

The raid by regular troops of the Portuguese colonial army on a Senegalese border village is no accident but clearly an international act of aggression. In violation of resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, Portugal has intensified its criminal military operations to suppress national liberation movements. The Portuguese mercenaries do not even shrink from using chemical warfare agents, including napalm. Such actions again point to the dangers arising for the African continent and for peace and security from the maintenance of the remnants of colonialism. The German Democratic Republic therefore reiterates its demand to implement immediately all United Nations stipulations aimed at putting an end to Portugal's colonial rule in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

It corroborates its view that it is in particular the comprehensive assistance from abroad and the all-round support it is receiving from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia that put Portugal in a position to make its attempts on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent African States. To prevent the continuation of this Portuguese policy, it is indispensable above all that all States should adhere to the United Nations decisions not to grant any political, moral or material support to Portugal.

The German Democratic Republic, declaring its solidarity with the African peoples and national liberation movements in their struggle against Portuguese foreign rule, affirms that it will also in future support the efforts of the Security Council and the General Assembly for the final liberation of the still colonially dependent countries on the African continent.

I request you to have this telegram circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(Signed) OTTO WINZER
Minister for Foreign Affairs
of the German Democratic Republic

DOCUMENT S/10832*

Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council Resolution 319 (1972)

[Original: English]
[15 November 1972]

1. At its 1656th and 1657th meetings held on 31 July and 1 August 1972, the Security Council considered my report dated 17 July 1972 on the implementation of Security Council resolution 309 (1972) concerning the question of Namibia [S/10738]. At its 1657th meeting, the Security Council adopted resolution 319 (1972), the text of which reads as follows:

"The Security Council,

"Recalling its resolution 309 (1972) of 4 February 1972, and without prejudice to other resolutions adopted on the question of Namibia,

"Having considered the report submitted by the Secretary-General in accordance with resolution 309 (1972) [S/10738],

"1. Notes with appreciation the efforts made by the Secretary-General in the implementation of resolution 309 (1972);

"2. Reaffirms the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence;

"3. Reaffirms also the national unity and the territorial integrity of Namibia;

"4. Invites the Secretary-General, in consultation and close co-operation with the group of the Security Council established in accordance with resolution 309 (1972), to continue his contacts with all parties concerned, with a view to establishing the necessary conditions so as to enable the people of Namibia, freely and with strict regard to the principles of hu-

man equality, to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

"5. Approves the proposal of the Secretary-General to proceed, after necessary consultations, with the appointment of a representative to assist him in the discharge of his mandate as set out in paragraph 4 above;

"6. Requests the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council informed as appropriate and in any case to report to it on the implementation of resolution 309 (1972) and of this resolution by 15 November 1972."

2. In accordance with paragraph 5 of resolution 319 (1972), on 24 September 1972, I appointed Ambassador Alfred Martin Escher of Switzerland as my representative to assist me in the discharge of my mandate as set out in paragraph 4 of the resolution.

3. Immediately after his arrival in New York, I instructed Mr. Escher on his task as representative of the Secretary-General for Namibia. I explained to him the background leading to the adoption of Security Council resolution 319 (1972) and provided him with the relevant papers and documents. I also made available to him a copy of the aide-mémoire submitted to me on 26 September 1972 by the group of the Security Council established in accordance with resolution 309 (1972), the text of which is reproduced in annex I.

4. I also assigned the following members of the Secretariat to assist the representative of the Secretary-

* Incorporating document S/10832/Corr.1.

General: Mr. M. E. Chacko, Director and Deputy to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs; Mr. H. Noel, Senior Officer, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs; Mr. M. Pedanou, First Officer, Executive Office of the Secretary-General; Miss B. Mallison, secretary.

5. Following consultations in New York, Mr. Escher and his party visited South Africa and Namibia from 8 October to 3 November 1972.

6. On 6 November, following his return to New York, Mr. Escher reported to me orally on the results of his contacts.

7. Subsequently, I met with the following parties, together with Mr. Escher and other members of the mission, and informed them of what had been reported to me orally:

The group of the Security Council established in accordance with resolution 309 (1972), composed of Ambassador Carlos Ortiz de Rozas of Argentina, Ambassador Hussein Nur Elmi of Somalia and Ambassador Lazar Mojsov of Yugoslavia;

The President of the Security Council, Ambassador Jeanne Martin Cissé of Guinea;

Ambassador Mehdi Mrani Zentar of Morocco, representing the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU); Ambassador Mohamed Shanoun, Assistant Secretary-General of OAU; Ambassador Mamadou Mactar Thiam, Executive Secretary of OAU in New York;

Ambassador Zewde Gabre-Sellassie of Ethiopia, Chairman of the African Group for the month of November;

Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

Ambassador Osman Olcay of Turkey, Chairman of the United Nations Council for Namibia;

Ambassador Carlos Ortiz de Rozas of Argentina, Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Sub-Committee on Namibia.

8. On 14 November, Mr. Escher submitted to me his written report, which is reproduced in annex II.

9. It will be noted from section II of the report that, in the course of its 17-day tour of Namibia, the mission had the opportunity of meeting in private and obtaining the views of a wide cross-section of the population concerning the future of their country. I have found this information very useful in connexion with the mandate entrusted to me by the Security Council.

10. Despite the fact that many issues still remain to be clarified the results of the mission contain a number of elements which the Council may wish to pursue.

11. In submitting this report to the Security Council, I wish to express the hope that the information contained in it provides a useful basis for the Council to consider and to decide on the future course of action.

ANNEX I

Aide-mémoire presented to the Secretary-General by the group of three on 26 September 1972

The group established in paragraph 1 of Security Council resolution 309 (1972), after acknowledging the appointment made by the Secretary-General in fulfilment of the mandate conferred upon him in resolution 319 (1972) of the Security

Council, and in the light of the debate that took place during the 1656th and 1657th meetings of the Council on 31 July and 1 August 1972, considers that the following points should be taken into account in the process of implementing resolution 319 (1972):

1. All United Nations resolutions adopted on the question of Namibia stand firm and valid and should be actively pursued.

2. The contacts to be carried on with the Government of South Africa and all the parties concerned should always be conducted in accordance with the mandate of resolutions 309 (1972) and 319 (1972). This should be made absolutely clear in every case from the beginning of the implementation of the above-mentioned resolution.

3. The main task of the representative should be to obtain a complete and unequivocal clarification from the Government of South Africa with regard to its policy of self-determination and independence for Namibia, so as to enable the Security Council to decide whether it coincides with the United Nations position on this matter and whether the efforts made under resolutions 309 (1972) and 319 (1972) should be continued.

4. The need to maintain the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia must be kept in mind all the time.

5. The Government of South Africa should discontinue the application of so-called "homelands" policies and abolish any repressive measures in Namibia. This would create conditions in which the representative could perform his tasks. This would also serve as an indication of the readiness of the Government of South Africa to co-operate with the United Nations.

6. On the basis of the acceptance of the above-mentioned points, it would be useful to identify specific problems in Namibia, to establish their priorities and to suggest the necessary measures to overcome them in order to assure the prompt attainment of self-determination and independence by the people of Namibia.

7. The above-mentioned points are directly linked to the formal [see *S/10738, annex I*] and informal views given by the group to the Secretary-General in fulfilment of its obligations under resolutions 309 (1972) and 319 (1972).

ANNEX II

Report dated 14 November 1972 to the Secretary-General by the representative of the Secretary-General for Namibia

INTRODUCTION

1. On 24 September 1972, the Secretary-General appointed me as his representative for Namibia in accordance with the terms of Security Council resolution 319 (1972).

2. Immediately after my arrival in New York on 28 September 1972, the Secretary-General instructed me about my task and provided me with the relevant documentation. He drew my attention particularly to Security Council resolution 309 (1972), the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of that resolution and Security Council resolution 319 (1972). The Secretary-General also provided me with a copy of the aide-mémoire submitted to him on 26 September 1972 by the group of the Security Council established in accordance with resolution 309 (1972).

3. During my stay in New York until 5 October, I had the opportunity of meeting a number of presiding officers and members of various United Nations bodies concerned with the question of Namibia.

4. During the same period, I also met Mr. Hilgard Muller, Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa, who was then in New York to attend the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, and Ambassador Carl F. G. von Hirschberg, Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations.

5. On 3 October, I had a meeting with Mr. B. T. Gurirab, representative of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), at his request, Mr. Gurirab informed

me of the wish of Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, to meet with me on my way to South Africa.

6. I left for South Africa and Namibia on the evening of 5 October. On 7 October, while in Geneva on my way to South Africa, I met with Mr. Nujoma. On the same day, I also had a meeting in Geneva with Mr. André Appel and Mr. Carl Hellberg of the Lutheran Church, at their request.

7. I visited South Africa and Namibia from 8 October to 3 November, accompanied by the four members of the Secretariat whom the Secretary-General had designated to assist me. We returned to New York on 5 November.

8. An account of the visit to South Africa and Namibia and the contacts with the parties concerned in pursuance of the task entrusted to me by the Secretary-General is given in the following sections of this report.

I. CONTACTS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

9. On 2 October 1972, I had a meeting in New York with Ambassador Carl F. G. von Hirschberg, Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations. The following day, accompanied by Mr. Chacko, I met Mr. Hilgard Muller, Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa, who was then in New York to attend the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. The Minister for Foreign Affairs was accompanied by the Permanent Representative of South Africa, as well as by Mr. J. D. Viall and Mr. A. L. Hattingh of the Department of Foreign Affairs. The discussions at these meetings were of a preliminary character and devoted mainly to arrangements to have my visit to South Africa and Namibia take place as soon as possible so that I would be able to return to New York and report to the Secretary-General before 15 November.

10. I arrived in Pretoria, accompanied by the other members of my mission, at 3 p.m., on Sunday, 8 October.

11. On Monday, 9 October, the mission held two meetings with Mr. Brand Fourie, Secretary-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs, at which the programme of the visit to Namibia was discussed. In the course of the discussion, I suggested certain changes in the tentative programme that had been prepared by the South African Government. Mr. Fourie agreed to consider those changes in consultation with the officials concerned with practical arrangements. I also presented a list of persons, including prominent leaders, churchmen and representatives of Namibian political organizations, who I considered should be among those to be contacted during my travel to Namibia. It was agreed that the South African Government would make every effort to assist me in meeting those persons.

