

European Communities

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EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

# Working Documents

1984-1985

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30 April 1984

DOCUMENT 1-67/84/B

REPORT

drawn up on behalf of the Committee on Development  
and Cooperation

on the EEC's relations with Namibia

- PART "B" : EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

Rapporteur: Mr Derek ENRIGHT

PE 89.662/fin./B  
Or.En.



# EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

## C.O.R.R.I.G.E.N.D.U.M

to the report  
on the EEC's relations with Namibia  
(Doc. 1-67/84/A)

Rapporteur: Mr D. ENRIGHT

Part A: Motion for a resolution  
Paragraph 35, 3rd indent:  
Replace 'CID' with 'EIB'

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10 May 1984

PE 89.662/fin./A/Corr.



EXPLANATORY STATEMENTI. NAMIBIA : GENERAL BACKGROUNDNamibia, South Africa, and The United Nations

Namibia has been the subject of a protracted international dispute centering on the legal status of this former German colony, which has been administered by South Africa since the end of World War I, when the territory was placed under a League of Nations Mandate.

Conflict between the United Nations and the Republic of South Africa over Namibia followed almost immediately after the establishment of the United Nations, and has been virtually constant ever since. Initially this was largely due to the fact that South Africa was not prepared to place the territory under the newly created Trusteeship System which entailed, inter alia, a periodic United Nations review of the colonial power's administration of its territory to ensure that it was applying policies designed to pave the way for independence.

Relations between South Africa and the United Nations deteriorated as South Africa progressively applied its system of apartheid to Namibia; this was felt to be a clear breach of the Charter and of the obligations incumbent upon the colonial power under the Trusteeship System. The Trusteeship Council consistently criticised South Africa's administration of the territory.

In 1964 the Odendaal Commission, appointed by the South African Government, recommended that a policy of separate development through segregation be applied to Namibia and that self-governing tribal reserves be set up along the lines of South Africa's own "homelands" or "Bantustans". The territory had already been broadly divided along racial lines.

In 1966 the General Assembly unilaterally terminated South Africa's mandate, and called upon it to withdraw from Namibia and in 1967 it set up a United Nations Council for Namibia to give effect to its claim to administer the territory. In 1970 the Council for Namibia issued Decree N. 1 for the Protection of Namibian Natural Resources, which is designed to prevent the exploitation of those resources before independence; it further decrees that companies or individuals acting against it will be held liable for damages by the government of an independent Namibia.

There followed several Security Council Resolutions which specifically recognised the termination of the Mandate. In 1970 the Security Council asked the International Court of Justice in The Hague to issue an Advisory Opinion on the question of "what are the legal consequences for States of South Africa's continued presence in Namibia notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276".

In its landmark opinion, the Court reached several conclusions, the most important being:

- that South Africa's continued presence in Namibia being illegal, it was under an obligation to withdraw its administration immediately;
- States members of the United Nations are under an obligation to recognise the illegality of South Africa's presence and should "refrain from any acts and in particular any dealing with the Government of South Africa implying recognition of the legality of, or lending support or assistance to, such presence and administration." (1)

The Security Council added a new and more practical element to the problem by unanimously adopting a resolution in 1976 (SCR 385(76)) which called for Namibia to accede to independence through United Nations supervised and controlled elections. This initial plan was further defined in Security Council Resolution 435(78) which included a timetable for accession to independence following the establishment of a cease-fire, and for the deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping force and the setting up of a parallel administration (United Nations Transitional Assistance Group - UNTAG -) which would be responsible for security and the electoral arrangements for an independent constituent assembly. It will be noted that the Security Council had dropped its initial insistence on South Africa withdrawing prior to elections, and acknowledged the maintainance of parallel administrations during the transitional phase.

That same year the Western members of the Security Council - Canada, France, the Federal Republic of West Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States - constituted themselves into a self-appointed Contact Group to negotiate between South Africa and the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO)

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(1) The issues of international law surrounding the question of Namibia are extremely complex. Countries universally regard South Africa's continued presence in Namibia as illegal, even though their reasons for doing so may vary. It is generally recognised that owing to fundamental breaches of the Mandate South Africa had divested itself of any entitlement under the Mandate, and therefore the international status of Namibia still holds since no lawful basis has ever existed by which South Africa could have unilaterally altered that international status. However, some states argue that since the UN Charter confers only recommendatory powers upon the General Assembly, the Assembly could not recognise all the powers conferred by the Assembly on the complex administrative machinery based on its 1966 resolution, such as the UN Council for Namibia. The legal status of Decree N. 1 is also the subject of some controversy: some countries however do observe it. Sweden for example has enacted legislation prohibiting investment in South Africa and Namibia.

