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SOUTHERN AFRICA RECORD contains the original texts of, or extracts from, important statements by political leaders, government representatives and international organisations, concerning international relations in the southern region of Africa. In addition to statements on issues of current concern, some significant statements made in the past are included in the RECORD from time to time. The reproduction of these policy statements of the past and present is intended for information and reference purposes, not only for students, but also for all those who are concerned with the relations between the countries of Southern Africa.

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SOUTH AFRICA, ANGOLA AND NAMIBIA

Documents on this topic published in this combined issue of the Record should be read in conjunction with those previously published in Southern Africa Record no. 51.

Protocol of Geneva between the Governments of the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cuba and the Republic of South Africa, signed in Geneva on 5 August 1988

Delegations representing the Governments of the People's Republic of Angola/Republic of Cuba, and the Republic of South Africa, meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, 2 - 5 August 1988, with the mediation of Dr Chester A Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, United States of America, have agreed as follows:

1. Each side agrees to recommend to the Secretary-General of the United Nations that 1 November 1988 be established as the date for implementation of UNSCR 435/78.
2. Each side agrees to the establishment of a target date for signature of the tripartite agreement among [sic] Angola, South Africa, and Cuba not later than 10 September 1988.
3. Each side agrees that a schedule acceptable to all parties for the redeployment toward the North and the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola must be established by Angola and Cuba, who will request on-site verification by the Security Council of the United Nations. The parties accept 1 September 1988 as the target date for reaching agreement on that schedule and all related matters.
4. The complete withdrawal of South African forces from Angola shall begin not later than 10 August 1988 and be completed not later than 1 September 1988.
5. The parties undertake to adopt the necessary measures of restraint in order to maintain the existing de facto cessation of hostilities. South Africa stated its willingness to convey this commitment in writing to the Secretary General of the United Nations. Angola and Cuba shall urge SWAPO to proceed likewise as a step prior to the ceasefire contemplated in Resolution 435/78 which will be established prior to 1 November 1988. Angola and Cuba shall use their good

offices so that, once the total withdrawal of South African troops from Angola is completed, and within the context also of the cessation of hostilities in Namibia, SWAPO's forces will be deployed to the north of the 16th parallel. The parties deemed it appropriate that, during the period before 1 November 1988, a representative of the United Nations Secretary General be present in Luanda to take cognizance of any disputes relative to the cessation of hostilities and agreed that the combined military committee contemplated in paragraph 9 can be an appropriate venue for reviewing complaints of this nature that may arise.

6. As of 10 August 1988, no Cuban troops will deploy or be south of the line Chitudo-Ruacana-Calueque-Naulila-Cuamato-N'Giva. Cuba furthermore stated that upon completion of the withdrawal of the South African troops from Angola not later than 1 September 1988 and the restoration by the People's Republic of Angola of its sovereignty over its international boundaries, the Cuban troops will not take part in offensive operations in the territory that lies east of meridian 17 and south of parallel 15 degrees, 30 minutes, provided that they are not subject to harassment.
7. Following the complete withdrawal of South African forces from Angola, the Government of Angola shall guarantee measures for the provision of water and power supply to Namibia.
8. With a view toward minimizing the risk of battlefield incidents and facilitating exchange of technical information related to implementation of the agreements reached, direct communications shall be established not later than 20 August 1988 between the respective military commanders at appropriate headquarters along the Angola/Namibia border.
9. Each side recognizes that the period from 1 September 1988, by which time South African forces will have completed their withdrawal from Angola, and the date established for implementation of UNSCR 435, is a period of particular sensitivity, for which specific guidelines for military activities are presently lacking. In the interest of maintaining the ceasefire and maximizing the conditions for the orderly introduction of UNTAG, the sides agree to establish a combined military committee to develop additional practical measures to build confidence and reduce the risk of unintended incidents. They invite United States membership on the committee.
10. Each side will act in accordance with the Governors Island principles, including paragraph E (non-interference in the internal affairs of states) and paragraph G (the acceptance of the responsibility of states not to allow their territory to be used for acts of war,

aggression, or violence against other states).

For the Government
of the People's
Republic of Angola
.....

For the Government
of the Republic
of Cuba
.....

For the Government
of the Republic of
South Africa
.....

Geneva, 5 August 1988

Statement issued by the Presidency of the UN Security Council on the 10th anniversary of the adoption of Resolution 435, September 29, 1988

Ten years ago, on 29 September 1978, the Security Council adopted Resolution 435 (1978) in order to ensure an early independence of Namibia, through free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations.

The members of the Security Council express grave concern that such a long time after the adoption of Resolution 435 (1978), the Namibian people have not yet attained their self-determination and independence.

Reaffirming the pertinent resolutions of the Security Council and the legal responsibility of the United Nations over Namibia, the members of the Council once again call upon South Africa finally to comply at last with these resolutions and to cease its illegal occupation of Namibia. In this respect, they lay stress upon Security Council's continuing commitment to discharge its special responsibility for furthering the interests of the people of Namibia and their aspirations for peace, justice and independence through a full and definitive implementation of Resolution 435 (1978).

They support the resolute action led by the Secretary-General with a view to the implementation of Security Council's Resolution 435 (1978) and encourage him to continue his efforts to that end.

The Security Council takes note of developments in recent weeks in efforts by a number of parties to find a peaceful solution to the conflict in South-Western Africa that are reflected in the statement of 8 August 1988 by the Governments of Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States, which has been circulated as a Security Council document (S/20109).

The Council further notes the expressed readiness of the South West Africa People's Organization to sign and observe a cease-fire agreement with South Africa, as stated in document S/20129 of 17 August 1988, in order to pave the way for the implementation of Resolution 435 (1978). On this 10th anniversary of the adoption of Resolution 435 (1978), its early imple-

mentation is the common aspiration of the international community. The members of the Council urge the parties to display the necessary political will to translate the commitments they have made into reality in order to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question and peace and stability in the region.

In particular, they strongly urge South Africa to comply forthwith with the Security Council's resolution and decisions, particularly Resolution 435 (1978) and to co-operate with the Secretary-General in its immediate, full and definitive implementation. To this end, the Security Council urges state members of the United Nations to render all necessary assistance to the Secretary-General and his staff in the administrative and other practical steps necessary for the emplacement of the United Nations transition assistance group.

**Statement by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Hon
RF Botha: 1 November 1988, in Pretoria**

During the current round of negotiations regarding the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 (1978) and the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, South Africa advanced 1 November 1988 as the date for the implementation of the process leading to independence of SWA/Namibia.

This proposal was put forward in order to advance the negotiations and place South Africa's commitment to the independence of SWA/Namibia beyond doubt. Despite the complex and difficult negotiations with regard to the two issues involved, i.e. the process which will lead to independence for SWA/Namibia and the staged and total withdrawal from Angola, South Africa firmly believed that 1 November was a realistic and achievable date, provided all parties involved would be prepared to adopt realistic positions in their approach to the negotiations. South Africa has consistently shown a constructive spirit in all the negotiations over the past few months.

South Africa therefore regrets that a settlement has not been achieved by the target date of 1 November 1988. We do not believe that the complexity and degree of difficulty of the negotiations was the only reason for the lack of agreement.

South Africa is of the view that sufficient progress was made at the informal consultations which took place at [sic] New York from 6 to 9 October 1988 to allow agreement to be reached by 1 November 1988. It was decided at New York that the parties should respond within three days to a compromise proposal put forward by the US as mediator. South Africa has, within the time-limit, indicated that it was prepared to be flexible as far

as the latest US proposal is concerned. As of today, Angola/Cuba have yet to make up their minds.

Despite the fact that an agreement was not achieved by 1 November, South Africa's commitment to finding a solution remains firm. Any delay in achieving independence for SWA/Namibia can therefore not be attributable to South Africa.

Protocol of Brazzaville and attaching annexure relating thereto signed at Brazzaville, 13 December 1988

Delegations representing the Governments of the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cuba, and the Republic of South Africa,

Meeting in Brazzaville with the mediation of the Government of the United States of America,

Expressing their deep appreciation to the President of the People's Republic of the Congo, Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso, for his indispensable contribution to the cause of peace in Southwestern Africa and for the hospitality extended to the delegations by the Government of the People's Republic of the Congo,

Confirming their commitment to act in accordance with the Principles for a Peaceful Settlement in Southwestern Africa, initialled at New York on 13 July 1988 and approved by their respective Governments on 20 July 1988, each of which is indispensable to a comprehensive settlement; with the understandings reached at Geneva on 5 August 1988 that are not superseded by this document; and with the agreement reached at Geneva on 15 November 1988 for the redeployment to the North and the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola,

Urging the international community to provide economic and financial support for the implementation of all aspects of this settlement,

Agree as follows:

1. The parties agree to recommend to the Secretary General of the United Nations that 1 April 1989 be established as the date for implementation of UNSCR 435/78.
2. The parties agree to meet on 22 December 1988 in New York for signature of the tripartite agreement and for signature by Angola and Cuba of their bilateral agreement. By the date of signature, Angola and Cuba shall have reached agreement with the Secretary General of

the United Nations on verification arrangements to be approved by the Security Council.

3. The parties agree to exchange the prisoners of war upon signature of the tripartite agreement.
4. The parties agree to establish a Joint Commission in accordance with the annex attached to this protocol.

For the Government
of the People's
Republic of Angola
.....

For the Government
of the Republic
of Cuba
.....

For the Government
of the Republic of
South Africa
.....

Brazzaville, 13 December 1988

Agreement among the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cuba, and the Republic of South Africa, signed in New York, 22 December 1988

The governments of the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cuba, and the Republic of South Africa, hereinafter designated as 'the Parties',

Taking into account the 'Principles for a Peaceful Settlement in Southwestern Africa', approved by the Parties on 20 July 1988, and the subsequent negotiations with respect to the implementation of these Principles, each of which is indispensable to a comprehensive settlement,

Considering the acceptance by the Parties of the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 (1978), adopted on 29 September 1978, hereinafter designated as 'UNSCR 435/78',

Considering the conclusion of the bilateral agreement between the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba providing for the redeployment toward the North and the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola,

Recognizing the role of the United Nations Security Council in implementing UNSCR 435/78 and in supporting the implementation of the present agreement,

Affirming the sovereignty, sovereign equality, and independence of all states of southwestern Africa,

Affirming the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states,

Affirming the principle of abstention from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of states,

Reaffirming the right of the peoples of the southwestern region of Africa to self-determination, independence, and equality of rights, and of the states of southwestern Africa to peace, development, and social progress,

Urging African and international cooperation for the settlement of the problems of the development of the southwestern region of Africa,

Expressing their appreciation for the mediating role of the Government of the United States of America,

Desiring to contribute to the establishment of peace and security in southwestern Africa,

Agree to the provisions set forth below.

1. The Parties shall immediately request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to seek authority from the Security Council to commence implementation of UNSCR 435/78 on 1 April 1989.
2. All military forces of the Republic of South Africa shall depart Namibia in accordance with UNSCR 435/78.
3. Consistent with the provisions of UNSCR 435/78, the Republic of South Africa and the People's Republic of Angola shall cooperate with the Secretary-General to ensure the independence of Namibia through free and fair elections and shall abstain from any action that could prevent the execution of UNSCR 435/78. The Parties shall respect the territorial integrity and inviolability of borders of Namibia and shall ensure that their territories are not used by any state, organization, or person in connection with acts of war, aggression, or violence against the territorial integrity or inviolability of borders of Namibia or any other action which could prevent the execution of UNSCR 435/78.
4. The People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba shall implement the bilateral agreement, signed on the date of signature of this agreement, providing for the redeployment toward the North and the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, and the arrangements made with the Security Council of the United Nations for the on-site verification of that withdrawal.
5. Consistent with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, the Parties shall refrain from the threat or use of force,

and shall ensure that their respective territories are not used by any state, organization, or person in connection with any acts of war, aggression, or violence, against the territorial integrity, inviolability of borders, or independence of any state of southwestern Africa.

6. The Parties shall respect the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of the states of southwestern Africa.
7. The Parties shall comply in good faith with all obligations undertaken in this agreement and shall resolve through negotiation and in a spirit of cooperation any disputes with respect to the interpretation or implementation thereof.
8. This agreement shall enter into force upon signature.

Signed at New York in triplicate in the Portuguese, Spanish and English languages, each language being equally authentic, this 22nd day of December 1988.

For the People's
Republic of Angola

For the Republic of
Cuba

For the Republic
of South Africa

.....

.....

.....

Annex [sic] on the Joint Commission

1. With the objective of facilitating the resolution of any dispute regarding the interpretation or implementation of the tripartite agreement, the parties hereby establish a Joint Commission, which shall begin its work upon signature of the tripartite agreement.
2. The Joint Commission shall serve as a forum for discussion and resolution of issues regarding the interpretation and implementation of the tripartite agreement, and for such other purposes as the parties in the future may mutually agree.
3. The parties invite the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to participate as observers in the work of the Commission. Furthermore, the parties agree that, upon the independence of Namibia, the Namibian Government should be included as a full member of the Joint Commission. To that end, the parties will extend a formal invitation to the Namibian Government to join the Joint Commission on the date of Namibian independence.
4. The Joint Commission shall be constituted within thirty days of the signing of the tripartite agreement. The Joint Commission shall

establish its own regulations and rules of procedure for regular meetings and for special meetings which may be requested by any party.

5. The decision by a party to discuss or seek the resolution of an issue in the Joint Commission shall not prejudice the right of that party to raise the issue, as it deems appropriate, before the Security Council of the United Nations or to pursue such other means of dispute resolution as are available under international law.
6. The Joint Commission shall in no way function as a substitute for UNTAG (including the monitoring role of UNTAG outside Namibia) or for the UN entity performing verification in Angola.

[Texts for this Section provided by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs.]

SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA (WALVIS BAY)

(a) United Nations Resolutions

- (1) Extracta from UN General Assembly Resolution 32/9, 4 November 1977, relating to Walvis Bay:**

Situation in Namibia resulting from the illegal occupation of the Territory by South Africa

The General Assembly,

Strongly condemning, as an act of colonial expansion, the decision of South Africa to annex Walvis Bay, thereby undermining the territorial integrity of Namibia,

2. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and as declared in Resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2145 (XXI) as well as subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council relating to Namibia, and the legitimacy of their struggle by all means at their disposal against the illegal occupation of their Territory by South Africa;
6. Declares that the decision of South Africa to annex Walvis Bay is an act of colonial expansion in violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) and that such annexation is illegal, null and void;
7. Declares that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia with which it is inextricably linked by geographical, historical, economic, cultural and ethnic bonds;
8. Categorically condemns South Africa for the decision to annex Walvis Bay, thereby attempting to undermine the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia.

- (ii) Text of Security Council Resolution 432 (1978), 27 July 1978:**

The Security Council,

Recalling its Resolutions 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976 and 431 (1978) of 27 July 1978,

Reaffirming in particular the provisions of Resolution 385 (1976) relating to the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia,

Taking note of paragraph 7 of General Assembly Resolution 32/9 D of 4 November 1977, in which the Assembly declares that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia,

1. Declares that the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia must be assured through the reintegration of Walvis Bay

within its territory;

2. Decides to lend its full support to the initiation of steps necessary to ensure early reintegration of Walvis Bay into Namibia;
3. Declares that, pending the attainment of this objective, South Africa must not use Walvis Bay in any manner prejudicial to the independence of Namibia or the viability of its economy;
4. Decides to remain seized of the matter until Walvis Bay is fully reintegrated into Namibia.

