a study by Institute for Management and Leadership Training economic researcher, Rainer Ritter.

The economic researcher urges the government to act now in shifting government policies and in setting priorities, and maintains that the country will only be liberated, in the long run, by economic progress.

In his study, Ritter points a warning finger at the "bureaucratic jungle" the Territory has spawned, and mismanagement at the macro level of the economy.

"Namibia's misfortune was that it had a shortage of committed decision-makers with keen interests in sound economic policies," he says.

"Policy was partly influenced by their former profession (eg Viljoen - education, Van Niekerk - health, TGNU - politics) which left a power vacuum of bureaucrats in different fields where the decision-makers did not show particular interest.

"This and the different 'governors' short term of office, created enough room for the growth of the present bureaucratic jungle."

Ritter had some incisive views on the Territory's

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flourishing bureaucracy.

If, he says, the motive was the provision of an economic cushion via public employment to ease out the business cycle, "one can conclude that Namibia experienced a period of economic mismanagement since the eighties."

He also notes soberly that Namibia's resources are too limited to meet the government's socio-economic goals.

The prime reasons for this are: the population growth rate; budget assistance from South Africa will be more stringent in the future; half of the population are under the age of 20; 12 000 jobs a year have to be created, rising to 16 000 by the year 2000; real GDP must grow by 4,5% a year to absorb these numbers; and, there is not much time left to plan according to the real priorities: an expansion of the material sector.

Uncertainty about political development is also pinpointed by the researcher as one of the main reasons for the slow growth in the economy.

Ritter urges the government to act speedily.

"What Namibia needs is action, a shift in government policies and priorities towards high growth alternatives, less government as such and a greater emphasis on the development of the traditional areas and rural development to alleviate the economic dualism."

Desperate children roam city streets

SCORES of destitute and homeless children and teenagers are roaming the streets of Windhoek, Khomasdal and Katutura.

Their ages range between 10 and 16 and many sleep in doorways or on the top of public toilets at night.

During the day they roam the streets begging or stealing. Many sniff glue or thinners to escape the reality of what is left of their childhood.

None of them go to school.

The chief social worker of the Department of Welfare,

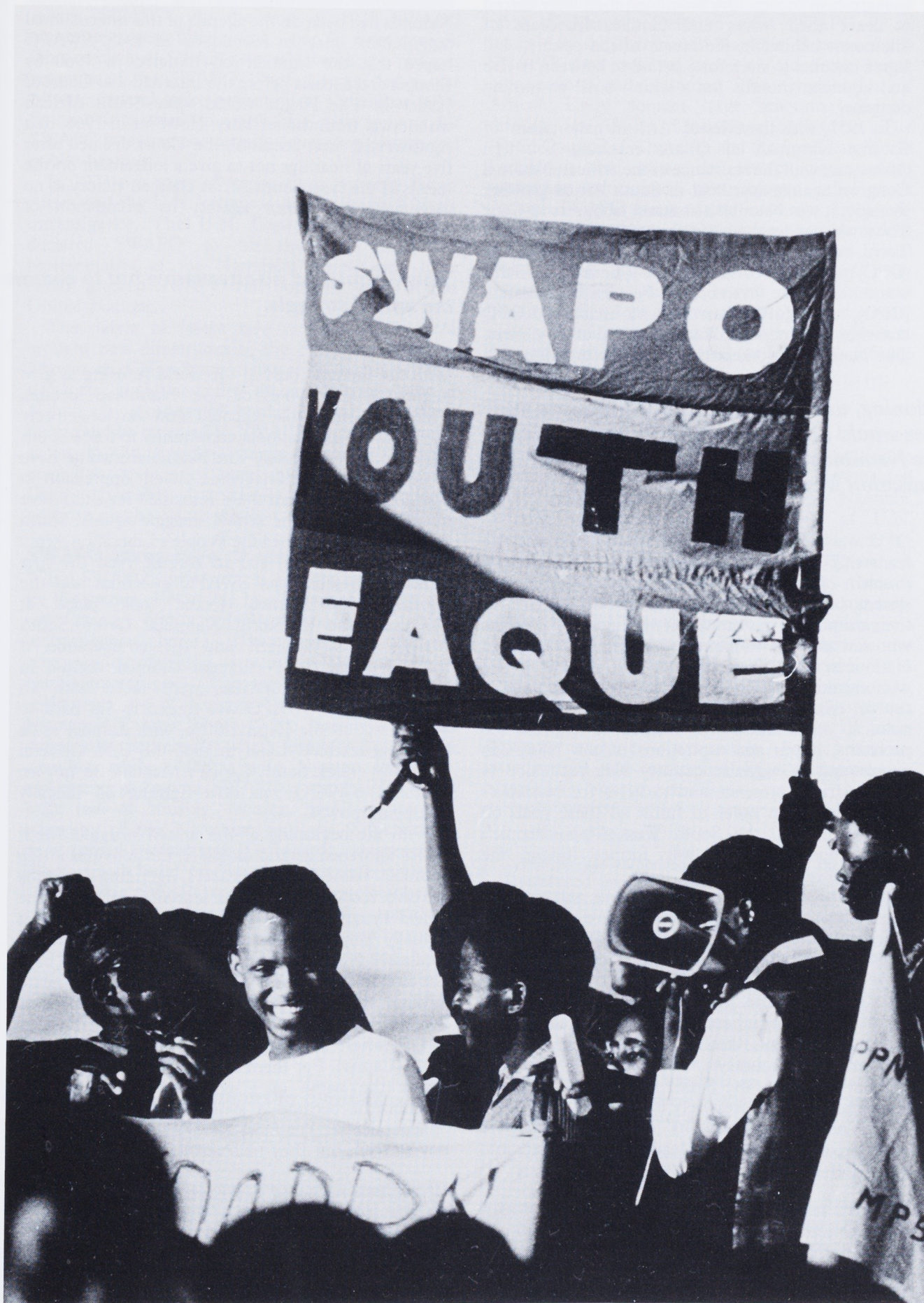
Eva Weitz, said work with the children is hampered because there are not enough children's homes or welfare staff.

She said many of the children just run away from home.

She said there were "scores" of homeless children in Windhoek, Katutura and Khomasdal.

In the townships, many of them do belong to the gangs.

SWAPO: from workers' organisation to liberation movement



In the late 1950's it was Namibian contract labourers who realised that more effective co-ordinated resistance to white South African rule in Namibia was needed, if they were to free themselves from their condition of virtual slave labour. In order to earn a meagre cash income the Namibian men were forced to leave their wives and families hundreds of kilometers behind in the North of the country and sign a contract to work for a period of between twelve and eighteen months for a white 'boss' or mining company.

In 1957, with the cries of 'African nationalism' of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana reaching Southern Africa, and with the resistance of the African National Congress against apartheid in South Africa growing strongly, it was Namibian contract labourers in Cape Town who, under the leadership of Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, established the Ovamboland Peoples Congress (OPC) to resist the contract labour system. In 1958 this was renamed the Ovamboland Peoples Organisation (OPO), and in 1959 Sam Nujoma established OPO branches in Windhoek, Walvis Bay and other centres. The Namibian workers had begun to organise...

Petitioning, unco-ordinated demonstrations and strikes would not bring an end to the sufferings of the Namibian people: a national political organisation was needed.

OPO was basically a workers' organisation and the leadership quickly began to realize that the real problem of Namibians was not the contract labour system, but rather the presence of South Africa in their country. It was the vision of Nujoma and others who saw that the random petitioning of the United Nations by Namibians, together with unco-ordinated demonstrations and strikes would not bring an end to the sufferings of the Namibian people: a national political organisation was needed to express the problems, hopes and aspirations of the Namibian people and to organize country-wide resistance to South Africa's presence and to strive for Namibia's independence. In order to fulfill all these goals on 19th April 1960 the South West Africa People's Organisation, SWAPO, was formed under the leadership of Sam Nujoma.

With the system of contract labour remaining a major grievance of the Namibian people and causing much suffering, SWAPO could continue to develop its base among the workers of the Namibia. With the movement of people from the rural North of the country to the more 'industrialised' South (and back again!) which is inherent in the contract labour system, it meant that SWAPO could organise throughout the country.

From the outset the South African authorities in Namibia reacted oppressively to the challenge posed by the new organisation. Its leading activists were restricted and many of its leaders were forced into exile after a few years.

SWAPO recognised as liberation movement
SWAPO leaders who had left the country, among them Sam Nujoma, began to set up political structures in exile. A provisional headquarters was set up, first in Tanzania before being moved to Zambia. (Later it was transferred to Angola, its present location.) Representatives were also appointed in several capital

cities such as Cairo, Dar-es-Salaam, Lusaka and London. In 1965 SWAPO was recognized as a liberation movement by the Organisation of African Unity.

Politically, SWAPO still had much faith in the international community and the United Nations. Namibia had been on the agenda of this international organisation since its foundation in 1945. SWAPO hoped that the legal action initiated in 1960 by Ethiopia and Liberia before the International Court of Justice in The Hague would force South Africa's withdrawal from the territory. However in 1966, in a controversial 'non-decision', the Court decided after five years of hearings not to give a judgement on the merits of the case. South Africa claimed victory as no judgement was given against its occupation of Namibia.

There remained no alternative but to commence the armed struggle.

With the highest court in the world refusing to give judgement in favour of the Namibian people, SWAPO decided that it could now no longer rely solely on the international community to force South Africa to leave Namibia. The Namibians would have to do it themselves. Given the violent oppression in Namibia, SWAPO felt there remained no alternative but to commence the armed struggle against South Africa. SWAPO formed the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) and in August 1966 the first armed clashes between SWAPO guerrillas and the South African armed forces took place at Ongulumbashe in North Namibia. Given South Africa's military might and the co-operation it received from the Portuguese colonial regime in Angola, SWAPO guerrillas were faced with an impossible task. SWAPO was forced to fall back to waging war in the Caprivi Strip, with Zambia as its supplying rearbase. Later in 1966 the U.N. General Assembly ended South Africa's Mandate to govern Namibia. SWAPO was now fighting an illegally occupying power.

With the beginning of the armed struggle South Africa tightened its grip on SWAPO's activities inside Namibia. Some SWAPO leaders, including Andimba ja Toivo, received long prison sentences for aiding the armed struggle. Inside Namibia SWAPO's activities virtually stopped, although a skeleton committee continued to survive. Although most Namibians could not directly observe any SWAPO activity, they heard through the radio or read in the newspapers of SWAPO's diplomatic efforts in the United Nations and elsewhere and they heard of the guerilla activity in the Caprivi. For them the word 'SWAPO' was no longer the name of a political group active in Namibia; it became a synonym for 'freedom' or 'independence'. For most Namibians SWAPO could not be seen, but they believed firmly in it.

Churches request S.A. withdrawal

In July 1971 the two black Lutheran Churches in Namibia, spurred on by the 1971 Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice that South Africa was illegally occupying Namibia, issued an open letter requesting South Africa's withdrawal from the territory and the granting of human rights to all Namibians. The Lutheran open letter gained much

publicity outside Namibia and inside the territory it was distributed to each church member. Approximately 50% of Namibians are Lutherans. The effect was to make Namibians aware of what 'human rights' were. They began to demand their rights and their freedom – and for most Namibians 'freedom' meant 'SWAPO'. By the end of 1971 SWAPO committees were functioning again in most centres. This re-birth of SWAPO, together with the militant activities of the SWAPO Youth League led to the historic general strike beginning in December 1971. South Africa tried to crush this new support for SWAPO by systematic arrests, detentions, torture and public beatings.

In 1973 two years of negotiations between South Africa and the U.N. collapsed due to South Africa's intransigence. The U.N. General Assembly then declared SWAPO to be the 'sole authentic representative of the Namibian people' and later (1976) granted SWAPO full observer status at the United Nations.