12. Tuesday, 10 October, was a holiday in South Africa; therefore the first meeting of the mission with the Prime Minister, Mr. John Vorster, at which the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Secretary-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Mr. D. Tothill of the Department of Foreign Affairs were also present, took place on Wednesday, 11 October, at 3 p.m. The Prime Minister welcomed the mission and stated that he looked forward to taking the discussion further from the point where it had been left with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

13. I then drew attention to the terms of reference of my mission, as follows:

"You will recall that the report of the Secretary-General on his contacts with the Government of South Africa and the other parties concerned pursuant to Security Council resolution 309 (1972) of 4 February 1972 was discussed by the Council at its meetings on 31 July and 1 August 1972. Following the discussion, the Council adopted resolution 319 (1972) of 1 August. In paragraph 4 of that resolution, the Security Council invited the Secretary-General 'in consultation and close co-operation with the group of the Security Council established in accordance with resolution 309 (1972), to continue his contacts with all parties concerned, with a view to establishing the necessary conditions so as to enable the people of Namibia,

freely and with strict regard to the principles of human equality, to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations';

"In paragraph 5 of the same resolution, the Security Council approved the proposal of the Secretary-General 'to proceed, after necessary consultations, with the appointment of a representative to assist him in the discharge of his mandate as set out in paragraph 4 above';

"Following consultations with your Government and with the other parties concerned, the Secretary-General, on 25 September 1972, announced my appointment as his representative, in accordance with resolution 319 (1972) of the Security Council, to which I have referred.

"In this connexion, I wish also to recall the three points dealing with the terms of reference of the representative of the Secretary-General, which emerged as a result of the discussions between the Foreign Minister of South Africa and the Secretary-General held in New York in May 1972 and which are reproduced in paragraph 21 of the Secretary-General's report to the Security Council contained in document S/10738. With your permission, I would like to quote the three points from the report:

"(a) The task of the representative of the Secretary-General will be to assist in achieving the aim of self-determination and independence and to study all questions relevant thereto.

"(b) In carrying out his task, the representative may make recommendations to the Secretary-General, and, in consultation with the latter, to the South African Government. In so doing, he should assist in overcoming any points of difference.

"(c) The South African Government will co-operate in the discharge of the representative's task by providing him the requisite facilities to go to South Africa and to Namibia as necessary and to meet all sections of the population of Namibia."

"As you are already aware, under the terms of paragraph 6 of resolution 319 (1972), the Secretary-General is required to report on the matter to the Security Council by 15 November 1972.

"I appreciate the confidence granted to me by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Government of South Africa and all the other parties concerned. I am equally aware of the difficulties of my task.

"May I assure you that I shall spare no effort in the discharge of the mandate entrusted to me as representative of the Secretary-General for Namibia.

"I feel sure that I can rely on the full co-operation of your Government in the performance of my task, and shall be grateful to get acquainted with your views on how we should go ahead."

14. In the course of the discussion that followed, I explained the position of the United Nations and, in particular, its position with regard to the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia. The Prime Minister, in reply, stated that his Government's policy was to prepare the inhabitants of the Territory for, and to lead them on the way to, independence and self-determination. Once there was a fully representative view among the inhabitants, both South Africa and the United Nations would have to take cognizance of that view. He could not agree to force the inhabitants to adopt a system of government that they did not want. I pointed out that the objective of the Secretary-General's contacts was to enable the people of Namibia freely and with strict regard to the principles of human equality to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. In that respect, the Territory had to be taken as a whole and not as separate parts. It was agreed that discussion of specific matters should take place after my return to Pretoria from Namibia.

15. The Prime Minister also informed me that my proposed changes in the programme of the visit to Namibia had been accepted and that the necessary travel and accommoda-

tion arrangements would be made accordingly. He informed me that I would be free to go anywhere and to see anybody in the Territory, as I pleased. In that connexion, I drew the Prime Minister's attention to certain reports that had appeared in the press, according to which some Namibians who had met the Secretary-General in March 1972 had been victimized by the local authorities. The Prime Minister strongly denied that there had been any such victimization. At my request, the Prime Minister gave me the assurance that nobody would be victimized for coming to see me or for any declarations made to me. He also authorized me to communicate his assurance to anyone who might express any fear in that respect.

16. The mission returned to Pretoria from the visit to Namibia at 6.30 p.m., on Saturday, 28 October. At 2.30 p.m., on Monday, 30 October, I met the Prime Minister, at which time the Minister for Foreign Affairs was also present.

17. I informed the Prime Minister of the impressions I had gained during my visit to Namibia. During my 17-day trip, I had been able to travel to, and see many parts of, the Territory and to meet and ascertain the views of a wide cross-section of the population. It was my general impression, for which the Prime Minister felt there was insufficient basis, but which I maintained, that the majority of the non-white population of Namibia supported the establishment of a united, independent Namibia. They expected the assistance of the United Nations in bringing it about. On the other hand, certain sections of the non-whites and the majority of the white population supported the "homelands" policy and approved continued rule by South Africa.

18. Further meetings with the Prime Minister took place on 31 October and 1 and 2 November. These meetings were attended on the South African side by Mr. Muller and Mr. Fourie. I was accompanied by Mr. Chacko.

19. The discussions were largely based on three main points which I brought up. These were: (a) complete and unequivocal clarification of South Africa's policy of self-determination and independence for Namibia; (b) discontinuance of the application of the policy of separate development or "homelands"; and (c) abolition of all discriminatory measures and the establishment of equality for all Namibians. In discussing those points, I stressed the firm stand of the United Nations with regard to the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia. I also stressed the need for a reversal of the "homelands" policy and the creation of a central government for the Territory as a whole. I pointed out that, in order to establish the necessary conditions for the exercise of self-determination and independence, it was necessary, first, to abolish all existing discriminatory measures and to ensure full freedom of political activity.

20. The Prime Minister reaffirmed the willingness and desire of his Government to continue the contacts initiated by the Secretary-General with a view to exploring all possible avenues for an agreed solution acceptable to the inhabitants of the Territory. He felt, however, that it would be unrealistic to expect agreement on the various issues involved in a matter of days or weeks. He stressed that in taking decisions concerning the Territory, he had to take the views of his own people into account.

21. At the final meeting on 2 November, it was agreed that the substance of the discussions should be recorded as follows:

(a) Taking into account the debate that took place in the Security Council on the report of the Secretary-General, my consultations with the group of three, as well as the aide-memoire, I asked the Prime Minister for a clarification of his Government's policy of self-determination and independence with regard to Namibia;

(b) The Prime Minister indicated that, apart from what he had already told the Secretary-General in March 1972 [see S/10738, paras. 12, 14 and 16 (1)], in his view this was not the appropriate stage to go into a detailed discussion of the interpretation of self-determination and independence—this could be done with better results once the necessary conditions were established and the inhabitants had more administrative and political experience.

(c) In the light of this reply, and considering that the mandate of the Secretary-General was "to continue his contacts with all parties concerned, with a view to establishing the necessary conditions so as to enable the people of Namibia, freely and with strict regard to the principles of human equality, to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations", I inquired whether we could discuss practical steps leading to the exercise of self-determination.

(d) The Prime Minister believed that experience in self-government was an essential element for eventual self-determination. Bearing in mind the circumstances, he felt that this could best be achieved on a regional basis.

(e) This seemed to me acceptable in principle, provided that the necessary conditions for the exercise of self-determination were fulfilled and, at the same time, an authority for the whole Territory would be established.

(f) The Prime Minister said that he would be prepared to establish an advisory council drawn from representatives of the various regions, regional governments or authorities, and he would assume over-all responsibility for the Territory as a whole—i.e., distinct from the Ministries now responsible for different sectors.

(g) I also inquired whether the Government would consider the abolition of restrictive legislation, including the existing limitations on the freedom of movement and freedom of speech, including the right to hold meetings.

(h) The Prime Minister stated that, to a large extent, curbs on freedom of movement were necessitated by the need to exercise influx control, which was in the interest of all inhabitants in the Territory. He would examine the possibility of removing restrictions without impairing influx control.

(i) The Prime Minister further indicated that he was in agreement that there should be legitimate political activity, including freedom of speech and the holding of meetings.

II. CONTACTS WITH GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS DURING THE VISIT TO NAMIBIA

22. The visit of my mission to Namibia lasted 17 days from 12 October, when it arrived in Windhoek from Pretoria, to 28 October, when it returned from Katima Mulilo to Pretoria. During that visit the mission travelled a total of 4,853 miles, including 1,519 miles by road. The mission was accompanied by Mr. David Tothill, representing the Department of Foreign Affairs of South Africa, Mr. J. M. de Wet, Commissioner-General for the Native Peoples of South West Africa and Mr. D. Mudge, Senior Member of the Executive Committee. The itinerary of the mission and a map indicating the routes and the places visited are appended to this report (appendices III and IV).

23. In the course of the visit, the mission held 74 meetings, all in private and without the presence of South African officials, and heard the views of a wide and representative cross-section of the people of Namibia. A list of the persons who appeared before the mission is contained in appendix I of this report. This list includes all those whom I had requested to meet in Namibia (see para. 11 above), with the exception of one person who, according to the South African authorities, was out of the country. I also received a number of written communications, most of them from persons who made oral statements during meetings with me. A list of all communications received is given in appendix II.

24. At a number of places I visited I was met on arrival by groups of demonstrators bearing placards in support of an independent united Namibia. At Ohopoho, Otjiwarongo, Okakarara, Swakopmund and Rehoboth, at the request of the people, I appeared before public gatherings and briefly spoke to them.

25. On several occasions, persons who appeared before the mission and made statements expressed their concern about possible adverse consequences for having done so. I drew the attention of all concerned to the assurance given to me by the Prime Minister in this respect (see para. 15 above). I

also brought the matter to the attention of the responsible local authorities.

26. In the course of my travel in the Territory, I visited, at the invitation of the authorities, a number of hospitals, schools and farming and irrigation projects.