As far as trade is concerned, countries do not provide any export credit guarantees or insurance cover. Some countries officially discourage investment in Namibia; the United States government has not offered any protection or guarantees for investment since 1966 when the UN terminated the Mandate. Trade with Namibia is not banned at international level however since there is no mandatory Security Council Resolution under Article 39 of the Charter (threat or breach of the peace, act of aggression).

under the terms of SCR 435. They set themselves a two-year deadline.

The Contact Group's negotiations proved to be a laborious and painstaking process, which lasted far longer than envisaged at the outset. Agreement foundered over successive obstacles thrown up in the path of negotiations; the principal ones being:

- United Nations impartiality; the South African government maintained that this had been jeopardised by the General Assembly's designation of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) as the "sole and authentic representatives of the Namibian people" (the OAU has conferred the same status on SWAPO);
- the size and the composition of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG);
- the choice of the electoral system to be used.

All these issues, with the exception of the electoral system, have been resolved, and it is generally acknowledged that important concessions have been made during the negotiations, particularly by South West African People's Organisation. While South Africa accepted the United Nations' role, the South West African People's Organisation for its part acknowledged that it would be one of the parties contesting the elections, which would be organised on an electoral system of South Africa's own choosing. (1)

However further and decisive progress was effectively stalled when South Africa, with American support, made it known in the summer of 1982, that implementation of the United Nations settlement plan depended on the prior withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola (this became known as "Linkage").

#### Namibia and the Regional Context

Major political changes in Southern Africa have meant that South Africa's determination not to relinquish control of Namibia has progressively shifted from its traditional economic and political ground (its considerable economic wealth, almost exclusively derived from minerals, accrued to South African companies in the form of profits and dividends, and to the government in the form of tax revenues)

(1) ~~South Africa~~ is now on record as stating that all the outstanding issues under Resolution 435 have been resolved. (See the Further Report of the Secretary General Concerning the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 435(78) and 439(78) Concerning the Question of Namibia, United Nations Security Council, S/15943, 29 August 1983). During consultations held in August 1983, South Africa had given Mr Perez de Cuellar an undertaking that it would notify him of its choice of an electoral system before the end of 1984. Mr Perez de Cuellar has recently officially informed the Security Council of South Africa's failure to do so.

as strategico-military as well as political considerations have gained the upper hand.

The South West African People's Organisation had already lent a military dimension to the conflict when it launched its first attacks against South African forces in the Eastern Caprivi strip in 1968. However, the military conflict inside Namibia was restricted to minor skirmishes and limited incursions by groups of guerillas for several years.

The sudden collapse of Portugal's African empire in 1974 and the coming to power in Angola and Mozambique of avowedly left-wing governments not only created an arc of radical black states around South Africa, but also quickly led to an intensification of the armed struggle in Namibia as SWAPO began to operate out of bases in Angola. Zimbabwe's simultaneous accession to independence in 1981 and the victory of Robert Mugabe in the elections further closed the circle, even though Zimbabwe never allowed SWAPO to launch military operations from its territory.

South Africa's unsuccessful invasion of Angola in the summer of 1975 had already hardened the armed forces resolve to strengthen South Africa's military and strategic position in the region. The new Prime Minister, P.W. Botha, himself a former Minister of Defence, was a more sympathetic and effective supporter of this new policy.

In the late seventies South Africa then launched a multi-sided policy in Southern Africa designed to weaken neighbouring countries by combining support for rebel movements and military reprisals, sabotaging key transport and communications networks, reducing trade, tourism and migrant labour's access to the South African labour markets, and generally seeking to "destabilise" them whilst being careful not to bring down their governments. At the same time their tougher policy was coupled with diplomatic overtures, particularly with Angola as secret talks were held throughout 1982 in the Cape Verde Islands.