The defeat of fascist rule in Portugal in 1974 brought new dimensions to the Namibian struggle. Thousands of Namibians, many of them children and teenagers, could now flee the harsh oppression in Namibia by crossing the border into Angola, where they could be received by SWAPO. In addition, with access to the Angolan-Namibian border SWAPO guerrilla's could once again operate in North and Central Namibia dramatically increasing military pressure on the South African occupation army.

SWAPO takes care of refugees

While SWAPO's main aim is gaining independence for the people of Namibia by all available means and establishing of a democratic society after independence, before independence it has the responsibility of taking care of tens of thousands of Namibian refugees. The major SWAPO refugee settlements are at Kwanza Sul in Angola and at Nyango in Zambia. Some 45,000 Namibians live in the nineteen settlements which form the Kwanza Sul complex, while 17,000 live in Nyango and other settlements in Zambia. SWAPO is responsible for the huge task of housing, feeding, medical care and schooling of the Namibian refugees. Education is given special emphasis, as it is regarded as preparing Namibians to build up Namibia after independence has been won. SWAPO specifically aims to combat all manifestations and tendencies of tribalism, regionalism, ethnic orientation and racial discrimination. Adult literacy campaigns and basic education take place in the SWAPO camps. Advanced education and technical training take place in other countries or at the United Nations Institute for Namibia in Lusaka.

Education prepares Namibians to build up Namibia after independence.

SWAPO students who have completed their studies return to the refugee settlements to share the skills for the benefit of the rest of the community. There are Namibian doctors, health workers and nurses; agriculturalists and shoemakers; weavers, brickmakers and builders; typists and administrators, geologists, lawyers and teachers. SWAPO is also largely responsible for the safety of the refugees. Given the

precarious security situation, particularly in Angola, and the history of South African attacks on other frontline states, this means that SWAPO must use parts of its guerrilla army to defend the refugee settlements.

The United Nations General Assembly has called upon all Member States to assist SWAPO in its struggle for the liberation of Namibia. Because of this SWAPO now receives material aid from many organisations and countries. The Organisation of African Unity donates large amounts annually through its African Liberation Committee. The World Council of Churches and the Lutheran World Federation are among the church organisations supporting educational and refugee relief work through SWAPO. Many African countries also supply bi-lateral aid, giving sanctuary to, and providing facilities for Namibian refugees. The Soviet Union and Socialist countries also provide SWAPO with material support, as do several West European countries, Sweden foremost among them. Non-governmental organisations in many countries also have raised money or material for SWAPO's refugee centres.

SWAPO willing to negotiate

Despite having embarked on the course of armed struggle in 1966, SWAPO has always been willing to enter into negotiations with the United Nations and South Africa about independence for Namibia. SWAPO co-operated with the efforts of U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim in 1972/3 and with the so-called Western Contact Group in 1977/8 which resulted in the adoption of Security Council Resolution No. 435 (1978), which SWAPO still fully adheres to. SWAPO once again showed its willingness to implement Resolution No. 435 at the Geneva Conference in January 1981 and at negotiations in Lusaka in May 1984. SWAPO's openness has, however, been continually rebuffed by South Africa's continual refusals and the unwillingness of some Western countries to punish South Africa's intransigence and continuing illegal occupation of Namibia by imposing sanctions.

Ai-Gams declaration

We, the duly authorized representatives of the under-mentioned churches, political parties and groups, women's organisations and the student movement, who represent the overwhelming majority of the Namibian people. (...)

UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVE AS FOLLOWS:

1.1 To reject South Africa's continuing delaying tactics and its persistent refusal to have United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978 implemented (which resolution was accepted by all parties concerned including the Republic of South Africa and the United States of America);

1.2 To reject the unholy alliance between the United States of America and the Republic of South Africa in their attempts to by-pass the said United Nations Council Resolution 435 by linking the independence of Namibia to issues which are totally extraneous, such as the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola;

1.3 To reject the succession of Pretoria installed puppet governments of which the so-called transitional government is the latest creation; (...)

1.6 To reject the illegal presence of the South African Army in Namibia, the forced conscription of Namibians, the creation of the so-called South West Territorial Force through which civil war is being forced upon the people of Namibia; (...)

2.4 That United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 is the only peaceful democratic way of achieving an internationally recognized independence for Namibia; (...)

SWAPO has also shown its willingness to co-operate with other Namibian organisations and political groupings in implementing U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 435. At the negotiations between South Africa and SWAPO in Lusaka in 1984, SWAPO included in its negotiating delegation members from other political organisations in Namibia as well as church representatives. The only condition was that they supported the immediate and unconditional implementation of Resolution No. 435. Co-operation at this level has been further developed inside Namibia with the adoption of the Ai-Gams Declaration in April 1986 by SWAPO, other political groups and the churches. The common basis of the Ai-Gams Declaration is the refusal to recognize the present 'MPC interim-government' imposed by South Africa on Namibia and support for the speedy and unconditional implementation of Resolution No. 435. The roots of SWAPO are to be found in the refusal of Namibian workers to accept the oppression and suffering of the contract labour system. Over the years that resistance crystallized and developed and still forms the heart of SWAPO's liberation struggle today. Now, twenty-eight years after SWAPO was founded and after more than twenty-one years of armed struggle against South Africa's illegal occupation, SWAPO's consistent approach is still the same as that outlined by its President, Sam Nujoma, at the Second Brussels International Conference on Namibia held in May 1986:

'We are the victims of a long chain of European violence and injustices. It is our land we are fighting to liberate. The sacrifices we are making are not in vain. We have a bright future ahead of us. Namibia is a resource-rich country. Through hard work, co-operation and self-reliance, we are certain of a brighter future, a secure future in which all Namibians, regardless of national origin, race, creed or social status will be able to make a contribution for the well-being of all and protected by law.'

The whites of Namibia have nothing to fear from a SWAPO government.

In July 1986 SWAPO won a court action in Windhoek nullifying a ban on its holding public meetings in Namibia. A few days later SWAPO organised one of the largest public meetings ever held in Windhoek. This was the start of a series of public meetings held throughout the country in towns such as Tsumeb, Walvis Bay, Gibeon, Arandis and Gobabis. The successful series of meetings demonstrated very clearly SWAPO's massive support throughout the country. In each town SWAPO's message was the same: the demand for the unconditional and immediate implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 435 (1978); the rejection of the so-called MPC-interim government; the demand for ending the exports of Namibian minerals in defiance of U.N. Council for Namibia Decree No.1 and the imposition of sanctions against South Africa. The whites of Namibia were also assured that they had nothing to fear from a SWAPO

government and were urged to join the struggle against South Africa's occupation. During some of these meetings, which were peacefully organised by SWAPO, a new phenomenon appeared: armed thugs who began attacking SWAPO supporters.

Trade union activity

Over the past two years SWAPO has developed an additional strategy in Namibia. In order to prevent South Africa forming 'puppet' trade unions, SWAPO decided to take the initiative. The National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW), SWAPO's trade union arm which had been forced to cease functioning inside Namibia towards the end of the 1970's, was revived and began actively campaigning inside the country. In the 1970's the NUNW had operated as a general union, but it was now decided to set up separate unions for various trades. The Namibian workers responded well and quick results were achieved. In September 1986 the Namibian Food and Allied Union (NAFAU) was formed with John Pandeni, a former Robben Island prisoner, as secretary. NAFAU has a membership of 6.000. In November 1986 the Mineworkers' Union of Namibia (MUN) was formed with Ben Uulenga, also a Robben Island 'veteran', as secretary. MUN has over 7.000 members.

The third NUNW-affiliated union was launched in May 1987. This was the Metal and Allied Namibian Workers' Union (MANWU). MANWU's potential membership is between ten and fifteen thousand members and its Secretary-General is Barnabas Tjizu, who is also chairman of the NUNW steering committee. In December 1987 the Namibia Public Workers Union (NAPWU) was formed with an active membership of some 5.000, but a potential membership of nearly 17.000. Gabriel Ithete is the Acting General Secretary. Over the past year thousands of Namibian workers were mobilised by these unions, which, through strikes in the fishing and mining industry showed that they will play an important part in the SWAPO's resistance to South Africa's exploitation of Namibia and its attempts to inflict a puppet government on the territory.

Despite all the obstacles placed in its path, SWAPO has successfully transformed itself from a small group of Namibian workers into an internationally recognized liberation movement with massive support throughout Namibia.

It is politically active within Namibia, undermining every South African attempt to successfully set up a client internal administration and has set up an effective trade union movement within the country.

It has established an network of representative offices, including official representation at the United Nations.

In spite of all South Africa's efforts over the last twenty years to crush it, PLAN, SWAPO's military wing, is ever present in the country and forces South Africa to maintain a strong army of occupation.

And SWAPO is entrusted with the care of tens of thousands of Namibian refugees, preparing them for independence. But the ultimate challenge still awaits SWAPO - that of forming the government of an independent Namibia.

From Colonial Churches to Churches of Liberation



Windhoek: February 18, 1988

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH STATEMENT

(Below is an English translation of a telex which was sent to Chancellor Kohl of West Germany from Bishop Bonifatius Haushiku of the Roman Catholic Church, Vicariate Windhoek):

'To his Excellency, Mr. Chancellor, Dr. Helmut Kohl,
Because of comments by German politicians visiting Namibia, you, Mr. Chancellor, have deemed it necessary to reiterate your government's commitments to the implementation of UN Resolution 435. It was with satisfaction that we took notice of this commitment.

All the more it is surprising to be confronted only a few days after that commitment with the fact that, according to press agencies, officials of your Chancellery, namely Mrs. L. Berger and Dr. W. Burr, are visiting Namibia as guests of the 'interim government', a government not even recognised by your government.

Are we really supposed to believe that these visits are 'just' private travels to satisfy individual curiosity and vanity?

We cannot but regard this visit of your own immediate subordinates, as also earlier visits by German parliamentarians at the expense of local taxpayers, as the result of your government's complete misappraisal of our country's real situation. Or is such a direct affront against the feelings of the majority of the population in Namibia to be interpreted as a preparation of an about-turn in your policy towards Namibia? References to the democratic rights of 'private travellers' merely demonstrate in our view an underdeveloped sense of tact.

We can foresee a situation in which those who really know the situation in Namibia will no longer be interested in talking with representatives of your government.

Signed: Bishop Bonifatius Haushiku

Roman Catholic Church, Windhoek.'

The Christian Church in Namibia is trying to be faithful to the Command of the Lord; and so in the name of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, she is speaking out very loudly against all these atrocities and malpractices. ... The Church is working for peace, love and unity among all the Namibians; and therefore she is calling for the signing of a ceasefire by the warring parties, followed by the implementation of Security Council Resolution No. 435 of 1978 by which Namibia is to be led to a peaceful transition to independence. The Church sees this resolution to be the viable solution to the Namibian dispute. (Catholic Bishop Haushiku, 4 May 1987.)

The churches in Namibia were involved in the territory even before the colonial era officially began. The first missionaries to stay permanently in the territory were from the German Lutheran Rhenish Mission. In 1842 they arrived at Ai-Gams, a settlement which was later seized by the German colonial army and re-named Windhoek.

The missionaries were closely involved with German traders who wanted to take over much of the Namibians' land and the missionaries also signed petitions requesting Germany to colonize Namibia. They also asked for German troops to be sent to the territory to 'protect their interests' – interests which were then as much in trading as in missionary work. In 1870, at the request of the Rhenish Mission, the Finnish Missionary Society began work in the North of Namibia, but without the imperialist attitudes of the Germans.

