

NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE TALKS

HELD AT THE MULUNGUSHI CONFERENCE HALL - LUSAKA - ZAMBIA

11 - 13 MAY 1984

DELEGATIONS PRESENT:

His Excellency, The President, Dr K Kaunda

His Excellency, The Administrator- General of SWA,  
Mr W A van Niekerk

SWAPO

Multi-Party Conference

Leaf for list of names

The Meeting started at 12h30 on 11 May 1984 at the Mulungushi Conference Hall.

President Kaunda welcomed the various delegations, especially the Administrator-General, to the discussions and apologized for the delay in the start.

He then addressed the MPC and said that Chief Munjuku had spoken to him in person: " He is a believer and I am a believer." He stated that Chief Munjuku had stated that he was not a member of SWANU.

President Kaunda then expressed the idea that the meeting should continue because he had a dinner waiting for the guests at State House.

He called on the Administrator-General to deliver his speech.

Dr van Niekerk then delivered his opening address.

The President then called on Sam Nujoma to deliver his speech.

This was followed by Moses Katjiuongua's speech.

President Kaunda addressed Dr van Niekerk as Co-Chairman and stated that the three speeches had been very constructive. They had given us a very clear direction. By the way people had behaved tonight, it had been demonstrated that there was a spirit of give and take.

The groups had been at loggerheads for a long time and we could not expect anything more than this attitude tonight.

He was greatfull for the spirit shown all round and was sure that it would continue.

It was clear he said, that, from the Administrator-General to

Sam Nujoma to Moses Katjiuongua, that there was a process of reconciliation.

President Kaunda then approached the question of the agenda.

The agenda was as follows:-

A general heading - THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA

1. Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435
2. Any other matters

He said that this was an agreed agenda.

He further stated that as far as press releases were concerned, discipline was important and that only through discipline would we prevent the spirit of co-operation from being destroyed.

His Excellency emphasized that all press statements would be made through the two Chairmen and only through the Office of the President.

The Administrator-General then announced that the parties should move to State House for the banquet.

President Kaunda announced that the groups should meet at 10h45 to start at 11h00 on Saturdaymorning.

The banquet then started at 02h00 on Saturdaymorning.

SATURDAY, 12 MAY 1984: 11H00

DR VAN NIEKERK: Suggested that a role of order be set up and asked Mr Nujoma and the MPC to submit a list of speakers. Mr Nujoma was requested by the AG to start. Mr Nujoma said that he would talk on behalf of SWAPO. A list of names was submitted by the MPC.

MR NUJOMA: As far as the first item on the agenda is concerned - Implementation of Resolution 435 - SA and SWAPO with Front line, Western five contact group and UN - all agreed to 435. It is SWAPO's belief that this long outstanding issue of manipulation of 435, is due to the unwillingness of SA to put an end to the loss of life and destruction of property in Namibia. We propose immediate implementation of 435.

On SWAPO side, we have a full mandate to agree here with SA on implementation of 435. I hope the AG has the same mandate, Mr Nujoma said, so that the Secretary General can be informed to go ahead with implementation.

He further stated that SA had nothing to fear and that the Whites had nothing to fear. In the first place the Western five contact group were permanent representatives of the Security Council and if it appeared that Whites were being suppressed in Namibia, they could use their veto. There should be no fear. Mr. Nujoma said that all people, regardless of race, creed,

sex or religion would be looked after.

He appealed to the AG as representative of the SA Government to implement Res 435 and end the bloodshed.

MR MUDGE:

Said that some people believed that implementation of Res 435 will in itself be a solution. We have agreed to the implementation of Res 435. It is a means to an end. It will be a platform for parties to face each other. It all depended on the spirit in which this took place. People could be friends in spite of belonging to different parties. Reconciliation was necessary.

He said that we had seen civil war in other countries after independence. The ruling party must have the support of the people as well as that of the other opposition parties. This is why the MPC came to Lusaka. The MPC came in a spirit of reconciliation.

He stated that they had not come to talk to the AG, they could do this in Windhoek. The MPC came to play a role. If they could not do that, they would leave.

The reaction the MPC got from SWAPO was, that they would not talk to us, Mr Mudge said. They see us as part of the SA Government.

We want a clear answer. If they say no, we leave. If they say yes, we stay. If we leave,

the violence will continue. Maybe you can carry on without the MPC, but this is an expensive experiment. On the other hand, fellow Namibians could speak together.

MR NUJOMA: I will respond at a later stage.

DR VAN NIEKERK: Suggested that the meeting break in order to caucus.

MR NUJOMA: It is our right to reserve an answer to a later stage. We have an agenda and we must stick to it.