As far as Namibia was concerned, South Africa succeeded in moving the war from northern Namibia to southern Angola by continuing to occupy the southern provinces of Angola it had invaded in the summer of 1981. It also sought to weaken the MPLA government in Luanda by providing military and logistical support to a rival movement led by Jonas Savimbi, UNITA.

By raising the issue of linkage South Africa led the negotiations into a diplomatic deadlock that mirrored the military stalemate inside Namibia. It became



obvious that neither side could win the war in Namibia; SWAPO did not have the military capacity to overwhelm South African forces, but neither could South Africa vanquish SWAPO. Recent events have dramatically altered the situation in southern Africa and have raised the prospect of independence for Namibia.

### A New Realism in Southern Africa?

In October 1983 President Machel of Mozambique embarked on a major tour of Western capitals, confirming his government's desire to improve relations with the West. Mozambique's economic difficulties, compounded by drought and continuing rebel activities explain his wish to align Mozambique more firmly with the West. Mozambique's application to join the future ACP-EEC Convention is another clear and tangible sign of what is a major policy realignment.

South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, followed in President Machel's steps by visiting several Western European capitals at the end of November. At a press conference held in London prior to his departure, he suggested that withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola might be staged "parallel" and not prior to implementation of the United Nations' plan.

Mozambique and South Africa subsequently entered into bilateral talks on a wide range of economic and security issues. These culminated in a historic ministerial meeting in Maputo in February 1983, and in the signing of a non-aggression pact.

A major American diplomatic initiative focusing on Angola and South Africa has run parallel to developments with Mozambique.

It is believed that the groundwork for the recent progress achieved in Angola was laid at a series of little-noticed meetings between Chester Crocker, the American Assistant Secretary of State, and both Mr P. W. Botha and Mr P. K. Botha. The United States had already given South Africa a clear signal that they should pursue a more concessionary policy by abstaining on the December United Nations Security Council resolution which condemned South Africa's latest incursion into Angola, launched at the beginning of December.

On January 31 Prime Minister Botha made a major policy statement on Namibia in Parliament which seemed to herald a significant policy shift. He declared that Namibia was not a part of South Africa and had never been regarded as such by South Africa. He spoke repeatedly of South Africa's "heavy burden" and "sacrifice" in Namibia, and added that South Africa was not prepared to

continue to bear that burden "if it seems that the continued presence of our forces does not enjoy the whole-hearted support of the people of South West Africa." Mr Botha's words betrayed a profound war-weariness, and he referred to the economic cost of Namibia in uncharacteristically blunt language. South Africa, he said, had made 600 M Rand of assistance available to the territory that year; a further 400-500 M Rand had been spent "on the security and protection" of the people of South West Africa. At 1 billion Rand, South Africa's assistance "must surely be regarded as one of the most generous foreign aid programs anywhere in the world today".

Finally, he announced that South Africa would unilaterally disengage its forces from Angola.

Informed observers have suggested that Mr Botha could afford to signal to his white electorate that perhaps the time to let go of Namibia had come because he had secured his political position thanks to his decisive victory in the November constitutional referendum. Furthermore, he does not face a fresh election for at least another two years.

Angola and South Africa settled the terms of the disengagement at the Luanda Summit of mid-February, where they also set up a Joint Commission to monitor the ceasefire. The Americans have opened a small office in Windhoek to help monitor the ceasefire, if necessary.

Does this ceasefire pave the way for implementation of SCR 435?

#### An Uneasy Truce

The ceasefire in Angola is a fragile one. It is underpinned by a series of implicit commitments and tacit assumptions:

- the Angolan government has undertaken to restrain SWAPO guerillas, and to ensure that neither they nor Cuban troops move into the areas vacated by Southern African forces;
- the South African government will cut off supplies to UNITA and also seek to restrain them from taking advantage of the vacuum left by their forces.

Nonetheless, the fact that negotiations have seemed to stray away from the issue of Namibian independence and implementation of Resolution 435 to focus almost exclusively on the withdrawal of Cuban soldiers and security in Angola has awoken fears that South Africa is seeking to bypass Resolution 435 completely, and still seeks to impose its own constitutional "dispensation" on Namibia.