When Namibia became an official German colony in 1884, the German missionaries were an important influence in the territory. In 1896 German Roman Catholic missionaries began working in Namibia, thereby strengthening the churches' links to the colonisers.

In the 1904-06 Herero and Nama uprisings against colonial rule, the German troops under General von Trotha were under orders to exterminate the Namibians. The German missionaries sided with the colonial power even though tens of thousands of Namibians – including women and children – were needlessly killed.

After the uprising the Herero's and Nama's were deprived of their land and impoverished. This meant that the churches could now direct their activities towards charitable work.

In 1915, when the Germans were driven out by the South African Army, two other churches extended their work to Namibia. The Anglicans came in to minister to English-speaking South Africans and also began mission work in the North, while the Dutch Reformed Church was the church of the Afrikaans-speaking South Africans who were the new colonial masters.

From colonial ally to social/missionary work

In 1920 a historically important agreement was signed between the Finnish Missionary Society, the German Rhenish Mission and the Dutch Reformed Church. In exchange for several mission stations in South Africa which had been founded by the Rhenish Mission, the Dutch Reformed Church agreed not to undertake any missionary work among blacks in Namibia for a period of fifty years, i.e. until 1970. This agreement meant that the four churches involved in missionary work in Namibia, the German Lutherans and Roman Catholics, the Finnish Lutherans and the Anglicans, had no strong links to the Afrikaans-speaking South African colonial establishment and

that the colonial establishment itself was not involved in any missionary work.

'If you were sick, you went to the church; if you wanted to go to school, you went to the church.'

This allowed the churches to concentrate on their missionary and social work; missionary schools and hospitals were built, and teachers, pastors, nurses and catechists were trained. In addition, because the South African Administration did practically nothing for the development of the Namibian people at this time, the churches became the major social structure for the Namibians. 'If you were sick, you went to the church; if you wanted to go to school, you went to the church.'

Very slowly, but always under guidance from white missionaries, Namibians began to fill positions of authority within the churches, but the churches had accepted the principle of racial discrimination with separate white, coloured and black congregations.

Even after the Second World War, when Namibia began to be debated at the United Nations, the churches adopted a non-political line. When a priest, such as Rev. Michael Scott, petitioned the United Nations on behalf of Namibians he was shunned by his own Anglican church.

Gradually the process of Namibianization progressed in the Lutheran and Anglican Churches. In 1947 the Evangelical Lutheran Church (ELC) was formed to cover the old Rhenish Mission area in the South and Central parts of Namibia. In 1957 the Evangelical Lutheran OvamboKavango Church (ELOK, now ELCIN) was formed by the Finnish Mission and soon afterwards Leonard Auala became Namibia's first black bishop.

In 1960 a small, all-white German Lutheran Church was formed in an effort to keep a separate identity from the black Lutherans.

Black Lutherans reject 'homelands'

In 1964 the leaders of the two black Lutheran Churches sent a letter to the South African government protesting the planned formation of 'tribal homelands' in Namibia. In 1967 they protested a second time at the deteriorating political situation. Through their pastoral, educational and medical work the churches were well aware of the suffering that the South African inflicted apartheid system caused in Namibia. A particular cause of grievance was the system of contract labour whereby men from the North were separated from their wives and families for periods of up to a year while they worked for white employers in the Central and Southern areas. After the mass detentions and torture of detainees in Northern Namibia following the launching of SWAPO's war of liberation in 1966, a joint Lutheran, Anglican and Catholic delegation protested to the South African police commander in Northern Namibia. In 1968 Bishop Robert Mize of the Anglican Church was expelled from Namibia for his political views.

Following the 1971 Opinion of the International Court of Justice, the two black Lutheran Churches addressed an Open Letter to the South African Prime Minister. The text was largely drawn up at the Lutheran Theological school, where younger German lecturers had introduced a study course on

the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Open Letter, signed by Bishop Auala and Moderator Gowaseb supported the Opinion of the International Court of Justice and called for the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia because of its denial of human rights to all Namibians.

Open Letter calls for the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia because of its denial of human rights to all Namibians.

The Lutheran Church leaders were not merely content at sending the Open Letter; they had it translated into all the languages of Namibia and had it distributed the following Sunday together with a translated copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to all who attended church services throughout the territory. This had as a consequence that the church, which was trusted by most Namibians due to its achievements in health and education, had given to the Namibian people an instrument by which they could measure their treatment under South African rule. The politicization which occurred as a result of the distribution of the Open Letter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was country wide: Namibians were now demanding their human rights, they were demanding their freedom and they set up SWAPO branches throughout the country to help them attain it. What began as a purely church action had a dramatic political consequence.

The Open Letter was immediately supported by the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches and a few months later the Anglican Church declared the system of contract labour to be 'a modern form of slavery'.

The new wave of politicisation and SWAPO activity led directly to the contract workers throughout Namibia striking in December 1971. The involvement of the Anglican Church in paying for the legal defence of the strike leaders and in publicising the plight of the Namibian workers internationally led to the expulsion of Bishop Colin Winter and his staff in March 1972. Later several Finnish missionaries working for ELOK were also expelled. Through actions such as these the churches had slowly begun to discover a new form of joint Christian witness in Namibia, trying to counteract some of the disastrous effects of the South African occupation of the country.

What began as a purely church action had a dramatic political consequence.

In 1974 the Christian Centre was founded in Windhoek by the two Lutheran Churches and the Anglican and Roman Catholic Church as an ecumenical institution. Among the services offered were educational assistance, legal aid, support for dependents of political prisoners, welfare assistance and medical aid.

In May 1977 a joint statement on torture was published which directly led to the expulsion of Roman Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran church workers.

In the initial stages of the consultations held by the Western Contact Group, Namibian church leaders

regularly met with them, but this practice was later disregarded.

CCN coordinates social, political activities

In 1978 the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) was formed so that the churches could have a better ecumenical institution for their work. The CCN has since grown in its outreach and range of activities: it has automatically assumed the role of denouncing South Africa's abuse of political power, its illegal occupation and its attempts to set up an 'interim-government'. The CCN accepts that only the implementation of Resolution No. 435 (1978) will bring true independence to Namibia.

Churches: only the implementation of Resolution No. 435 (1978) will bring true independence to Namibia.

The CCN has developed an extensive social outreach: feeding schemes, medical aid, educational assistance, scholarships, English language courses, literacy courses and non-racial schools; legal advice and assistance in political trials; rehabilitation programmes for released political prisoners; a publicity programme; a women's programme, a youth programme and a development programme. Many of these programmes have to be carried out in the face of intimidation and active non-co-operation of the South African occupation forces.

Anglican Bishop James Kauluma of Namibia, January 1986:

Q: Who do the people of Namibia support, South Africa and its allies, the interim government, or SWAPO?

A: SWAPO. Even South Africa knows that. Even the United States knows that, that is the very same reason why they are not calling an election. If they knew that South Africa was popular they would call the election to prove that the opinion of the world was wrong. They would call the elections immediately. But at present they cannot do it because they know that the majority of the people will support SWAPO.

The Namibian churches recognize that their ministry extends to *all* Namibians, whether they be in Namibia or in exile. In co-operation with SWAPO the churches have created a special ministry to exiles. The Namibian church leaders have made regular visits to the SWAPO settlements to keep in touch with the pastors and church workers in the refugee camps.

Publicity and information have long been concerns of the Namibian churches. In 1984, in order to counter the wide-spread lack of information (and South Africa's attempts at dis-information) the Namibian churches requested that the Namibia Communications Centre (NCC) be established in London as a small news agency distributing news items mainly emanating from church sources in Namibia. Together with 'The Namibian' newspaper in Windhoek, the NCC is a major source of reporting on human rights violations in Namibia. Reports are distributed world-wide in English, French and German.

The present activities of the Namibian churches in identifying with the struggle for independence of the Namibian people make a strong contrast with the activities of the early missionaries who identified with the colonial power. The Namibian churches have left their colonial legacy behind and have become churches of liberation.

The Council, the Commissioner for Namibia, Decree No. 1 and Sanctions

PLUNDER OF NAMIBIAN URANIUM

"No person or entity, whether a body corporate or unincorporated, may search for, prospect for, explore for, take, extract, mine, process, refine, use, sell, export, or distribute any natural resource, whether animal or mineral, situated or found to be situated within the territorial limits of Namibia..."

(Decree No. 1, adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974)

United Nations



On 27 October 1966 the United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution 2145 (XXI) which, *inter alia*, stated: 'that the Mandate conferred upon his Britannic Majesty to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa is therefore terminated, that South Africa has no other right to administer the territory and that henceforth South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations.'

In 1966 the United Nations had taken over direct responsibility for Namibia and was now faced with the challenge of bringing this into practice! A year later the U.N. General Assembly decided to establish the U.N. Council for South West Africa (later re-named the U.N. Council for Namibia) as the sole legal authority over Namibia. The Council was charged with the administration of the territory until independence. Resolution 2248 (S-V) which established the Council, granted it the executive and administrative powers which the General Assembly deemed necessary.

Originally the U.N. Council for Namibia had eleven members, but in 1978 this was expanded to thirty-one; the only Western member is Belgium. SWAPO also takes part in the work of the Council and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) has observer status.

Since the inception of the Council, South Africa has refused to allow it to enter Namibia and carry out its work there. From its offices in New York the Council undertakes, *inter alia*, the following activities:

- * it publicizes the illegal presence of South Africa, its repressive policies in Namibia as well as the struggle of the Namibian people for liberation;
- * it assists Namibians in their liberation struggle under the leadership of SWAPO. It finances educational programmes, issues travel documents and enables the participation of SWAPO in the work of the United Nations;
- * it takes action to try and ensure that states abide by U.N. resolutions on Namibia;
- * it exposes the involvement of foreign economic interests in Namibia;
- * it consults with governments as to how greater pressure can be put on South Africa to withdraw from Namibia;
- * it collects funds for the various programmes run by the Council and administers the United Nations Fund for Namibia.

The Commissioner

In 1967 the United Nations General Assembly also created the function of the U.N. Commissioner for Namibia as the executive officer of the U.N. Council for Namibia. The Commissioner is also responsible for Regional Offices in Zambia, Botswana and Angola. These Offices are to ensure smooth contact with the Namibians in these countries. The first full-time Commissioner Namibia, the recently deceased Irish Nobel and Lenin Peace Prize Winner Sean MacBride, was appointed in 1974. He was succeeded in 1977 by Martti Ahtisaari of Finland, who in turn was followed by Brajesh Mishra of India. The present Commissioner, Bernt Carlsson of Sweden was appointed in 1987.

When he was appointed Commissioner for Namibia in 1974, Sean MacBride saw how South Africa was using the time it gained by refusing to

withdraw from Namibia to continue profiting from its exploitation of Namibia's mineral and natural resources, mainly diamonds, uranium, copper, fishing and karakul furs. Both he and the U.N. Council for Namibia were greatly concerned about this plunder of Namibia's wealth by South Africa and its major trading partners.

Royalties and taxes were not paid to the Council for the benefit of the people of Namibia, but were paid to the South African government.

The extensive foreign mining operations in Namibia took place without the Council being consulted; royalties and taxes were not paid to the Council for the benefit of the people of Namibia, but were paid to the South African government. It was realised also that possibly *because* the major Western powers were sharing in the profits of a South African-occupied Namibia they were unwilling to put South Africa under enough pressure to end its illegal occupation of Namibia.

Decree No. 1

After consulting with a wide range of legal experts throughout the world Sean MacBride produced his proposal that the U.N. Council for Namibia, as the legal governing authority of Namibia, should enact legislation to outlaw trade in Namibian natural resources without the permission of the Council for Namibia. On 27 September 1974 the U.N. Council for Namibia adopted the text of Decree No.1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. This text was later approved by the U.N. General Assembly on 13 December 1974. Decree No.1 was the first and is, at present, the only legislation enacted by the U.N. Council for Namibia.