(iii) Extracts from UN General Assembly Resolution 35/227, 16 March 1981, relating to Walvis Bay:

Question of Namibia

Situation in Namibia resulting from the illegal occupation of the Territory by South Africa

The General Assembly,

Strongly condemning as an act of colonial expansion the decision of South Africa to annex Walvis Bay and to claim sovereignty over the Penguin and other offshore islands, thereby undermining the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia.

3. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, including Walvis Bay and the Penguin and other off-shore islands, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and as recognized in General Assembly Resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2145 (XXI), as well as in subsequent resolutions of the Assembly relating to Namibia, and the legitimacy of their struggle by all means at their disposal, including armed struggle, against the illegal occupation of their Territory by South Africa;
18. Affirms that the off-shore islands of Namibia, including Penguin, Ichaboe, Hollamsbird, Mercury, Long, Seal, Halifax, Possession, Albatross Rock, Pomona, Plum Pudding and Sinclair's are an integral part of Namibia and that any decision by South Africa to claim sovereignty over those islands is illegal, null and void.

(b) Historic and contemporary documents relating to the status of Walvis Bay and various islets, etc, off the Namibian coastline

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- II **British Letters Patent**, for the Annexation to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope of the Port or Settlement of Walfisch Bay, on the West Coast of South Africa, and of certain Territory surrounding the same - Westminster, Dec. 14, 1878.
- III **Act of the Government of the Cape of Good Hope**, to provide for the Annexation to that Colony of the Port or Settlement of Walfisch Bay, on the West Coast of Africa, and of certain Territory surrounding the same, and of certain British Territories on the St. John's River, in South Africa. [Act 35 of 1884].
- IV **Proclamation by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope and High Commissioner for South Africa**, annexing Walfisch Bay to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope - Aug. 7, 1884.
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- XVI **British Letters Patent** appointing the Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope to be Governor of the Island of Ichaboe and the Penguin Islands, and authorizing the Annexation of the aforesaid Islands to that Colony - Westminster, February 27, 1867.
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- XXII **Mandate for German South West Africa.**

I **British Proclamation, taking possession of the Port or Settlement of Walfisch Bay - Walfisch Bay, Mar. 12, 1878.**

Proclamation by Richard Cossantine Dyer, Esquire, Staff-Commander in command of Her Majesty's ship Industry, at present lying at anchor off the Port or Settlement of Walfisch Bay.

Whereas it is expedient that the Port or Settlement of Walfisch Bay, together with a certain portion of the territory surrounding the same, shall be taken possession of on behalf of Her Britannic Majesty Queen Victoria, and, subject to the pleasure of Her Majesty in that behalf, be declared a dependency of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland: Now, therefore, I, Richard Cossantine Dyer, the officer in command of Her Majesty's ship Industry, at present lying at anchor off the said settlement, do, in the name of Her said Britannic Majesty, Queen Victoria, take possession of the said port or settlement of Walfisch Bay, together with the territory herein-

after described and defined, in token whereof I have this day hoisted the British flag over the said port, settlement, and territory, and I do proclaim, declare, and make known that the sovereignty and dominion of Her said Britannic Majesty shall be and the same are hereby declared over the said port, settlement, and territory of Walfisch Bay; and I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that the said territory of Walfisch Bay so taken possession of by me as aforesaid shall be bounded as follows: that is to say, on the south by a line from a point on the coast 15 miles south of Pelican Point to Scheppmansdorf; on the east by a line from Scheppmansdorf to the Rooibank, including the Plateau, and thence to 10 miles inland from the mouth of the Swakop River, on the north by the last 10 miles of the course of the said Swakop River.

This proclamation of Her Majesty's sovereignty and dominion shall take effect forthwith, but shall be subject to Her Majesty's gracious confirmation and disallowance.

God save the Queen!

Given under my hand and seal at Walfisch Bay, this 12th day of March, 1878.

Richard C. Dyer, Staff-Commsnder in command.

II. British Letters Patent, for the Annexation to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope of the Port or Settlement of Walfisch Bay, on the West Coast of South Africa, and of certain Territory surrounding the same - Westminster, Dec. 14, 1878.

Victoria, by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, Empress of India: To all of whom these presents shall come greeting:

Whereas the port of settlement of Walfisch Bay, situated on the West Coast of South Africa to the north of the Tropic of Capricorn, together with certain territory surrounding the same, and bounded as follows, viz: On the south by a line from a point on the coast 15 miles south of Pelican Point to Scheppmansdorf; on the east by a line from Scheppmansdorf to the Rooibank, including the plateau, and thence to 10 miles inland from the mouth of the Swakop River; on the north by the last 10 miles of the course of the said Swakop River, and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean; was, on the 12th day of March, 1878, by Proclamation duly taken possession of for us and on our behalf:

And whereas it is expedient to provide that the said port, settlement, and territory may be annexed to and form part of our Colony of the Cape of Good Hope:

Now we do, by these our Letters Patent, under the Great Seal of Our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, ratify and confirm the aforesaid Proclamation of the 12th day of March, 1878. And we do further authorize our Governor for the time being of our said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, by Proclamation under his hand and the

public seal of the said Colony, to declare that, from and after a day to be therein mentioned, the said port, settlement, and territory shall be annexed to and form part of our said Colony. Provided always that our said Governor issues no such Proclamation as aforesaid until the Legislature of our said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope shall have passed a law providing that the said port, settlement, and territory shall, on the day aforesaid, become part of our said Colony, and subject to the laws in force therein. Provided also that the application of the said laws to the said port, settlement, and territory may be modified either by such Proclamation as aforesaid, or by any law or laws to be from time to time passed by the Legislature of our said Colony for the government of the said port, settlement, and territory so annexed.

2. And we do hereby reserve to us, our heirs and successors, full power and authority, from time to time, to revoke, alter, or amend these our Letters Patent as to us or them shall seem meet; and we do hereby further reserve to us, our heirs and successors, full power and authority to erect by Letters Patent the said port, settlement, and territory into a separate Colony, with or without any adjacent territory, or to include the same in any adjacent British Colony or Colonies for the time being established in South Africa.

3. And we do further direct and enjoin that these our Letters Patent shall be read and proclaimed at such place or places as our said Governor shall think fit within our said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 14th day of December, in the 42nd year of our reign.

By warrant under the Queen's Sign Manual.
C. Romilly

III Act of the Government of the Cape of Good Hope, to provide for the Annexation to that Colony of the Port or Settlement of Walfish Bay, on the West Coast of Africa, and of certain Territory surrounding the same, and of certain British Territories on the St. John's River, in South Africa. [Act 35 of 1884].

Whereas it is expedient that the Port or Settlement of Walfish Bay, situated on the west coast of South Africa, to the north of the Tropic of Capricorn, together with certain territory surrounding the same, and bounded as follows, viz: on the south by a line from a point on the coast 15 miles south of Pelican Point to Scheppmansdorp; [on the east by a line from Scheppmansdorp] to the Rooibank, including the plateau, and thence to 10 miles inland from the mouth of the Swakop River; on the north by the last 10 miles of the course of the said Swakop River, and on the west coast by the Atlantic Ocean, be annexed to this Colony; and whereas by Her Majesty's Letters Patent, bearing date at Westminster the 14th day of December, 1878, and

passed under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Governor for the time being of this Colony was authorized by Proclamation under his hand and the public seal of this Colony to declare that, from and after a day to be herein mentioned, the said Port, Settlement, and territory, as in the said Letters Patent described, should be annexed to and form part of this Colony: And further whereas it is expedient that the port and tidal estuary of the St. John's River in South Africa, and certain lands on the banks of the said river forming part of Her Majesty's dominions be also annexed to this Colony; and whereas by Her Majesty's Letters Patent, bearing date at Westminster, 10th day of October, 1881, and passed under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Governor for the time being of this Colony was authorized by Proclamation under his hand and the public seal of this Colony to declare that, from and after the day to be therein mentioned, the said territories should be annexed to and form part of this Colony, and by Proclamation to signify the limits of the said territory so annexed, provided that in the case of either of the territories to be so annexed, no such proclamation should be issued until the Legislature of this Colony should have passed a law providing that the said territories shall, on the day aforesaid, become part of this Colony and subject to the laws in force therein: and provided also, that the application of the said laws to the said territories might be modified either by such Proclamation as aforesaid or by any law or laws to be from time to time passed by the Legislature of this Colony for the government of the said territories so annexed: And whereas it is expedient that a law should be enacted providing that the said respective territories shall, on the day to be mentioned in that behalf in a Proclamation or Proclamations of the Governor as aforesaid, become part of this Colony: Be it enacted by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly thereof, as follows:

1. From and after such day as the Governor shall, pursuant to the powers in that behalf contained in the said Letters Patent, by Proclamation under his hand and the public seal of this Colony, fix in that behalf the Port or Settlement of Walfish Bay on the West Coast of Africa, and certain territory surrounding the same, the limits of which are defined in the Letters Patent of the 14th December, 1878, aforesaid, and the British territories on the St. John's River, with the limits and name in any such Proclamation signified, shall respectively become and be part of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and subject to the laws in force therein, except as the application of the same to the said respective territories may be modified by any such Proclamation.

2. From and after the annexation of the said respective territories to this Colony as aforesaid, the laws which may be in force therein under and by virtue of the last preceding section may, until

it shall be otherwise provided by Act of Parliament, be repealed, altered, amended, and modified, and new laws applicable to the said territories respectively may be made, and may be repealed, altered, amended, and modified by the Governor; and no Act hereafter passed by the Parliament of this Colony shall extend or be deemed to extend to the said territories or any or either of them unless such Act shall be extended thereto in express words either contained therein or in some other Act of Parliament, or unless the operation thereof shall be extended to any or either of such territories by the Governor, and no Proclamation published in the Gazette after any Proclamation or Proclamations as in the last preceding section mentioned shall be deemed to extend or apply to the said territories, or any or either of them, unless the same shall be declared in express words contained in such or some other Proclamation as aforesaid to extend or apply thereto.

3. The Court of the Eastern Districts shall have the jurisdiction concurrent with that of the Supreme Court in and over all causes arising, and persons residing and being, within the territory of St. John's River so to be annexed as aforesaid.

4. This Act may be cited as the "Walfish Bay and St. John's River Territories Annexation Act, 1884".

IV Proclamation by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope and High Commissioner for South Africa, annexing Walfish Bay to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope - Aug. 7, 1884.

Proclamation by his Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson, a Member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor and Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's Colony of the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, and the Territories and Dependencies thereof, and of Tembuland, Emigrant Tambookieland, Bomvanaland and Galekalend, and Her Majesty's High Commissioner, &c.

Whereas it is enacted by the Act No. 85 of 1884, intituled "An Act to provide for the annexation to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope of the Port or Settlement of Walfish Bay on the West Coast of Africa, and certain territory surrounding the same, and of certain British territories on the St. John's River in South Africa," that from and after such day as the Governor shall, pursuant to the powers in that behalf contained in Her Majesty's Letters Patent, bearing date at Westminster the 14th day of December 1878, by Proclamation under his hand and the public seal of this Colony, fixed in that behalf, the Port or Settlement of Walfish Bay on the Port or Settlement of Walfish Bay on the West Coast of Africa, and certain territory surrounding the same, the limits of which are defined in the Letters Patent aforesaid, shall become and be part of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and subject to the laws in force therein,

except as the application of the same to the said Port or Settlement of Walfish Bay and certain territory surrounding the same may be modified by any such Proclamation;

Now, therefore, I, the Governor aforesaid, under and by virtue of the powers aforesaid, do hereby proclaim, declare, and make known, that I have fixed the date hereof as the day from and after which the said Port or Settlement of Walfish Bay and certain territory surrounding the same, and included under the following limits, that is to say: on the south by a line from a point on the coast 15 miles south of Pelican Point to Scheppman's Dorp; on the east by a line from Scheppman's Dorp to the Roobank, including the plateau, and thence to 10 miles inland from the mouth of the Swakop River; on the north by the last 10 miles of the course of the Swakop River, and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, shall, under the name, designation, and title of Walfish Bay, become and be part of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and subject to the laws in force therein.

2. I do further proclaim a Court of Resident Magistrate to be erected, constituted, and established for and within the said territory of Walfish Bay, and the said Court shall be holden by and before the Resident Magistrate for the territory aforesaid.

God Save the Queen!

Given under my hand and the public seal of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, this 7th day of August, 1884.

(L.S.) Hercules Robinson, Governor.

By command of his Excellency the Governor in Council, Thomas Uppington.

V **Agreement between Germany and Great Britain Respecting Zanzibar, Heligoland and the Spheres of Influence of the Two Countries in Africa, signed at Berlin, 1 July 1890.**

The Undersigned,

Sir Edward Baldwin Malet, Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary;

Sir Henry Percy Anderson, Chief of the African Department of Her Majesty's Foreign Office;

The Chancellor of the German Empire, General von Caprivi; The Privy Councillor in the Foreign Office, Dr. Krauel;

Have after discussion of various questions affecting the Colonial interests of Germany and Great Britain, come to the following agreement on behalf of their respective Governments:

* * *

III. In South-west Africa the sphere in which the exercise of influence is reserved to Germany is bounded -

1. To the south by a line commencing at the mouth of the Orange River, and ascending the north bank of that river to the point of its intersection by the 20th degree of east longitude.

2. To the east by a line commencing at the above-named point,

and following the 20th degree of east longitude to the point of its intersection by the 22nd parallel of south latitude, it runs eastward along that parallel to the point of its intersection by the 21st degree of east longitude, thence it follows that degree northward to the point of its intersection by the 18th parallel of south latitude; it runs eastward along that parallel till it reaches the River Chobe; and descends the centre of the main channel of that river to its junction with the Zambezi, where it terminates.

It is understood that under this arrangement Germany shall have free access from her Protectorate to the Zambezi by a strip of territory which shall at no point be less than 20 English miles in width.

The sphere in which the exercise of influence is reserved to Great Britain is bounded to the west and northwest by the above-mentioned line. It includes Lake Ngami.

The course of the above boundary is traced in general accordance with a Map officially prepared for the British Government in 1889.

The delimitation of the southern boundary of the British territory of Walfish Bay is reserved for arbitration, unless it shall be settled by the consent of the two Powers within two years from the date of the conclusion of this Agreement. The two Powers agree that, pending such settlement, the passage of the subjects and the transit of goods of both Powers through the territory now in dispute shall be free; and the treatment of their subjects in that territory shall be in all respects equal. No dues shall be levied on goods in transit. Until a settlement shall be effected, the territory shall be considered neutral.

VI Act to make provision as to certain matters in respect of the relations between the Union and the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa. [Act 24 of 1922].