The withdrawal of Cuban troops is a major policy goal of both the United States and South Africa. (1)

Mr Botha's January 31 speech certainly did not contain any indication that South Africa was concerned to proceed to a speedy implementation of SCR 435, and it included a clear - and possibly politically significant - message to those of Namibia's internal political parties currently meeting as a self-designed Multi-Party Conference to "demonstrate their willingness to produce a viable political solution". (It is interesting to note that the Christian Democratic Union Party, which represents the white German speaking population, is not taking part in the Conference, leaving a clear field to the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and the right-wing National Party; some left wing and black parties are also represented). South Africa's recent offer to meet SWAPO at an all party peace Conference has been given a frosty reception by Western countries, who tend to regard it as one of South Africa's more transparent attempts to sidestep SCR 435.(2)

In fact, the disengagement in Angola may yet turn out to be the first in a series of steps which could result in Namibia gaining its independence in 1984:

- after South Africa withdraws its remaining troops from Angola, the Angolan government would declare that the conditions for the departure of the Cuban troops had been created;
- South Africa would announce that because of the "pending departure" of Cuban troops, it would begin implementing SCR 435;
- Washington could then announce its resumption of normal diplomatic relations with Angola;
- following a ceasefire between SWAPO and South Africa in Namibia, the United Nations could deploy UNTAG to monitor the ceasefire and help organise and supervise elections to an independent constituent assembly.

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(1) The Joint South Africa-Angola Communiqué issued in Lusaka did include the following statement: "... the Lusaka meeting constitutes an important and constructive step towards the peaceful resolution of the problems of the region, including the question of implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435."

(2) See the Financial Times of Monday, March 12, and Tuesday, March 13, 1984.

However, a senior South African Foreign Ministry Official was recently quoted as saying that it was premature for South Africa to commit itself to an "artificial timetable" and that, "We are opposed to this sort of artificial grand design which raises expectations which it may not be possible to meet".(1)

If Resolution 435 is to be implemented soon, the question of meeting the considerable financial expense involved in its deployment will become a matter of great urgency. The EEC could play a vital role in helping to meet the cost.

## II. THE EEC AND NAMIBIA

### a) The Framework for Pre-Independence Aid

#### - Implementation of Security Council Resolution 435

There can be little doubt that UNTAG's most important tasks will involve responsibility for security arrangements, and ensuring that elections are both free and fair. The experience of Zimbabwe is highly instructive in this respect, for it highlighted the crucial importance of all parties having equal access to the media, freedom of movement throughout the country, and generally being allowed to reach voters directly through public meetings and the distribution of printed materials. The Community could play a valuable role by allocating funds for this specific purpose, as the legitimacy of the elected government of an independent Namibia will be measured in terms of the fairness of the elections which will bring it to power.

Another key issue related to the holding of free and fair elections is that of Namibians who will be coming back to the country, and who will wish to exercise their democratic right to vote. The EEC could target support for this particular purpose at an early stage, possibly even prior to independence, after which the problem of resettling refugees will be posed even more starkly for the new government.

#### - The question of pre-independence aid to Namibia

Providing direct governmental aid to Namibia raises many questions of a political, and some observers would go so far as to argue, of an ethical nature. The current

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(1) This section draws from "Pretoria denies timetable has been agreed for Namibia settlement," by Michael Hornsby, The Times, 28 February 1984.

position is that very little direct aid has been made available, as this would be in breach of the United Nations' framework and would be regarded as tantamount to strengthening and even legitimizing South Africa's rule, universally re-regarded as illegal.

Recently the question of providing international relief was mooted owing to the serious effects of the drought in Namibia, particularly in the rural areas. However, it is significant to note that the United Nations Secretary General's carefully worded invitation to the international community to consider the possibility of channeling humanitarian assistance to Namibia has not met with any noticeable response. (1)

The international community generally feels that under present circumstances it would be both politically unacceptable and undesirable to increase current flows of direct humanitarian aid to any significant level.

Nonetheless there is a growing interest, especially in some EEC countries - and notably amongst members of the Contact Group - in providing some aid, and in particular humanitarian aid, at an early stage to Namibia, if appropriate channels can be found.

It is generally recognised that in view of the considerable constraints involved such flows will always be modest. The main criterion for such aid is that the beneficiary must be in independent, private, non-political body or organisation not connected in any way to the internal administration.