From: U.N. COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA Decree No. 1
For the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia

(...)

The United Nations Council for Namibia

(...)

Reaffirming that the Government of the Republic of South Africa is in illegal possession of the Territory of Namibia,
(...)

Decrees that

1. No person or entity (...) may search for, prospect for, explore for, take, extract, mine, process, refine, use, sell, export, or distribute any natural resource, whether animal or mineral, (...) without the consent and permission of the United Nations Council for Namibia (...)
2. Any permission, concession or licence for (...) the purposes specified in paragraph 1 (...) granted by any person or entity, including any body purporting to act under the authority of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (...) is null, void and of no force or effect; (...)
5. Any vehicle, ship or container found to be carrying animal, mineral or other natural resources produced in or emanating from the Territory of Namibia shall also be subject to seizure and forfeiture by or on behalf of the United Nations Council for Namibia (...)
6. Any person, entity or corporation which contravenes the present decree in respect of Namibia may be held liable in damages by the future Government of an independent Namibia;
7. (...) In order to give effect to this decree, the United Nations Council for Namibia hereby authorises the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia (...) to take the necessary steps (...)

It is now nearly fourteen years since the U.N. Council for Namibia enacted Decree No.1 and it is a valid question to ask what has happened on the Decree in this time and in particular what steps were taken to implement the Decree to protect Namibia's mineral and other wealth. The text of the Decree (para. 7) makes it clear that the U.N. Council entrusted the implementation of the Decree to the U.N. Commissioner for Namibia. In the period immediately following the enactment of the Decree there was a flurry of activity which gave the impression that the Decree was being taken seriously and that the U.N. Commissioner was making preparations to implement the Decree:

- * The Decree was translated into all the official languages of the United Nations as well as into German and Afrikaans;

- * The Office of the Commissioner sent copies of the Decree to all Member States of the United Nations, as well as to all companies known to be engaged in the exportation or exploitation of Namibian natural resources.

Copies were also sent to shipping companies believed to be transporting Namibian minerals, to marine insurance companies and to trade unions representing workers in sections of the economy involved in the exploitation of Namibia's natural resources as well as to many NGO's co-operating with the Council or the Office of the Commissioner;

- * Discussions were held with lawyers, advisers or agents of commercial enterprises investing in or trading with Namibia, including United States oil companies with concessions to explore for off-shore Namibian oil. In 1975 CONOCO, Getty, Phillips Petroleum and Texaco relinquished their concessions located off the coast between Walvis Bay and the Orange River;

- * In order to bring the Decree to the attention of lawyers generally, and not only international or company lawyers, the Commissioner gave a series of lectures to bar associations. Lawyers and legal students were encouraged to write articles on the exploitation of Namibian natural resources and the Decree;

- * In 1975 two conferences of lawyers were held, in Brussels and in New York, to examine the unprecedented legal challenges raised by the Decree and how the Decree could best be implemented.

- * At the same time the Office of the Commissioner commissioned a series of studies on Namibian natural resources, particularly regarding their shipment routes and final destinations, which information would be required before implementing the Decree;

- * In 1977 the Council for Namibia approved guidelines for a public hearing on Namibian uranium which was felt necessary prior to implementing the Decree in relation to the uranium trade.

Unfortunately the momentum which had been built up around the implementation of the Decree between 1974 and 1977 was allowed to dissipate on *political* rather than *legal* grounds. Sean MacBride's successor as Commissioner, Martti Ahtisaari from Finland, became extensively involved in the negotiations which had been initiated by the Western Contact Group (United States of America, United Kingdom, France, West Germany and Canada) when South Africa

refused to leave Namibia as envisioned in U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 385 (1976). These negotiations were carried out by countries who were themselves all involved in contravening Decree No.1 and the Commissioner seemed to give priority to co-operating with the Western Contact Group in the hope of negotiating Namibia's independence rather than harming their economic interests and annoying South Africa by implementing the Decree. South Africa's co-operation was needed in the holding of the elections planned by the Contact Group.

The unsuccessful negotiations on Resolution No. 385 (1976) also had the side effect of diffusing much of the international pressure which had earlier been developed around Decree No.1 prior to 1977.

Uranium

By 1980 the Council for Namibia decided that it was time to resume activities on the Decree. In July 1980 the Hearings on Namibian Uranium were finally held in New York before a Panel of Council members and a representative of the Commissioner. The hearings not only generated new information from NGO's and experts on Namibian uranium and the violation of Decree No.1, but also renewed discussion as to how the Decree should be implemented.

In the years following the hearings in 1980 further conferences, seminars and workshops were organised by the Council in several countries and on various aspects of the Decree (legal, trade unions, transnational corporations etc.). The Office of the Commissioner requested lawyers in a number of countries (Belgium, France, West Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the U.S.A.) involved in violating the Decree to draw up reports on the feasibility of having the Decree implemented in their countries. The Council for Namibia sent missions to consult with lawyers, politicians and NGO's in these countries.

The UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA,
representing the people of Namibia

HAVE SUMMONED

1. URENCO NEDERLAND V.O.F., registered in Almelo;
2. ULTRA-CENTRIFUGE NEDERLAND N.V., registered in Almelo;
3. THE STATE OF THE NETHERLANDS, having its seat in The Hague.

THEREFORE

may it please the Court,

- I to prohibit Urenco Nederland and Ultra-Centrifuge Nederland from carrying out, (...) any order of enriched uranium which is placed wholly or partly on any the basis of a purchase of Namibian uranium-concentrate,
- II to instruct Urenco Nederland to submit to the State, (...) before carrying out any order of enriched uranium, a written statement from the party by or on whose behalf the order is placed, confirming that the order is not placed wholly or partly on the basis of a purchase of Namibian uranium-concentrate;

(...)

- III to instruct the State

- a) to use its best endeavours to see to it that Urenco Nederland and Ultra-Centrifuge Nederland refrain from carrying out, any order of enriched uranium which is placed wholly or partly on the basis of a purchase of Namibian uranium-concentrate;
- b) to see to it that Urenco Nederland and Ultra-Centrifuge Nederland observe (...) to sub II;

(...)

In May 1984 the Council sent a specific Mission to Western Europe to seek legal advice on implementing the Decree. This mission visited France, the Netherlands, West Germany and the United Kingdom and reported that any legal action by the Council should first be taken in the Netherlands (due to its independent legal system, its full recognition of the Council and its competence to enact the Decree) and that such legal action should focus on uranium (because of the legal and other evidence available).

Belgium, France, West Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. are involved in violating the Decree.

The Council organized a West European symposium on the implementation of the Decree. This was held in Geneva in August 1984 and was attended by NGO's, lawyers, trade unions and

parliamentarians. There was a strong recommendation from the symposium that the Council and the Commissioner implement the Decree in the Netherlands as soon as possible.

The legal studies from various countries requested by the Commissioner were completed and in May 1985 the Council decided to instruct lawyers in the Netherlands to prepare appropriate briefs in order to implement the Decree.

It had taken more than ten years to reach this decision. In August 1985 lawyers in the Netherlands were appointed to represent the Council. Given the legal and technical intricacies involved in the preparation of the legal proceedings, the lawyers required nearly two years to complete their preparations. In July 1987 the U.N. Council for Namibia officially began its historic legal action against URENCO, the uranium enrichment plant at Almelo in the Netherlands. It is expected that a preliminary judgement will be given only after the case has lasted approximately two years.

SANCTIONS AND NAMIBIA

One of the most surprising aspects of the Namibia problem is that sanctions have never been applied against South Africa specifically because of its continuing illegal occupation of Namibia. Sanctions presently in force against South Africa have been applied because of *apartheid* in South Africa itself. However some of the sanctions packages do make mention of Namibia.

The United States of America

The sanctions against South Africa passed by the United States Congress in 1986 do apply fully to Namibia. This is because the sanctions apply to South Africa and any territory under the control of South Africa.

The European Community

The EEC limited sanctions packet adopted in 1986 specifically *excludes* Namibia. According to EEC sources this is because of arguments raised by the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom that 'apartheid in Namibia had been abolished'!

The anomaly of Walvis Bay has not been clarified by any party. According to South Africa, Walvis Bay forms part of its Cape Province and is not part of Namibia. The EEC is meant to respect Security Council resolutions which confirm that Walvis Bay is part of Namibia. If then, for the EEC, Walvis Bay is part of Namibia it does *not* fall under the EEC sanctions. For South Africa this is one way of getting round some of the EEC sanctions!

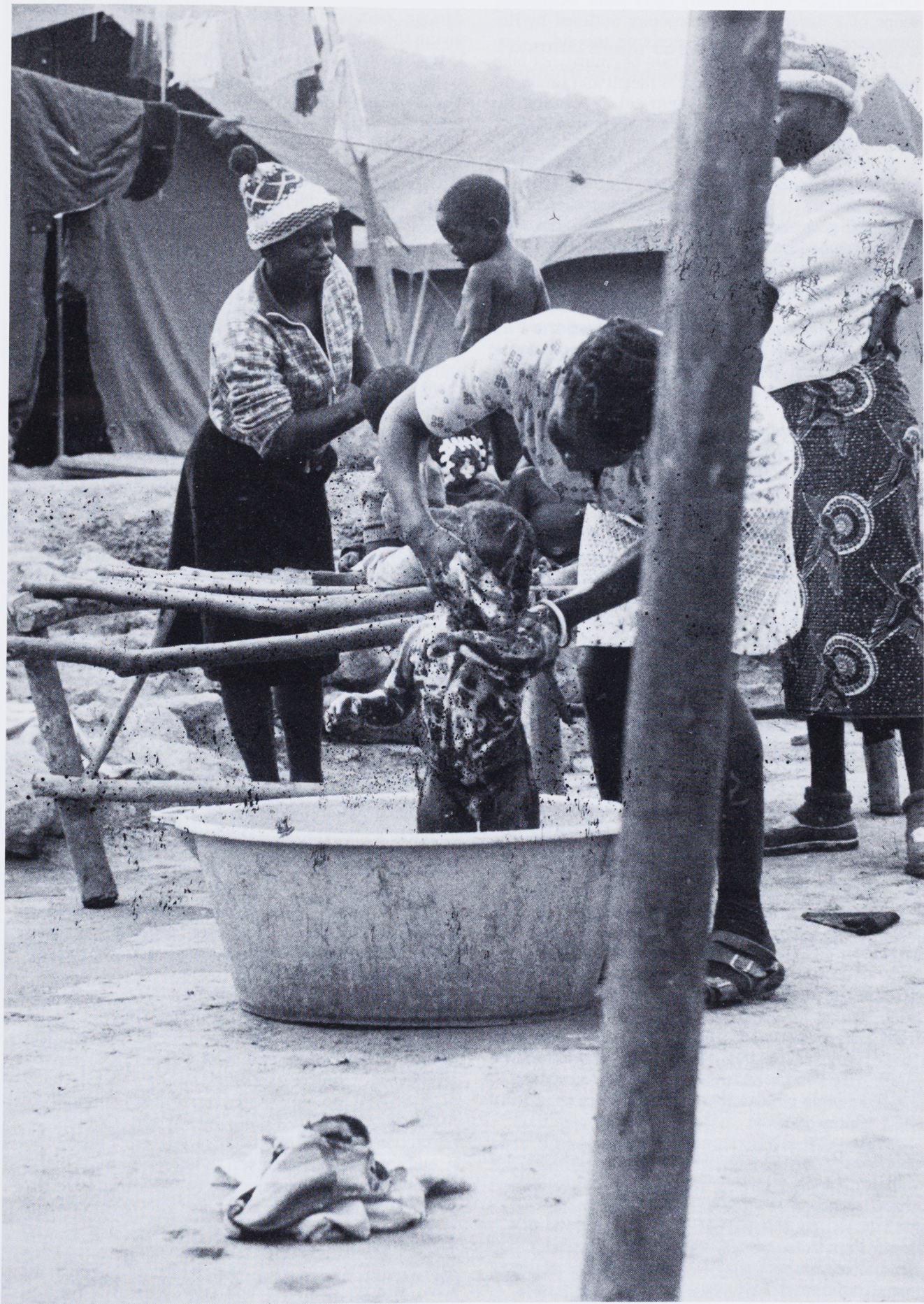
Sweden and Denmark

These two countries have imposed comprehensive boycotts against South Africa which cover Namibia as well.