27. A summary of the views expressed to me by groups and individuals whom I met is given below.

(a) *Views expressed by groups calling for an end to the South African rule over Namibia and for a united independent Namibia*

28. A great number of persons whom I met during my visit to Namibia called for an end to the rule of the South African Government over the Territory and expressed their opposition to the implementation of South Africa's *apartheid* policies in Namibia and particularly to its policy of separate development of each ethnic group within its own "homeland". Those who held these views and expressed them with only slight variations included a great many representatives of Namibian political organizations, some church leaders, speaking either on behalf of their churches or as individuals, and a number of representatives or spokesmen of Namibian workers and students, as well as of Namibian youth.

(i) *Views expressed by representatives of Namibian political organizations*

29. Before proceeding with my visit to Namibia, I met Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), on 7 October 1972 in Geneva. Mr. Nujoma stated that, in order to promote a favourable evolution of the situation in Namibia, a climate of peace should be established through general elections and the establishment of a legislative assembly fully representative of all sections of the population. These elections, he emphasized, should be conducted on the basis of one man, one vote. Mr. Nujoma added that before any popular consultations took place: (a) all political prisoners should be released; (b) leaders of political organizations in exile should be allowed to return to Namibia without risking arrest or intimidation; and (c) all South African troops should be withdrawn from the Territory. It was Mr. Nujoma's understanding that any popular consultations would be fully supervised by the United Nations.

30. Spokesmen for a 25-member delegation of the National Convention of Non-Whites, which I met on 12 October in Windhoek, stressed that the continued presence of the South African administration was illegal in the light of the decisions of the United Nations and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.¹¹ The delegation was headed by Chief Clemens Kapuuo, Paramount Chief of the Hereros, who stated that the National Convention represented the great majority of non-whites in Namibia and consisted of political groups, including SWAPO, the South West Africa National Union (SWANU), the National Unity Democratic Organization (NUDO) and the Rehoboth Volkspartei, as well as a number of chiefs and headmen of various ethnic groups. Those who spoke included Chief Kapuuo, Headman Oscar Kharuchab, President of the Damara Tribal Executive Committee of the Otjimbingwe Reserve, Mr. H. C. Beukes, Chairman of the Rehoboth Volkspartei, Mrs. M. Ford, member of the Rehoboth Volkspartei, Mr. David Meroro, National Chairman of SWAPO, Mr. Hitjevi Vei, President of SWANU, Mr. Rudolf Matjindua Ndjoze, member of SWANU and Mr. Gerson Hoveka, Headman of Epukuo Reserve. They demanded the withdrawal of the South African Administration from the Territory and the establishment of a United Nations presence. They proposed that as a first step a United Nations office should be opened immediately on a permanent basis. They denied the allegation of the South African Government that there was hostility among the various ethnic groups and maintained that by creating separate ethnic "homelands" the South

African Government was aiming at dividing the non-white population in order to consolidate its rule over Namibia. The ethnic "homelands" should therefore be abolished and a unitary Namibian state be created as soon as feasible. In the course of an exchange of views, they stated that they would accept an interim United Nations administration leading to the full exercise by the people of Namibia of its right of self-determination and the formation of a unitary government. They maintained that when the Territory became independent, the whites would be entitled to full Namibian citizenship and that there would be no hostility towards them as individuals. At present, the non-whites did not harbour any hatred towards the whites.

31. Similar views were later expressed to me by the following groups claiming affiliation with the National Convention:

(a) A group of four people, including Mr. C. Trijeura, who stated that the group was speaking for a great number of non-whites living in Kaokoland. This group was heard on 16 October in Ohopoho.

(b) A 23-member delegation of Hereros led by Chief Ludwig Ndinha, Headman of the Waterberg Reserve. I met this group on 18 October in Okakarara, where I was welcomed by a large group of demonstrators with placards demanding the withdrawal of the South African Administration and freedom and independence for Namibia as a whole. After the meeting I addressed a gathering of about 1,000 people who were reported to be the followers of Chief Clemens Kapuuo.

(c) A group of 18 members of the National Convention, led by Mr. E. F. Karita, which I met on 18 October in Otjiwarongo and which represented a group of about 200 demonstrators who had welcomed me the previous evening on my arrival in Otjiwarongo.

(d) A five-member delegation of the Western Committee of the National Convention which I met on 19 October on the occasion of my visit to Walvis Bay. This group was led by Mr. G. Nathaniel Maxuili, Acting President of SWAPO, whom I asked to meet and whose confinement order to the township of Kuisebmond had been lifted by the South African authorities for the duration of his interview with me. The delegation was supported by a group of 500 demonstrators.

(e) A 10-member Herero delegation headed by Mr. Alex Kaveru, heard in Tsumeb on 26 October.

32. Spokesmen for an 18-member delegation, including leaders of the National Executive Committee of SWAPO, which I met on 14 October in Oshakati (Ovamboland), were unanimous in their opposition to the creation of separate ethnic "homelands", which, they said, would only contribute to the fragmentation of Africa and to the complete destruction of the unity of the non-white population. The so-called "homelands", they contended, were nothing but concentration camps designed to provide cheap labour and where the old, sick or disabled were sent and where there was only hunger, humiliation and injustice. They demanded unconditional withdrawal of the South African Administration from the Territory. They deplored the fact that the United States, France and the United Kingdom had continued to trade with and invest in South Africa and that those countries were more interested in the mineral wealth of Namibia than in the fate of its people. They complained about the continued implementation of *apartheid* policies in Namibia, particularly those resulting in restrictions of the freedom of movement and speech for the non-white population of the Territory. The leaders of the delegation included Mr. J. G. Otto, a former acting Secretary-General of SWAPO, and Mr. J. J. Nangutuuala, the leader of the Ovambo workers' committee in the recent strike of contract workers, and Miss Francina Nandi, representing Namibian women.

33. Spokesmen of a group of Hereros and Ovahimbas, led by Chief Kefas Muzuma, stated on 16 October in Ohopoho (Kaokoland) that they would accept a United Nations interim administration. They maintained that when Namibia became finally independent under a unity government, there would be no friction or antagonisms between the various ethnic groups and that whites and non-whites would live in peace.

¹¹ *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.*

34. A group of four persons, under the leadership of Mr. D. Tjatjitu and claiming to represent a section of the Hereros requested that Namibia be led to independence under the guardianship of the United Nations and that, to that end, a committee be set up to assess the stage of development which the people of the Territory had reached and decide accordingly. This group was heard on 18 October in Okakarara.

35. A six-member delegation, representing SWANU and led by Chief Munjuku Nguvauva of the Mbanderu tribe, demanded that Namibia be totally liberated from the South African rule which it opposed on account of the latter's policies of *apartheid*, particularly the creation of ethnic "homelands", the pass laws and the system of Bantu education, which it opposed because of the low level and poor quality of education provided for Africans. Members of this group believed that Namibia should be liberated as a unitary state with equality of rights for all inhabitants, regardless of race or colour. This delegation was heard on 18 October in Okakarara in the Waterberg Reserve.

36. Similar views were expressed by leaders of an 18-member delegation of Namas from Gibeon, Berseba, Vaalgras, Huibis, Hoachanas, Blouwes and Keetmanshoop, headed by Chief H. S. Witbooi. This delegation was heard in Gibeon on 24 October and was supported by about 300 people who greeted me and my party on arrival in Gibeon. Its leaders stated that their position as to the future of Namibia was similar to that of such political groups as NUDO, SWAPO, SWANU and the Rehoboth Volkspartei. They stated that for the last 26 years the people of Namibia had hoped in vain that the Mandate conferred on South Africa over their country would be terminated and that they would accede to independence in accordance with United Nations resolutions. The life of misery and frustration to which the people had been condemned had continued for too long and should be ended immediately; otherwise an explosive situation, leading to terrible racial conflict, would result. They drew special attention to the situation of the Namas of Hoachanas and Warmbad Reserves, which they described as intolerable and desperate, and stated that it required urgent attention.

37. The members of the Baster Council, Mr. J. G. A. Kiergaardt, Mr. C. A. Olivier, Mr. D. J. Izaaks, Mr. A. C. Cloete, Mr. P. J. Diergaardt, Mr. T. van Wyk and Mr. D. Bock (all members of the ruling Rehoboth Volkspartei), whom I met on 24 October in Rehoboth, expressed their full endorsement of the views of the National Convention. They requested the immediate establishment of a federal-type government for Namibia under the auspices of the United Nations. They suggested that a meeting of representatives of all inhabitants of the Territory should be convened under the chairmanship of the representative of the Secretary-General with a view to exchanging views regarding the future of the Territory and to setting up an interim committee to accelerate the process of independence. They finally requested that a permanent secretariat be set up to take over the administration of the Territory. This body would carry out all functions of government until a government was formed in accordance with the constitution of the Namibian state and would prevent any form of victimization of the people by the South African Government.

38. Two other groups of Basters heard on the same day in Rehoboth associated themselves with the views expressed by members of the Baster Council and insisted that the South African rule over the Territory should come to an end and that Namibia should be granted independence as an entity.

(ii) Views expressed by church leaders

39. Before proceeding with my visit to Namibia, I had had the opportunity of meeting in Geneva, Mr. André Appel, General Secretary of the Lutheran World Federation, and Mr. Carl Hellberg, Director, Department of Church Co-operation, Lutheran World Federation. They stated that the Lutheran Church was opposed to the policies of *apartheid* and pointed out that the South African authorities in Namibia, because of this position, were trying to prevent them from taking any stand not only on political issues but on social

problems. This new South African policy, they pointed out, had led to the elimination of non-South African missionaries from Namibia.

40. The Reverend Albertus Maasdorp, Administrative Secretary, Rhenish Mission Church, Mr. Paulus Gowaseb, Moderator of the Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Reverend Lucas de Vries, President-elect of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, whom I met on 13 October in Windhoek, also informed me that the Church was experiencing more pressure from the South African Government and that the Government had refused to grant visas to several missionaries and had banned others. They recalled the basic stand of their Church regarding the political, social and religious situation of Namibia as expressed in the "open letter" addressed by Bishop Leonard Auala and Mr. Paulus Gowaseb to Prime Minister Vorster on 30 June 1971. They stated that they believed in the unity of all racial groups as they were united in their Church. They requested voting rights for the entire population, so that democracy could prevail in Namibia. They expressed their conviction that the "homelands" policy would only perpetuate the unchristian contract labour system, which, they said, contributed to breaking up healthy family life. They therefore rejected it.