The bulk of the predominantly humanitarian aid, as well as aid for education and training provided in this way, has been granted directly by European NGOs - notably Protestant and Catholic ones - working through counterpart organisations in Namibia, by several EEC countries (notably Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands) and Nordic countries through co-financing of NGO projects, and by the World Council of Churches and the Lutheran World Federation.

The main beneficiary has been the Namibian Council of Churches, which was established in 1978 and is composed of the main denominations in Namibia. It comprises the Anglican, Lutheran, Methodist, Roman Catholic, United Congregational,

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(1) "The present cycle of drought in southern Africa as a whole is having a devastating impact on the national economy and the every-day life of the people of the Territory. In the circumstances the international community might wish to consider what could be done to provide humanitarian assistance to support local efforts in this regard." Further Report of the Secretary General Concerning the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 435(78) and 439(78) Concerning the Question of Namibia, United Nations Security Council, S/15943, 29 August 1983.

and Methodist Episcopal Churches. The Namibian Council of Churches is thus an ecumenical body which has become increasingly involved in educational and grass-roots development work, especially in the rural areas where the overwhelming majority of black Namibians live. In addition to these main activities, it provides legal advice and legal aid, social welfare services to those in distress and disseminates information abroad and within the country concerning Namibia regularly.

The prominent role played by the Churches of Namibia is a special and highly particular feature of the country, and reflects the fact that 70% of the population regards itself as practising Christians.

There is further scope for providing direct aid by supporting local community projects, such as the recently established community centre in Katatura, the black township of Windhoek (population: 80,000) which will be used to develop training, education, and recreational facilities. Yet another example of such initiatives are two recently established independent schools, the Martin Luther King School and the Gideon Community School.

Very little direct aid is presently going to Namibia for education and training. Some EEC governments have an open mind on channeling such aid directly, provided that a suitable counterpart organisation can be found. There is however an increased willingness to allow internal candidates to apply for training and educational programmes in Europe or in neighbouring countries on the same footing as Namibians living outside the country, in view of the generally appalling educational system for blacks in Namibia. There is an especially acute need for English language teacher training. The EEC should extend further support to such programmes, as well as providing scholarships and bursaries to Namibians both outside and inside the country.

#### - Aid to Namibia

The international community of donors provides substantial aid to Namibian refugees and to the various United Nations programmes and funds set up to meet the acute need for qualified administrators and skilled manpower of an independent Namibia.

The total number of Namibian refugees is estimated at 85,000, of which some 75-80,000 live in Angola, with the next largest group of 5,000 in Zambia. Of this number approximately half live in the large settlement of Kwanza Sul, which comprises some twelve camps situated in the province of the same name in Angola.

The other half lives in the southern part of the country, where they have mingled with the local population which comes from much the same ethnic background. International relief officials do not have access to this area because of the security situation; nonetheless some European NGOs, such as the British group War on Want, have been able to operate in the area by distributing limited quantities of food aid and providing other essential services. These Namibian refugees, along with the local Angolan population, are the ones who are enduring the greatest hardship and suffering.

The refugees living in the Kwanza Sul settlement are assisted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, whose role is to monitor and ensure that international assistance reaches its intended beneficiaries. UNHCR has the necessary staff in Angola to conduct proper monitoring, and is fully satisfied that it is able to fulfil its mandate in Kwanza Sul.

The main financial backer of the camps is the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA); the minimum food needs are met by WFP which provides a basic ration. This is topped up by other donors, mainly SIDA but others as well, as WFP does not cover all the food needs of the population (WFP's food assistance for 1980-84 covered the supply of 23,453 tonnes of basic food commodities; a one-year extension covering 11,365 tonnes is to be submitted to the May 1984 session of WFP's governing board); 80% of the population are women, and the remaining 20% are mainly school-children and the aged.

The Angolan government has allocated land for the growing of food crops (the camp is situated on a former coffee plantation) however it has not been possible to obtain a significant food crop because of drought and the lack of proper irrigation facilities, as well as the absence of suitable land clearing equipment and other agricultural inputs.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has set up a comprehensive humanitarian assistance programme in Kwanza Sul, designed to train and educate refugees and help them to become more self-sufficient by lessening their dependence on international aid. The World University Service, (WUS - a private voluntary organisation), SIDA, and other donors run an extensive educational programme for children and to combat adult illiteracy. The Nordic countries also run a hospital.