U.N. Council for Namibia Decree No. 1

Decree No. 1 is not really a sanctions measure, even though the effect should be the same as sanctions. The Decree is really Namibian legislation, passed in 1974 by the U.N. Council for Namibia as the legal governing authority of Namibia, banning the export of Namibian minerals. Certain countries may comply with Decree No. 1, even though they reject sanctions.

Humanitarian and Development Aid



The illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa is a very important factor in determining a strategy for development aid to Namibia. The intention of development aid in general is to assist people to develop towards a position of economic strength and self-sufficiency and it usually takes place within the scope of a development philosophy outlined by the government of the country receiving the aid.

In the case of Namibia this can, of course, not take place. The 'government' there is illegal and under no circumstances must development aid to Namibia be used for the benefit of the illegal government or of those people collaborating with it.

This does not, however, mean that Namibians cannot receive any aid whatsoever. This would make them a double victim of their own occupation: having an illegal government imposed upon them and then being excluded from receiving development aid. What is needed, therefore, are guidelines for channelling aid to Namibians.

Aid to Namibians prior to independence

Projects to support Namibians prior to independence can be further divided into two categories, viz. to those in Namibia and to those in exile.

Projects inside Namibia

With Namibia illegally occupied by South Africa extreme care must be taken to ensure that no development aid projects support in any way whatsoever the illegal administration in the territory. Neither should any aid project have any links to the illegal administration, no matter how tenuous these may be.

An example of a project which *does* support the illegal administration is the financing of three 'bush clinics' in the Kavango homeland in Northern Namibia by an organisation called 'The West German/Namibian Development Association'. The clinics were officially opened in May 1986 by the acting tribal chief in the Kavango, Mrs. Hompa Rebecca and the Member of the Executive Committee for Health Services of the Kavango Administration (= 'Kavango Tribal Government Minister of Health') Mr. G. Shakadya.

Conservative groups in Europe opposed to SWAPO and the liberation of Namibia are willing to channel large amounts of money to try and prevent the true liberation of Namibia.

Thus West German (private) funds were, under the guise of development, directly financing a so-called tribal government set up by the occupying powers as part of their racist divide-and-rule tactics. Certainly South Africa welcomes this kind of 'development aid', but the people of Namibia see it as direct support to their oppressors.

Sensing that several conservative groups in Europe opposed to SWAPO and the liberation of Namibia are willing to channel large amounts of money to try and prevent the true liberation of Namibia, some individuals and political parties involved in the illegal 'Multi-Party Conference Government of National Unity' have set up their own 'development agencies' in an attempt to get access to these funds and so increase their (financial) influence in the territory. Support to these 'agencies' is indirect support for

South Africa's plans.

In some respects overseas aid to traditional 'non-political' charitable institutions operating in Namibia (such as assistance to handicapped people) is welcomed by the South Africans. It creates non-political and non-threatening links between South African occupied Namibia and overseas donors, giving the impression that everything is 'normal' and it further makes no contribution whatsoever to the liberation struggle. If traditional charitable work is to be funded, it should be done through organisations such as the Namibian churches which are also involved in the struggle for liberation.

Aid must be liberation-oriented

In the pre-independence period in Namibia any aid provided must be to and through groups committed to the liberation of Namibia and the immediate and unconditional implementation of U.N. Security Council res. 435. SWAPO does have its own ways of channelling aid into Namibia and the churches of the territory members of the Council of Churches of Namibia and signatories to the Ai-Gams Document can be said to be structurally opposing South Africa's plans for Namibia. The Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) particularly has a fairly extensive set of programmes for aid and development. CCN projects range from soup kitchens and food parcels in areas of poverty and hunger, through subsidies to 'unemployable' ex-political prisoners or to families of political prisoners, legal aid to those accused of political offences, training and self-help programmes released political prisoners to 'traditional' development programmes of agricultural development or developing alternative 'liberation-oriented' schools.

The extent to which 'aid' in Namibia is politicised is shown by an incident in May 1986 in the Aminuis district of the Herero tribal homeland. Recipients of the drought relief aid administered by the Welfare Unit of the CCN were fined up to one head of cattle each for what authorities of the tribal Herero Administration termed 'accepting SWAPO bribes'. The fines were sanctioned by the Head of the Herero Administration and President of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), Mr. Kuaima Riruako who claimed that the CCN aid was nothing but 'mere bribes aimed at breaking my people's allegiance and unity'.

The CCN has been recognized by the European Commission in Brussels as the Namibian channel of funds for the EEC special programme of aid to the victims of apartheid.

The CCN and the churches of Namibia have a particularly significant record in *refusing* aid which they consider to have been offered in bad political faith. The most notable example was in 1982 when the Evangelical Church in Rhineland in West Germany decided not to give an earmarked amount of DM300,000 to the PCR, the World Council of Churches Programme to Combat Racism. This money would then have been given to liberation movements in Southern Africa (including SWAPO). Instead the Rhenish Church decided to give the money to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia – who promptly refused it as they did not want to be seen as a 'soft option' for the PCR. Years of hard negotiations have proved fruitless and the Rhenish Church rejected the Namibian church's 'compromise' of making the money available to those Namibians who

needed it most, namely the refugees in the SWAPO camps in Angola and Zambia!

The Namibian churches are particularly wary of accepting money from Foundations financed by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany. The present Minister of Development Aid of the Federal Republic, Mr. Hans Klein, was – before he was appointed Minister – one of the ‘honoured guests’ at the installation of the illegal ‘MPC-government’ in June 1985. In November 1987, as Minister, he criticized U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 435 (1978) and once again called for increased West German development aid to be spent inside Namibia before independence. At least some of the government-financed West German foundations are directly involved in supporting ‘development projects’ backed by the illegal Multi-Party Conference ‘government’. An offer by the Otto Benecke Foundation to provide a DM 20,000,000 Vocational Guidance Centre in Windhoek was not responded to by the CCN. The Board of the Foundation has links to the ‘MPC-government’, and in any event there had never been any project request from the CCN for such a vocational guidance school – the idea had come from the foundation itself. This is contrary to all generally accepted guidelines for development aid and was seen by the CCN as an attempt to ‘buy influence’ rather than assisting in the development process. The present development aid policy with regard to Namibia of the Federal Republic of Germany has been the subject of some heated discussions in the U.N. Council for Namibia, where SWAPO made it clear that they were strongly against the type of aid now being given.

The CCN and the churches refuse aid offered in bad political faith.

Another factor to be borne in mind is that several business and mining houses operating (illegally) inside Namibia and paying taxes to the illegal administration have set up their own development funds. These private funds are mostly supporting projects aimed at building up structures inside Namibia which would be opposed to a SWAPO victory in any Namibian elections.

Until independence aid to people and bodies inside Namibia will have to be seen as ‘aid to withstand oppression’ and can only be channelled to those organisations actively resisting the illegal occupation.

Aid to Namibians in exile

Aid to the 80,000 or so Namibians who have fled their country can be given in two ways: firstly through SWAPO which has set up and administers the refugee camps in Angola and Zambia, or through the United Nations which has several funds and programmes aimed at assisting Namibian refugees preparing to return to their country at independence.

One of the United Nations initiatives for preparing for Namibian independence is the United Nations Namibian Nationhood Programme set up in 1975 by the then U.N. Commissioner for Namibia, Sean MacBride. In the last ten years the Nationhood Programme has spent US\$19 million on research and training activities, despite increasing problems of finance and the negative effect of a decade of political uncertainty surrounding Namibia.

Recent bursaries have been granted for courses in diamond marketing and management training to trainees coming from the ranks of SWAPO refugees. However the present financial crisis within the United Nations means that there is little money left for new projects.

Potential donor countries remain hesitant about committing themselves.

The difficulties encountered by the Namibian Nationhood Programme give a striking example of the problems this kind of aid projects to Namibians in exile raise. The programme was originally intended to be a unique exhaustive exercise in preparing the territory for independence. Some 75 ‘pre-independence’ projects were approved, but these had to be reduced later to 45. But potential donor countries remained hesitant about committing themselves as they had (political) misgivings about the conditions attached to the development planning and training schemes, viz. that each project had to be approved by SWAPO as the Namibian liberation movement. The lack of access to illegally occupied Namibia was also a problem.

In 1979, however, the first projects began, including an energy and transportation survey, a statistical unit, a vocational training centre and telecommunications planning. By 1983 a programme unit had begun developing an administrative force of 6,450 civil servants to run key services at independence. Eighteen ‘priority sectors’ were determined, ranging from defence to fisheries and water conservation. Students have also been trained in the fields of mineral engineering, aircraft maintenance, shoemaking and leatherwork, journalism and nursing. A major problem now is what to do with all the trainees, as there is still no prospect of independence for Namibia in the short term. In an attempt to avoid frustration and a lack of motivation a ‘field attachment program’ is being developed under which African governments are granting temporary jobs to the Nationhood Programme’s trainees.

Post independence aid to Namibia

At independence Namibia will be faced with a great many economic and development problems as the Namibian society will have to be substantially re-ordered and re-organised, particularly the socio-economic base, so as to bring the benefits of economic growth to the majority of the country who have been largely excluded from the development process while the territory has been under illegal South African occupation.

Key priorities for the new government will be:

- * **Manpower:** Mining, the civil service, agriculture, commerce and secondary industry are all likely to be hard hit with whites, refusing to accept a black-dominated government, leaving. Short-term manpower aid will be necessary at independence.
- * **Continuity of Production:** If the post-independence economy is to be re-organised to spread the wealth of the country more equitably, this is best achieved with a strong economic base. Therefore, if at all possible, there should be no major stoppage in economic production, particularly in the mining, agricultural and commercial spheres. Here not only manpower requirements play an important role, but also that of

overseas confidence. A concentrated programme of overseas aid pledges at independence can be an important signal that the new government has the confidence of the international community.

* **Withdrawing from South African domination:**

South Africa has an almost vice-like grip on the Namibian economy and infrastructure. Transport (post office) and communication (railways) are particularly vulnerable. South Africa's claims to Walvis Bay and the Orange River would further isolate and weaken the newly independent territory. All attempts by a SWAPO government in Namibia to speed up a withdrawal from this geo-political domination should be supported after independence.

* **Financial and Economic Policy:** South Africa has imposed an exceptionally unbalanced economy on Namibia, given the high standard of living of the white minority and the top-heavy overloaded governmental structures. In addition the mining industry has been given almost a free hand to do what it likes and pays relatively little tax. All this contributes to a shaky economic basis at independence in terms of immediate financing of the new government's budget and meeting its foreign currency requirements.

* **Development Cooperation Links:** As an independent country Namibia will fortunately be able to enter into cooperative partnerships with other countries or groups of countries. Accession to the Lomé Convention and membership of the SADCC would enable Namibia to receive assistance and development aid within regional structures. Aid programmes drawn up within the framework of SADCC and Lomé will presumably form the most important long-term planning of a post-independence SWAPO government to allow Namibia to play its part in the regional development of Southern Africa.