41. The Reverend Canon Richard Wood, whom the Right Reverend Colin Winter, Bishop-in-exile of Damara-land, had introduced to me in a letter dated 12 October as a *bona fide* spokesman for the Anglican Diocese of Damara-land, deplored the lack of dialogue between the whites and the non-whites in Namibia. He suggested that a United Nations presence should be urgently established in the Territory, which, he said, would improve the social and political situation of the non-white population and facilitate their economic development. Canon Wood also said that any church that opposed government became unpopular in government circles. He handed me a petition signed by 22 people, including clergymen, businessmen and teachers, supporting the World Council of Churches in its stand and outspoken statements against racism. The signatories rejected the role of the South African Government in Namibia. They further stated that they wanted a unified land in which the people would enjoy freedom, equal opportunity and the chance to develop to the fullest and the right to accept the responsibility of sharing in the rule of the country on an equal basis. They suggested that an interim international government should take over the administration and be responsible for training the people of Namibia, including the whites, to take over the government of the country on a basis of equality.

42. Bishop Leonard Auala, President of the Church Board of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church, whom I met in Oshakati on 14 October, accompanied by his Secretary, the Reverend Petrus Shipena, referred to the open letter which he and Mr. Paulus Gowaseb, President of the Church Board of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of South West Africa, had written to Prime Minister Vorster in June 1971. In that letter, he recalled, they had demanded an immediate solution to the problem of Namibia "as the South African Government, in spite of its 50-year-long mandate, had failed to create a condition of peace and freedom for the inhabitants of South West Africa". He said that there had been no signs of change since the open letter had been issued and that consequently their request to find a solution still stood. Bishop Auala stated emphatically that, as the leader of the 300,000 member multiracial Lutheran Ovambokavango Church, he knew that the people of Namibia were firmly opposed to the fragmentation of the Territory into "homelands" and that, contrary to the allegations of the South African Government, there had always been peaceful coexistence of the various ethnic groups of the country. As to the fate of the white population in an independent Namibia, he felt assured that, if they wished to take into consideration the wishes of the people of Namibia as a whole, they would have nothing to fear. There was no hatred against the whites, he said. Concerning the future of Namibia, Bishop Auala said that he was in favour of a United Nations presence in the Territory and felt that South Africa could be allowed to pursue its efforts to develop the country, provided that it was under

United Nations control. As for the present, he felt that there was an urgent need to grant basic human rights, particularly freedom of movement to the non-white population of the Territory, because they were becoming impatient.

43. I also met in Oshakati on 14 October, the Reverend Olle Erikson, Field Director of the Finnish Mission in Ovamboland. He stated that as far as he knew the majority of the Ovambos wanted freedom and that there was a general feeling in favour of the unity of the Territory. It was his personal opinion that Ovamboland was too small an area to survive economically and that "homelands" in general could not constitute viable units. On the question of the relations between the ethnic groups in the Territory, he felt that there might be antagonisms but not a war between them when the Territory eventually became independent. The Reverend Erikson also confirmed that at present there was no hatred against the whites and that their situation at the time of independence would depend upon the leadership of the country.

44. The Reverend P. H. Shilongo, Archdeacon of Odibo, accompanied by Mr. N. Hamupembe and Mr. T. Kalimba, Church Wardens of St. Mary's in Odibo, conveyed to me the opinion of the Anglican Church in Ovamboland. The Church, he said, was opposed to the implementation of *apartheid* policies in Namibia, particularly the creation of "homelands" for the non-whites, the contract labour system, the system of Bantu education and the restrictions on freedom of movement and on freedom of speech and press. The Reverend Shilongo maintained that "homelands" were imposed upon the non-white population of Namibia through the traditional leaders, chiefs and headmen, who could not think independently due to lack of education and consequently merely carried out orders of the South African officials who were actually administering the "homelands". He pointed out that South Africa was stirring hatred among the ethnic groups of Namibia by propagating the belief that the Ovambos, being the majority, would dominate the other ethnic groups. The Reverend Shilongo concluded that the Anglican Church was in favour of a unitary state of Namibia for everyone who had made Namibia his home, regardless of colour. He requested that the United Nations resolutions regarding the Territory should be implemented without further delay.

(iii) *Views expressed by students, the youth and the workers*

45. During my visit the views of representatives of students, the youth and workers were also conveyed to me. Students and representatives of the youth were either included in delegations that were heard or met me in separate groups or individually.

46. Members of the National Executive Committee of SWAPO handed to me in Oshakati a memorandum dated 14 October from Ovambo students. In the memorandum, the students stated that the Legislative Council of Ovambo was used by the South African authorities to oppress the people and that the South African Government was using the Ongwediva College "as a trap to arrest students who express their feelings" about the situation in the Territory. They said that about six students were in prison and about 400 had been expelled from the institution. Regarding the situation in Namibia, they stated that the overwhelming majority of the Namibians were against the "Bantu homelands" and wanted Namibia to be one nation and not divided into separate "nations". They appealed to the Security Council to secure the withdrawal of the South African Administration from the Territory.

47. In Rundu (Kavango), I met a group of six secondary school students on 27 October. Claiming to speak on behalf of the great majority of the students in Kavango, they rejected the "homeland" policy of the South African authorities, because, they said, it was solely designed to protect the political rights of the white population and because self-government as conceived by the South African Government for Namibia was a mockery and a fraud. They demanded complete independence under the auspices of the United Nations but did not exclude the idea that South Africa would have a role to play in the development of the country.

48. I met on 24 October in Rehoboth a special representative of the youth, Mr. Kotze, who appealed to the United Nations to take action to secure the withdrawal of the South African Administration from Namibia, because, he said, no progress was possible in any field for the non-white population of the Territory under South Africa's rule.

49. While I was in Oranjemund, I met about 40 representatives of Ovambo workers of the Consolidated Diamond Mines at their request on 21 October. They stated that a new labour agreement that had come into force in January 1972 did not amount to an improvement of their situation. They pointed out, in particular, that they were still receiving very low wages, that there was no equality as far as wages for white and non-white workers were concerned and that they still had to live separated from their families for long periods of time. They expressed their opposition to the "homeland" policy and other *apartheid* policies, particularly the restrictions on freedom of movement (pass laws) and the system of Bantu education, the generally low level of which they all deplored. They demanded the withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia, particularly from Ovamboland, Kavango and the Caprivi Strip. The delegation was supported by a large group of workers standing outside the meeting hall.

50. I met on 27 October in Rundu (Kavango) a six-member delegation of hospital employees who, in addition to specific grievances against their hospital management, expressed their opposition to South African rule over the Territory and to the division of Namibia into "homelands".

51. In addition to organized groups referred to above, I met the following groups of individuals, who, in the main, called for an end to the South African rule over Namibia and requested that the Territory should be led to independence as a unitary state under the guardianship of the United Nations:

(a) A 10 member delegation of a large group of demonstrators under the leadership of Mr. T. N. Orr, heard in Swakopmund on 19 October;

(b) A four-member delegation of Kavango people heard in Rundu on 26 October;

(c) A four-member delegation claiming to speak on behalf of a great majority of the inhabitants of the Caprivi Strip. This group was heard in Katima Mulilo on 27 October.

(b) *Views expressed by groups and individuals supporting self-government for the "homelands" and opposing a unitary state*

52. Views different from those above were expressed by groups and individuals, both white and non-white, supporting South Africa's policies in Namibia.

53. In Oshakati, on 14 October, members of the Executive Council of Ovambo, under the chairmanship of Chief Councillor Philemon Elifas, stated their support for the policy of separate development and their opposition to a unitary state. Members of the Executive Council of Kavango, led by Chief Councillor Linus Shashipapo, whom I met in Rundu on 26 October, expressed the same views, as did members of the Executive Council of the Caprivi Strip, led by Chief Councillor Muraliswami, heard in Katima Mulilo on 28 October. These three groups stated that the various ethnic groups of the Territory had always lived separately, that their languages, customs, way of life and social development were different and that they wanted to live separately from each other in order to retain their own identity. Non-white groups within the Territory had always fought against each other in the past and were not willing to accept a central government at this stage. To force it upon them would therefore be contrary to their wishes. They maintained that they were satisfied with the present form of government in their "homelands" as devised by the South African authorities and felt that a federal form of government might be envisaged later, should all those concerned believe that it was desirable.

54. Similar views were expressed on 14 October in Oshakati by Mr. Peter Kalungula, and by a five-member group,

led by Headman F. Vilho, in Gibeon on 24 October by Mr. F. Basson, Headman of Bondels, and in Katima Mulilo on 28 October by Mr. H. Angala, an employee of the police force.

55. It should be noted that, during the meeting with one of the above-mentioned Executive Councils, after the Chief Councillor had expressed to me the views indicated above, one of the members conveyed to me other views which were, in fact, in full support of a united independent Namibia. From the discussion which followed it appeared that, in fact, those views were shared by a majority of those participating in the meeting.

56. In Welwitschia, a delegation of 43 members of the Damara Legislative Council, led by Paramount Chief D. Goresb, stated, on 17 October, that they preferred the system of separate "homelands" but that the Territory, having been divided "by the whites in favour of the whites", the present boundaries of Damaraland were improper and unjust. They therefore rejected separate development as long as the present boundaries were maintained but would support it when their rights to more land were granted. They also complained about discriminatory legislation, particularly the pass laws, which had just been extended to non-white women, the system of job reservations, discrimination in wages and the low standards of the Bantu education.

57. Other non-white groups supporting the principle of separate self-determination for the "homelands" included a delegation of the Coloured Council of South West Africa, a delegation of the Federal Coloured People's Party of South West Africa and a delegation of the South West African Non-European Unity Movement (SWANEUM). Members of the Coloured Council of South West Africa were heard on 13 October in Windhoek, under the leadership of Mr. D. Bezuidenhout. They expressed their fear that if a unitary state were to be established on the basis of a one-man, one-vote system the coloured community, with its very small population, would be reduced to the role of a mute minority. Therefore they saw no alternative for them in the present circumstances but to support the policy of separate development.

58. Members of the Federal Coloured People's Party of South West Africa and the South West African Non-European Unity Movement, under the leadership of Mr. A. J. F. Klopers, stated, on 25 October in Windhoek, that differences were such among the indigenous ethnic groups that claims that they would be able to work together peacefully and constructively, should the Territory be granted independence as a whole, were far-fetched and improbable. Any central government, they said, would be dominated by the more numerous Ovambos. They were therefore in favour of the administration of South West Africa by the South African Government along the lines of the policy of separate "homelands", which, after reaching independence, would be able to enter into any agreement with other independent countries.