However, there is a continuing need for funds to support these programmes. The EEC's total donation for Namibian refugees stands at 4 MECU; however the 1,8 MECU last granted to UNHCR for its projects in November 1982 has been spent, and no further

grants have been made. It is recommended that further humanitarian aid, in the form of emergency aid as well as aid to projects designed to help refugees become more self-reliant (line 936 of the budget) be granted.

The EEC has also made some 800 tonnes of food aid available through NGOs to refugees and displaced persons in Angola.

Finally, additional funding is provided to the UN Nationhood Programme, the Fund for Namibia, and the Namibia Institute in Lusaka. The UN Programmes are largely designed to train administrators and other skilled personnel for an independent Namibia. The EEC has contributed 1,5 MECU to the Lusaka Institute under the regional cooperation fund of the Lomé Convention.

It is sometimes felt that the EEC has tended to rely on the Lomé Convention to assist Namibians. While this can be easily explained by the fact that the Convention does provide a relatively easy way of providing such assistance, there can be no doubt that the EEC has both additional instruments and resources to step up its humanitarian assistance to Namibian refugees, particularly as far as education, training, and agriculture are concerned.

#### b) The Community and an Independent Namibia

The political situation in southern Africa is undergoing a rapid evolution which will have a direct bearing on Namibia's long delayed accession to sovereignty and independence through implementation on the United Nations' settlement plan.

In view of the Community's consistent and firm commitment to international efforts to solve the Namibian question, its formal links with most countries of southern Africa through the Lomé Convention, as well as its support for SADCC it is important that the Community take the initiative in preparing the ground for an independent Namibia. The current negotiations for the future ACP/EEC Convention provide a unique opportunity for the EEC, together with its ACP partners, to plan ahead and hold out the prospect of a long-term political and economic relationship with an independent Namibia.

It should do this for three reasons:

- it would acknowledge Namibia's importance to the southern African region, where it constitutes the last link in the chain of countries grouped in SADCC and/or



the Lomé Convention;

- it would avert financial or budgetary difficulties which could arise if Namibia were to join the future convention mid-stream;
- it would encourage the international community to coordinate future international assistance for Namibia, and to identify priorities for aid.

Provision should be made for Namibia in a protocol or declaration attached to the Convention.

The international community as a whole will play an important part in helping the government of an independent Namibia take its first faltering steps after independence, and doubtless there will be an international pledging conference along the lines of ZIMCORD, organised shortly after Zimbabwe became independent.

It is equally obvious that the future government will play an active role in setting priorities and drawing up development programmes; it is very difficult to pinpoint the substance of such programmes without the agreement of the recipient country.

This difficulty is compounded by the fact that precise knowledge of the Namibian economy can be difficult, and has been hampered by the fact that South Africa stopped publishing official statistics several years ago. Nonetheless the main features of the economy, as well as the main constraints, are known.

The vast, arid, and sparsely populated territory of Namibia (with a population generally estimated at around 1.1-1.2 million) has an almost exclusively export-oriented economy largely dependent on minerals (principally diamonds and uranium, but also base metals; they accounted for 30% of GDP in 1981). The commercial farming sector, dominated by livestock breeding, with three quarters of animals being exported on-the-hoof for slaughter and sale in South Africa accounted for another 10% of GDP in 1981. Two other key export products, Karakul pelts (the Swakara fur) and fish have virtually collapsed, the former because of weak demand on world markets, and the latter because of overfishing. Namibia imports most of its food needs from South Africa, and wholly exports potential food products (the visitor to Windhoek will learn much to his or her surprise that it is impossible to find fresh fish in the city). There is virtually no manufacturing or intermediate industry in the country. Most of its import needs, especially processed and capital goods, are supplied by South Africa. In fact Namibia is for all intents and purposes economically integrated into South Africa. The combined effects of drought and economic recession have shown just how vulnerable it is.

as the economic situation has markedly deteriorated over the last few years.