* **Re-integration of Exiles:** In the periods immediately preceding and immediately following independence, tens of thousands of exiles will be returning to Namibia and will have to be integrated into the new Namibian society. Many of the former exiles will bring with them skills gained by studies and training courses offered by the U.N. Namibia Nationhood Programme, the U.N. Institute for Namibia and other educational institutions throughout the world. They will therefore be expected to become part of the civil service and

administration of an independent Namibia. Several thousand returning exiles are bound to have problems of fitting in to the new society. Assistance for 're-integration programmes' is important to ensure a minimising of frustration among returned exiles in the years after independence as their (too high) expectations may not be (able to be) met.

Political implications of aid

Some Western governments and agencies express hesitation about giving aid to Namibia through SWAPO as they say that SWAPO receives aid from countries in Eastern Europe. This argument shows the danger of viewing the liberation struggle of the Namibian people against their illegal occupation as part of an 'East-West' conflict. It must be recalled that Namibia is legally the responsibility of the United Nations and that the U.N. has repeatedly called upon all Member States to give all possible assistance to the Namibian people in their struggle. It is not for Western countries to tell the Socialist countries of Eastern Europe *not* to fulfil their international responsibilities, it is rather the responsibility of Western countries to themselves ensure that they give as much assistance as possible to the Namibian people and SWAPO. In addition any political or economic support or protection Western countries may still be giving to South Africa itself or its protégés in Namibia must be ended as this is seen by Namibians as 'aiding the enemy'.

As pointed out earlier, development or humanitarian aid does have distinct political implications. Namibians have shown themselves to be acutely aware that 'aid' is sometimes used by potential donors for their own ends and they are not willing to be used for such political machinations.

After independence Namibia will also be faced with countries or organisations trying to 'buy favour' or 'buy influence' through offering aid. The best guarantee for developing a positive and useful aid relationship *after* independence is to ensure that such a relationship is built up *prior* to independence.

There are enough possibilities at present for donor countries and donor agencies to assist Namibians to 'withstand oppression' in an illegally occupied Namibia and to prepare for independence. Involvement *now* is an important pre-condition for involvement after independence.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF COLONISATION

Early 19th C.:	First white traders and missionaries arrive.	1969:	<i>De facto</i> incorporation of Namibia into South Africa. U.N. Security Council issues August 1969 deadline for S.A. to leave Namibia. S.A. refuses.
1868:	British Commissioner sent from Cape Town.	1970:	U.N. Security Council asks the International Court of Justice for opinion on Namibia.
1878:	Britain annexes the port of Walvis Bay.	1971:	In an Advisory Opinion the International Court of Justice says South Africa's presence in Namibia is illegal.
1884:	At the Congress of Berlin Germany claims Namibia as its colony (German South West Africa). Walvis Bay taken over by the Cape Colony.	1972:	U.N. Secretary-General Waldheim begins Namibia initiative.
1889:	German troops arrive to drive Namibians from their land.	1973:	Waldheim's mission fails. U.N. General Assembly recognizes SWAPO as 'sole authentic representative' of Namibian people.
1890's:	German settlers arrive to take over farming land.	1974:	U.N. Council for Namibia enacts Decree No. 1 for the Protection of Namibia's Natural Resources.
1904-06:	Great Herero and Nama uprising; Germans adopt a policy of genocide. Over 80,000 Namibians killed.	1975:	Abortive S.A. invasion of Angola. Angolan Government grants SWAPO new military bases.
1908:	Diamonds discovered in addition to existing copper and lead mines.		S.A. begins Turnhalle Conference in Namibia in an attempt to create internal client political party opposing SWAPO.
1915:	As part of the First World War South Africa invades Namibia and forces Germans to surrender. Namibia placed under S.A. military rule.	1976:	U.N. Security Council adopts Resolution No. 385 calling for elections in Namibia organised by the U.N.
1917:	S.A. Army kills Ovambo king in Northern Namibia.	1977:	S.A. refuses to allow implementation of Resolution No. 385. Western powers form 'Contact Group' on Namibia to negotiate with S.A. as an alternative to sanctions.
1920:	Namibia placed under League of Nations mandate to be administered by South Africa on behalf of Britain.		S.A. appoints Administrator-General for Namibia and re-annexes Walvis Bay.
1922:	S.A. establishes "reserves" for Namibians and distributes other land to South African and German settlers. Uprising by Namibians violently crushed.	1978:	Western proposals for elections in Namibia initially accepted by S.A.
1925:	Legislative Council established with all-white electorate.		S.A. Army attack kills 800 Namibian refugees in raid on Cassinga in Angola.
1930's:	League of Nations complains about S.A. practices in Namibia.		SWAPO accepts Western election proposals; South Africa rejects Western proposals.
1939:	S.A. troops sent to Namibia to prevent pro-Nazi German coup. Many Namibian blacks serve with S.A. forces fighting Nazi's.		Western proposals adopted by the U.N. Security Council as Resolution No. 435.
1946:	S.A. refuses to hand over mandate to United Nations claiming it does not recognize the United Nations as successor to the League of Nations. Namibian mining boom begins.		S.A. refuses to allow Res. 435 to be implemented.
1949:	First petition by Namibians to U.N. to end S.A. rule.	1979-80:	Continuing negotiations on S.A.'s refusal to implement Res. 435. S.A. sets up 'internal government' under DTA in Namibia.
1950:	International Court of Justice decides mandate still exists and that South Africa remains bound by it.	1981:	S.A. wrecks Geneva Conference on implementation of Res. 435. New Reagan Administration introduces 'Cuban linkage' policy, whereby Cubans must leave Angola before implementation of Res. 435.
1957:	Andimba Toivo ja Toivo founds the Ovamboland People's Congress (a precursor to SWAPO) as a Namibian workers' organisation.	1983:	DTA 'internal government' collapses; S.A. Administrator-General resumes direct rule. France withdraws from non-functioning 'Contact Group'.
1959:	Police fire on Namibians in Windhoek protesting forced removals. 11 are killed.		Multi-Party Conference (MPC) meets in Namibia to prepare for new S.A. supported 'internal government'.
1960:	SWAPO is founded under the leadership of Sam Nujoma.	1984:	S.A. and SWAPO meet in Lusaka and Cape Verde. S.A.'s insistence on 'Cuban linkage' finally undermines any progress. Ja Toivo and other SWAPO prisoners released.
1961:	Legal action begins at International Court of Justice to end South Africa's mandate over Namibia.	1985:	MPC 'internal government' installed by South Africa in Windhoek, U.N. Security Council Res. 566 condemns S.A. for this. S.A. Army increases its military involvement in Angola.
1964:	South Africa's Odendaal Commission recommends establishment of ten 'tribal homelands' in Namibia.	1987:	U.N. Security Council Res. 601 calls on U.N. Secretary-General to implement Res. 435.
1966:	International Court of Justice refuses to issue judgement on Namibia case. SWAPO undertakes first military actions beginning liberation war. United Nations General Assembly ends South Africa's mandate. S.A. refuses to withdraw.		Heavy fighting involving S.A. Army in Angola.
1967:	U.N. Council for Namibia established to administer Namibia until independence. S.A. refuses U.N. Council access to Namibia.		
1968:	S.A. begins implementing 'homelands' policy in Namibia. SWAPO members, including ja Toivo, found guilty of 'Terrorism' and imprisoned on Robben Island.		

NAMIBIA : A PLAN OF ACTION FOR AWEPA

A. Possibilities for action by parliamentarians:

Many possibilities for action exist for parliamentarians who are committed to assist in the liberation of Namibia. The AWEPA conference "Namibia: Breaking the stalemate; a West European Responsibility" held in Rome from 12-14 June 1986 adopted a final declaration (Annex I) which lists many such possibilities. From 20-24 April 1987 the United Nations Council for Namibia held a Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia in Buenos Aires. Included in the Seminar's "Call for Action" were several paragraphs containing suggestions for parliamentarians and legislators (Annex II).

Actions on Namibia to be taken by parliamentarians, such as those included in the documents referred to above, can be divided into three categories:

- a) forcing the implementation of Res. 435 by punishing South Africa for ignoring United Nations resolutions;
- b) assistance to Namibians prior to independence;
- c) preparations for post-independence aid.

In general there are two criteria for judging any action:

- a) Are we in Western Europe part of the problem?
- b) Are we in Western Europe supporting those struggling for a just solution?

Action on the implementation of Res. 435

1) Linkage: Continued United States insistence on linking the presence of Cuban troops in Angola to the implementation of Res. 435 has meant that South Africa has since 1981 openly been protected by the United States. Western governments, while conceding that the "linkage" is an extraneous factor, are not prepared to openly confront the United States on this issue. Namibians can therefore correctly assume that Western Europe is not really interested about their plight or the on-going violation of international law. Western Europe thus remains part of their problem. West European parliamentarians must therefore try to ensure that their governments criticize "linkage" and openly lobby the United States administration on this point.

2) Decree No.1: South Africa does not feel threatened in continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia because it knows that at present Western countries are continuing to trade in Namibia's natural resources - uranium, diamonds, copper, zinc, tin etc. even though this is forbidden by Decree No.1 of the U.N. Council for Namibia. It is essential that governments of countries involved in this illicit trade are put under parliamentary pressure to have Decree No. 1 recognized and implemented in their countries. It is expected that legal action, initiated by the U.N. Council for Namibia, to have Decree No.1 implemented in the Netherlands will begin shortly.

3) Sanctions: The imposition of sanctions against South Africa for refusing to implement Res. 435 should be seen as a punishment of South Africa for its continued occupation of Namibia. The South Africa government interpreted the exclusion of Namibia from the existing E.E.C. sanctions as an encouragement for its present Namibian policies! The remaining sanctions specified in U.N. Security Council Res. 566 together with an oil and coal embargo are the logical sanctions to be imposed by E.E.C. countries.

The ending of the Cuban/Angola "linkage" factor, the implementation of Decree No.1 and the imposition of sanctions are probably all necessary to force South Africa to withdraw from Namibia through the implementation of Res. 435.

Pre-Independence Aid to Namibians

All aid destined for distribution inside Namibia itself prior to independence must be channelled through organisations which are opposed to the present South African imposed administrative structures in Namibia. In practice this will be through SWAPO's internal arm, trade unions affiliated to the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) or the Council of Churches in Namibia which plays a key role in co-ordinating development projects, legal aid, support for ex-political prisoners and the families of political prisoners. On no account should any projects be supported which are in any way connected to parties or individuals involved the "interim government". Unfortunately some Western countries and aid agencies are doing so.

"Marshall Aid" help to Europe while it was still occupied by the Nazi's would have been unthinkable...

All humanitarian aid for Namibian exiles should be channelled either through the United Nations or in co-operation with SWAPO which is itself responsible for the administration of its large camps for exiled Namibians.

Preparations for post-independence aid

The United Nations, in co-operation with SWAPO has two specific projects relating to preparations for post-independence development, viz. the U.N. Institute for Namibia and the U.N. Namibia Nationhood Programme. It would seem logical that those involved in the aid programmes and research and training prior to independence will also be the ones most likely to be involved in aid programmes after independence. It should also be taken into account that on independence Namibia will almost certainly join the SADCC (Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference) and become a signatory of the Lomé Convention.

Conclusions

Parliamentarians in Western Europe will have to undertake concrete actions if they wish to have any positive influence on the progress of the Namibian liberation struggle. In order to force South Africa out of Namibia, the price it pays to occupy the territory will have to be drastically increased: economic and political sanctions are an essential part of this process.

The responsibility of West European parliamentarians is clear; the long exploited Namibians are critically watching to see if they accept the challenge...

