

February 13, 1978
NEW YORK, N.Y.

Your Excellency:-

We take this opportunity on behalf of the Namibia Patriotic Coalition to attach herewith proposals which we believe are in conformity with the achievements of the present negotiations regarding the independence of Namibia.

Yours sincerely,


Prof. Mburumba Kerina
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN


Paul Helmuth
SECRETARY FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Namibia Patriotic Coalition
P.O. Box 7138
WINDHOEK
South West Africa/Namibia
9104

Presented by Prof. Mburumba Kerina
National Chairman and
Paul Helmuth - Secretary for
Foreign Affairs

STATEMENT PRESENTED TO THE FIVE WESTERN POWERS TALKS IN
NEW YORK BY THE DELEGATION OF THE NAMIBIA PATRIOTIC
COALITION

February, 1978

The history of the Namibian liberation struggle from the early times to the present, has been in large measure the exclusive monopolization of our political process by the white community with the majority of its members subscribing to the programme of the old establishment.

Today, one can sincerely say that the down-fall of Portuguese colonial empire in Mozambique and Angola and the subsequent constitutional developments in Namibia have changed the status quo creating therefore the organic conditions for the redefinition of our politics. It has no doubt given rise to a new rationale, a new way of seeing our country and her people, a new way of reasoning, a new way of thinking and a new search for stronger and meaningful political coalitions. In every pre-independence struggle the historical question has always been that of which political agency or force can provide the constructive vehicle necessary to effect radical change thus creating promising conditions for freedom and independence.

In the past, Black Namibians distinguished themselves from other groups in our country not only because of their aspirations to effect change but because of their very concrete grievances which enabled the largest section of our population to be involved and to learn through direct involvement. It is true that within the hearts of Black Namibians there exists today a set of agonies which are part of the necessary

inheritance of any people who have been engaged in prolonged political struggles for radical transformation of society, true freedom and lasting justice. Politically, the extended nature of the Black Namibian struggle and the modern reality of international politics and generational change have created interruptions in understanding and intensities of feeling which are too often characterised by bitterness.

Reviewing the political activities of the past two years, we can, if we so wish, recognize a series of positive and negative developments that came out of the constitutional encounter between Blacks and Whites in our country. What is even most important, is that in spite of reservations many might have, the constitutional process ushered a new era in the politics of Namibia. The very existence of the constitutional conference created a basis for major negotiations between the Western Powers, South Africa and the United Nations.

The intervention of the Five Western Security Council Members in the course of the Turnhalle deliberations and their subsequent appeal to the South African Government to refrain from proceeding with the application of the Turnhalle Constitution in Namibia came as a God's miracle. In order to guarantee a peaceful constitutional transition to Namibian independence it is important to strengthen the present negotiations. The incontrovertible fact is that if we in Namibia can succeed in strengthening the cause of peaceful negotiations for the independence of our country, an extraordinary achievement would have been attained; an achievement which can give immense weight to peaceful accommodation in Southern Africa.

Furthermore, the lesson of our three decades of organized political activities would have been in vain if we had not drawn the moral from it all. That is, in the final analysis,

there is no substitute for working within the country, for politicising the masses, for organising and welding them into a truly representative non-racial movement which alone will be able to reclaim the precious gems of freedom and independence for Namibia in peace and tranquility.

It is true that following the constitutional deliberations and the subsequent intervention by the Five Western Powers, an overwhelming movement has developed among Blacks and Whites towards self-definition and mutual accommodation. A conference which began largely as an effort by the South African Government to free itself of the overgrown Namibian child increasingly became a political force for the power of self-determination.

We are indeed indebted to the Five Western Powers for their timely intervention which has greatly contributed to our peaceful efforts thus strengthening the determination of the majority of Namibians at home and abroad to achieve their independence through peaceful constitutional procedure.

It is in the midst of our turn toward our pressing future that we strongly feel that the cause of peaceful constitutional transition to our independence could be strengthened by separating the political settlement from the more involved military and security affairs.

The Namibia Patriotic Coalition would like to take this opportunity to present the following proposals for consideration by the Five Western Powers Contact Group:

PART I

POLITICAL SETTLEMENT

The guarantees relative to the application of self-determination and the organization of public powers in Namibia during the transition period must be defined in a common agreement to which all parties must be signatories.

The organization, following elections to the Constituent Assembly, conforming to the realities of Namibia situation and in these conditions, co-operation between South Africa and Namibia corresponding to the interests of the two countries the South African Government and the Contact Group must consider, in co-operation with all Namibian parties, that the solution of the independence of Namibia in co-operation with South Africa corresponds to this situation.