1. Administration of and legislation for Walvis Bay as if it were part of the mandated territory -

(1) From a date to be fixed by the Governor General by proclamation in the Gazette (which date shall also further be notified by the Administrator of the mandated territory in the Official Gazette thereof) the port and settlement of Walvis Bay which forms part of the province of the Cape of Good Hope shall be administered as if it were part of the mandated territory and as if inhabitants of the said port and settlement were inhabitants of the mandated territory; and the powers conferred upon the Governor-General by Section 2 of Act No. 35 of 1884 of the Cape of Good Hope to repeal, alter, amend or modify any law in force in that port and settlement and to make new laws applicable thereto may be delegated by the Governor-General to the Admini-

strator of the mandated territory to the intent that the said Administrator may, by the repeal, alteration, amendment or modification of laws and the making of new laws, bring the laws in force in that port or settlement into conformity with the laws of the mandated territory.

(2) Every proclamation by the said Administrator making such a law and every regulation made by him in respect of the said port and settlement shall be deemed to be sufficiently promulgated and published in the Official Gazette of the mandated territory.

* * *

(4) No Act of the Union Parliament passed after the date fixed as aforesaid shall apply to the said port and settlement unless by such Act it is specifically expressed so to apply or unless it is declared to apply by proclamation of the Governor-General in the Gazette.

(5) As from the date fixed as aforesaid the said port and settlement shall for all judicial purposes be regarded as forming part of the mandated territory and not as forming part of the province of the Cape of Good Hope.

* * *

(10) This Act may be cited for all purposes as "The South-West Africa Affairs Act, 1922".

VII Walvis Bay Administration. By His Royal Highness the Governor-General. [Proclamation 145 of 1922]

Under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by subsection (1) of Section 1 of the South-West Africa Affairs Act, 1922, I do hereby fix the First day of October, 1922, as the date from which the port and settlement of Walvis Bay, which forms part of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, shall be administered as if it were part of the mandated territory of South-West Africa and as if inhabitants of the said port and settlement were inhabitants of the said territory.

I do further, under and by virtue of the authority aforesaid, as from the said First day of October, 1922, delegate to the Administrator of the mandated territory of South-West Africa the powers conferred upon the Governor-General by Section 2 of Act No. 35 of 1884 of the Cape of Good Hope, to repeal, alter, amend or modify any law in force in the port and settlement of Walvis Bay and to make new laws applicable to that port and settlement to the intent that the said Administrator may, by the repeal, alteration, amendment or modification of laws and the making of new laws bring the laws in force in the port and settlement of Walvis Bay into conformity with the laws of the mandated territory of South-West Africa.

God Save the King!

Given under my Hand and the Great Seal of the Union of South Africa at Durban this 11th day of September, One Thousand Nine

Hundred and Twenty-Two.

Arthur Frederick,
Governor-General

By Command of His Royal Highness the Governor-General-in-Council.
J.C. Smuts.

VIII Walvis Bay Administration. [Proclamation 30 of 1922]

Whereas His Royal Highness the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa has under and by virtue of the authority vested in him by sub-section (1) of section one of the South-West Africa Affairs Act, 1922, been pleased to fix by Proclamation dated at Durban on the 11th day of September, 1922, and published in the Gazette of the Union dated 15th September, 1922, the First day of October, 1922, as the date from which the port and settlement of Walvis Bay, which forms part of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope of the Union, shall be administered as if it were part of the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa and as if its inhabitants were inhabitants of the said Territory;

And whereas under and by virtue of the authority aforesaid, His Royal Highness the Governor-General of the Union has been pleased as from the said First day of October, 1922, to delegate to me as Administrator of the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa, the powers conferred upon him by section two of Act No. 35 of 1884 of the Cape of Good Hope, to repeal, alter, amend or modify any law in force in the port and settlement of Walvis Bay and to make new laws applicable to that port and settlement to the intent that I may, by the repeal, alteration, amendment or modification of laws and the making of new laws bring the laws in force in the port and settlement of Walvis Bay into conformity with the laws of the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa;

Now therefore, I do hereby proclaim, declare and make known as follows:

1. The said port and settlement of Walvis Bay shall be deemed to form portion of the District of Swakopmund created within this Territory under the provisions of section two of the Magistrates' Courts Act, 1917, of the Union Parliament as applied to this Territory by section nine of the Administration of Justice Proclamation, 1919, and Proclamation No. 40 of 1920, dated the 2nd day of September, 1920, shall be and is hereby amended accordingly.

2. (1) From and after the First day of October, 1922, all laws now enforced within the said port and settlement of Walvis Bay shall be and are hereby repealed and from that date the law as existing and applied in the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa on that date shall be of force and effect within the said port and settlement.

(2) From and after the said First day of October, 1922, every enactment issued by the Administrator of the Territory of South-West Africa having the force of law within the said Territory shall be of

force and effect within the said port and settlement unless the operation thereof within the said port and settlement is expressly excluded.

3. Every suit and proceeding civil or criminal pending in the Court of the Magistrate of Walvis Bay or in the Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa at the date of the taking effect of this Proclamation shall be regarded as having by virtue of this Proclamation been removed into the Court of the Magistrate of the District of Swakopmund or the High Court of South-West Africa as the case may be and may be carried on, tried, heard and determined in such lastmentioned courts in like manner as nearly as may be as if they had been instituted or taken in those courts subsequent to the date of the taking effect of this Proclamation provided that -

(a) All suits and proceedings relating to rights, privileges, obligations or liabilities acquired, accrued or incurred prior to the First day of October, 1922, shall be determined according to the law in force in the said port and settlement at the time of acquisition, accrual or incurrence; and

(b) All offences committed prior to the taking effect of this Proclamation shall be tried and determined according to the criminal law in force in the said port and settlement prior to the First day of October, 1922.

4. (1) Any license, permit or authority issued under the authority of any law in force in the said port and settlement before the First day of October, 1922, shall remain valid for the period for which it was issued and any duty, charge, fee or payment payable thereunder shall remain payable but no additional duty, charge, fee or payment shall become payable thereon by virtue of the provisions hereof.

(2) When any such licence, permit or authority is renewable or the issue of a similar licence, permit or authority is permissible under the law in force in the said port and settlement after the 30th day of September, 1922, but such renewal or issue cannot be immediately granted it shall be lawful for the person having lawful authority to grant such renewal or issue a temporary licence, permit or authority for such period as may elapse before such renewal or issue is possible subject to such payment as the Administrator may direct.

5. All taxes, duties, dues and revenue of every kind and nature payable within the said port and settlement and due to or claimable by the Union Government or the Provincial Administration of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope at the date of the taking effect of this Proclamation shall become, be and continue claimable by and payable to the Administration of South-West Africa and shall be collected and accounted for in the like manner as the taxes, dues and revenue according to the nature and kind thereof respectively are or

ought to be collected in the Territory of South-West Africa.

6. This Proclamation may be cited for all purposes as the Walvis Bay Administration Proclamation, 1922, and shall commence and take effect on the First day of October, 1922.

God Save the King.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Pretoria this 2nd day of October, 1922.

Gijs. R. Hofmeyr,
Administrator.

IX Act to amend the South-West Africa Affairs Act, 1922. [Act 24 of 1922]

1. Section one of the South-West Africa Affairs Act, 1922, is hereby amended by the substitution for sub-section (4) of the following sub-section:

(4) Any Act of Parliament or proclamation by the Governor General, passed or issued after the date fixed as aforesaid, which is in force or which may come into operation in the mandated territory, shall, as long as and to the extent to which it is in force also in the said port and settlement, unless the Act or proclamation otherwise provides.

2. This Act shall be called the South-West Africa Affairs Amendment Act, 1944.

X New Provision for the Administration of Walvis Bay. [Proclamation R.202 of 1977]

Whereas from 7 August 1884 the port and settlement of Walvis Bay formed part of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and was administered and legislated for as such until 30 May 1920;

And whereas from 31 May 1910 the said port and settlement has formed part of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope and was administered and legislated for as such until 30 September 1922;

And whereas from 1 October 1922 and in terms of the South-West Africa Affairs Act, 1922 (Act 24 of 1922), the said port and settlement was for reasons of expediency administered and legislated for as if it were part of the Territory of South-West Africa and as if inhabitants thereof were inhabitants of the said Territory;

And whereas it is expedient and desirable again to administer and legislate for the said port and settlement as part of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope;

Now therefore, under section 38 of the South-West Africa Constitution Act, 1968 (Act 39 of 1968), I make the laws set out in the Annexure.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Thirtieth day of August, One thousand Nine hundred

and Seventy-seven.

N. Diederichs: State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Council:

B.J. Vorster.

ANNEXURE:

Definitions:

1. In this Proclamation, unless the context otherwise indicates -

* * *

(iii) "province" means the Province of the Cape of Good Hope;

* * *

(v) "Territory" means the Territory of South-West Africa;

(vi) "Walvis Bay" means the port and settlement of Walvis Bay mentioned in the Walvis Bay and St. John's River Territories Annexation Act, 1884 (Act 35 of 1884 of the Cape of Good Hope), and includes the territory surrounding it and bounded as described in the said Act.

Administration of Walvis Bay, and application of laws in force therein and in the province:

2. (1) Walvis Bay shall cease to be administered as if it were part of the Territory and as if inhabitants thereof were inhabitants of the Territory and shall again be administered as part of the province.

(2) Any law in force in the said Walvis Bay on the date immediately prior to the date of coming into operation of this subparagraph shall, subject to the provisions of paragraph 4, continue to apply therein until repealed, or except in so far as it may be amended or modified, in terms of this Proclamation or any other law.

(3) Any law in force in the province and not already in operation in Walvis Bay or any law coming into force in the province shall, subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, also apply in the said Walvis Bay.

* * *

Electoral Matters:

5. Walvis Bay shall cease to be part of the Electoral Division of Omaruru for the election of members of the House of Assembly and be deemed not to have been part thereof at all relevant times, and shall become part of the Electoral Division of Namakwaland and be deemed to have been part thereof at all relevant times.

* * *

Short title and commencement:

8. This Proclamation shall be called the Walvis Bay Administration Proclamation and shall come into operation on 1 September 1977.

Schedule Laws Repealed or Amended

No. and year of Law	Title	Extent of repeal or amendment
Act 24 of 1922	South-West Africa Affairs Act, 1922	The repeal of the whole
Act 39 of 1968	South-West Africa Constitution Act, 1968	The repeal of section 36

XI Ordinance for declaring certain Guano to be the Property of Her Majesty the Queen. [Ordinance 4 of 1845]

Whereas considerable quantities of the substance commonly called "guano" have been found in and upon certain islands or rocks in the sea within the limits of this Colony and its dependencies: And whereas it is possible that further quantities of the said substance may exist and be hereafter discovered at other places within the said limits: And whereas doubts exist whether the said substance being merely or mainly the dropping of unreclaimed birds of a base nature can in law, though a merchantable article, be deemed to be property or possessed of legal value: And whereas it is expedient that such doubts should be removed that all of the said substance lying and being in and upon any place or territory within the limits aforesaid, and not granted or belonging to any private individual, should be declared to be the property of Her Majesty the Queen, and that provision should be made for preventing or punishing the unauthorized removal of the same: Be it therefore enacted and declared by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, that all of the said substance commonly called guano which may now or at any time hereafter be found lying and being in or upon any island, rock, or other place not being the property of any private person or persons and within the limits of this Colony and its dependencies, shall be deemed and taken to be property and to belong to and be in the lawful possession of Her Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors.

* * *

6. And it be enacted that this Ordinance shall commence and take effect from and after the date of the promulgation thereof [Jan. 30, 1845].

XII Proclamation by His Excellency Sir George Grey. [Proclamation 53 of 1861]

Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Colony of the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, and of the Territories and Dependencies

thereof, and Vice-Admiral of the same, and Her Majesty's High Commissioner, &c., &c., &c., &c.

Whereas, the Island of Ichaboe was, on the 21st day of June last past, taken possession of for and in the name of Her Britannic Majesty Queen Victoria, and declared a dependency of the Cape of Good Hope: And whereas it is expedient that, subject to the pleasure of Her Majesty in that behalf, Her dominion [sic] shall also be declared over a cluster of small Islands or Rocks adjacent to the said Island of Ichaboe, now therefore, I do hereby proclaim, declare, and make known, that the sovereignty and dominion of Her said Britannic Majesty, Queen Victoria, shall be, and the same are hereby declared over the following Islands or Rocks adjacent to Ichaboe, that is to say, Hollamsbird, Mercury, Long Island, Seal Island, Penguin Island, Halifax, Possession, Albatross Rock, Pomona, Plumpudding, and Roastbeef, or Sinclair's Island. This Proclamation of Her Majesty's sovereignty and dominion to take effect forthwith, but to be subject to Her Majesty's gracious confirmation and disallowance.

God Save the Queen!

Given under the Public Seal of the Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, this 12th day of August, 1861.

G. Grey, Governor.

By command of His Excellency the Governor,

Richard Southey,

Acting Colonial Secretary.

XIII Proclamation by His Excellency Sir Philip Edmond Wodehouse.
[Proclamation 27 of 1864]

Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Governor and Commander in Chief of Her Majesty's Colony of the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, and of the Territories and Dependencies thereof, and Vice-Admiral of the same, and Her Majesty's High Commissioner, &c., &c., &c.

Whereas, by a Proclamation bearing date the 12th day of August, 1861, it was proclaimed and declared that the Sovereignty of Her Britannic Majesty Queen Victoria should be, and the same was thereby, declared over certain Islands on the Coast of Africa, that is to say, Hollamsbird, Mercury, Long Island, Seal Island, Penguin Island, Halifax, Possession, Albatross Rock, Pomona, Plumpudding and Roastbeef, or Sinclair's Island, and that such Proclamation should be subject to Her Majesty's gracious confirmation and disallowance; and whereas such Proclamation has been recently brought to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government:

Now, therefore, I do hereby proclaim and declare that Her Majesty has been pleased to disallow the said Proclamation, and that the several Islands, Islets, and Rocks referred to therein are not be viewed as British Territory.

God Save the Queen!

Given under the Public Seal of the Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, this 9th day of May, 1864.

E.E. Wodehouse, Governor.

By Command of His Excellency the Governor,
Rawson W. Rawson,
Colonial Secretary.

XIV Proclamation by His Excellency Sir Philip Edmond Wodehouse. [Proclamation 66 of 1866]

Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, and of the Territories and Dependencies thereof, and Vice-Admiral of the same, and Her Majesty's High Commissioner, &c., &c., &c.