Assistance in the wake of independence will in all likelihood be targeted to the following areas:

- the repatriation of refugees will cause major social and economic problems; a considerable role has been reserved for UNHCR within the UNTAG operation to implement the voluntary repatriation of refugees as well as their establishment; a \$ 45,000,000 programme has already been drawn up;
- the need to replace South African expatriate staff in government ministries and public bodies will pose further serious problems, and it will be much more acute in Namibia than it was in Zimbabwe, where there was a truly national civil service;
- the need to repair and rebuild war devastated parts of the country.

Long-term development assistance may concentrate on the following, bearing in mind that this is not intended by any means to be an exhaustive list:

- training and education; there is an acute need for trained manpower and general education; a few telling statistics will illustrate just how serious the problems are. Out of 55,101 black pupils enrolled in the first year of primary school in 1981, only 346 finished secondary school. In 1982, black enrollment was estimated at just over 200,000 or 16% of the black population. Of these fully 71% were in lower primary school, only 22% were in upper primary school, and an astounding 7% in secondary school and vocational training; (1)
- English language and teacher training; the teaching of Afrikaans reinforces Namibians' isolation; for example, one of the most important educational programmes run by the Namibian Council of Churches is study groups for adults who are learning English;
- agricultural training; the improvement of subsistence agriculture will be a major priority (it accounts for only 5% of GDP even though nearly half the population is engaged in it);
- land resettlement; Zimbabwe highlights just how crucial this is both economically and socially;
- rehabilitating the fishing industry; overfishing of formerly abundant species like pilchard, especially by South African operators and foreign trawlers, resulted in a total pilchard ban in 1981. Many South African companies have already moved their operations to South Africa and Chile; in any case the fishing and canning industry is concentrated in Walvis Bay, over which the South Africans claim sovereignty. The number of jobs in the industry has fallen dramatically;

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(1) See, Education, Repression and Liberation in Namibia A Future for Namibia 4, Justin Ellis, Catholic Institute for International Relations, London, 1984.

- irrigation; this is especially crucial in the rainier northern farming areas where the subsistence agricultural economy could be improved; some parts of the country also have ground water, which could be tapped;
- energy supplies; the Cunene scheme along the northern border is especially important, for when it is fully operational - thus far, the Angolan government has not been prepared to operate the vital Caleque diversion - it could provide the power for developing industry and irrigating northern farming areas.

The future ACP-EEC Convention, through its existing instruments, and it is hoped, through special provision for SADCC which it should effectively treat as a sub-regional unit, contains many of the instruments which an independent Namibia could use.

### III - CONCLUSIONS

Only time will tell whether the latest initiatives launched in southern Africa will turn out to be another false dawn as far as Namibian independence is concerned. Its past vicissitudes invite some skepticism. It is vital at this time for the EEC to reiterate its full support for implementation of SCR 435, and to back up that commitment by offering an independent Namibia a clear opportunity for permanent political and economy links.

However, the Community should not wait for full independence before granting aid, and indeed it has not done so. Some conditional direct aid should be made available for humanitarian purposes. In addition the Community can step up aid to Namibians outside the country, both through aid for Namibian refugees, and by offering a fuller panoply of training and education possibilities for Namibians living outside their country.

LIST OF INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANISATIONS WHO GAVE EVIDENCE

I should like to thank the following individuals and organisations who gave unstintingly of time and effort in helping me to prepare this report and resolution.

Such merits as the report and resolution may have are all theirs; any inaccuracies in the report should be attributed to me.