DR VAN NIEKERK: Appealed to President Kaunda to state his opinion.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA: This morning we listened to the opening remarks. In all those three, I recognized my call that SA should talk to SWAPO. SWAPO should talk to the MPC and the MPC should talk to SA. We can sit here with differing views, but as brothers. I implore that they do not force SWAPO to declare that they will speak to the MPC. Everybody is serious, we all want independence, the fact that we are here, means that we want to talk to each other. He appealed to the Administrator-General that, "we stick to the agenda."

DR VAN NIEKERK: Agreed with the President.

ADV VAN ZYL: Expressed his gratitude to the President for the soothing words to pass the problem, but Mr Mudge had asked SWAPO pointedly for an

answer. SWAPO chooses to reserve its decision. The world heard that SWAPO will listen to the MPC and as part of the AG's-delegation. In this room they reserve their opinion to a later stage. SWAPO must make up its mind.

DR VAN NIEKERK: Said that by the presence of the parties at this meeting, there was a de facto agreement that they would talk to each other.

MR NUJOMA: All Namibians want independence. SA said Namibians must reach agreement on Res 435. All this has been done. Is SA ready?

We do not oppose delegates of the MPC. We have no power in Namibia.

Mr Nujoma addressed Adv van Zyl directly and said that he had no power in Namibia, either. He appealed to Adv van Zyl to address the SA Government.

DR VAN NIEKERK: I think that settles that.

MR MUDGE: We do not want you to speak to us, because we have power. I fail to see why SWAPO cannot just say they will speak to us.

DR VAN NIEKERK: I think Mr Nujoma said that he wanted to talk with the MPC against SA.

MR KATJIUONGUA: Asked two chairmen to issue a press statement in this regard.

DR VAN NIEKERK: Asked for the President's aid.

PRESIDENT  
KAUNDA:

Spoke to the MPC and said that they had been taken seriously and had come in their own right. He appealed to them to be reasonable. "Please do not force me to react, I may start thinking otherwise."

DR VAN NIEKERK: I think we must return to the agenda.

MR NUJOMA:

Our delegation's points on agenda are:-

1. Resolution 435
2. Other matters

We will sign a ceasefire with SA in order to implement Res 435.

DR VAN NIEKERK: We have a broad heading - under that we have Res 435.

MR RIRUAKO:

Addressed the AG and asked him to explain how he saw the implementation of Res 435.

MR CLEARY:

- Referred to the Prime Minister's statement in Parliament on the Namibia issue.
- He stated that we were faced with the problem that the Cubans might not leave Angola.
- The AG's mandate does not however extend to the changing of the policy of the SA Government and the SA Government was firmly committed to the idea of linkage.

MR KATJIUONGUA:

We agree to Res 435, today even, but how should we achieve this. The Cubans might not leave. Maybe we should be given the opportunity to discuss this strategy. We are prepared to discuss this in smaller groups.



MR CLEARY:

- Referred to the UN stand on the cessation of hostilities. He quoted paragraph 8 of the UN proposal.
- It was clear he said that hostilities created destruction. This should come to an end.
- A process of negotiation should take place in peace. SA responds to the acts of aggression perpetrated by SWAPO.
- If SWAPO makes a statement saying they will stop hostilities, the cycle of violence will end.

MR GURIRAB:

Referred to Mr Cleary's speech and said that it was out of context. He said that Res 435 provided a sequence of steps. It starts with a signing of a ceasefire and is followed by the rest of the plan. If SA is now saying that we should start with paragraph 8 and not paragraph 1, the whole process of Res 435 as agreed, becomes irrelevant.

MR CLEARY:

Referred to process of Res 435 and listed the developments up to now. Given the fact that there are different policy positions, (with specific reference to the Cuban linkage idea which the USA and SA Governments supported). It was futile to believe that people should continue to be killed because of the sequence of paragraphs in an agreement and because of policy statements.

MR GURIRAB:

Thanked Mr Cleary for clarification of this issue. He stated that we had been talking about

this issue since 1977. The modalities of reaching a ceasefire have been agreed on. We must start at the beginning of the process. We, the MPC or any other parties, cannot have an influence on the withdrawal of Cubans - this was an Angolan issue.

MR RIRUAKO:

Res 435 is not a holy cow. There is a way to go around Res 435. We cannot remain dependent on this piece of paper for ever, just because of the linkage idea. He referred to the Angolan situation where the MPLA had dominated over UNITA, FLEC and the FNLA after independence. Fears existed in Namibia that this would happen in Namibia. He asked for adjournment to discuss possible other ways.

PRESIDENT  
KAUNDA:

We will adjourn until 15h00.

During lunch break various discussions took place between members of the MPC and the AG. The MPC delegation felt unhappy that SWAPO had not been forced to say that it would speak to the MPC.