Whereas the Island of Ichsboe was, on the 21st day of June, 1861, taken possession of for and in the name of Her Britannic Majesty Queen Victoria, and declared a dependency of the Cape of Good Hope: And whereas by a Proclamation bearing date the 12th day of August in the same year, it was proclaimed and declared that the Sovereignty of Her said Majesty should be, and the same was thereby declared over certain Islands, Islets, or Rocks on the Coast of Africa, adjacent to the said Island of Ichsboe, that is to say: Hollamsbird, Mercury, Long Island, Seal Island, Penguin Island, Halifax, Possession, Albatross Rock, Pomona, Plumpudding and Roastbeef, or Sinclair's Islands, and that such Proclamation should be subject to Her Majesty's gracious confirmation or disallowance: And whereas Her Majesty was pleased on such lastmentioned Proclamation being brought to her knowledge to disallow the same: And whereas by a Proclamation bearing date of the 9th day of May, 1864, such disallowance was publicly notified, and it was thereby declared that the said several Islands, Islets, or Rocks in the said Proclamations of the 12th day of August, 1861, and the 9th day of May, 1864, respectively, should not be viewed as British territory: And whereas it has, since the date of the Proclamation lastly hereinbefore recited, seemed good to her said Majesty that the same Islands, Islets, or Rocks should be taken possession of for and on behalf of Her Majesty: And whereas it has also seemed and does seem to Her Majesty that it is expedient, and that it is for the interest as well of Her Majesty's dominions and subjects, especially of Her said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and the inhabitants thereof, that the same Islands, Islets, or Rocks, and the said Island of Ichsboe, should be annexed to and become and form part of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope: And whereas, pursuant to orders in that behalf received, Charles Codrington Forsyth, Esquire, Captain of Her Majesty's Steam Frigate Valorous, did on the 5th day of May last past proceed to Penguin Island aforesaid, being one of the said Islands, Islets, or Rocks, and did there, by Proclamation bearing date the 5th day of May, take possession of the same,

in the name of all the said Islands, Islets, or Rocks hereinbefore and in the said Proclamations of the 12th day of August, 1861, and the 9th day of May, 1864, respectively mentioned, for and on behalf of Her Majesty, and did thereby declare the sovereignty and dominion of Her Majesty over all the same Islands, Islets, or Rocks: Now therefore, I do hereby proclaim and make known that the said Island of Ichaboe, and the said Islands, Islets, or Rocks adjacent thereto, that is to say: Hollamsbird, Mercury, Long Island, Seal Island, Penguin Island, Halifax, Possession, Albatross Rock, Pomona, Plum-pudding and Roastbeef, or Sinclair's Islands, shall be from the day of the date hereof, and the same are hereby annexed to and form part of the said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

God Save the Queen!

Given under the Public Seal of the Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, this 16th day of July, 1866.

P.E. Wodehouse, Governor.

By command of His Excellency the Governor,

R. Southey,

Colonial Secretary.

XV Act to Confirm the Annexation to this Colony of the Islands, Islets, or Rocks, on the South-West Coast of South Africa, Called Ichaboe, Holland's Bird, Mercury, Long Island, Seal Island, Penguin Island, Halifax, Possession Island, Albatross Rock, Pomona, Plumpudding and Roast Beef or Sinclair's Island. [Act 1 of 1873]

Whereas the Island of Ichaboe on the southwest coast of South Africa was, on the twenty-first day of June, 1861, duly taken possession of for behoof of Her Britannic Majesty Queen Victoria, and on her behalf: And whereas on the fifth day of May, 1866, certain other islands, islets, and rocks on the said southwest coast of South Africa, that is to say: Holland's Bird, Mercury, Long Island, Seal Island, Penguin Island, Halifax, Possession Island, Albatross Rock, Pomona, Plumpudding and Roast Beef or Sinclair's Island, hereinafter called the Penguin Islands, were also duly taken possession of for behoof of her said Majesty and on her behalf: And whereas by a proclamation dated the sixteenth day of July, 1866, by His Excellency Sir Philip Edmond Wodehouse, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, then the Governor of this Colony, the said Island of Ichaboe and the said Penguin Islands were declared to be annexed to and form part of this Colony: And whereas it is expedient that the declarations in the said proclamation contained should be confirmed by the Parliament of this Colony by an Act thereof: Be it therefore enacted by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly thereof, as follows:

I. The declarations contained in the said proclamation of the sixteenth day of July, 1866, shall be, and the same are hereby con-

firmed; and the said Island of Ichaboe and the said Penguin Islands shall be held to have been duly annexed to and have formed part of the Colony from and after the date of the said proclamation.

II. Notwithstanding such annexation as in this Act is contained, the said Islands shall for the purposes of the laws relating to the Customs of this Colony be deemed to be foreign ports respectively, until the Parliament shall otherwise determine.

III. This Act may be cited for all purposes as the "Annexation of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands Act, 1873."

XVI **British Letters Patent** appointing the Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope to be Governor of the Island of Ichaboe and the Penguin Islands, and authorizing the Annexation of the aforesaid Islands to that Colony - Westminster, February 27, 1867.

Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Whereas the Island of Ichaboe, on the southwest coast of South Africa, was on the 21st day of June, 1861, duly taken possession of for us and on our behalf;

And whereas on the 5th day of May, 1866, certain other islands, islets, and rocks on the said southwest coast of South Africa, that is to say, Hollandsbird, Mercury, Long Island, Seal Island, Penguin Island, Halifax, Possession, Albatross Rock, Pomona, Plumpudding and Roast Beef or Sinclair's Island, which said islands, islets, and rocks are hereinafter called the Penguin Islands, were also duly taken possession of for us and on our behalf;

And whereas, by Proclamation, dated the 16th day of July, 1866, by His Excellency Sir Philip Edmund Wodehouse, Governor and Commander-in-chief of our Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and of the territories and dependencies thereon and Vice-Admiral of the same, the said Island of Ichaboe and the said Penguin Islands were declared to be annexed to, and to form part of, the said colony of the Cape of Good Hope;

And whereas doubts are entertained touching the legality of the said annexation of the said Island of Ichaboe and the said Penguin Islands by Proclamation and it is expedient that such doubts should be removed;

And whereas it is further expedient that the said Island of Ichaboe and the said Penguin Islands should be annexed to, and form part of, the said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, if the Legislative Council and House of Assembly thereof should desire such annexation;

And whereas it is expedient that, until such annexation, the affairs of the said Island of Ichaboe and of the said Penguin islands should be administered by a Governor, to be for that purpose appointed by us;

Now know ye, that in consideration of the premises, we of our

special grace, mere motion, and certain knowledge, have thought fit to constitute and appoint, and by these presents do constitute and appoint, the Governor and Commander-in-chief for the time being of our said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope to be the Governor of the said Island of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands, and we do hereby invest in him all the powers and authorities which by these presents are given and granted to the Governor for the time being of the said Island of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands.

And we do hereby further declare our pleasure to be, that in the event of the death or incapacity of the said Governor and Commander-in-chief of the said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, or, in the event of his absenting himself from the said Colony otherwise than for the purpose of visiting the said Island of Ichaboe or the said Penguin Islands, then and in either of these cases the officer for the time being who may be administering the Government of the said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope shall be and he is hereby constituted and appointed Governor for the time being of the said Island of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands.

And we do hereby further authorize and empower the said Governor of the said Island of Ichaboe and the Penguin Islands to make all such rules and regulations as may lawfully be made by our authority for the order, peace, and good government of the said Island of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands, subject, nevertheless, to any instructions which may from time to time be hereafter given him under our sign manual and signet, or through one of our Principal Secretaries of State.

And we do hereby further authorize and empower the said Governor of the said Island of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands, so long as he shall be Governor thereof, by any instrument under his hand and seal, to make leases and other dispositions for a term or terms of years, of any of the said Islands of Ichaboe or Penguin Islands, as aforesaid, or any part or parts thereof, and to issue licenses authorizing the person or persons designated therein to take guano or other fertilising substances or produce from the said Islands of Ichaboe or Penguin Islands, or any of them, and to insert in such leases, dispositions, or licenses, as the case may be, all such reservations by way of rent, or royalty, or otherwise, and all such conditions, exceptions, and stipulations as may to him seem advisable: Provided always that, in the execution of the powers hereby conferred on him, he shall conform to such instructions as he may from time to time receive from us, under our sign manual and signet, or through one of our Principal Secretaries of State.

And we do hereby further authorize and empower the said Governor, as he may deem expedient, under his hand and seal, to confirm any grant, disposition, lease or license, which may have been made or issued before the date of these presents, to any person or persons in respect to the said Island of Ichaboe or the said Penguin Islands, or

any of them, or any part thereof, by any Governor of the said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, or to accept a surrender of any such grant, disposition, lease, or licence, and to make and issue any new disposition, lease, or licence to the persons surrendering the same, or their nominees, under the powers and in the manner hereinbefore declared.

And we do hereby further declare our pleasure to be that if any time hereinafter the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of the said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope shall, by resolution or otherwise, request the said Governor of the said Island of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands to transfer the same to the said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, for the purpose of their being annexed to and forming part of the said Colony, and shall by law provide that upon such transfer and annexation all laws which may be in force in the said Colony on the day on which the said Island of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands shall be annexed thereto shall immediately upon such annexation take effect and be in force in and upon the said islands so annexed, then the said Governor shall, and he is hereby authorized and empowered to transfer to the said Colony the said Island of Ichaboe and the said Penguin Islands, and from and after the date of such transfer the said islands so transferred shall be deemed and taken to be, and shall be, annexed to and form part of the said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

And we further declare our pleasure to be that the said Governor of the said Island of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands shall declare by Proclamation the said transfer, and from and after the date of such Proclamation these presents shall cease and be of none effect so far as relates to the appointment of a Governor of the said Islands of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands and his powers thereunder, but not further or otherwise, and not so as to affect any instruments, acts, matters, or things made or done by him while such Governor as aforesaid, in pursuance of the powers hereby conferred on him.

And we do hereby reserve to us, our heirs and successors, full power and authority from time and time to revoke, alter, or amend these our Letters Patent, as to us or them shall seem meet.

In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 27th day of February, in the 30th year of our reign.

By warrant under the Queen's sign manual.

C. Romilly.

XVII Act to repeal "The Annexation of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands Act, 1873," and to make other provisions in lieu thereof. [Act 4 of 1874].

Whereas the Island of Ichaboe, on the southwest coast of South Africa, was, on the 21st day of June, 1861, duly taken possession of for and on behalf of Her Majesty Queen Victoria: And whereas, on the

5th day of May, 1866, certain other islands, islets, and rocks on the said coast, viz., Hollandsbird, Mercury, Long Island, Seal Island, Penguin Island, Halifax Possession, Albatross Rock, Pomona, and Plum-pudding and Roast Beef, or Sinclair's Island, hereinafter called the Penguin Islands, were also duly taken possession of for and on behalf of Her said Majesty: and whereas, by a Proclamation dated the 16th day of July, 1866, by his Excellency Sir Philip Edmund Wodehouse, the then Governor of this Colony, the said Island of Ichaboe and the said Penguin Islands were declared to be annexed to and to form part of this Colony: And whereas doubts having been entertained touching the legality of the said annexation by the said Proclamation, Her said Majesty, by Her Letters Patent dated the 27th day of February, 1867, after reciting (amongst other things the said doubts) that it was expedient that the same should be removed, and that the said islands should be annexed to and form part of this Colony, if the Legislative Council and House of Assembly thereof should desire such annexation, and that until such annexation the affairs of the said islands should be administered by a Governor, to be for that purpose appointed by Her said Majesty, did constitute and appoint the Governor and Commander-in-chief for the time being of this Colony to be the Governor of the said islands, with certain powers therein mentioned, and did declare her pleasure to be that if at any time thereafter the said Legislative Council and House of Assembly should by resolution or otherwise request the said Governor of the said islands to transfer the same to this Colony for the purpose of their being annexed to and forming part thereof, and should by law provide that upon such transfer and annexation all laws which might be in force in this Colony on the day on which the said islands should be annexed thereto should immediately upon such annexation take effect and be in force in and upon the said islands so annexed, the said Governor should and was thereby authorized and empowered to transfer to this Colony the said islands, and from and after the date of such transfer the said islands so transferred should be deemed and taken to be, and should be, annexed to and form part of this Colony: And whereas it is expedient that the said islands shall be annexed to and form part of this Colony, and that, for the purpose of enabling the said annexation to be carried out according to the said Letters Patent, the said "Annexation of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands Act, 1873", which was passed in ignorance of the said doubts and of the said Letters Patent, should be repealed: Be it enacted by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, with the advice and consent of Legislative Council and House of Assembly thereof, as follows:

1. "The Annexation of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands Act, 1873," is hereby repealed.
2. Upon the transfer and annexation of the said Island of Ichaboe and the said Penguin Islands to this Colony, all laws which may then be in force in this Colony shall immediately upon such annexation

take effect and be in force in and upon the said islands so annexed.

3. This Act may for all purposes be cited as "The Ichaboe and Penguin Islands Act, 1874."

XVIII Act to exempt temporarily the Island of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands from the operation of the Customs Laws of that Colony. [Act 5 of 1874]

Whereas in case of the annexation of the Island of Ichaboe and certain other islands, islets, and rocks following, and hereafter called the Penguin Islands, to wit: Hollandsbird, Mercury, Long Island, Seal Island, Penguin Island, Halifax Possession, Albatross Rock, Pomona, and Plumpudding and Roast Beef, or Sinclair's Island, it is expedient that the Customs Laws of this Colony should not at present be in force therein: Be it enacted by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly thereof, as follows:

1. Notwithstanding that the said Island of Ichaboe and the said Penguin Islands may be annexed to this Colony, the said islands shall, for the purposes of the laws relating to the Customs of this Colony, be deemed to be foreign ports respectively until the Parliament shall otherwise determine.

2. This Act may for all purposes be cited as "The Ichaboe and Penguin Islands Act, 1874."

XIX Proclamation by His Excellency Sir Henry Barkly. [Proclamation 45 of 1874]

Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Colony of the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, and of the Territories and Dependencies thereof; and Her Majesty's High Commissioner, &c., &c., &c.

Whereas by Letters Patent of Her Majesty Queen Victoria bearing date the 27th day of February, 1867, after reciting, amongst other things, that the Island of Ichaboe, on the Southwest Coast of South Africa, had been duly taken possession of for her said Majesty and on her behalf, on the 26th day of June, 1861, and that on the 5th day of May, 1866, certain other Islands, Islets, and Rocks, on the said Southwest Coast of South Africa, that is to say, Hollandsbird, Mercury, Long Island, Seal Island, Penguin Island, Halifax, Possession, Albatross Rock, Pomona, and Plumpudding and Roastbeef, or Sinclair's Island (therein and hereinafter called the Penguin Islands), had also been duly taken possession of for her said Majesty and on her behalf; and that by a Proclamation dated the 16th day of July, 1866, by His Excellency Sir Philip Edmond Wodehouse, the then Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the Territories and Dependencies thereof, and Vice-Admiral of the same, the said Island of Ichaboe and the said Penguin

Islands were declared to be annexed to and form part of the said Colony; and that doubts were entertained touching the legality of the said annexation of the said Islands by Proclamation, and that it was expedient that such doubts should be removed, and that the said Islands should be annexed to and form part of the said Colony, if the Legislative Council and House of Assembly thereof desire such annexation, and that until such annexation it was expedient that the affairs of the said Island should be administered by a Governor to be for that purpose appointed by her said Majesty: her said Majesty did in and by the said Letters Patent constitute and appoint the Governor and Commander-in-Chief for the time being of the said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope to be the Governor of the said Island of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands, and did thereby vest in him all the powers and authorities which by the said Letters Patent were given and granted to the Governor for the time being of the said Island of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands, and did, (amongst other things), declare her pleasure to be that if at any time thereafter the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of the said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope should by resolution or otherwise request the Governor of the said Island of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands to transfer the same to the said Colony for the purpose of their being annexed to and forming part of the said Colony, and should by law provide that upon such transfer and annexation, all laws which might be in force in the said Colony on the day on which the said Island of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands should be annexed thereto, should immediately upon such annexation take effect and be in force in and upon the said Islands as annexed, then the said Governor should be and he was thereby authorized and empowered to transfer to the said Colony the said Island of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands, and from and after the date of such transfer the said Islands so transferred should be deemed and taken to be and should be annexed to and form part of the said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope: And whereas her said Majesty did by the said Letters Patent further declare her pleasure to be that the said Governor of the said Island of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands should declare by Proclamation the said transfer, and from and after the date of such Proclamation the said Letters Patent should cease and be of none effect, so far as related to the appointment of a Governor of the said Islands of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands and his powers thereunder, but not further or otherwise, and not so as to affect any instruments, acts, matters, or things, made or done by him while such Governor as aforesaid in pursuance of the powers thereby conferred on him.