59. Similar views were expressed by two other non-white groups. The first was heard in Luderitz on 23 October. Claiming to speak on behalf of the coloured community, its spokesmen, Mr. J. C. Andries and Mr. R. G. Julius, stated that they would not favour the idea of a federal type government for the country, even in the future. The second group led by Mr. B. J. Africa, Chairman of the opposition Baster Vereniging Party, was heard in Rehoboth on 24 October. Mr. Africa expressed his fear that in a unitary state, the small Rehoboth community would have no say in public affairs.

60. Support for the "homelands" policy and the maintenance of South African rule over Namibia also came mainly from representatives of the white population, who recalled that most of them had either settled in the Territory long ago or been born there. They supported continued administration by South Africa of Namibia, particularly in view of the economic development that they had brought to the Territory with the assistance of South Africa. They also expressed deep concern regarding the future of the non-white population should a unitary state be established on a one-man one-vote basis.

61. In Luderitz, where he came to meet me on 23 October, the Hon. A. H. du Plessis, South African Minister for Public Works and Community Development, stated that the differences between the African ethnic groups were such that there was no alternative to separate development. Pointing out that the economy of a State did not depend on its size so much as on the ability of its inhabitants, he stressed that the goal of the Government was to lead the "homelands" to self-determination and independence in an orderly manner. He insisted that these efforts should not be hampered by outside interference and that, in any case, majority rule should not be imposed on the population and could not be envisaged before all sections were aware of their responsibilities and had gained experience in government.

62. Opposition to the establishment of a unitary state came also from members of the Executive Committee of South West Africa, led by the Administrator of the Territory, Mr. B. J. van der Walt, and including Mr. D. F. Mudge, Mr. E. van Zyl, Mr. J. W. F. Pretorius and Mr. A. Brinkman, whom I met in Windhoek on 25 October. They said that the period of peace that had prevailed under German and South African rule should not lead to an underestimation of the latent hostility still existing among the non-white groups. It was on the basis of this well-known situation that the South African Government had devised its present policy. Such policy, they said, was fully in accordance with the principle of self-determination, which was to be applied to peoples, not to territories or to a geographic concept. Should the present rule be removed, traditional fighting among ethnic groups would resume, security would vanish and, among other groups, the white minority, on which the economic life of the Territory depended, would be placed in a most dangerous position. A united Territory under federal rule was a possibility, but it was in the interest of all groups concerned to achieve at their respective levels, the necessary experience before they ventured into the more complicated form of government inherent in a federal system. As to the establishment of a temporary United Nations rule, this would create a dangerous precedent, totally unnecessary in the present circumstances.

63. At Rundu, on 27 October, Mr. de Wet, Commissioner-General for the Native Peoples of South West Africa, who was granted an interview at his request, explained the policy of the South African Government with regard to the "homelands". In pursuing this policy, he said, South Africa was aiming at a balanced development of the peoples of the Territory as far as responsible government was concerned and in the field of economy and education. He stressed that both the United Nations and the South African Government wanted self-determination and independence for the Territory, but that whereas the United Nations was demanding immediate independence, the South African Government considered that, despite the substantial progress made within the past decade, the Territory and its inhabitants were not yet ready for it. He could not see what type of central government could replace the South African Administration at present. Mr. de Wet emphasized that, in considering the future of the Territory, it was to be borne in mind that it was financially and economically linked to the Republic of South Africa, which had the technical knowledge and the financial means to pursue its development for the benefit of all its inhabitants.

64. Similar views were stated by members of the South African Senate and the Legislative Assembly of South West Africa, municipal authorities and church leaders.

65. In Windhoek, Mr. S. von Bach, member of the South African Senate, said on 25 October, that, if chaos and starvation were to be avoided in Namibia, a solution could be found only in collaboration with the South African Government. Mr. Neef and Mr. van As, members of the Legislative Assembly of South West Africa, heard in Windhoek on 13 October, noted that the system of separate development offered the possibility for non-whites to develop economically without having to compete with the better equipped white business community. Similar support for the "homelands" policy was expressed by another member of the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Jager, heard at Walvis Bay on 19 October.

66. Municipal leaders at Luderitz, Swakopmund, Tsumeb and Walvis Bay expressed similar opinions, stressing further that a very favourable evolution had taken place in the past 10 years in the relations between the white and non-white groups but that to bring the local population to a level which might allow it to become self-dependent would still require a reasonable period of time.

67. In Windhoek, the Reverend M. M. Nieuwoudt, Mrs. Brunette, Mr. P. C. van Rooyen, Mr. D. Murray, Mr. du Toit and Mr. Strauss, representatives of the Dutch Reformed Church, said, on 25 October, that each "nation" had a God-given right to its own identity and self-determination. They supported, therefore, the policy of separate development, provided that it was applied in a fair and honourable manner without affecting or injuring the dignity of the individual, and they rejected the one-man, one-vote system to be applied in a unitary state, because this would necessarily imply the suicide of minority groups.

68. In Luderitz, two whites, the Reverend John C. Gramley of the Anglican Church and Miss Audrey Fuller, a school-teacher, emphasized the need for sufficient time to allow an orderly evolution of the situation. They admitted that certain laws in force in the Territory should be changed but opposed any United Nations interference in the affairs of the Territory. They were confident that necessary changes would be made by the South African Administration, if it was given adequate time.

69. Other testimony was given by some white farmers and businessmen who supported the same views. They were, at Otjiwarongo, Mr. Pretorius, Mr. Mouton and Mr. Volkmann, who said they were expressing the opinion of several thousands of white farmers, and Mr. Mandt and Mr. Oeloffse, who were speaking on behalf of a group of businessmen; in Walvis Bay, Mr. V. I. Viljoen, in Luderitz, Mr. van Breda, and in Windhoek, Mr. H. Harms, Mr. R. Koch, Mr. L. Berman and Mr. O. Matthews, all members of their respective Chambers of Commerce.

70. In Luderitz, Mr. G. Kahan and a group of businessmen, also members of their Chamber of Commerce, recalled the way the Luderitz region had been developed by the white pioneers and pointed out that they needed the security to pursue the economic development of the Territory in the interest of all its inhabitants. The interference of the United Nations would not contribute to the stability of the Territory, they said.

71. Mr. H. Venter, Mr. P. J. de W. Tromp, Mr. J. J. Pottas and Mr. P. A. van Zyl, representatives of the Afrikaanse Sakekamers of South West Africa, who were heard in Windhoek on 25 October, expressed also their support for the present policy and pointed out the necessity of eliminating any uncertainty regarding the international status of the Territory in order not to hamper its economic development. In that connexion, they considered that in any event the Territory should remain economically linked to South Africa, since it was strongly dependent upon it.

72. Two other white businessmen, Mr. E. Kaschick and Mr. Kirkpatrick, members of the City Council of Windhoek, expressed the deep concern felt by the white population about the present situation. Although they opposed the idea of a complete and immediate independence, which in their view would have serious consequences, they considered that steps should be taken to alleviate the consequences of discriminatory laws and abolish "petty apartheid" regulations.

73. Finally, in Windhoek, representatives of the Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Mrs. J. Schoeman and Mrs. J. Olivier, recalled that the whites who comprised the second largest population group in Namibia, had developed the Territory with their experience, knowledge and capital. They pointed out that, because of different cultures, languages and customs, different stages of development and insufficient experience of government and administrative process, it would, at this stage, not be feasible for the non-whites to try to take over the rule of the Territory with its magnitude of challenges.

(i) Views of the United Party

74. Views of the South African opposition party, the United Party, were conveyed to me in Windhoek on 25 October by Senator J. P. de Niehaus. He said that, in the dispute between the South African Government and the United Nations, a distorted picture of the factual situation in the Territory had resulted and that the very positive achievements of its Government and peoples had been largely neglected. After referring to the favourable evolution of the non-white population in the economic and political fields, thanks, he said, to the proper guidance of South African government officials, he recalled the efforts made in that regard by the United Party when it was in power.

75. Senator de Niehaus stated that his party was planning for the day when there would be a change of government. He then informed me of a constitutional plan, the basic elements of which can be summarized as follows. The territory should not be fragmented into small independent states based on ethnic divisions, since no single ethnic group had the population or the economy to be able to exist as a viable independent political and economic unit. The traditional division of South West Africa into the southern area under police protection, known as the Police Zone, and the northern area beyond the Police Zone, where tribal governments were left largely undisturbed, should be followed in regard to any future constitutional arrangement. Any constitutional plan, Mr. de Niehaus said, must be acceptable to the reasonable aspirations of the large majority of the different racial groups that make up the population of South West Africa and must safeguard the position of each individual group against domination by one or more larger groups. It must be acceptable to responsible world opinion in the sense that it gives expression to the spirit of the Mandate and provides the machinery for leading the inhabitants of the Territory to self-determination. It must be acceptable to the South African Government, without whose sympathetic co-operation and assistance, the process of leading the Territory and its peoples to self-determination in a peaceful and orderly manner is impossible of realization.

76. A federation, he said, would be the most suitable form of government for a Territory whose racial composition was so varied and at different stages of cultural development, so as to link them together in matters of broad national interest, and, at the same time, safeguard the interests of the individual groups against domination by a more powerful and numerous group.

77. Senator de Niehaus felt that any constitutional arrangements would require consultations with all interested parties and that to create a favourable atmosphere for such consultations and as a measure of its sincerity, the United Party undertook, when returned to power, to repeal discriminatory legislation and administrative measures which served merely to exacerbate racial feelings and which were not necessary for the efficient administration of the Territory. Such action, he added, should have the effect of clearing the air for consultations with the responsible leaders of different racial groups.

(ii) Views of the Voice of the People Party

78. Leaders of the non-white party, the Voice of the People, including Mr. J. W. Jagger, President, Mr. K. H. Conradie, Vice-President, and Mr. A. Gowaseb, Secretary, whom I met on 12 October in Windhoek and on 24 October in Rehoboth, expressed their opposition to the extension to Namibia of South Africa's policies of *apartheid*. They said that they also disapproved of the "homelands" policy but would be ready to co-operate with the leaders of the "homelands" that had been created. They stated that they had discussed with the leaders of Damaraland and were planning to have consultations with the leaders of the remaining "homelands".