- Mr David De BEER, SWAPO, External Relations Officer, The Netherlands;
- Mr Keith BLOOMFIELD, United Kingdom Permanent Representation to the European Communities, Brussels;
- Messrs Justin ELLIS, Ian LINDEN, Paul SPRAY, of the Catholic Institute for International Relations in London;
- Mr Maurice FOLEY, Deputy Director General, Directorate General for Development and Cooperation, Commission of the European Communities, Brussels;
- Mrs Thérèse GASTAUT, Head of the United Nations Information Office, Brussels;
- The Rt. Hon. Denis HEALEY, Opposition Spokesman on Foreign Affairs, Westminster, London;
- Mr Oliver JALBERT, Canadian Mission to the European Communities, Brussels;
- Mr Peter MANNING, Information Officer, SWAPO, London;
- Ambassador Moteane John MELANU, Botswana Mission to the European Communities, Brussels;
- Ambassador Petrus MEYER, South African Mission to the European Communities, Brussels;
- Mrs DELL PALAZZOLO, Development Officer, United States Mission to the European Communities, Brussels;
- The Rt. Hon. Malcolm RIFKIND, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, United Kingdom;
- Mr John SCOTT, Namibia Desk Officer, Directorate General for Development and Cooperation, Commission of the European Communities, Brussels;
- Ambassador SINCLAIR, United Nations Council for Namibia;
- The Bishop of Stepney, The Rt. Rvd. Jim THOMPSON, Member of the Anglican Delegation which visited Namibia in October 1983;
- Mr J.K. TWINOMUSINGUZI, Assistant Director for International Affairs, Commonwealth Secretariat, London;
- Mr Jeremy VARCOE, Head of the Southern Africa Division, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, United Kingdom;
- Mr Terence WAITE, Assistant to the Archbishop of Canterbury for Anglican Communion Affairs.

- The Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), Copenhagen, Denmark,
- The Finnish Mission to the European Communities, Brussels, Belgium,
- The Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation, Bonn, West Germany,
- The Interchurch Coordination Committee for Development Projects (ICCO), Zeist, The Netherlands,
- The Italian Permanent Representation to the European Communities, Brussels, Belgium,
- The Office of the Minister Responsible for European Affairs, Paris, France,
- Rio Tinto Zinc Services Limited, London, United Kingdom,
- The Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), Stockholm, Sweden,
- The United Nations Development Programme, Geneva, Switzerland,
- The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva, Switzerland,
- The World Council of Churches, Geneva, Switzerland,
- The World Food Programme, Rome, Italy.

I cannot omit the thorough and ungrudging work done by Marina Baraldini of the Secretariat of the Development and Cooperation Committee of the European Parliament.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION DOCUMENT 1-362/83  
tabled by Mr MULLER-HERMANN, Mr CROUX, Mr LUSTER,  
Mr BARBI and Mr VERGEER  
on behalf of the EPP Group (Christian-Democratic Group)  
pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure  
on economic and trade relations with Namibia

The European Parliament,

- A. having regard to its resolution on the need for development aid to Namibia of 13 January 1983,
- B. having regard to the growing economic difficulties facing Namibia because of the political uncertainty regarding the future of the country,

Calls on the Commission and the Council to ensure that trade relations between the European Community and Namibia do not suffer on account of the political climate and that, as far as respect for its trade interests is concerned, Namibia is no less favourably placed than other comparable African states, e.g. in regard to the granting of guarantees by government agencies.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION DOCUMENT 1-1125/83

tabled by Mr PEARCE

pursuant to Rule 47 of the Rules of Procedure  
on the independence for Namibia

The European Parliament,

- A - concerned that the granting of independence of Namibia continues to be deadlocked,
  - B - criticizing the intransigent attitude of the South African Government in the negotiations,
  - C - concerned at the continued presence of foreign troops in the region,
  - D - criticizing the General Assembly's insistence at regarding SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia,
  - E - aware of the legitimate role that is played by some internal political parties in working towards a peaceful independence,
  - F - reaffirming that the international community must not take any action that might prolong South African occupation of Namibia,
1. Calls on the contact group and all the parties involved to implement the UN plan for Namibia's independence as set out in Resolution 435 and other resolutions;
  2. Calls on the South African Government to respect the international community's call to end the illegal occupation of Namibia;
  3. Asks that the UN does not block the participation of genuine internal political parties in Namibia in the negotiations for a settlement, since the exclusion of either SWAPO or the internal political parties will continue to make a solution difficult;
  4. Calls on the Governments of the Member States of the EEC to use their influence with all the parties concerned to bring about a solution;
  5. Believes that the current deadlock of Namibia's future is hindering the development possibilities of the country and causing unnecessary hardship to the Namibian people. Accordingly asks that consideration be given to the following action, without in any way reinforcing or legitimising the South African occupation:

- provision of aid for training Namibians whether they are in the country or abroad by the EEC and other aid donors;
- provision of development assistance under the EEC Non-Associated Aid Programme;
- improving trade opportunities with Namibia and encouraging foreign companies to invest in the country according to an appropriate Code of Conduct.