And whereas the said Legislative Council and House of Assembly of the said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope have, by resolutions bearing date respectively the 16th and 11th days of June, 1874, requested me to transfer the said Island of Ichaboe and Penguin Islands to the said Cape of Good Hope for the purpose of their being annexed to and

forming part of the said Colony, and have by law, to wit, by the "Ichaboe and Penguin Islands Act, 1874," provided that upon such transfer and annexation all laws which may then be in force in the said Colony shall immediately upon such annexation take effect and be in force in and upon the said islands so annexed.

I do hereby, pursuant to the said Letters Patent, proclaim, and make known, and declare, that I have, by an instrument bearing even date herewith, executed under and by virtue of the powers and authority vested in me by the said Letters Patent, transferred the said Island of Ichaboe and the said Penguin Islands to the said Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and that the said Islands shall henceforth be deemed, and taken to be, and shall be, annexed to and form part of the said Colony.

God Save the Queen!

Given under my hand and the Public Seal of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, this 9th day of July, 1874.

By command of His Excellency the Governor in Council,
Henry Barkly, Governor.

J.C. Molteno,
Colonial Secretary.

- XX** German Proclamation placing under the Protection of the German Emperor the Territory acquired by M. Luderitz on the Southwest Coast of Africa - Aug. 16, 1884.
(Translation.)

His Majesty the German Emperor William I, King of Prussia, has commanded me to proceed to Angra Pequeria with His Majesty's two-decked corvette the Elisabeth, to place under the direct protection of His Majesty the territory belonging to M.A. Luderitz on the West Coast of Africa.

The territory of M.A. Luderitz will, according to official communication, be taken to extend from the north bank of the Orange River to the 26° south latitude, 20 geographical miles inland, including the islands belonging thereto by the law of nations.

In carrying out His Majesty's commands I herewith hoist the Imperial German flag, and thus place the abovementioned territory under the protection and sovereignty of His Majesty the Emperor William I, and call upon all present to give three cheers for His Majesty.

Long live his Majesty the Emperor William I. SCHERING,
Captain at Sea, and
Commandant of His Imperial Majesty's ship Elisabeth.

- XXI** Protocol between Germany and Great Britain for the Settlement of British Claims in Territories under German Protection in South-West Africa, signed at Berlin, 15 July 1886.

The undersigned Commissioners, having met and discussed fully

those British claims in the territories placed under German protection in South-West Africa, upon which Messrs. Bieber and Shippard, the Commissioners at Cape Town, had disagreed, agree to submit to their Governments the following recommendations:

1. Ebony Mines

That if Robert Lewis or his assigns desire to work this mine, he or they be at liberty to do so, and to convey the ore to the coast, until the 21st of September, 1898, without payment to, and without hindrance or interference by, the Colonial Company.

2. Sandwich Harbour

That Mr. Anders Ohlson (trading as A. Ohlson and Co.) and Messrs. De Pass, Spence, and Co., respectively, be held to have acquired a full title in perpetuity for themselves and their assigns to the lands and buildings which they respectively have heretofore occupied in Sandwich Harbour for the purposes of the fishery, together with the right to each firm of taking at any time any other sites on the shore of this harbour, and of erecting buildings thereon, should the sand, as has happened before, shift so as to render useless the land which is now, or at any future time may be, occupied by the buildings; it being understood that any site so taken becomes the absolute property of Messrs. De Pass, Spence, and Co., or of Mr. Ohlson, or their respective assigns, as the case requires, and that they have no further claim to the land which they previously occupied; but that neither firm nor their assigns are entitled to take any site occupied by other persons, nor to take any site the occupation of which would interfere with other persons.

That it should be further recognized that the firms of A. Ohlson and De Pass, Spence and Co. have the right of coast fishery in Sandwich Harbour, and along the coast between Sandwich Harbour and the point 23°20' south latitude, 14°31' east longitude, with the right of landing on and using for fishery purposes any part of the coast not in the private possession of third parties, subject always to the observance of any laws and regulations which may be issued by the competent authorities. The said firms shall not, however, have any right to hinder other persons from also fishing there, or from establishing themselves in Sandwich Harbour.

3. Hottentot Bay

That Messrs. De Pass, Spence, and Co. have in like manner acquired a full title in perpetuity for themselves and their assigns to the guano deposits at Hottentot Bay, and to the land which they now occupy there for carrying on fishery or collecting of guano.

4. Unnamed Islets and Rocks

That Messrs. De Pass, Spence, and Co., and their assigns, be free to make use, as they have hitherto done, of these islets and rocks, including Shark Island, without payment until the expiry of their lease, that is to say, until the 30th June, 1895; and if the British Government waive all claim to the sovereignty of these islands and

rocks, and acknowledge the sovereignty of Germany over them, then that the latter Power should consent to confer no private rights over them to any persons other than the lessees for the time being of the 12 British islands named in the Letters Patent of the 27th February, 1867.

Upon this understanding the British Commissioner will recommend his Government to acknowledge forthwith the sovereignty of Germany in these islets and rocks.

5. Mainland Claims

That Messrs. De Pass, Spence, and Co. should be held to have acquired for themselves and their assigns a full title in perpetuity to the Pomona mine, with 2 English miles of land round the mine on every side; and that they should have the right to use the lagoon for their vessels, and to make use of the land round the lagoon for all purposes as they have done hitherto, without payment and without hindrance or disturbance by the Colonial Company, and if irreconcilable disputes between the firm and the Company should arise as to the proper exercise of these rights on land, then that the chief officer of the German Government within the Protectorate shall allot to Messrs. De Pass, Spence, and Co., or their assigns, sufficient land for the purposes of their business, conveniently situated on the shore of the lagoon, and that the land so allotted shall become the absolute property in perpetuity of the persons to whom the same is allotted, but that such allotting of land shall in no way affect or lessen their right to use the lagoon for their vessels.

Berlin, July 15, 1886.

Charles S. Scott.

R. Krauel.

Sir E. Malet to Count Bismarck:

M. Le Secrétaire d'Etat,

Berlin, October 23, 1886.

Her Majesty's Government have had under their consideration the Protocol signed by Dr. Krauel and Mr. Scott, containing the joint recommendations of the Imperial and British Commissioners for a settlement of certain outstanding British claims in the Imperial Protectorate of Southwest Africa, in regard to which the Commissioners at Cape Town failed to arrive at an agreement. I have now the honour to inform your Excellency, by direction of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the arrangements embodied in the Protocol in question are approved and accepted by Her Majesty's Government. In acquainting your Excellency with this decision, I am directed to add that Her Majesty's Government would be glad to be informed whether the Imperial Government in like manner approve and accept the arrangement in question.

I have, &c.,

Count Bismarck.

Edward B. Malet

Count Hatzfeldt to the Earl of Iddesleigh:
(Translation.)

My Lord,

German Embassy, London, November 13, 1886.

In a note of the 23rd ultimo the British Ambassador in Berlin informed the Imperial Government that his Government agreed to the proposals contained in the Protocol, the German version of which is herewith inclosed, respecting the rights of British subjects in the South-West African territories under German protection, which Protocol was signed on the 15th July last by Mr. Scott, the First Secretary of the English Embassy in Berlin, and Dr. Krauel, Privy Councillor of Legation.

Sir Edward Malet stated at the same time that the British Government wished to be informed whether the Imperial Government also agreed to the proposals in question.

In reply, I am instructed to express the concurrence of my Government in the proposals made in the inclosed Protocol.

The Imperial Government is prepared to take the necessary steps to communicate the provisions of the Protocol to those interested, and as far as necessary to superintend the execution of those provisions through the Imperial officials in the protected territory.

I have, &c.,

The Earl of Iddesleigh.

v. Hatzfeldt.

Mandate for German South West Africa

The Council for the League of Nations:

Whereas by Article 119 of the Treaty of Peace with Germany signed at Versailles on June 28th, 1919, Germany renounced in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights over her overseas possessions, including therein German South-West Africa; and

Whereas the Principal Allied and Associated Powers agreed that, in accordance with Article 22, Part I (Covenant of the League of Nations) of the said Treaty, a Mandate should be conferred upon His Britannic Majesty to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa to administer the territory aforementioned, and have proposed that the Mandate should be formulated in the following terms; and

Whereas His Britannic Majesty, for and on behalf of the Government of the Union of South Africa, has agreed to accept the Mandate in respect of the said territory and has undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in accordance with the following provisions; and

Whereas, by the aforementioned Article 22, paragraph 8, it is provided that the degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory not having been previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League of Nations:

Confirming the said Mandate, defines its terms as follows:

Article 1

The territory over which a Mandate is conferred upon His Britannic Majesty for and on behalf of the Government of the Union of South Africa (hereinafter called the Mandatory) comprises the territory which formerly constituted the German Protectorate of South-West Africa.

Article 2

The Mandatory shall have full power of administration and legislation over the territory subject to the present Mandate as an integral portion of the Union of South Africa, and may apply the laws of the Union of South Africa to the territory, subject to such local modifications as circumstances may require.

The Mandatory shall promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory subject to the present Mandate.

Article 3

The Mandatory shall see that the slave trade is prohibited, and that no forced labour is permitted, except for essential public works and services, and then only for adequate remuneration.

The Mandatory shall also see that the traffic in arms and ammunition is controlled in accordance with principles analogous to those laid down in the Convention relating to the control of the arms traffic, signed on September 10th, 1919, or in any convention amending the same.

The supply of intoxicating spirits and beverages to the natives shall be prohibited.

Article 4

The military training of the natives, otherwise than for purposes of internal police and the local defence of the territory, shall be prohibited. Furthermore, no military or naval bases shall be established or fortifications erected in the territory.

Article 5

Subject to the provisions of any local law for the maintenance of public order and public morals, the Mandatory shall ensure in the territory freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, and shall allow all missionaries, nationals of any State Member of the League of Nations, to enter into, travel and reside in the territory for the purpose of prosecuting their calling.

Article 6

The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council, containing full information with regard to the territory, and indicating the measures taken to carry out the obligations assumed under Articles 2, 3, 4 and 5.

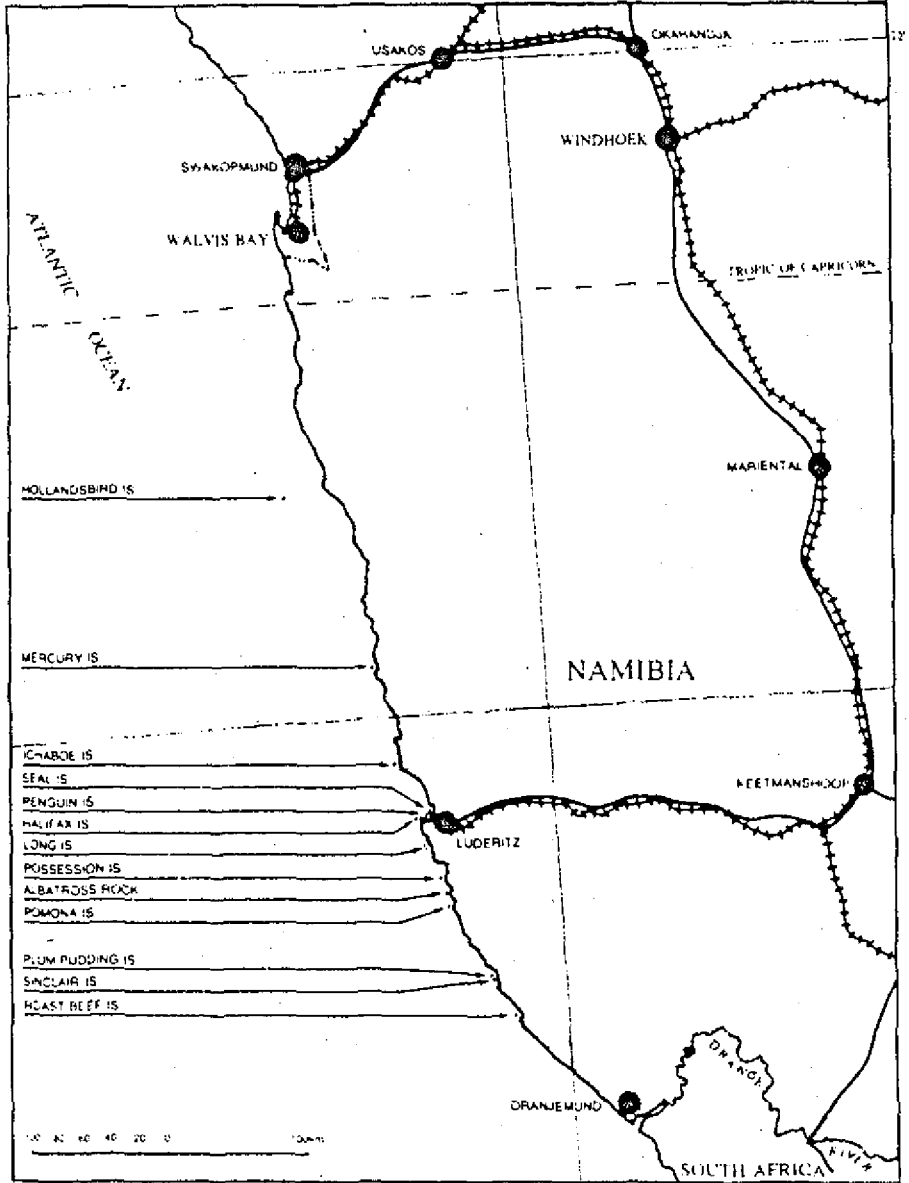
Article 7

The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of the present Mandate.

The Mandatory agrees that, if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another Member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation of the application of the provisions of the Mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The present Declaration shall be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations. Certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all Powers Signatories of the Treaty of Peace with Germany.

Made at Geneva the 17th day of December, 1920.



SOUTH AFRICAN-CLAIMED POSSESSIONS OFF THE COASTLINE OF NAMIBIA

SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA (SWAPO)

Extracts from Statements Delivered at a Joint Press Conference of SWAPO and Members of the White Community of Namibia, held in Stockholm, 19-21 June 1988

Honorable Minister, Comrade Hamutenja, members of the white community who are here with us, it is a great honour and privilege to say this. We are glad that you accepted our invitation to come to this press conference to hear the results of our deliberations of the last two days. To do that, it is my honour and privilege to call on Comrade Hidipo Hamutenja, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of SWAPO and the Secretary of Publicity and Information, here to inform you, from SWAPO's side, what took place.