The AG and Mr Cleary urged them to drop this point as they were way ahead on technical points and were at the stage of forcing SWAPO into a corner, provided they demolished them with powerful speeches that afternoon.

15H35

DR VAN NIEKERK: The last subject under discussion was cessation of hostilities and Res 435. Asked if there were any other subjects under the heading "Namibian independence."

MR KAURA: Mr Kaura said that it was twenty years ago in Lusaka when he had been handed some bread at Lusaka railway station. As he travelled from Windhoek to Lusaka, he had thought about Zambia and how the country had moved to independence from words to ploughshares. It had been a long time since that night in Lusaka and since then many freedom fighters had died. He then referred to the death of Clemens Kapuuo. He said that they accepted Res 435 as the only document, but that the pages were turning dusty. It looked as if Res 435 was on the road of similar documents. The road to Res 435 was fraught with problems. Soon after it had been signed, it had been violated and deviated from e.g. - the linkage issue. We were now left with the ghost of Res 435. It had been introduced by the USA and SA, not by the MPC. The MPC had not introduced the Cuban linkage issue. Mr Kaura said that SWAPO and the MPC had been marching to the beat of distant drums. He stated that he had a bone to pick with the UN for the way it has treated its children. In Geneva the question of UN impartiality had been raised. Three Secretary Generals later, they still had not received an answer. The UN had become the cheerleader for

only one party and at the same time had to be an uninvolved referee. The UN does not even allow certain groups to speak. He said that Res 435 had lost its essence - we thus must find a common denominator. We must ignore the cheerleaders and speak with each other and not to each other. The time was now. The time had come that we should be able to say "one Namibia one Nation."

MR SHIPANGA:

Supported Mr Kaura.

Expressed thanks to Zambian President for making this possible. He said that as far as Res 435 was concerned, they wanted the complete plan. This included the linkage issue. Namibia was the only colonial possession and it was an untendable position.

He said that the UN and the Secretary Generals had been approached and there had been no progress.

The Prime Minister had stated that if the Namibian parties come to an agreement, SA would not stand in their way.

In disunity there is division. He said that they should look at their own home a little closer. Every village and every home knew of these talks.

He shuddered to think what will happen if something tenable could not be brought home, to Africa and to the world.

PRESIDENT  
KAUNDA:

Thanked Mr Kaura and Mr Shipanga for their contributions.

As far as UN importability goes, he said that we did not have to worry about this anymore after the last talks had taken place. UN money was given for cultural and social projects. The school in Lusaka was a good example of this.

He said he wanted to display this fear of partiality.

He referred to the statements that Res 435 was rusty. If this was the case, he said, then if we accept this, we accept re-negotiation of Res 435.

He stated that we should now look to specific issues. As far as implementation of Res 435 was concerned, there were problems with the linkage issue. It was supported by the USA and SA. The Prime Minister was asking us here in Lusaka, that if we can agree, then he will not stand in our way.

We must thus look at problems of Res 435.

SWAPO had declared that they will sign a ceasefire. The time is now; your troops as they leave Southern Angola should be followed by the implementation of Res 435, otherwise we will all perish. Anywhere, where there is oppression as in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, we have learned lessons.

Instead of running from Res 435, we must address it.

I have stated publically that I believe the PM is sincere. I told Mr Nujoma this. I support you Prime Minister in this. The MPC have made a call on Res 435 implementation, he said, and he called on SWAPO to sign a ceasefire-agreement that day.

President Kaunda said - supposing SWAPO declared a ceasefire for two months to show its sincerity and MPC supported this - what would happen if the Prime Minister did not support this. This was his fear. We cannot be sure of this, he stated.

He proposed that:-

1. In accordance with the Prime Minister's call, a firm and concrete document be drawn up that all parties have agreed on:
  - (a) Independence of Namibia;
  - (b) They agree on implementation of Res 435;
  - (c) They do not link independence with any extraneous factors; e.g. the Cubans; and
  - (d) That RSA will tackle SWAPO on cessation of hostilities.

If so, the President said that he would convey his ideas to the Prime Minister on how hostilities should end. He said that he should speak to him directly, not through this congress, but certain agreements would have to be made here, for that to happen.

He said that he would report back and the other parties would do the same. He said that they could meet again in Lusaka or anywhere else.

DR VAN NIEKERK: Suggested they should adjourn to study proposal.

MR NUJOMA:

I listened to Mr Cleary this morning on Res 435. He said that the SA Government had taken a firm decision on the linkage issue. We reject this. Namibia is a colony of SA and Angola is a sovereign state. This is a separate issue, he said. While we wait for Cuban withdrawal, we might do something constructive by ending hostilities. We cannot agree to anything however, except the whole package. We agree with the President and support these ideas.