The Rome Declaration on Independence for Namibia

(adopted by the AWEPA Parliamentary Conference on "Namibia: Breaking the Stalemate; a West European Responsibility, Rome, June 12 - 14, 1986.)

The Conference took place at a time when the crisis in Southern Africa was increasing in intensity: the Eminent Persons Group of the Commonwealth had just reported its conclusions that the white South African Government was not interested in conducting a dialogue aimed at dismantling apartheid, and that sanctions should be applied; and during the course of the conference the South African Government declared a national state of emergency in an attempt to prevent commemorative demonstrations on the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising on June 16th, 1976.

The Conference was attended by members of fourteen West European national parliaments, the European Parliament, Canada, and delegations from the U.N. Council for Namibia, from SWAPO of Namibia and from the Council of Churches in Namibia.

The participants expressed their appreciation for the hospitality and assistance offered by the Italian Government and the Italian Parliament, as well as to the United Nations Council for Namibia for making the organisation of the Conference possible as part of their programme of mobilising world opinion for the liberation of Namibia.

The participants noted that nearly twenty years since the South African presence in Namibia was declared illegal by the United Nations, there is still no real sign that the oppressed people of Namibia will gain their independence through the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 435 (1978).

With the dramatic developments in South Africa attracting so much attention, the participants wished to re-emphasise that the fate of the Namibian people, the South African oppression and the cause of Namibian liberation should be more widely publicised as well. The participants expressed their indignation at the continued violation of human rights through torture, disappearances etc. in Namibia and expressed their solidarity with the victims of these policies.

The participants recalled that U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 566 (1985) urges all Member States to take voluntary measures against South Africa because of its continuing illegal occupation of Namibia. They noted that the Eminent Persons Group of the Commonwealth had also, because of apartheid in South Africa itself, recommended that meaningful sanctions be imposed.

Therefore, due to the increasing tensions caused by the system of apartheid and the aggressive actions of the white South African Government, and above all by the continuing illegal occupation of Namibia, the participants

pledged themselves to undertake, to the best of their ability and as befits their political situation, actions aimed at weakening South Africa's will to continue its occupation of Namibia, forcing implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 435 (1978), as well as countering South Africa's policies internally and towards neighbouring States.

These actions are:

- a. to intensify pressures on South Africa so as to achieve the abolition of apartheid;
- b. to put pressure on the governments of the countries of the so-called Western Contact Group who have not yet done so to recognise, as the Eminent Persons Group of the Commonwealth has done, that their negotiations with the South African Government have not been successful and therefore to explicitly disband the Contact Group;
- c. to initiate parliamentary initiatives on the violation of human rights;
- d. to work towards the implementation of Decree No.1 of the U.N. Council for Namibia thereby ending all illegal trade in Namibian natural resources. The forthcoming court action, initiated by the U.N. Council for Namibia against the URENCO uranium enrichment plant in the Netherlands, should stimulate other initiatives on this issue;
- e. to implement those sanctions specifically mentioned in U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 566 (1985), viz.
 1. stopping new investments in South Africa and Namibia and applying disincentives to this end;
 2. the re-examination of maritime and aerial relations with South Africa and Namibia;
 3. the prohibition of the sale of Krugerrands and all other gold coins minted in South Africa;
 4. applying restrictions in the field of sports and cultural relations;
- f. to put pressure on their governments to proclaim an embargo on any involvement in the export, sale or shipping of crude oil, petroleum products or natural gas to South Africa or Namibia;
- g. to put pressure on their government to prohibit the purchase or handling of coal from South Africa;
- h. to consider establishing a total trade boycott against South Africa and Namibia following the example of Denmark;
- i. to put pressure on their governments to step up pressure on their governments to force South Africa to implement Res. 435. This will have to include registering more clearly with the U.S. Administration their opposition to the "linkage" policy, thus emphasising the right of Namibia to self-determination and independence in accordance with the law of nations. This right takes precedence over any geo-strategic considerations.
- j. to propose in their parliaments that aid to Namibians be increased. This aid should only be channelled to and through United Nations agencies or those Namibian agencies such as SWAPO and the Council of Churches in Namibia, which are actively opposing the South African occupation of Namibia and are in no way related to the structures of or individuals involved with the Multi-Party Conference "interim government". The current EEC aid programmes to victims of apartheid should be fully accessible to such organisations.

The participants are of the opinion that such measures taken by individual countries contribute positively to collective actions.

The participants extend their appeal for intensified action along the above lines not only to their parliaments and governments, but equally to the people of their countries.

AWEPAA and the conference participants will bring the above points to the attention of the United Nations and in particular of the Commonwealth and the European Community, in order that at the forthcoming meetings of these organisations at least the measures covered by (a) through (j) above be agreed upon.

The participants are convinced that, given the dramatic and tragic situation that has been allowed to develop in Namibia and Southern Africa, the world community must intensify the efforts to liberate Namibia and abolish apartheid. The Western countries have to should their responsibility in breaking the statemate.

30. In this regard the Seminar urges all parliamentarians and legislators to intensify action to initiate legislation to sever all diplomatic, military, nuclear, technological and intelligence ties with South Africa; to mandate strict observance of the sports and cultural boycott of South Africa; to prohibit all trade with South Africa and Namibia; to ban all bank loans and prohibit the rescheduling of existing loans to South Africa and Namibia and to require immediate and total corporate withdrawal from Namibia and South Africa, particularly in strategic sectors such as energy, motor vehicles and computers.

31. The Seminar calls upon parliamentarians and legislators to support efforts in their respective countries to provide, as a matter of urgency, financial and material assistance to the People's Republic of Angola, and other front-line States on bi-lateral terms, as well as through the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), and to contribute generously to the recently established AFRICA Fund of the Non-Aligned Movement.

32. The Seminar notes with satisfaction that the Commission on Human Rights of the Latin American Parliament (Quito, 9-10 March 1987) adopted a special resolution condemning the apartheid régime.

33. The Seminar expresses concern about South Africa's activities in Latin America, including in particular its support for anti-democratic forces in the region, which Latin American legislators and human rights activists consider to be threats to the process of democratization taking place in the region, and to the peace and stability of the South Atlantic region.

34. The Seminar is convinced that the independence of Namibia would contribute to peace in the South Atlantic region, by eliminating one of the major causes of tension in the area. In view of this, the Seminar urges Latin American parliamentarians and political parties to redouble their support for the efforts of the international community to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia.

35. Recalling, inter alia, Security Council resolution 566 (1985) by which the Council declared illegal, null and void racist South Africa's installation of a so-called interim government in Windhoek, the Seminar calls upon parliamentarians and legislators to prohibit and otherwise refuse contacts and meetings at all levels with representatives of the so-called Multi-Party Conference (MPC) or "interim government" in Namibia, or any representative or organ established in pursuance thereof.

36. The Seminar expresses its grave concern over the obstacles and difficulties encountered by representatives of SWAPO seeking to travel to some Western countries, particularly the United States. SWAPO representatives continue to encounter problems with the timely granting of visas to enter the United States and the honouring of travel documents presented at points of entry. In this regard, the Seminar stresses that SWAPO has been accorded permanent observer status at the United Nations and obtained a diplomatic mission in New York. The Seminar calls upon legislators and other officials in the United States to take appropriate measures to end such practices which interfere with the travel and official duties of SWAPO representatives.

37. The Seminar urges parliamentarians and legislators to take appropriate legislative and other measures to facilitate the granting of diplomatic status by the Governments to SWAPO.



Extracts from the "Call for Action"
issued by the
UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA
Seminar on Support for the
Immediate Independence of Namibia
and the
Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa
Buenos Aires, 20-24 April 1987

1. INTRODUCTION

1. The Seminar on Support for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Effective Application of Sanctions against South Africa, convened by the United Nations Council for Namibia in Buenos Aires, Argentina from 20 to 24 April 1987, was attended by representatives of non-governmental organisations and liberation movements, labour organisations, scholars, parliamentarians, legal experts and journalists. Representatives of States Members of the United Nations and United Nations bodies and agencies also attended the Seminar.

3. PARLIAMENTARIANS AND LEGISLATORS

28. The Seminar urges all parliamentarians and legislators to support the efforts of the international community to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia by pressing their Governments to expedite the unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and by initiating legislation:

(a) To recognize formally the role of SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people;

(b) To provide political, moral and material support to SWAPO in its heroic struggle against racist oppression;

(c) To promote the adherence of their countries to Decree No.1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, thereby prohibiting, inter alia, the extraction, sale, export or distribution of the natural resources of Namibia;

(d) To establish scholarships for Namibian students, selected under the auspices of SWAPO, to study outside Namibia's apartheid educational structures;

(e) To assist the United Nations Council for Namibia in carrying out its mandate as the legal Administering Authority for Namibnia until independence and in carrying out its programme of assiatnce to the Namibian people, in particular the Nationhood Programme for Namibia and the United Nations Institute for Namibia.

29. The Seminar calls upon parliamentarians and legislators to increase political, diplomatic and economic pressure on States which continue to collaborate with racist South Africa and refuse to impose effective sanctions against that régime, particularly the United States, United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany.

of 29 September 1978

**UNITED
NATIONS**



The Security Council,

RECALLING its resolutions 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976 and 431 (1978) and 432 (1978) of 27 July 1978;

HAVING CONSIDERED the report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 2 of Resolution 431 (1978) and his explanatory statement made in the Security Council on 29 September 1978 (S/12869);

TAKING NOTE of the relevant communications from the Government of South Africa to the Secretary-General;

REAFFIRMING the legal responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia;

1. APPROVES the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the proposal for a settlement of the Namibian situation and his explanatory statement;
2. REITERATES that its objective is the withdrawal of South Africa's illegal administration from Namibia and the transfer of power to the people of Namibia with the assistance of the United Nations in accordance with Security Council resolution 385 (1976);
3. DECIDES to establish under its authority a United Nations Transition Assistance Group in accordance with the above-mentioned report of the Secretary-General for a period of up to 12 months in order to assist his Special Representative to carry the mandate conferred upon him by the Security Council in paragraph 1 of its resolution 431 (1978), namely, to ensure the early independence of Namibia through free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations;
4. WELCOMES the preparedness of the South West Africa People's Organization to co-operate in the implementation of the Secretary-General's report, including its expressed readiness to sign and observe the cease-fire provisions as manifested in the letter from its President of 8 September 1978;
5. CALLS UPON South Africa forthwith to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the present resolution;
6. DECLARES that all unilateral measures taken by the illegal administration in Namibia in relation to the electoral process, including unilateral registration of voters, or transfer of power, in contravention of resolutions 385 (1976), 431 (1978) and the present resolution, are null and void;
7. REQUESTS the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council not later than 23 October 1978 on the implementation of the present resolution.