(iii) Views expressed by individuals

79. Two white persons whom I met on 25 October in Windhoek expressed their concern about the situation and

emphasized that a solution should be found urgently. They suggested that a round-table conference of representatives of all sections of the population should be held under the auspices of the United Nations to draw up a constitution for the Territory.

80. Another white person heard in Windhoek stated that the Government's policy of fragmentation of the country into a number of "Bantustans" was doomed to failure. This view, he said, was shared by other white inhabitants of the Territory.

(iv) *Views expressed by the Association for the Preservation of Tjamaaha/Maharero Royal House*

81. Representatives of the Association for the Preservation of Tjamaaha/Maharero Royal House led by the Reverend B. G. Karuaera were heard in Windhoek on 13 October and in Okakarara on 18 October. They stated their opposition to a unitary state for Namibia, because, they said, the Territory had never formed a single entity. They further contended that the one-man, one-vote procedure would create disunity among the various ethnic groups. They suggested that the Territory be divided into three geographical and political regions namely: the northern region consisting of Ovamboland, Kavango and other areas in the north, the central region comprising Hereroland and Damaraland, and the southern region which would consist of Namaland. People in each of these three regions should be helped so that they could work out their political and constitutional future according to their wishes and aspirations. They supported the contacts now taking place between the United Nations and the Government of South Africa. They further considered that negotiations should be initiated between the inhabitants of the Territory and the South African Government with a view to ensuring that "irritating petty apartheid" laws were repealed; that young people who had left the country without passports for educational purposes should be allowed to return and that more educational institutions and hospitals should be built.

III. CONTACTS WITH OTHER PARTIES

82. Prior to my departure for South Africa and Namibia on 5 October, I had had the opportunity to meet in New York with a number of presiding officers and members of various United Nations bodies.

83. On 2 October, I had attended a meeting of the group of the Security Council composed of Ambassador Carlos Ortiz de Rozas of Argentina, Ambassador Abdulrahim Abby Farah of Somalia and Ambassador Lazar Mojsov of Yugoslavia. The meeting had been called by the Secretary-General, who also attended it. The members of the group explained the position of the Security Council with regard to the mandate entrusted by it to the Secretary-General. They also drew my attention to the aide-mémoire submitted by the group to the Secretary-General on 26 September dealing in particular with the task of the representative of the Secretary-General.

84. I also had met and had discussions with the following persons concerning Namibia, with particular reference to the task entrusted to me by the Secretary-General:

Ambassador Louis de Guiringaud, President of the Security Council for the month of October;

Mr. Ahmed Taïbi Benhima, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Morocco, representing the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), accompanied by Ambassador Mamadou Moctar Thiam, Executive Secretary of OAU in New York;

Ambassador Salim A. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

85. On 5 October, at the invitation of the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, I had attended a closed meeting of that Council. The exchange of views with the Council had provided me with the opportunity to be informed of the views of the Council in regard to the question.

86. The information and advice I had received at all the meetings mentioned above were of great assistance to me in connexion with my task.

87. On 6 November, following my return to New York from my visit to South Africa and Namibia, I reported to the Secretary-General orally on the results of my contacts. Subsequently, the Secretary-General called meetings of various parties concerned, at which I and the members of my mission participated.

IV. CONCLUSION

88. When I arrived in New York on 28 September 1972 and assumed the task entrusted to me by the Secretary-General as his Representative for Namibia, my first concern had been to organize my work in such a way as to be able to report to the Secretary-General before 15 November. My programme had to include contacts with the Government of South Africa in Pretoria and a visit to Namibia in order to meet and hear the views of as many Namibians as possible.

89. In section II of this report, I have given an account of the views expressed to me by groups and individuals during my visit to Namibia. I am glad to note that I was able to visit many parts of the Territory and to meet in private a wide cross-section of the population. The views expressed to me by representatives of political organizations and other groups and individuals in Namibia have been very valuable to me in the performance of my task. I believe that the Secretary-General will find this information useful, and I hope it will also be of assistance to the Security Council in its consideration of the question of Namibia.

90. I have given an account of my discussions with the Government of South Africa in section I of this report. Although my discussions with the Prime Minister of South Africa leave a number of issues still to be clarified, I believe that what has been agreed to by the Prime Minister represents some progress in the direction of achieving the objective laid down by the Security Council in paragraph 4 of its resolution 319 (1972).

91. Concerning interpretation of the South African Government's policy of self-determination and independence with regard to Namibia, the Prime Minister felt that it was not the appropriate stage to go into a detailed discussion of that question. He felt that this could be done with better results, once the necessary conditions are established and the inhabitants have had more administrative and political experience. The Prime Minister's acceptance of the need to establish necessary conditions appears to be in line with the objective of the Security Council.

92. The Prime Minister believed that experience in self-government was an essential element for eventual self-determination and that such experience could best be achieved on a regional basis. However, when I made it clear that simultaneously an authority for the whole Territory would have to be established, he agreed to certain measures involving the "Territory as a whole". This would appear to be in line with the aim of maintaining the unity of Namibia.

93. The Prime Minister's promise to examine the possibility of removing restrictions on freedom of movement, although limited by considerations regarding control over large-scale movement of persons in search of employment, and his agreement with regard to legitimate political activity, including freedom of speech and the holding of meetings, are, in my view, positive elements in the direction of creation of conditions for the exercise of self-determination.

94. Taking into account the readiness of the South African Government to continue the contacts initiated by the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 309 (1972), and in view of the positive elements that emerged from my discussions with the Prime Minister as noted above, I feel that the contacts between the Secretary-General and the South African Government, as well as the other parties concerned, should be continued.

95. It is my belief that, should the Security Council decide in favour of continuing the contacts, it would be possible for the representative of the Secretary-General, in the course

of his further contacts, not only to bring up questions in connexion with fulfilment of the points agreed upon but to pursue questions which could not be brought to a conclusion as yet.

APPENDIX I

List of individuals and groups contacted during the visit to Namibia

(a) Persons contacted at Windhoek on 12 October 1972

Members of the National Convention of Non-Whites: Chief Clemens Kapuuo, Paramount Chief of the Hereros (President of NUDO); David H. Meroro (Chairman of SWAPO); Jason D. Mutumbulua (Secretary of SWAPO); Ernst Hiiko (NUDO); Mrs. M. Ford (Rehoboth Volkspartei); Ehrenfried I. Katuuo (NUDO); Gerson Hitegevi Veii (Chairman of SWANU); Ben Namalabo (member of Executive Committee of SWAPO); Julius Keimuiene (member of Executive Committee of SWANU); Abeth Ganaseb (Damara Tribal Executive Committee); Josaphat Gawanab (Damara Tribal Executive Committee); Oscar Kharuchab (President of Damara Tribal Executive Committee); Rudolf Matjindua Ndjoze (SWANU); Clemance Kangootui (NUDO); Ferdinand Kaavara (NUDO); Gustav Kandjii (NUDO); Ludwig Ndinda (Headman and member of NUDO); Alfeus Kaneja (Headman of Kogituu); Rudolf Tjaimi (NUDO); Gerson Hoveka (Headman of Epukuo Reserve); Johannes P. Karuaine (NUDO); Sondagh Kanguuehi (Deputy President of SWANU); Alfons Maharero (Headman of Otinene Reserve); Johannes G. A. Diergaardt (member of Executive Committee of Rehoboth Volkspartei and Chairman of the National Convention of Non-Whites); Hermanus C. Beukes (Chairman, Rehoboth Volkspartei).

(b) Persons contacted in Windhoek on 13 October

- (i) Kurt Dahlmann, Director of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.
- (ii) Members of the Coloured Council of "South West Africa": D. Bezuidenhout (Chairman) and W. J. Filies (member).
- (iii) Members of the Legislative Assembly of "South West Africa": Mr. Neef and Mr. van As.
- (iv) Members of Voice of the People: J. W. Jagger (President), K. H. Conradie (Vice-President), A. Gowaseb (Secretary), J. W. Skrywer, J. Fleermuys, J. Veldskoen, A. Veldskoen, A. Veldskoen, R. Dierstan, S. A. Uirab.
- (v) The Reverend Albertus Maasdorp (Administrative Secretary, Rhenish Mission Church), P. Gowaseb (Moderator, Evangelical Lutheran Church of South West Africa), the Reverend Lukas de Vries (President Elect, United Evangelical Lutheran Church).
- (vi) Members of the Katutura Advisory Board: Joshua Kamberipa (Chairman), Igmael Tjikati, Johannes Witbooi, Henoeh Kanuameva, Faniel Kambara, Mika Shimbuli, Rudolf Schimming (interpreter).
- (vii) Members of the City Council of Windhoek: E. Kaschik, Mr. Kirkpatrick.
- (viii) Representatives of the Association for the Preservation of Tjamuah-Maharero Royal House: the Reverend B. G. Karuara (Chairman), J. G. Kamberipa, J. G. Katjerungu, H. G. Karamata, G. Hipakua, W. Kaposambo, P. Kutako, E. Kauraita, A. Kapere, H. Karuanga, G. Namunika.
- (ix) Members of the Anglican Church speaking as individuals: Canon R. J. Wood, accompanied by another member of the Church.

(c) Persons contacted at Oshakati on 14 October

- (i) Members of the Executive Council of Ovamboland: Chief P. Elifas (Chief Councillor), C. Ndjoba, S. Ipumbu, S. Trapopi, K. Murgele, V. Konzele, G. Kautivirna and F. Kalavi, Councillors.

- (ii) Representatives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Ovambokavango: Bishop Leonard Auala (President of the Church Board), the Reverend Petrus Shipena.
- (iii) Representatives of the National Executive Committee of SWAPO: John Otto, Johannes Nangutuuala, Andrew Nukwawo, Immanuel Engombe, Erastus Shamen, Mattheus Joseph, Skinny Hilundwa, Moses Amkongo, Franz Ondongo, Francina Nandi, Jason Nangombe, John Hangula, David Mwaalwe, Junias Kapanda, Erastus Mbumba, Monica Namuja, Filemon Mwoongo, Jarius Muleka, Jonathan Schoombe.

