

C O N F I D E N T I A L

A Project to Meet the Impasse of the International Community on South West Africa

I. Background of the Impasse

On October 27, 1966, the United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution 2145 with only South Africa and Portugal casting negative votes. This resolution stated that "henceforth South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations." The resolution terminated the mandate given to South Africa by the League of Nations to rule South West Africa. A special session of the United Nations General Assembly was held in April and May, 1967 at the conclusion of which a resolution was passed to implement the action taken in Resolution 2145 of the previous October. This resolution (2248) established a United Nations Council for South West Africa with the responsibility for administering the Territory until independence, with the hope expressed that this might be achieved by June, 1968. The Council on South West Africa was requested to go to South West Africa from where it would carry on its responsibilities. The resolution called upon the government of South Africa to comply with this decision and to transfer its administration to the newly-formed Council.

The government of South Africa has let it be known that it does not recognize the authority of the United Nations in South West Africa and it has no intention of turning over responsibility to the Council on South West Africa. Furthermore, South Africa has taken unusual steps in extending some of the particularly objectionable laws in South Africa to South West Africa as well. The latest example of this is seen in the trial, presently proceeding in Pretoria, of 37 South West Africans who are charged with violating the Terrorism Act under which the maximum penalty is death by hanging. These 37 accused are being tried in South Africa rather than in South West Africa and all were held in solitary confinement for at least 200 days before formal charges were placed against them, awaiting the passage of the Terrorism Act last June 21. The trial began on September 11, and is expected to proceed probably into 1968.

Under the circumstances which prevail (i.e., action by the United Nations to take over the administration of South West Africa but the complete flouting of this resolution by South Africa) the response of the international community should be clear. The resolution should be implemented despite South Africa's unwillingness to accept it. However, the big powers, both east and west, have made no commitment to implementing United Nations action. The small countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America do not have the power to do so. Thus, the purpose of the United Nations is frustrated and an impasse has been reached in South West Africa.

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II. Our Project in Brief

Action by non-governmental organizations is possible even if it is unlikely that the international community is prepared to implement its own resolution. There are two aspects to our project:

1) A development program to help South West Africa prepare for independence.

What can private American groups do to implement this program? The plan is for a group of experts, representing non-governmental agencies, to go into South West Africa to talk with appropriate people for the purpose of developing projects which can be supported by their respective American agencies. The team of experts would include among its approximately ten members, a doctor, a dietician, an educator, a trade unionist, a churchman, an agricultural specialist, a businessman, an expert in the cooperative movement, etc. This team of persons would plan to spend two weeks in the Territory, visiting all sections of the country, exploring the extent of the needs which can be met, and coming back with concrete plans for projects which can be supported.

2) Recognition of United Nations authority.

The team of experts plans to work within the terms of the resolutions passed by the United Nations. The members of the United Nations Council on South West Africa are being thoroughly briefed on the purposes of this project. The recommendations coming out of the project will be presented to and discussed with the members of the Council also. No steps towards implementation of the project, either before going to South West Africa or after leaving, would be taken if the United Nation opposes it.

Because the project is proceeding under the resolutions passed by the United Nations, the authority of South Africa in the Territory of South West Africa will not be recognized. This means, for example, that the team will not request visas from the South African government in order to travel into South West Africa. There will be no attempt made to ask the cooperation of the South African administrators presently in South West Africa to cooperate. The project assumes that the people of South West Africa are being prepared for independence under the administration of the United Nations. The team will travel to South West Africa in chartered planes from one of the nearby African independent states.

III. What Will the Results Be?

The results will depend, first of all, on the reaction of the South African government. If the present de facto administration in South West Africa does not interfere with the team, they will proceed about their tasks for the time allotted to the project and will come out with their report which will be turned over to the United Nations with the under-

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standing that various non-governmental organizations will contribute to the success of the development projects. If the South African administration does not permit the team to proceed with its task, it is assumed that the members of the group will be detained at the airport where they land in South West Africa and probably will be sent back to the point from which their flight originated. In this case, the project will be an effective test case in an effort to implement the decision of the United Nations through non-governmental organizations.

Secondly, the results of the project will depend on the action taken in the United Nations. If the team proceeds with its task within South West Africa, the results of the work will be useful to the United Nations as it carries on its work. Further, there will be a series of project recommendations for American private agencies to adopt. If the group is prohibited from proceeding within the Territory of South West Africa, then the United Nations will have to consider what action they should take in the light of South Africa's refusal to permit a project aimed at the development of the Territory from carrying out its purpose.

IV. Miscellaneous Points

1) The project will take place under the auspices of a special ad hoc committee which has been established called "The Committee for the Development of Independent South West Africa."

2) It is planned that the project will take place during the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. Since the session is likely to adjourn before Christmas, the project will leave for Africa before the middle of December, hopefully December 4.

3) Publicity will be given to the project just prior to the departure of the team for South West Africa. It is hoped that the project will not become public information nor that it will be known by the South African authorities before that time. It is hoped that as much publicity as possible will be given to the project after that time.

4) It is estimated that the total project will cost between \$15,000 and \$20,000. The travel from New York to the point of departure in Africa will be approximately \$1000 round trip per participant. For the excursion into South West Africa, the plan is to charter two planes which take five passengers and one pilot each. This will cost about \$2000 round trip for both planes. If the charter planes have to make two round trips (one to deliver the group and another a week or more later to pick them up), the cost will be \$4,000. Thus, the total cost per participant, including accomodation and food, will be about \$2,000.

5) Inasmuch as the project must be organized quickly, it is felt that the team should be composed of Americans to simplify the problems which must be solved. The team will be interracial.