Security Council

RESOLUTION 601 (1987)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2759th meeting,
on 30 October 1987

The Security Council,

Having considered the reports of the Secretary-General of the United Nations of 31 March 1987 (S/18767) and 27 October 1987 (S/19234),

Having heard the statement by the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia,

Having also considered the statement by Mr. Theo-Ben Gurirab, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the South West Africa People's Organization,

Recalling General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 as well as resolution S-14/1 of 20 September 1986,

Recalling and reaffirming its resolutions 269 (1969), 276 (1970), 301 (1971), 385 (1976), 431 (1978), 432 (1978), 435 (1978), 439 (1978), 532 (1983), 539 (1983), and 566 (1985),

1. Strongly condemns racist South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and its stubborn refusal to comply with the resolutions and decisions of the Security Council, in particular resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978);

2. Reaffirms the legal and direct responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia;

3. Affirms that all outstanding issues relevant to the implementation of its resolution 435 (1978) have now been resolved as stated in the Secretary-General's reports contained in documents S/18767 of 31 March 1987 and S/19234 of 27 October 1987;

4. Welcomes the expressed readiness of the South West Africa People's Organization to sign and observe a cease-fire agreement with South Africa, in order to pave the way for the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978);

5. Decides to authorize the Secretary-General to proceed to arrange a cease-fire between South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organization in order to undertake the administrative and other practical steps necessary for the emplacement of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group;

6. Urges States Members of the United Nations to render all the necessary practical assistance to the Secretary-General and his staff in the implementation of the present resolution;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress in the implementation of the present resolution and to submit his report as soon as possible;

8. Decides to remain seized of the matter.



UNITED NATIONS

DECREE No. 1

FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF NAMIBIA

Conscious of its responsibility to protect the natural resources of the people of Namibia and of ensuring that these natural resources are not exploited to the detriment of Namibia, its people or environmental assets, the United Nations Council for Namibia enacts the following decree:

DECREE

The United Nations Council for Namibia,

Recognizing that, in the terms of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 the Territory of Namibia (formerly South West Africa) is the direct responsibility of the United Nations,

Accepting that this responsibility includes the obligation to support the right of the people of Namibia to achieve self-government and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

Reaffirming that the Government of the Republic of South Africa is in illegal possession of the Territory of Namibia,

Furthering the decision of the General Assembly in resolution 1803 (XVII) of 14 December 1962 which declared the right of peoples and nations to permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources,

Noting that the Government of the Republic of South Africa has usurped and interfered with these rights,

Desirous of securing for the people of Namibia adequate protection of the natural wealth and resources of the Territory which is rightfully theirs,

Recalling the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 21 June 1971,¹

Acting in terms of the powers conferred on it by General Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967 and all other relevant resolutions and decisions regarding Namibia,

¹*Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

Decrees that

1. No person or entity, whether a body corporate or unincorporated, may search for, prospect for, explore for, take, extract, mine, process, refine, use, sell, export, or distribute any natural resource, whether animal or mineral, situated or found to be situated within the territorial limits of Namibia without the consent and permission of the United Nations Council for Namibia or any person authorized to act on its behalf for the purpose of giving such permission or such consent;

2. Any permission, concession or licence for all or any of the purposes specified in paragraph 1 above whensoever granted by any person or entity, including any body purporting to act under the authority of the Government of the Republic of South Africa or the "Administration of South West Africa" or their predecessors, is null, void and of no force or effect;

3. No animal resource, mineral, or other natural resource produced in or emanating from the Territory of Namibia may be taken from the said Territory by any means whatsoever to any place whatsoever outside the territorial limits of Namibia by any person or body, whether corporate or unincorporated, without the consent and permission of the United Nations Council for Namibia or of any person authorized to act on behalf of the said Council;

4. Any animal, mineral or other natural resource produced in or emanating from the Territory of Namibia which shall be taken from the said Territory without the consent and written authority of the United Nations Council for Namibia or of any person authorized to act on behalf of the said Council may be seized and shall be forfeited to the benefit of the said Council and held in trust by them for the benefit of the people of Namibia;

5. Any vehicle, ship or container found to be carrying animal, mineral or other natural resources produced in or emanating from the Territory of Namibia shall also be subject to seizure and forfeiture by or on behalf of the United Nations Council for Namibia or of any person authorized to act on behalf of the said Council and shall be forfeited to the benefit of the said Council and held in trust by them for the benefit of the people of Namibia;

6. Any person, entity or corporation which contravenes the present decree in respect of Namibia may be held liable in damages by the future Government of an independent Namibia;

7. For the purposes of the preceding paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 and in order to give effect to this decree, the United Nations Council for Namibia hereby authorizes the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, in accordance with resolution 2248 (S-V), to take the necessary steps after consultations with the President.

The foregoing is the text of the Decree adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia at its 209th meeting on 27 September 1974 and approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its 29th Session on 13 December 1974. For additional copies and information, please communicate with the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Room DC-328, United Nations, New York, N.Y. 10017 or at the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Box 33550, Lusaka, Zambia.

The Ai-Gams declaration (April 30, 1986)

On April 29-30, the CCN called a meeting of the churches in Namibia, political parties and groups, representatives of the student movement and women's organisations to discuss the political situation in the country. The meeting asked for an end to the illegal military occupation of Namibia, the abrogation of the interim government and the implementation of UN Resolution 435. The meeting unanimously adopted the Ai-Gams Declaration.

"We, the duly authorized representatives of the undermentioned churches, political parties and groups, women's organisations and the student movement, who represent the overwhelming majority of the Namibian people,
HAVING GATHERED in Klein Windhoek at a meeting under the auspices of the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) on the 29th and 30th of April 1986;
HAVING DISCUSSED, REVIEWED, ANALYSED in depth the worsening political, economic, social and military situation in Namibia today;
HAVING NOTED the frustration felt by our people at the continued delay in gaining an internationally recognised independence;
UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVE AS FOLLOWS :

1.1 To reject South Africa's continuing delaying tactics and its persistent refusal to have United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978 implemented (which resolution was accepted by all parties concerned including the Republic of South Africa and the United States of America);

1.2 To reject the unholy alliance between the United States of America and the Republic of South Africa in their attempts to by-pass the said United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 by linking the independence of Namibia to issues which are totally extraneous, such as the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola;

1.3 To reject the succession of Pretoria installed puppet governments of which the so-called transitional government is the latest creation;

1.4 To reject the so-called transitional government on the grounds that :

1.4.1 It is forced upon our people by South Africa,

1.4.2 It is kept in power only by the sheer brutal force of the army of occupation, e.g. the 'security police' and Koevoet, etc.,

1.4.3 It is not elected and has no mandate from the Namibian people;

1.5 To reject the increasingly repressive nature and dictatorial actions of the so-called transitional government, in particular, the latest ban on all gatherings in the Windhoek magisterial district, in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act, an act which in itself is such a flagrant violation of fundamental human rights that it has even been abolished in South Africa itself;

1.6 To reject the illegal presence of the South African army in Namibia, the forced conscription of Namibians, the creation of the so-called South West Africa Territorial Force through which civil war is being forced upon the people of Namibia;

1.7 To condemn all the oppressive and inhuman laws applicable in Namibia, in particular AG 9, AG 26 and the Terrorism Act of 1967;

THEREFORE, WE REAFFIRM :

2.1 The inalienable rights of the Namibian people to gain their self-determination and independence now;

2.2 The inviolability of the territorial integrity of our country and our commitment to ONE NAMIBIA ONE NATION;

2.3 The international status of Namibia and the obligations of the international community;

2.4 That United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 is the only peaceful democratic way of achieving an internationally recognised independence for Namibia;

CONSEQUENTLY, WE SEVERALLY AND COLLECTIVELY COMMIT OURSELVES TO :

3.1 Mobilize and conscientize the Namibian masses so as to actively resist the status quo;

3.2 Embark on a campaign of positive action aimed at bringing about the immediate and unconditional implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435;

3.3 Work towards the abolition of the so-called transitional government and its replacement by an internationally recognised and democratically elected government truly representative of the Namibian people;

3.4 Carry on the campaign against compulsory, military service.

Signed by :

Churches :

- Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELOC)
- Evangelical Lutheran Church in SWA (Rhenish Mission)
- Roman Catholic Church (Diocese of Windhoek)
- Anglican Diocese of Namibia
- African Methodist Episcopal Church
- Council of Churches in Namibia

Political Parties :

- Damara Council
- Mbanderu Council

- Namibia Christian Democratic Party
- Namibia Independence Party
- NUDO Progressive Party
- South West Africa National Union
- South West Africa People's Organisation

Organisations :

- Namibia National Students' Organisation
- Namibia Women's Voice
- Young Women's Christian Association''(38)

Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, at the AWEPA seminar, European Parliament, Strasbourg, May 1987

... Today virtually all sections of the Namibian population have come to realise that there will be no political solution in Namibia without SWAPO's full participation.

- a) In April 1986 the Council of Churches in Namibia brought together over sixty church and political leaders in Windhoek, capital of Namibia. After the meeting, all participants spoke with one voice, rejecting the 'interim government' of Botha and demanding the immediate implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 435 (1978).
- b) Early in 1987, a group called 'Namibia Peace Plan - Resolution 435' was created among the white community of our population. This group is made up of prominent lawyers, businessmen, professors and doctors. It urges Pretoria to stop its delaying tactics with regard to U.N. supervised elections in Namibia leading to independence. The group, whose membership includes Afrikaans, German and English-speaking Namibian whites, rejects the U.S.A.'s concocted linkage precondition. They firmly support Resolution No. 435 and demand its speedy unconditional implementation.
- c) Another group - the Association of German-speaking Namibians - has also come out with a public rejection of the linkage precondition and called on Pretoria to accept the implementation of Resolution No. 435.

d) Several delegations of white Namibians have been travelling to Lusaka or Harare to have meetings with the SWAPO leadership about the urgent need for the implementation of the U.N. plan for Namibia, without any further delay.

e) Trade unions in Namibia are likewise demanding the implementation of Resolution No. 435.

They all acknowledge the consistent and statesman-like role being played by SWAPO in leading the struggle at home and abroad...

intransigence and refusal to co-operate with the U.N. Secretary-General in the implementation of Resolution No. 435.

We equally condemn the Federal Republic of Germany for having voted against the same draft resolution, as an act of scandalous solidarity with the Boers who are killing our people.

We further urge you to redouble your efforts and intensify the campaign for the demand for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa as a means of accelerating the attainment of Namibia's long overdue independence.

We call upon the European Parliamentarians to discourage some of their members who are being used to travel on South Africa's expenses to visit the puppets of the so-called interim government with the aim of lending recognition and respectability to them.

Extracts of a sermon by Bishop Bonifatius Haushiku, Roman Catholic Bishop of Windhoek, given at Lusaka, Zambia on 4 May 1987

... My people did not only suffer and die during the extermination war of the Germans at the beginning of this century. My people did not only suffer and die on that horrible morning of May 4th, 1978 when racist South African soldiers mercilessly attacked Cassinga Camp. My people are dying today, they are dying now, dying this morning and every day. There are killings, electric shocks and all kinds of torture, rapes, harassments, beatings and detentions, disappearances and imprisonments going on every day, in that country, especially in the so-called 'operational areas'... The Namibian nation is a suffering nation. They have been suffering since colonial rule was brought to Namibia a hundred years ago.

The Christian Church in Namibia is trying to be faithful to the Command of the Lord; and so in the name of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, she is speaking out very loudly against all these atrocities and malpractices.

... The Church is working for peace, love and unity among all the Namibians; and therefore she is calling

for the signing of a ceasefire by the warring parties, followed by the implementation of Security Council Resolution No. 435 of 1978 by which Namibia is to be led to a peaceful transition to independence. The Church sees this resolution to be the viable solution to the Namibian dispute.

... The Church is with the people, and the people are the Church. One cannot separate the two, and then say, the Church must keep out of politics. No, the Church has to be a sign of hope for the oppressed and suffering people and keep them together. This is the gospel of Jesus Christ. We as the Church would not like to be false prophets in Namibia, prophets of doom. Prophets who do not like to speak out the truth and who try to appease those in power. No, such a Church would not be the Church of Christ directed by the Spirit of Truth.

... One day Namibia will be free. One day Namibia will be a united country, and one day Namibia will return to peace and love...

The last ten years of negotiations have seen the rule of international law undermined and United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 435 (1978) betrayed as the West has served its own interests at the cost of the interests of the Namibian people. The Namibians are still waiting for the international community to shoulder its responsibilities and force South Africa to withdraw from their country. International dialogue and negotiations on their own have proved unsuccessful.

The Namibians are now waiting for action – not more words.

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