Comrade Hamutenja (Publicity and Information Secretary and Politburo Member - SWAPO):

Ladies and gentlemen of the media, my task is very simple. I will first of all read out a press statement and also inform you that for the last three days we have been meeting in a suburb of Stockholm, and have had extensive and wide-ranging discussions with a group of influential members - individual members - of the white sections of the Namibian population:

A delegation of SWAPO, led by its President, Sam Nujoma, and a group of key members of the white section of the Namibian population, met in Stockholm from the 19th to the 21st of June, 1988, to discuss important issues relating to the independence of Namibia.

Accompanying President Nujoma were fourteen SWAPO senior officials and members, including members of the political bureau of the Central Committee of SWAPO, Hidipo Hamutenja, Secretary of Information and Publicity; Hage Geingob, Director of the United Nations Institute for Namibia. On the side of the white group were businessmen, commercial farmers, lawyers, academics and journalists, some of whom are prominent members of the Namibian Peace Plan, Resolution 435, NPP 435, including its Chairman, Advocate Bryan O'Linn. The Council of Churches in Namibia was represented by its President, Bishop James Kauluma. In addition to President Nujoma, the opening session was also addressed by Mr Pierre Schori, Under-secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Sweden, and Bengt Carlsson, United Nations Commissioner for Namibia.

Taking place three days before the crucial second round of the four-part talks in Cairo, the consultation addressed issues

related to Namibia's independence and post-colonial reconstruction. In this connection, SWAPO reassured the white group that independent Namibia will be a democratic state, guaranteeing fundamental rights for all its citizens. These rights include right to life, personal liberty, freedom of movement, freedom of conscience, freedom of expression and association, as well as protection against deprivation of private property without just compensation. The consultations covered a wide-ranging exchange of views of many controversial issues relevant to the independence of Namibia, such as the democratisation of Namibian society at independence, in particular reforms of the land, education, the public service, the judiciary, etc. The need to strike a balance between the maintenance of economic activity and social justice for all was emphasised. Central to the consultation was the need for national reconciliation between the black and the white sections of the Namibian population.

Participants in the consultations called for the immediate independence of Namibia and supported the proposal setting the 29th of September 1988 as the target date for the beginning of the implementation process of UN Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978. The participants expressed their gratitude to the Government of Sweden for hosting the meeting.

Thank you, Comrade Chairman.

That was the agreed text approved by the participants in the consultations. I would like at this point to characterise the talks as seen from the SWAPO vantage point.

We consider the consultations as having been a unique and important opportunity for us to talk to our white compatriots. We are happy to say that we were able to agree on the need for the achievement of Namibia's independence. We all recognised that further delay of Namibia's independence will cause more death and destruction in our land. We all consider 435 as a compromise which accommodates the interests of all our people and which provides a peaceful process for the independence of Namibia. The discussions were frank, businesslike - we addressed the fears, the concerns and the suspicions of our countrymen. I am therefore happy to announce that after three days of intensive discussions, we were able to see through on all issues that we discussed and we can therefore characterise the consultations as having been successful. We are proceeding to Luanda to report to our Central Committee and we are carrying a good message that the outcome of the deliberations augers well for the future of our society. We also believe that our compatriots will go back home relieved of many of their uncertainties and concerns, and we hope that they will be able to communicate to the rest of the white section of the Namibian population

that whites have nothing to fear - that as far as SWAPO is concerned, Namibia is a huge country with considerable resources, with a small population, and that it has enough room for all of us, and that we wish to reassure, now and in the future, our white compatriots that we want them to stay, we want them to continue their economic activities, we want them to understand the need for socio-economic justice to ensure that those who have been locked out have their interests taken into consideration.

I thank you, Comrade Chairman.

Chairman:

Well, I thank Comrade Hamutenja for having read the agreed communiqué and then explaining SWAPO's position. We allow democracy already to rule, so I do not know who was chosen to speak on behalf of the delegation from home, since the returning officers did not give me the results yet. I call on Bryan O'Linn.

Bryan O'Linn:

Mr Chairman, honourable freedom fighters, members of the Swedish Government, I am happy to say that this recent contact and consultations we had with this senior SWAPO delegation, the senior leaders of the SWAPO movement speaking on behalf of SWAPO, improves the understanding of many of the Namibians who came to Stockholm who had not previously had the opportunity to be in close contact and intensive consultation with SWAPO leaders. I must, however, say that many of the members coming from Namibia are also members, as you have heard in the news release, of a contact and study group which exists in Namibia for the last two years, and this contact and study group also acts as a liaison office propagating and working as a pressure group for the implementation of the existing Peace Plan for Namibia. Now, perhaps I must just tell you - those of you who are not conversant with the position, that the Namibian Peace Plan has already been agreed upon by the Security Council in 1978. Subsequently, further consultations were arranged with the SWAPO leadership, with South Africa and others, and certain further supplementary agreements have been arrived at right up to 1985. In 1982, a very significant agreement was reached by all concerned, which forms part of the Peace Plan, as far as we are concerned and that provides, inter alia, that certain constitutional principles will be incorporated in the first Namibian Constitution. Those constitutional principles include a *Bill of Fundamental Human Rights*, spelling out the fundamental rights, in essence, known so well in western countries, and with the Supreme Court of Namibia as the upper guardian. That agreement also provides for the elected members of the first constituent assembly to take decisions by a two-thirds majority. In 1985, it was further agreed that the basis of representation in this first constituent assembly would be proportional representation. I only mention this to stress that the

Namibian Peace Plan as we know it is not just a plan for the handing over of power. It is a plan of which all countries of the world can be very proud - it's a charter for independence providing in the transition period for stability, for free and fair elections, for the end to the conflict before we have elections, for the beginning of the process by means of a ceasefire. Following on that would be the demilitarisation of the country. So SWAPO, with whom we have worked for a long time, has reassured all Namibians and has made it possible for us as a group, as an organised group, dealing I think very effectively with the propagation of the Plan inside Namibia and outside, they've made it possible for us to strengthen our efforts, to work for this Plan, not only amongst the white community in Namibia - a community which is small but very effective, very powerful, and at the moment perhaps, together with South African support, the main obstacle to the implementation of the Peace Plan. So that's a major target group. I only want to explain that our group, although obviously as seen from SWAPO's side, mostly consisting of prominent white Namibians, our group is open to all on a non-racial basis and we try and give support and services to all those Namibians and parties who want to know more about the Peace Plan. So I think I'll leave it at that - I'm also sure that all the people who are not yet members of our group will go home - I suppose some of them will speak for themselves - and be better equipped to fight for the same cause as we have been fighting. I must stress, however, that we are using different methods from those of SWAPO. With those few words I want to end and say thank you also to SWAPO here, who have made it possible for us to be convinced again of their pragmatic approach, of their conviction that they want a better Namibia, not just a repeat of the present dictatorship which we have known in that country. Thank you very much.

Chairman:

Thank you very much, Bryan O'Linn. I would like to now call on a lady, because we do not want to monopolise the floor here. I would like to call on Dr Beatrice Sandilovsky, anthropologist by profession, to also say a few words.

Dr Beatrice Sandilovsky:

Thank you very much, Mr Chairman, Honourable Minister and representatives of the Swedish people who have hosted us here so graciously and so generously. I personally have been very appreciative of this opportunity of personal contact. I think that may, in our numerically small society, be indeed the solution to all our problems. In a country that, if placed over the map of Central Europe, reaches from Stockholm to about Rome, we are but 1,2 or possibly 1,5 million people. Yet this small group of people is tremendously fragmented and I think the central issue of reconciliation, therefore, is a very, very important one to us. I would like to say that I personally am concerned not only about the reconciliation between the white

and the black community but about the reconciliation between all communities....

... I believe that the vast majority of Namibians sincerely wish for independence and particularly wish for an end to the armed struggle and would only be too glad to work under democratic conditions towards a better future. As I said already, I think the reconciliation of the effort from outside and inside is a central concern. Nobody who has sacrificed, who has worked hard, who has given the best of what he can give, would like to see anything that has been achieved so far, destroyed. And I think that the assurances that we have had here during the past few days, the opportunity for communication, the exchange of information - because some of our countrymen have not been in the country for many, many years - has been very important and I can only hope that more such opportunities will arise ...

Chairman:

Thank you very much for that contribution. While from the SWAPO delegation I was the only one who spoke, you must understand why I am giving the floor to so many of my countrymen. Could I now call on Brian Harlech-Jones to say something?

Brian Harlech-Jones:

Thank you, Mr Chairman - I'll try to be as brief as possible. The point the Chairman is making is that, although we all have our positions within organisations, institutions, places of work, at home, we do not necessarily represent any particular group or institution here - we are rather invited as fellow-countrymen. I think that's a very important point to make. We have been honoured by SWAPO - by the SWAPO leadership and organisation - by being invited here as whites. The fact of our invitation as whites is, I think, a pragmatic realisation of where the historical power has lain in Namibia as in South Africa, the colonising power, and where that power still lies. We will one day, in the very, very near future, we hope, be a non-racial society, in which it will not be necessary to refer to people as whites or blacks or by any other term of division. At the moment, it is not so, and so I think that in the roles that history has allotted to us, we must play our parts in working towards that vision which we hold - which I believe that all of us as individuals coming here have held and of which we have got an improved vision - a more operational vision. There will be a day in the near future, we hope, when the exiles will come back home, when we will not have to meet in Stockholm, when we will meet in Windhoek, when perhaps the temporary importance that has been assigned to some of us will no longer be necessary. We will be able to become just ordinary members of society because a new society will have been constituted in which new leaders will arise, in which new bases of power will have been

realised. So we look to the day when the exiles come home and Namibia can begin that process of national reconciliation, about which we have spoken so meaningfully during these days of consultation. I would like to salute my fellow white compatriots. They have taken a brave step. We do not exist within a free society; we do not exist within a democratic society. Although we have done nothing illegal, we are already subject, as many of us have been in the past, to all types of intimidation, to attempts to ostracise us, to attempts to freeze us out, to attempts to portray us as people who are very much marginal to the essentials of the present process. This takes courage and I think this should be realised. On the other hand, I think we have come to see far more clearly that whatever small step of courage we have taken is far, far outweighed by the enormous suffering that our black fellow citizens endure and have endured, the psychological and material suffering, as well as physical suffering which those in exile have endured. And so our small step is some small contribution that we can make towards a beginning of the restitution, the end of the suffering, the recognition that we have not suffered anywhere near to the extent that the majority have suffered. In conclusion, I would like to say that we have been brought face to face with another type of courage that is needed by whites. That is to face up squarely to the question of social justice, to ask ourselves whether we are serious in working for the restitution that implies, because it is one thing to sit and talk, to enjoy the company of your fellow citizens, as we have - we've had serious talks, and we've had a lot of light talk and it's been a fascinating social occasion. But at the bottom, there is the question of oppression, of oppressor and oppressed, and this implies always the question of whether or not you are prepared to work for justice in that situation. I believe that all of us visiting here from home have been faced with that question. I think that, from the press statement, which was agreed to by both parties, you will see that there has been an agreement that this is an essential aspect in the future process which begins now - the question of working for social justice. It is hard for whites, living in their privileged position and enjoying the benefits of society to face up to the next step which takes great courage and that is the question of restitution, because no ideal exists without an operational realisation and in our context, the operational realisation is restitution. What are the types of restitution that we have to face up to with courage? First of all, to allow all our countrymen into the political process.... Secondly, we must allow equal chance of dignity - not only in the political process, but in all those fields of state and personal relations. This dignity that has been so severely assaulted over 100 years of colonialism - this must be restored, a process must be allowed by which dignity can be given to all. Finally, there must be material restitution, and this perhaps, when you are a member of a privileged group, is the most difficult thing to face up to of all. We have talked about that - I will not go into the details now - but that there must be a material restitution as well is absolutely clear to all who have agreed on the need for social justice. In conclusion, then, I think

that the talks have been extremely valuable....

Chairman:

Thank you, Mr Harlech-Jones. Will Honourable Minister Lena Hjelm-Wallén You have now heard what we have been doing these few days in your beautiful country. You have reported on our deliberations and also on a very important communiqué. It is now therefore my honour and privilege to call upon you, Honourable Minister, to say something.

Minister Lena Hjelm-Wallén:

Thank you, Mr Chairman. From the Swedish side, we are proud and happy to have been asked to host this meeting between SWAPO and their countrymen from inside Namibia, that has taken place here during the last days. We are very encouraged about what we have heard about the discussions. Let's hope this meeting in Stockholm will be looked upon as an historical occasion. The meeting has taken place at a very crucial time. The talks between Angola, the United States, South Africa and Cuba, are to be resumed soon and the parties have agreed to meet in Cairo on Friday. It seems to us that the superpowers have a common wish to reach resolution on the Angolan/Namibian issue within the near future. They have even set out a date for that - the 29th of September - which is the tenth anniversary of the Resolution 435. Sweden has consistently given its support to the implementation of Resolution 435. We hope that the goal will soon be achieved, which means peace for Angola and independence for Namibia. I have been informed that your discussions in our beautiful Stockholm have been fruitful and constructive. I hope that the meeting has led to a better and deeper understanding and I have been told that you have had the opportunity of asking and getting an answer to all your questions and concerns regarding the future independent Namibia. Allow me to make some remarks on our cooperation with the liberation movement, SWAPO. Our relations date back to the early Sixties. Our cooperation in various fields has grown over the years. Only a few weeks ago, the Swedish Government and SWAPO met to negotiate in a new agreement on the utilisation of the Swedish development assistance, now amounting to more than seventy million kronors. To conclude: on behalf of the Swedish Government, I want to express our hope that this meeting will be continued or followed up by others. You must rest assured that we will give our full-hearted, continued support to the implementation of UN Resolution 435 and to a free, democratic Namibia. Thank you.

Chairman:

Thank you very much, Honourable Minister. I must agree - the location of our meetings was so serene and provided a wonderful atmosphere for peace. It allowed us to have a nice discussion and agree on many things. Thank

you very much.

Members of the press, you have now heard our statements. It is now up to you to seek further clarification. When you raise your hand, please could you as is customary identify yourselves and then ask your questions and maybe indicate who you want the question to be answered by.

Reuters:

Could I ask Mr O'Linn if he detects any change of attitude among the majority of white Namibians who seem to continue to support South Africa ..., which would make this meeting more than an academic exercise.

Mr O'Linn:

Mr Chairman, I think that the position is this, that as history has shown, that the privileged and those that have the power over decades are not going to enthusiastically support a new regime, however potentially democratic it is supposed to be, because firstly, they would have no certainty that they would have democracy. Secondly, they have their vested interests, so I don't think that many in the white community would now or at any stage before the implementation of the Peace Plan be converted to enthusiastically support the implementation of the Peace Plan, but some will be converted. As far as the others are concerned, the thing is to give them the correct information and to persuade them to desist from sabotaging the move to a new democracy, built on sound foundations. So I think, it is very helpful to have this sort of meeting to be able to break down the resistance of white people, based on fear and ignorance, and in that sense, I think we can convert, and we have in the past - this meeting and what follows on this will help to do that, namely, to minimise the fears of that community by giving a better image of SWAPO and the correct image of the Peace Plan, because at the moment and for years they've been brainwashed also to believe that the Peace Plan is a terrible thing, whereas in fact the Peace Plan is a compromise, and central to the Peace Plan itself are the most realistic and fair provisions for compromise and reconciliation, and in the light of the media in Namibia, the control of television and radio by the South African Government and their nominated representatives and their nominated interim government. It's very difficult to break down this disinformation campaign, this brainwashing campaign, but I think we are succeeding in doing at least that - and that would be a very positive contribution. I don't think I could be more optimistic than that.