- (iv) Mr. Peter Kalungula.
- (v) Mr. Toivo, F. Vilho, V. Vilho, Franz Ondongo.
- (vi) The Reverend Olle Erikson (Field Director, Finnish Mission).
- (vii) Mr. Louis Nelengani.
- (viii) Representatives of the Anglican Church in Ovamboland: the Reverend P. H. Shilongo (Archdeacon of Odiho), Nehemiah Hamupembe and Theophilus Kalimba.

(d) Persons contacted at Ohopoho (Kaokoland) on 16 October

- (i) Cleophas Trijeura, Johannes Muharukua, Verijema Hepute, Nglendepi Muharukua, Kepi Kavari.
- (ii) Kefas Muzuma, Munimuhoro Kapika, Joel Tjijahura and 23 other Hereros and Ovahimbos.
- (iii) Fanil Zihove, Edward Mumbuu, Theophilus Rutjindo, Ismael Kaisuma.
- (iv) Joseph Uheua and Thomas Kakuva heading a large gathering of Hereros and Ovahimbos.

(e) Persons contacted in Welwitschia on 17 October

Members of the Damara Legislative Council: D. Goreseb (Paramount Chief), J. Garoeb (Chief Headman), Headmen: A. Gariseb, E. Garoeb, L. Gurirab, P. Umub, I. Gawanab, J. Hendricks, J. Hoeb, E. Tourobo; Councillors: A. Tjai-Tjaimau, S. Murorua, D. Ouseb, E. Christy, O. Hochobeb, S. Igob, D. Gaeseb, S. Somseb and 25 others.

(f) Persons contacted in Okakarara on 18 October

- (i) Members of a delegation of Hereros: Chief L. Ndinda and A. Kareja, C. Tjirimuje, J. Tumbu, L. Mungendje, M. Hei, J. Karikoua, E. Kaveterua, R. Uazukuani, J. Tjiriange, T. Tjihokurn, C. Zeraua, J. Tjaverua, C. Keja, F. Tjiuru, W. Kongombe, M. Vesevete, J. Karikoua, R. Mungendje, W. Mutjavikua, E. Kahiiko, J. Tjaveondja and Mary Umuvangua.
- (ii) Representatives of the Association for the Preservation of Tjamuah-Maharero Royal House: the Reverend B. G. Karuara (Chairman), J. G. Kamberipa, J. G. Kajeruagu, W. B. Kaposambo, J. E. Maharero, H. G. Karamarata, P. Kutako, U. E. Seraera, the Reverend P. Tjijombo, R. Schimming, the Reverend E. S. Tjirimuje, K. Weii, M. Hilio, H. Kapenaze.
- (iii) Representatives of a section of the Herero People: D. Tjatjitua, U. Gerhardt, E. Nouengi, H. J. Kapansa.
- (iv) Representatives of the Mbanderu section of the Herero People: Chief Munjunku Nguvauva and Gerson Katjirua, Mr. Nikodemus, Mr. Tjeroze, Benjamin Murangi, Gothard Kanguvei, Thimotheus Tjimmuje.

(g) Persons contacted in Otjiwarongo on 18 October

- (i) Mr. Pretorius and Mr. Mouton, businessmen.
- (ii) H. K. Volkmann, H. J. Mandt, N. J. Oeloffse, businessmen.
- (iii) Members of the National Convention of Non-Whites: E. F. Karita, E. Hiiko, Ismak Gurirab, Benjamin Namaseb, Lukas Shaduka, Linus Amukwa, Efram Tsivagulula and 10 others.

(h) *Persons contacted in Walvis Bay on 19 October*

- (i) Representatives of the Western Committee of the National Convention of Non-Whites: Gotlieb Nathaniel Maxuillili, Acting President of SWAPO, Gerson Dausab (Secretary), Elsen Gaoseb, Joseph Hangula, Gurige Kaumba.
- (ii) V. I. Viljoem (President of the Walvis Bay Chamber of Commerce) and C. L. de Jager (member of the Legislative Assembly and Walvis Bay Afrikaans Chamber of Commerce).
- (iii) H. H. Lambsches (Mayor of Walvis Bay) and J. J. Wilken (Town Clerk of Walvis Bay).
- (iv) Representatives of the Coloured Council of Walvis Bay: P. J. Christians, W. Botha, F. W. van Wyk, J. E. Davis, C. J. Martin.

(i) *Persons contacted in Swakopmund on 19 October*

- (i) H. M. G. Deetlefs (Mayor of Swakopmund) and W. M. van Nierkerk (Town Clerk of Swakopmund).
- (ii) Representatives of the non-whites of Swakopmund: T. N. Orr, J. Angula, F. Namalemo, O. Uushona, J. Nathaniel, M. Amunjela, J. Kanjemba, L. B. Kamberipa Nquaiko, J. Assino, L. Tjiwandeka.

(j) *Persons contacted in Oranjemund on 21 October*

Representatives of the Ovambo workers of the Consolidated Diamond Mines: Festus Hatuikulipi, Eino Nhinda, E. Ngibimutura, Johannes Petrus, Jacky Anukongo, Solomon Kallondo, George Iita and others.

(k) *Persons contacted in Luderitz on 23 October*

- (i) Representatives of the Coloured Community: J. P. Andries and R. G. Julius.
- (ii) S. A. Jüngst (Mayor of Luderitz), J. F. du Toit (Town Clerk of Luderitz) and A. W. van Breda (member of Luderitz Chamber of Commerce).
- (iii) Representatives of the Anglican Church: the Reverend John C. Gramley and Audrey Fuller.
- (iv) A. H. du Plessis, Minister of Public Works and Community Development.
- (v) K. Way, Mr. Marcus, G. W. Kloster, R. E. Kratz, G. D. Kahan and J. Notzon, businessmen.

(l) *Persons contacted in Gibeon on 24 October*

- (i) Representatives of the Namas: Chief H. S. Witbooi and Ernst Kuhlman, Isaak Vries, Josef Kahuika, Daniel Motinga, Hendrik Classen, Samuel Herero, Abraham Thomas, Moses Jakob, Samuel Isaak, Paul Meyer, the Reverend Edward Frederick, David Swartbooi, Ludwig Snewe, Elfriede Mokinga, D. Frederick, D. H. Witbooi, S. Isaak, D. Goliath.
- (ii) Frank Basson (Headman of Bondels) and Adam Gertze.

(m) *Persons contacted in Rehoboth on 24 October*

- (i) Members of the Baster Council and leaders of the Rehoboth Volkspartei: J. G. A. Kiergaardt, C. A. Olivier, D. J. Izaaks, A. C. Cloete, P. J. Diergaardt, T. van Wyk and D. Bock.
- (ii) Representatives of the Rehoboth Baster Vereniging: B. J. Africa (Chairman), S. J. Mouton (Secretary) and F. C. Junius, J. D. Africa, A. Jankofsky, S. Beukes, M. Dentlinger, J. P. Titus, Y. Okhnizen.
- (iii) The Reverend B. B. de Klerk and Hendrik van Wyk and H. C. Beukes.
- (iv) T. J. Beukes and Henry Karsten.
- (v) Representatives of the Voice of the People: J. W. Jagger (President), K. H. Conradie (Vice-President) and J. W. Skrywer, S. A. Uirab, F. Urikob, H. Roman, Gertrud van Wyk, Magdalena Goagoses, Dorothea Khaibes and Martha Beukes.
- (vi) Representing the youth of Namibia: Mr. Kotze.

(n) *Persons contacted at Windhoek on 25 October*

- (i) Representatives of the Afrikaanse Sakekamer: H. Venter, P. J. de W. Tromp, J. J. Pottas, P. A. van Zyl.
- (ii) Representatives of the United Party: The Honourable Senator J. P. de Niehaus and B. O'Linn, O. Baartman and C. J. van den Berg.
- (iii) Representatives of Windhoek Chamber of Commerce: H. Harms, O. Matthews, R. Koch, L. Berman.
- (iv) Representatives of the Federation of Business and Professional Women's Club: Mrs. J. Schoeman and Mrs. J. Olivier.
- (v) Representatives of the Dutch Reformed Church: the Reverend M. M. Nieuwoudt, P. C. van Rooyen, P. D. Strauss, D. Murray, P. A. du Toit and Mrs. Brunette.
- (vi) Senator S. von Bach.
- (vii) Mrs. K. Blum and Mr. H. Berker.
- (viii) E. G. Kaschik and J. Kirkpatrick, members of the City Council of Windhoek.
- (ix) Representatives of the South West African Non-European Unity Movement (SWANEUM): A. J. F. Kloppers (Chairman), Elifas Tjingaete (Headman), Frank Basson (Headman), B. J. Africa (Chairman of Baster Vereniging), P. J. Mouton, F. C. Junius, T. Ockhuizen, J. J. Julius, Claudius Heuva, Mattheus Katjirua, Festus Toromba, J. A. Miller, R. L. Q. Abel, A. D. Dowie, A. Gertze, W. Saul, Mrs. M. J. Africa, A. J. F. Kloppers Jr., Matheus Gille.
- (x) Representatives of the Federal Coloured People's Party: A. J. F. Kloppers (Leader), J. J. J. Julius (Administrative Secretary and Treasurer), J. A. Phoré (Provincial Secretary), J. A. Miller (Executive member), A. J. Titus (Executive member), R. L. Q. Abel (Executive member), N. van Rooi (Executive member).
- (xi) Members of the Executive Committee of South West Africa: Mr. B. J. van der Walt (Administrator), D. F. Mudge, E. van Zyl, J. W. F. Pretorius, A. Brinkman.

(o) *Persons contacted in Tsumeb on 26 October*

- (i) D. van Wyk (Mayor of Tsumeb), A. Krüger (Town Clerk), R. C. Böhme (businessman and farmer).
- (ii) Representatives of the Hereros: Alex Kaveru, Rwald Kandjeo, Sebulon Unanisa, Levi Mbirionona, Lecius Kaveru, Adolph Kaure, Johannes Naganjala, Erika K. Hiarunguru, Menesia Kemumuine.
- (iii) Mr. H. Röhr, businessman.

(p) *Persons contacted in Tsumkwe on 26 October*

Four-member delegation of the Bushmen.