The South African Government, the Five Western Contact Group and all Namibian parties must therefore defined this solution, in common agreement, in the declaration which will be submitted for notification to the Namibian electorate prior to the time of general election.

ORGANIZATION OF A CARETAKER ADMINISTRATION DURING THE
TRANSITION PERIOD AND SELF DETERMINATION-GUARANTEES

1. The general election will permit the electorate to make known their wishes whether they want Namibia to be independent through peaceful constitutional procedure represented by a democratically elected Constituent Assembly, and in that case whether Namibians want the South African Government and the Five Western Contact Group to co-operate in the conditions defined by the present declarations.

2. The election will take place throughout Namibia, that is to say, in the following regions: Northern region, Eastern region, Central region, Western region and Southern region. The results of the different voting procedure will be counted and proclaimed for the whole of Namibia.

3. The freedom and genuineness of the electoral process will be guaranteed in conformity with the regulations fixing the conditions for self-determination exercise.

4. Until independence has been realized, the organization of governmental public powers in Namibia will be established in accordance with the regulations which accompany the present declaration.

(a) The maintenance, strengthening and involvement of Blacks and Coloureds in the present governmental infrastructure

(b) The South African Government shall be represented in Namibia by the Administrator General until such time that Namibia has achieved total independence from South Africa, December 31st, 1978.

(d) That the care-taker administration, will be installed as soon as this declaration comes into force.

(e) The Administrator-General will be the custodian of the Powers of the South African State President.

(f) The care-taker administration will, in particular, be responsible for:

- Assuring the conduct of Namibia's own public affairs
It will have the task of admitting to positions in the various branches of government all qualified Namibians without regard to race, tribe, sex, colour, religion and
- Maintaining public law and order. For this purpose, it will have police services under its authority.
- Preparing and implementing the principle of self-determination.

(g) The full exercise of individual and public liberties will be guaranteed.

(h) All political parties which unconditionally subscribe to the principle of peaceful constitutional transition to independence will be recognized as legal political bodies.

(i) All political detainees wherever they are held in custody will be released within a maximum period of ten days from the date of the acceptance of this declaration by all parties.

(j) Namibians in refuge or in detention in Tanzania, Zambia and South Africa must be released and their safe return to Namibia must be arranged through the International Red Cross in co-operation with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

(k) The care-taker administration will take measures aimed at assuring the return of these people and their rehabilitation to a normal life in Namibia.

(l) The general election will take place within a period of six months. The date will be fixed by the Administrator-General in consultation with the United Nations representative.

(m) That the Five Western Contact Group be permitted to station independent observers in Namibia to monitor the election procedure.

(n) That Namibian students resident abroad be permitted to vote through special procedure designed to involve them in the electoral process.

PART II

We strongly recommend the immediate establishment of a Military and Security Affairs Commission composed of military experts from the Five Western Contact Group, South Africa and a United Nations military representative to investigate in-depth the military and security arrangements within and without Namibia and their consequences for the Southern African region.

That these investigations be conducted at the same time as political settlement arrangements are being resolved.

That the findings and recommendations of the Military and Security Affairs Commission be submitted to the Contact Group, South Africa and the United Nations representative not later than July, 1978, for immediate action.

That among other things, the Military and Security Affairs Commission take immediate action to have all tribal armies and home guards placed under the central defense command in order to prevent possible abuses during the election process.

PART III

UNITED NATIONS REPRESENTATIVE IN NAMIBIA

The Namibia Patriotic Coalition strongly recommend that specific terms of reference be formulated to guide the United Nations Representative in his day to day performances in Namibia.

That contradictions that were common in the "Congo" situation be avoided. Those of us who had the privilege of observing the "Congo" crisis at close range remember very well the confusion and subsequent tragedy created by generalized terms of reference of the late Secretary-General representative in the "Congo".

We are totally opposed to any terms of reference that would give veto power to the United Nations Representative over his colleague, the Administrator-General.

During the past two years Namibians of different political persuasion and racial background have proven that it is possible to work together in co-operation guided by the principle of "concensus". It is this principle that we would like to see reflected in the United Nations Representative terms of reference.

FUTURE STATUS OF WALVIS BAY

We understand that the Government of South Africa is prepared to negotiate the future status of Walvis Bay with an independent government of Namibia.

Historically, the port of Walvis Bay has been under the jurisdiction of Great Britain from 1878 to 1910 when it was transferred to the government of the Cape of Good Hope. We hope that in view of Britains involvement in the present negotiations with South Africa, it would be possible for the Government of the United Kingdom to be party to any future negotiations regarding Walvis Bay port and that the issue of Walvis Bay should at the moment of the present negotiations be postponed until such time that the present negotiations have been concluded.