Swedish News Agency:

I'd like to ask, just anybody, if the most positive sign is that negotiations are going on as the Angolan/Namibian question is concerned, do you see any particular reason why the South African government would continue

to stall the implementation of the Resolution 435. They have delayed implementation for ten years - why should they stop doing that now? Do you see any reason to be more optimistic than previously?

Mr Harlech-Jones:

I could just say that, very briefly, in my opinion, South Africa is a victim of its own disinformation campaign. Anybody who lives in the region will know that the prospect of a government after independence which is not to South Africa's liking, in which surely SWAPO will play a large role, to say the least, is something that is so unpalatable to the South African white population, which is Mr PW Botha's constituency, to which he must appeal, that it is almost unthinkable and will take a very, very great deal of movement to get past that obstacle. It is a fact that the propaganda onslaught in South Africa, as with us, is so enormous, depicting independence as bringing inevitable ruin, the devastation of the white man, etcetera, etcetera, depicting SWAPO and other similarly inclined movements as being allied to the Devil himself, that it is very difficult to explain a sudden reversal of policy allowing the Devil himself to engage in the political process. That could be one reason - that they are victims of their own propaganda.

[Inaudible question]

Mr O'Linn:

May I just try to deal with that - why we believe that ... why we are optimistic that there's a better chance now of implementation of the Peace Plan than in the past couple of years. Firstly, even South Africa has become more convinced than ever before that the interim government that they have imposed on Namibians has very little credibility, has in their own estimate only involved about thirty per cent of the population, and will not improve its position and have any credibility. I think that's a reality which they know about and which they accept and which they face, that in that way they have no chance of building an alternative inside Namibia. But secondly, with the development of the war situation in Angola, a sort of checkmate or stalemate has been reached. All sides are in a position to claim some sort of victory. The one thing people need to settle and that is face-saving devices. The second thing is that South Africa, not being able to go much deeper into Angola I think is realising and must realise that for the continuation of the war, it's also war in Angola, which they cannot win, just as they cannot win the war with SWAPO. And that the price for continuation will probably be a severe escalation of the war at tremendous costs materially and to the lives of people. Thirdly, I think - we believe that people in South Africa will realise that from now on the price for delaying Namibia's independence will be higher by the day, not only because of the reasons I have already mentioned as to the

escalation of violence and disruption of lives and material, but because of the sanctions campaign in the United States of America and particularly the measures on the table in the United States Congress. They also realise, I think, and that is that at present there is an election campaign and there is a reasonable prospect of a Democratic president becoming the President of the United States. And obviously, they must fear that the combination of a Democratic president and the United States Congress would create a formidable pressure on South Africa and make that price extremely high. Further, I think the Reagan Administration needs, in those circumstances, some diplomatic success for their Plan, and they're now in a position probably to get that because of the closer cooperation between Russia and the United States. The possibility - I think the probability - is that they can underwrite a settlement agreement in Angola, and that was really what South Africa and the United States together agreed upon - that they want a prior, reliable agreement on Cuban withdrawal before implementation of the Peace Plan. America is holding South Africa to this agreement. The prospect that America can get an agreement satisfactory to that Administration is there. So we believe for those reasons that you have new realities, that the best time for settlement for South Africa is now, and the price for delaying will increase by the day. I think South Africa also realises perhaps, or should realise, that the first step back for South Africa to more international credibility and to the credibility of peaceful negotiation as a means to settle conflict, would be to implement the Peace Plan, to which they have already agreed in substance in 1978. So this implementation would also have a tremendous benefit for South Africa, if they are in their right and sober senses, to begin the first faltering steps back to normality.

Question (partly inaudible):

What have you discussed as a strategy for possibilities of how you are now going to spread information ...? ... in which way are you going to work? What chance have you got to work? ...

Mr O'Linn:

You see, we have been working for ten years by publishing booklets, of which you can have copies, setting out the Plan in its totality, showing that it's the fairest and most balanced settlement plan you can ever have and we are giving lectures, we are also strengthening the position of parties within the conventional system to oppose South Africa's strategies, and that activity of ours will increase - I'm now talking of the particular group known as the Namibia Peace Plan Study and Contact Group - so what we have already done, we will do in increasing measure, and I think, as soon as the whites realise that the Peace Plan isn't dead, but is alive and well and the only plan, then our case and our effort would also be more successful.

Mr Harlech-Jones:

Mr Chairman, could I point out that not all our delegation are members of the NPP group? Would it be possible to ask Dr Sandilovsky to respond from a different perspective to that particular point?

Dr Sandilovsky:

Well, I think first of all to answer the question - no, we did not spend any great amount of time on any strategies that we would employ in disseminating the information that was gained here. So, all that I can say is to speculate on how it will be done. As I said before, in our small community, personal contacts are very important, and I think all of us who are here have a very wide network of people at home and we have a large assortment of newspapers which I am quite sure, are going to print all sorts of things that we are going to tell them and possibly all sorts of things we are not going to tell them. But I think that probably the more effective way of spreading the word, so to speak, will be through our personal contacts, many of my colleagues here are in educational institutions and have contact with many young people and contact not only with the white community but with many members of the black community as well.

Associated Press:

How does SWAPO feel about being excluded from negotiations over Namibia?

Chairman:

Okay, if you're asking about SWAPO, I will answer for SWAPO. You would recall, I think, that the initial proposal by Angola was to have South Africa, SWAPO, Angola, the US and Cuba to participate, but after we looked at the agenda of the items which were to be discussed in London, and I believe in Cairo, we did not see the role of SWAPO. We did not have any role to play - the issues now being discussed are the timeframe for the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola - that is an issue concerning only Angola, Cuba and those who are demanding it - resolution can mainly, if not solely, be made by Angola and Cuba. It concerns those who are demanding the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and those who will make that decision. The next item is the Angolan demand for an end to interference in internal affairs by the USA and South Africa, namely supply of weapons to UNITA. The Angolans have made it very clear that for now what they are interested in is the removal of external forces in the southwestern corner of Africa, namely in Namibia and Angola. That means South African troops out of Namibia and the Cuban troops out of Angola. Other internal issues would be solved by Angola and its agents. That's their position, and to the best of my knowledge, the UNITA issue is not an agenda item. I don't think it will become an agenda item - I don't expect to be invited. Now,

when it comes to Namibia, the way to remove South African troops from Namibia is to implement 435. SWAPO, the Contact Group, and the Frontline States spent nearly two years - the whole of 1977 and part of 1978 - negotiating steps and procedures for the implementation of 435. 435 provides days, weeks, months as to how the whole process will be carried out, so it was therefore agreed that since 435 is already agreed upon, and is not open to renegotiation, all that needs to be agreed upon is the date for its implementation, and once South Africa - it is now the only country that has not given its consent to the proposed 29th of September - has done so, then it's up to South Africa and SWAPO to agree on the date of the signing of the instruments of peace whereby greatly or from given quarters as long as on a certain date, certain ... from the UN Secretary General will be signed by SWAPO and South Africa, then we ... the process of implementation in place. So we don't have to go to Cairo to discuss that. We have no role to play - so we only need to be told what is the date and then the Secretary General can find out when we will be ready to sign that agreement. That is the only role SWAPO will have to play vis-à-vis South Africa. So therefore we don't see ourselves locked out, because we do not see any role to play there. If agreement's reached, well and good - if it is not reached, a luta continua....

[Text provided by the Namibian Peace Plan, Windhoek.]

SOUTH AFRICA AND MOZAMBIQUE

Text of Speech by General Jacinto Veloso, Mozambican Minister of Co-operation, on the Occasion of the Opening of the New South African Trade Mission Building in Maputo, 25 October 1988

It was soon after the signing of the Nkomati Accord that we mutually agreed to put up the new building for the Trade Mission of South Africa in Maputo.

The main purpose was and still is to co-ordinate and improve the administration of the various aspects of our bilateral relationship. This relationship of more than 100 years comprises a wide range of aspects, such as: Mozambican workers in mines and other productive activities in South Africa, trade, tourism, roads, railways, airways and maritime transport, migration, customs, use of the Maputo port and power supply, among others.

By taking part in the opening of this new trade mission building we are encouraged by the spirit of Nkomati, the recent Songo Summit Meeting and a hope of more stable bilateral relations.

Mozambique is committed to a firm policy of national independence, good neighbourliness and non-alignment aimed at creating a climate of peace and stability in all countries in the area, as well as the peaceful settlement of existing conflicts. Unfortunately forces and organizations whose objects are contrary to the interests of the peoples and countries in the region continue to support and promote violent and terrorist acts of social and economic destabilization impeding the normalization of everyday life and the basic relationship between states.

These forces will have to be neutralized in the interests of peace, co-operation and the development of our people and countries. With this in mind we will continue to seek solutions that can guarantee stability, good neighbourliness and cooperation. We will continue to work in such a way that our country's resources and those of the countries in the region will be used to the benefit of each country and of all the peoples in the region without any sort of discrimination regarding their independence, democracy, cooperation and non-alignment.

The spirit marking the Summit in Songo gives us the assurance that we can work together to realize these objectives. It is my wish to see a significant increase in the activities undertaken in this new building which will be a logical consequence of the recent Songo Summit and the correct implementation of the letter and spirit of the Nkomati Accord.

The new building that we are inaugurating today will gain even more significance as we eliminate the differences and barriers which separate us

and consolidate the interests of our bilateral relationship.

[Text provided by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs.]

Communiqué Issued by the Joint Security Commission of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Republic of South Africa, 15 November 1988

The Joint Security Commission between the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Republic of South Africa, established in terms of the Nkomati Accord, met in the city of Maputo under the chairmanship of His Excellency Lieutenant-General Tobias Dai, Commandant of the army in the Mozambican Armed Forces/FPLM. The South African delegation was led by Lieutenant-General Andreas Jacobus Liebenberg, Head of the South African Army.

This meeting of the Commission analysed matters relating to compliance with the letter and spirit of the Accord of Nkomati, as well as the implementation of the decisions of the Summit of Songo taken in this field by President Joaquim Chissano and State President PW Botha.

The Commission noted with profound concern the continuation of acts of terror in Mozambique and determined to undertake efforts for the elimination thereof.

Both parties agreed that there were elements at work trying to undermine Mozambique and South Africa's efforts to attain peace and stability and that both sides would work together to counteract these elements.

[Text provided by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs.]

Release by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs on 14 December 1988 Relating to the Joint Commission for Economic Affairs Established Between the Governments of Mozambique and South Africa

The constituent meeting of a joint 'Commission for Economic Affairs' between the Governments of Mozambique and South Africa took place in Maputo today. The South African delegation was led by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Kobus Meiring and the Mozambican delegation by Mr Aquiar Mazula, Minister of Labour in the Mozambican Government. During this first meeting of the Commission the two governments discussed ways and means of developing the common interests of Mozambique and South Africa including inter alia roads, transport, agriculture, tourism, labour and health matters. The Commission was established in terms of discussions taken by the State President, Mr PW Botha and Mr Joaquim Chissano, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, during their historic meeting at Songo in Mozambique on 12 September 1988, and both sides after-

wards expressed their satisfaction at the progress made in implementing the decision of the two governments to expand and to intensify economic and commercial ties in line with the principles enunciated in the Nkomati Accord in 1984.

Deputy Minister Meiring also received a letter from President Chissano addressed to State President Botha conveying the Mozambican Government's support and congratulations at the signing of the Brazzaville Protocol on 13 December 1988.

The second meeting of the Commission is to take place in February 1989 in South Africa.

[Text provided by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs.]

SOUTH AFRICA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

Extracts from a Speech by General Magnus Malan, South African Minister of Defence, Before Members of ASSOCOM in Johannesburg, 6 December 1988

... We all want a peaceful environment in which business can grow and prosper. An environment in which there can be social and economic progress - real progress.

And, of course, we want political progress. The Government wants a South Africa where South Africans of all population groups can share power and play a full part in the running of our country.

In a nutshell: orderly political, social and economic development.

I am sure that this is a goal that all reasonable men will agree with. How we are to achieve that goal is another matter. That is where differences of opinion come in.

But the most important point of departure is surely security and stability. That is the basis for economic, social and political progress.

Security is the bulwark for everything that we want to achieve. The Government is committed to broadening democracy, whilst maintaining the group nature of our diverse society. But freedom cannot be expanded if our security is not protected and guaranteed.

Security is also the stronghold for economic stability and growth.

Let me stress that this does not mean that our Security Forces must be aggressive and provocative. Far from it. What it does mean is that we must be vigilant and prepared: at all times.

South Africa wants peace and stability. I think it is fair to say that the Government has proved its commitment to peace in the negotiations on south-western Africa....

... Yet, even as we prepare for a new spirit of understanding in Southern Africa, the Soviet Union is continuing with its de-stabilising, offensive weapons build-up in this region. Weapons destroyed in the offensive against UNITA in Angola earlier this year have simply been replaced - with interest.

Soviet military support to the so-called Frontline States (FLS) continues.

In Angola the number of tanks - mostly T54s and T55s - rose from 531 to 1 590 between September last year and September this year.

The so-called FLS have 400 000 military personnel, 2 700 tanks and 330 fighter aircraft. These numbers far exceed the defence needs of these countries. It not only disturbs the balance of power in our region but contradicts the spirit of understanding of which there are hopeful signs.

The South African Communist Party and its terrorist agents carry on planting bombs, land mines and limpet minea.

It is sad that the Soviet Union does not emerge with clear evidence that it rejects terrorism not only in principle, as Mr Gorbachev has said, but also in practice. One could only imagine the far-reaching consequences such a positive move would have on relations in our region.

In the absence of such evidence it remains imperative that, from a security point of view, we monitor Soviet actions on a continuous basis. The same goes for the Cubans: Castro follows murky foreign and military policies. The same also goes for SWAPO and the ANC. We cannot for one moment ignore the fact that both SWAPO and the ANC have terrorists in training camps and bases in Angola and other countries in Southern Africa.

Against this background, we continue our quest for new understandings but we must be ready for any eventuality.

We therefore cannot scale down the expenditure and manpower in our Security Forces.

In this regard, Lebanon provides a lesson we dare not ignore. The government there scaled down its Defence Force - and for all practical purposes, lost control of its own country. Switzerland, in contrast, is a neutral country, yet maintains a strong and combat-ready army that ensures its freedom and independence.

I would like again to stress that this does not mean that our Security Forces must be aggressive or provocative. The SA Defence Force is just that - a defence force. In essence it is a peace-seeking and stabilising force.

We do not seek to de-stabilise Southern Africa. We seek order and stability. The repeated accusations that South Africa is destabilising Southern Africa and that the Defence Force is running wild in the region are unfair, unjust and unfounded.