(q) *Persons contacted in Rundu (Kavango) on 26 October*

- (i) Members of the Executive Council of Kavango: Chief Linus Shashipapo (Chief Councillor) and Councillors: Elia Nerumba, Romanus Kamuno, Alex Kudumo, Anton Mushambe, Rudolf Ngoudo, David Hansiku, Bonifatius Hansiku.
- (ii) Reinhold Moremi, Armo Ihamba, Josef Kudumo, Lasarus Namadiko.

(r) *Persons contacted in Rundu on 27 October*

- (i) Mr. J. de Wet, Commissioner-General for the Native Peoples of South West Africa.
- (ii) Representatives of the secondary school students of Kavango: Remigius Siyau, Esra Kakukuru, Stxtus Sintango, Gelasius Mojjo, George Hashipara, Felix Kayambu.
- (iii) Five representatives of Rundu hospital employees.

(s) *Persons contacted in Katima Mulilo on 28 October*

- (i) Members of the Executive Council of Caprivi Strip: Chief J. Muraliswami (Chief Councillor), Chief R. M. Mamili (Councillor for Justice and Community Affairs), S. M. Kiukura (Councillor for Education and Culture); M. S. Mujiwa (Councillor for Agriculture and Works), I. M. Selebogo (Inspector of Schools and interpreter), D. Chaka (member of Public Commission).
- (ii) A four-member delegation claiming to speak on behalf of a great majority of the inhabitants of Caprivi Strip.
- (iii) Hans Angala (former member of SWAPO).

APPENDIX II

List of written communications addressed to the representative of the Secretary-General by Namibians and others relating to his visit to Namibia

1. Letter dated 29 September 1972 addressed to the Secretary-General by Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, a copy of which was given to me on 7 October 1972 in Geneva.
2. Letter dated 12 October, signed by Mr. J. W. Jagger, President of the Voice of the People Party, and other members; submitted on 13 October at Windhoek.
3. Letter dated 12 October from Mr. I. Nepembe; Windhoek.
4. Letter dated 12 October, signed by Mr. H. L. Simon, Director of the United Nations Association of South Africa; Johannesburg.
5. Letter dated 12 October from Bishop Colin O'Brien Winter; London.
6. Memorandum from the Coloured Council of South West Africa; presented by Mr. Bezuidenhout on 13 October at Windhoek.
7. Letter dated 13 October from the Reverend H. L. Althaus and other members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in South West Africa; Windhoek.
8. Letter dated 14 October from Bishop L. Auala of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church; presented on 15 October at Oshakati.
9. Letter from Mr. Engombe and other members of the Oshakati Branch of SWAPO; presented on 14 October at Oshakati.
10. Letter from Mr. Mbumba and other members of the Ovambo Branch of SWAPO; presented on 14 October at Oshakati.
11. Letter from Mr. S. Hilundwa, member of SWAPO; presented on 14 October at Oshakati.
12. Memorandum presented by the Reverend Shilongo and other members of the Anglican Church in Ovamboland, on 14 October at Oshakati.
13. Petition by the Reverend J. Shaamena of the Anglican Church; received on 14 October at Oshakati.
14. Memorandum dated 16 October signed by inhabitants of Otjiwarongo.
15. Memorandum signed by Paramount Chief D. Goreseh of the Damara Council; presented on 17 October at Welwitschia.
16. Memorandum signed by the Reverend Karuera, Chairman of the Association for the Preservation of Tjamuaha/Maharero Royal House; presented on 18 October at Okakarara.
17. Petition signed by Chief L. Ndinda and other representatives of the Hereros; presented on 18 October at Okakarara.
18. Letter dated 17 October from Mr. Uazukuani; presented on 18 October at Okakarara.
19. Memorandum signed by Chief Munjuku Nguvau presented on 18 October at Okakarara.
20. Letter from the Western Committee of the Nation Convention of Non-Whites; presented by Mr. Nathaniel and others on 19 October at Walvis Bay.
21. Memorandum submitted by the Coloured Consultative Committee of Narraville on 19 October at Walvis Bay.
22. Memorandum submitted by Mr. T. Orr and other representatives of Non-Whites on 19 October at Swakopmund.
23. Letter from Mr. J. Kawulu; received on 19 October at Swakopmund.
24. Letter from Mr. G. Nelounba; received on 19 October at Swakopmund.
25. Letter from Mr. W. Sydow dated 19 October; Windhoek.
26. Memorandum presented by Mr. H. M. G. Deetle Mayor, and Mr. W. M. Van Nickerk, Town Clerk; presented on 19 October at Swakopmund.
27. Letter from Mr. E. Nbumba; received on 21 October at Oranjemund.
28. Memorandum from Mr. E. Nghimutina on behalf of the local African Committee; received on 20 October Oranjemund.
29. Memorandum from the African employees of Consolidated Diamond Mines dated 15 October; submitted 21 October at Oranjemund.
30. Memorandum dated 19 October from Mr. Petrus on behalf of the workers at Oranjemund; received on 21 October.
31. Memorandum from a group of Namibians dated 16 October; received on 23 October at Luderitz.
32. Memorandum from Mr. R. Julius and Mr. J. Andri representatives of the Coloured Community of Luderitz presented on 23 October at Luderitz.
33. Petition dated 22 October from inhabitants of Kamanshoop; submitted on 24 October at Gibeon.
34. Letter from inhabitants of Bondel dated 22 October Karasburg.
35. Petition dated 14 October signed by Mr. Witbooi and other representatives of inhabitants of various villages presented on 24 October at Gibeon.
36. Petition signed by Mr. Swartbooi and others; presented on 24 October at Gibeon.
37. Petition signed by Mr. Isaak and others; presented on 24 October at Gibeon.
38. Letter dated 19 October, Hoachanas signed by Mr. Neeteb and others; presented on 24 October at Gibeon.
39. Memorandum dated 21 October signed by Mr. B. Africa, Chairman of the Rehoboth Baster Vereniging; presented on 24 October at Rehoboth.
40. Memorandum dated 23 October from Headman O. Khurub, President of the Damara Tribal Executive Committee of the Otjimbingwe Reserve; received on 24 October Gibeon.
41. Letter presented by Mr. Jagger, President, and other members of the Voice of the People Party on 24 October at Rehoboth.
42. Petition from inhabitants of the Rehoboth African Location; submitted on 24 October at Rehoboth.
43. Memorandum signed by Mr. J. G. A. Kiergaardt and other members of the Baster Council; presented on 24 October at Rehoboth.
44. Memorandum from Mr. H. C. Beukes, Chairman of the Peoples' Party; submitted on 24 October at Rehoboth.
45. Memorandum dated 24 October from Dr. H. H. Schbert, Africa Investors Service; Windhoek.

46. Memorandum dated 24 October from representatives of the Windhoek Chamber of Commerce; submitted on 25 October at Windhoek.

47. Letter dated 24 October from Mr. H. E. Harms, Chairman of the Windhoek Chamber of Commerce.

48. Letter dated 24 October from Mr. C. H. M. Frey; Windhoek.

49. Memorandum submitted by the Afrikaanse Sakekamers of South West Africa; presented on 25 October at Windhoek.

50. Memorandum from the Senator de Niehaus, Leader of the United Party of South West Africa; presented on 25 October at Windhoek.

51. Memorandum from the Reverend M. M. Nieuwoudt and other members of the Dutch Reformed Church; presented on 25 October at Windhoek.

52. Memorandum from the Federation of Business and Professional Women in South West Africa, submitted by Mrs. Schoeman and Mrs. Olivier; presented on 25 October at Windhoek.

53. Letter from Mr. E. Kaschik; presented on 25 October at Windhoek.

54. Memorandum from Mr. A. J. F. Kloppers and other members of the Federal Coloured Peoples' Party of South West Africa; submitted on 25 October at Windhoek.

55. Memorandum from Mr. A. J. F. Kloppers, Chairman, and other members of the South West African Non-European Unity Movement (SWANEUM); submitted on 25 October at Windhoek.

56. Letter dated 20 October from Mr. S. Mandula.

57. Letter dated 23 October from Mr. Kahikopo and others; Windhoek.

58. Letter dated 23 October from members of the Unity Movement; Windhoek.

59. Letter from the Assaria Kamburona National Unity Democratic Organization; received on 25 October at Windhoek.

60. Letter dated 25 October from Herero inhabitants of Tsumeb.

61. Memorandum from the Executive Committee of South West Africa; presented on 25 October at Windhoek.

62. Memorandum from the SWAPO Tsumeb Branch; received at Tsumeb on 26 October.

63. Memorandum from the Executive Council of the Government of Kavango; presented on 26 October at Rundu.

64. Memorandum from a Rundu school; received on 27 October at Rundu.

APPENDIX III

Itinerary of the representative of the Secretary-General in Namibia between 12 and 28 October 1972

Date	Journey	Means of transportation	Distance (in miles)
12 October	Pretoria-Windhoek	Commercial flight	730
14 October	Windhoek-Oshakati	{ Light aircraft } { Helicopter }	232

Date	Journey	Means of transportation	Distance (in miles)
15 October	Oshakati-Ombalantu-Ruacana-Oshikango-Oshakati	Helicopter	46 46 102 23
16 October	Oshakati-Ohopoho	Car	155
16 October	Ohopoho-Welwitschia	Car	208
17 October	Welwitschia-Otjiwarongo	Car	122
18 October	Otjiwarongo-Okakarara-Otjiwarongo	Car	93
18 October	Otjiwarongo-Swakopmund	Car	242
19 October	Swakopmund-Walvis Bay	Car	42
20 October	Walvis Bay-Oranjemund	Light aircraft	405
22 October	Oranjemund-Luderitz	Bus	180
23 October	Luderitz-Keetmanshoop	Light aircraft	178
23 October	Keetmanshoop-Hardap Dam	Car	152
24 October	Hardap Dam-Gibeon	Car	55
24 October	Gibeon-Rehoboth	Car	155
24 October	Rehoboth-Windhoek	Car	59
25 October	Windhoek-Tsumeb	SWA Airways	234
26 October	Tsumeb-Tsumkwe	SWA Airways	182
26 October	Tsumkwe-Rundu	SWA Airways	126
27 October	Rundu-Masare-Rundu	Car	56
28 October	Rundu-Katima Mulilo	Aircraft	300
28 October	Katima Mulilo-Pretoria	Aircraft	630

Mileage by air: 3,334
Mileage by road: 1,519

Total mileage: 4,853