The other important requirement is that we maintain a high level of technological expertise. I am proud of the achievements of Armscor in this regard.

Recently, we unveiled the Rooikat weapons system. The Rooikat is an advanced armoured car that is in a class of its own. It is the latest in a series of technological achievements of Armscor. It is gratifying that these successes have been achieved in full partnership between the public and private sectors.

The conflict in South-eastern Angola this year taught us one thing: a country that cannot develop its own weapons must rather stay out of conflict situations. As the conflict there increased in technological demands, the parties that could not control technology fell by the wayside.

Weaponry based on high level technology demands high calibre manpower and the ability to maintain that weaponry. This is what South Africa has got. And that is why our successes reverberated around the globe.

Suid-Afrika is die wetenskaplike en tegnologiese ontwikkelaar van Suider-Afrika. Daarom sal Suid-Afrika se posisie al meer onmisbaar raak as toonaangewende land van die sub-kontinent. Ons hulpverlening op baie gebiede - nou weer aan Mosambiek - is hiervan voorbeelde. Dit is besteding wat daarop gemik is om veiligheid sowel as lewenskwaliteit van mense te verbeter.

Die sakegemeenskap is by uitstek 'n groep mense wat na die toekoms kyk. Daarom moet na enkele uitdagings gekyk word van die wêreld waarin Suid-Afrika hom gaan bevind vir die laaste dekade van die eeu.

Internasionaal moet ons aanvaar dat die huidige bestel in die wêreld-politiek besig is om tot 'n einde te kom. Die Oos-Wes-magstryd tussen die Sowjet-Unie en die VSA is besig om te verander. 'n Nuwe wêreldorde kom tot stand waar Wes-Europa as 'n ekonomiese blok en Japan in die Verre Ooste 'n dominante rol gaan speel in die wêreldpolitiek, buite die twee supermoondhede om.

Dit hou implikasies vir Suid-Afrika in. Die RSA sal sy pad in 'n nuwe wêreld moet vind, wat meer moontlikhede inhou en groter ruimte vir beweging. Suid-Afrika sal 'n pad moet vind, politiek en op handelsgebied, wat rekening hou met nuwe faktore en kragte op die wêreldtoneel, en wat sy belange die voordeligste kan dien.

Die groot vraag op pad na 2000 is of 'n land aan sy mense brood op die tafel kan gee en 'n dak oor die kop. Pro-Westers en pro-Marxisties gaan nie die hoofpunt wees nie.

Die ideologiese maatstawwe wat die wêreld opgedeel het, is besig om verby te gaan. Wat na vore tree is of 'n land 'n politieke sisteem het wat aan sy mense tegnologiese ontwikkeling en voorspoed kan bring.

Die wêreld in die wêreld is duidelik onderskeibaar. Dit is hulle wat 'n vrye-mark ekonomie en ondernemingsgees erken en aanmoedig. Die sosialisme is aan die verkrummel, en die lande wat daaraan vaskleef, is verloor-lande.

Op ons subkontinent is ons tans 'n wenland.

Suid-Afrika is 'n wenland omdat ons op 'n breë front daarin geslaag het om die tegnologie-generator van die subkontinent te word.

Omdat ons tegnologie het, kan ons wapens maak. Maar omdat ons tegnologie het, kan ons ook spuitnaalde maak, beter treine bou, beter saad kweek, mediese prestasies daarstel en. Daarby het ons die menslike broune en kungidheid.

Hierdie vermoëns vereis egter van ons 'n bepaalde ingesteldheid.

Indien u van my sou vra watter tipe politieke sisteem ons nodig het vir 'n welvarende Suid-Afrika, antwoord ek: 'n Politieke sisteem op sy eie maak 'n land nie voorspoedig nie. Wat nodig is, is 'n omvattende waarde-sisteem waarbinne die mens die geleentheid gebied word om homself te ontwikkel volgens sy vermoëns....

... I believe that it is because we are a winning nation that we will resolve our problems, and establish the fair and equitable society we all seek in SA. That will open up the road to our neighbours in Africa and the world beyond.

The State President and the Government are committed to this road of progress. The engine of development is unstoppable. It will continue. Make no mistake about that.

As we approach the 21st century, we have to meet the challenge of internal restructuring. We have to meet the challenge of normalising our relations with our neighbours in Africa. I believe that in both respects we are entering a constructive and positive period in our history. In essence we have to transform challenges into opportunities.

[Text provided by the South African Ministry of Defence.]

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

Extracts from interview with British Prime Minister, The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP, by WJ Wepener, the Editor of Beeld, on 29 November 1988

(Regional Initiatives)

... Mr Wepener:

How do you assess our State President's recent visits to African countries and his initiatives in the region? What do you think of political developments in Angola and Namibia? Do you foresee a lasting peace in that area?

Mrs Thatcher:

I welcome President Botha's recent visits to other African countries. We attach great importance, and have ourselves worked hard to contribute, to the normalisation of relations between South Africa and Mozambique. We have very strongly and directly supported the negotiating effort to bring peace in Angola, and an internationally recognised settlement for Namibia. These negotiations are bearing fruit: it seems at last that there is agreement on the total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. This achievement will unblock the other problems in the way of Namibian independence. We shall be continuing to do everything in our power to help the talks on the remaining issues succeed. Apart from the benefits that could bring for the people of Angola and Namibia, it would also be of great benefit to South Africa in terms of its relations with other states in the region and in the outside world.

(Terrorism and the ANC)

... Mr Wepener:

At last year's Commonwealth conference you have described the ANC as a "typical terrorist organisation". The British Government afterwards described them as a representative black opposition organisation of South Africa and made it clear that it will stay in touch with the ANC. It was also reported that the statement was made with your approval. Does that mean there was a shift in your attitude towards the ANC, if so, why?

In your opinion, what is the difference between the IRA and the ANC?

Mrs Thatcher:

Our attitude has not changed at all. I consistently have made clear the total opposition and abhorrence of the British Government for terrorist actions, whoever they may be committed by. Indiscriminate acts of terrorism such as letting off bombs in restaurants and in the street are not something I will ever condone. We will go on condemn-

ing them and have made that very clear to the ANC. I have made clear also my opposition to violent actions by the security forces.

As a political movement, the ANC undoubtedly is a factor in South African politics. The question is how to get it to give up the politics of violence. The best approach is by offering the possibility of negotiations. I have already made clear my view on that, which is that the way should be opened for a negotiation between all the parties, in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides.

As to the difference between the IRA and the ANC, the IRA is a terrorist movement which seeks to impose its views by violent means. Let me remind you that there is universal suffrage in Northern Ireland, as in the rest of the United Kingdom. The vote is denied to no-one. All people in Northern Ireland have the right to express their views in a democratic way. Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA, attracts few votes. That is why the IRA resort to violence.

Mr Wepener:

Recently Britain's SAS unit crossed the border with Spain to Gibraltar and shot and killed three IRA terrorists to prevent them exploding a car bomb. It is not quite the same thing but how do you feel about South Africa's pre-emptive strikes into neighbouring countries used by ANC-terrorists as a springboard for their terrorist attacks in South Africa?

Mrs Thatcher:

The three IRA terrorists were shot dead in Gibraltar, which is a British Dependent Territory, for the security of which the British Government is responsible. The terrorists were on a mission to plant a huge bomb in Gibraltar and were shot when they failed to respond to challenges from the security forces. At no time did the soldiers cross into Spain. In Northern Ireland, where we are working closely with the Irish Government to improve security in the border area, British security forces scrupulously respect the border. There is no question of their breaching the border in pursuit of terrorists and at all times the security forces operate within the law....

Mr Wepener:

Is there any special message you would like me to convey to South Africans?

Mrs Thatcher:

The message I would most like you to convey to South Africans is that positive change is possible. It is indeed inevitable. It requires a real effort of will and of courage to break away from the past. But unless you are prepared to do it, and to tackle the problems boldly,

they will be in danger of overwhelming you. That is the problem we had to face in Britain and that is the way we tried to deal with it. I was very struck by the phrase in a policy document of the Broederbond: 'The greatest risk is not taking any risks'. That is true of my whole philosophy and I believe that it is as relevant to South Africa as it was to Britain....

Extracts from a Speech by the British Ambassador, Mr Robin Renwick CMG, now Sir Robin Renwick KCMG (New Year's Honours List 1989) to the South African Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg, 6 December 1988

... I am not going to talk further to you this evening about what might or might not happen internally in South Africa. I want rather to talk about developments in the region. The economic inter-dependence of the region must by now be blindingly obvious to everyone. It is a pity that was not always so. For Lesotho, the Highlands Water Project and for Botswana the Sua Pan Soda Ash project are the most recent examples of that inter-dependence and of the extent to which joint ventures are a key to development of the region. Why is it then that some persist in believing that one can apply sanctions against South Africa without, in effect, applying them also against the neighbouring states? How are the neighbouring states to be exempted from the effects or from the retaliatory action which South Africa would be likely to take?

I often am struck by the highly academic nature of discussion of this question. There are those who seem to believe that the reality that South Africa exists, and that the South African Government exists, can somehow be wished away. The fact is that no attempt can be made to deal with the problems of the region without dealing also with South Africa. That is considered to be perfectly obvious when it comes to dealing with the Soviet Union, even though we do not much like its system of government, even under Gorbachev. The same realities have to be accepted here.

Over the past decade Britain has given a great deal of assistance to Mozambique. We have not done so for purely altruistic reasons. The purpose was also to preserve Western influence in the region. But however much we seek to help Mozambique, we have to face the fact that there is not going to be a real prospect of peace and progress in Mozambique unless it is possible to overcome the confrontation which has been going on between that country and South Africa. Therefore we have worked hard to contribute to the process of attempting to normalise relations between South Africa and Mozambique, which culminated in the meeting between President Botha and President Chissano. A lot of progress has been made and we are encouraged by it. But a constant effort is going to be needed to keep this progress on the rails. It has, after all, derailed before. And we know from that experience that there are people in both countries who would like to set

back what has been achieved. We intend to make their task as difficult as possible.

Next let me come to a far more important negotiation and one which, despite some issues which remain to be resolved, holds great promise for Southern Africa, which could transform the situation and which would amount to the most positive development in this region of the decade. I am talking, of course, about the Angola/Namibia negotiations. Let me first declare an interest. Dr Chester Crocker is a friend of mine. I have known him for many years. We worked together very closely in Washington. We remained undefeated on the Embassy tennis court together - though only, it has to be admitted, through careful choice of our opponents!

I remember the time, not so long ago, when Dr Crocker, who is now once again widely admired and respected for his efforts to bring peace to this region, was being attacked and criticised not only in Angola and Cuba but also here in South Africa - and, above all of course, by many in Congress. When Dr Crocker was not making much progress, I would have liked to know who could have done better. When Dr Crocker launched his latest negotiating effort, with our strong support, we did not know whether he would succeed. But we did know that it was in South Africa's interests that he should succeed. It also was in the interests of Angola, Namibia and even Cuba. I also know that no-one could have shown more determination, tenacity and staying power in dealing with this difficult problem. And staying power is what is required in dealing with all the problems of this region.

There are those, no doubt, in every camp who may still be hoping that it might all break down. I wonder how carefully any of them have looked at the consequences of that. Of course everyone believes that they can win a battle. Otherwise there would be far fewer battles. If the war resumed in Southern Angola and on the border, South Africa once again would be hearing bulletins about the loss of young men this country cannot afford to lose; about the destruction of crops; the detection of suspects; and the bombing of villages.

I visited Namibia recently. It is a country which, the more one visits it, engenders respect and admiration - and hope for the future. In that terribly difficult climate and harsh environment it is a tribute to human enterprise and courage how much has been achieved. And I certainly would wish to pay tribute to those who carved farms out of the wilderness and who have developed the mining industry on which most of Namibia's wealth depends. No-one who has visited the Rössing mine in Namibia can fail to feel not the least defensive, but proud of what has been done for the work-force and the community there, as well as of all the other projects Rössing support elsewhere in Namibia. Namibia, furthermore, already has gone through many of the changes leading to a multi-racial society. There is no

Group Areas Act in Windhoek. There are many other changes that have taken place over the past decade. Of course there is a vast amount that remains to be done. Most schools are still segregated; and so are some of the hospitals. That is going to change. Above all the people of Namibia - all the people of Namibia - must be enabled to elect a government of their own choice. What is certain is that this small country, with its small but tough and enterprising population, has real possibilities for the future - provided it is possible to achieve an end to the war. If not, then it should be obvious that the next ten years of attrition would be a great deal worse than the past ten years. And I am absolutely sure that the Namibian economy would suffer severely from the continuing uncertainty that would result from a failure to reach an internationally agreed settlement. I see signs of that already.

There still are some difficult issues that remain to be settled. You are right to be concerned that there must be adequate arrangements for the verification of Cuban withdrawal. But progress is being made in dealing with that question. If that and other hurdles can be overcome I can assure you that the task of implementing a settlement is likely to be, at least as difficult and fraught with danger as the process of arriving at it. But we are advising you that the prize is great and worth grasping for. Britain's message to all the parties engaged in this negotiation is: do not miss this opportunity. For the first time in the long history of these negotiations, the prize of a settlement is now attainable. It will require a continuing effort from all sides. But it would be the ultimate absurdity to have got to this point and not to succeed. And not just an absurdity, but a tragedy also for the people of Namibia and for all those involved in the negotiations.

I would like to pay tribute to the contribution which your negotiating team and its leaders, Neil van Heerden and General Geldenhuys, have tried to make to a search for a settlement. They have fought for one on terms, of course, which would safeguard South Africa's interests. We are no less concerned than South Africa to see the Cubans withdraw from Angola. It is not only the South African negotiators who have had to show commitment to an agreement. That has required an effort by the Cubans and Angolans and by the Soviet Union also - based on a realisation that the position as it has existed until recently in northern Namibia and Southern Angola is for all concerned a no win situation. We are no less concerned that a Namibia agreement and Cuban withdrawal should lead to peace in Angola. It will not lead to peace without further steps being taken. The step that would make most difference to people's lives would be agreement to a cease-fire between the combatants in Angola. I hope that day will come sooner rather than later.

I would add one other point. It is not going to be enough to work for internal peace in Angola. What is going to be needed also is some measure

of reconciliation in Namibia. That will require all the parties to start to show the kind of statesmanship required to overcome the division created by the war, to look to the future and to think seriously about the problems they will have to face in governing an independent state.

What would be the impact of a Namibia settlement on South Africa's relations with the outside world? An enormously positive one, obviously. 'Oh but', you will say, 'it will not stop the outside world continuing to attack South Africa over apartheid and continuing pressure on this country for internal change.' And you are right: it will not. The outside world, including ourselves, will go on pressing for internal change. But there is no doubt that a Namibia settlement will do more than anything else to help stabilise South Africa's relations with your neighbours. It has become the accepted doctrine to say that for South Africa the route back to wider international acceptance lies through Africa. And that doctrine in my view is quite right. Not only do we support it, but we have tried ourselves to contribute to the process and we will go on doing so. But the decisive contribution can only be made by South Africa itself....

[Text provided by British Information Services, Johannesburg.]

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