22H00

PRESIDENT  
KAUNDA:

I would like to close the conference, but we have further problems. The MPC is travelling to another country. I am greatfull that they have been able to change their program. I must however express my disappointment with the AG and the MPC that they could not agree on a document which was a combination of three of the speeches. I was told that the MPC, as leaders of their parties, had to report back. I hope they return next time with a clearer mandate. I am disappointed, not angry. Next time, please come with people who are serious and who have a mandate. We will meet at 08h00 tomorrow!

During the night of 12 and 13 May, various discussions took place between the AG, Mr Cleary, members of the MPC and Mr Phiri.

It was decided that there had been a misunderstanding, that the MPC had expected to be called in by President Kaunda earlier that evening to discuss their proposals. This had not happened. They had decided to delay their departure for a day.

It was agreed with Mr Phiri that on Sunday, there would be an attempt to re-draft a document, outlining the points of agreement between the parties, as well as the points of disagreement.

SUNDAY MORNING:

PRESIDENT  
KAUNDA:

Thanked the MPC for delaying their trip to Librville. He apologized to them and to the AG for the article which appeared in the Zambian Times in which Mr Gurirab had made certain statements, and Mr Mudge was forced to reply. He said that there was an agreement that only official press statements would be made.

DR VAN NIEKERK:

Delegations should now go into caucus to finalize the final document.

SUNDAY EVENING:

19H40

PRESIDENT  
KAUNDA:

We now come to the end of our business. I would like to record the following:-

I thank each and every one of you for the patience you have shown in working on the problems which confront Namibia.

I refer to you, Mr Administrator-Général. Please convey my thanks to the Prime Minister for his effort in starting to create an atmosphere of re-



conciliation; by the release of Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, the release of 15 prisoners from Mariental, the cancellation of three restriction orders on three SWAPO members.

I say this knowing that SA has no right to be in Namibia and had no right to arrest these people. I am conscious though that he was not there when these decisions were taken. I know he has tried to relax the atmosphere. I know he is a serious man. These actions ensure SWAPO that he means well. I have been in touch with his government through you, Mr Administrator-General. When I speak of him as a sincere man, I might be misinterpreted, because actions speak louder than words. I still say he is sincere.

Since Vorster, I have never discussed Zambian issues with anyone, always other issues. I beseech him as a brother in Christ to work on this problem.

We have had three days of work to try and find a solution. You have shown SWAPO that you are serious.

He then addressed the MPC:-

Thank you for postponing your visit; this was not easy. Brothers, you come from different parties with different programmes, so you cannot speak with one voice, but you have given a statement through your chairman.

This was the first time that you talked with Sam Nujoma. You have shown a spirit of give and take. This will take you forward to working for Res 435. You have raised some problems.

Zambia is a member of the UN - we contributed to that Resolution. That did not stop us from calling this conference. After fighting, we must talk. I hope you have not found this time wasted. He then addressed Sam Nujoma.

You have been fighting a very powerful force, and when you speak of SA, you speak of 4 million people and supported from the USA, Japan and Europe.

You speak of western governments - which support status quo. Western governments who believe they must get strategic minerals from SA.

The war has been going for 10 years now. You are men of courage and wisdom. You have stated publicly that you want a non-racial society.

We will have opposed you if you were biased or racial, but we support you.

Please do know - you cannot continue to fight forever. You must help others to help you.

You want a ceasefire.

Do not close your doors.

He then addressed the Administrator-General.

It took us from 1957 - 1964, President Kaunda said that the key lay with Prime Minister Botha. I praise him for this. The Prime Minister must help us by taking the initiative.

MR NUJOMA:

I expressed my profound gratitude to you Mr President and to UNIP for your efforts and help in this Namibian problem. Zambia values the lives of people being killed at the hands of the SA Security Forces.

Addressing the AG he said:-

"Mr Administrator-General, do not hide or play hide and seek behind the back of the MPC. You and I will go, but these countries will remain and if there is no genuine effort by you, these scars will remain. It will not be SWAPO who will be blamed for Whites position if we return. Our people are being suppressed. Since Res 435 SA started playing tactical games."

Turning to Dirk Mudge and Eben van Zyl he said:-

"You Mr Mudge and you Mr Eben van Zyl. I speak to you as leaders of the white people. I cannot guarantee what will happen to white people. I cannot guarantee their safety - it is your fault. I also address you, Moses Katjiuongua - you have been caught up in a process of suppression - you cannot help this.

Thank you Mr President.

Thank you Mr Administrator-General.

Thank you fellow Namibians.

MR KATJIUONGUA: I appeal to my colleagues to take the words of the President as food for thought. We will try our best to achieve something. We have struggled, failed and struggled again until we find victory one day. I would like to convey my thanks for the kind hospitality we have received here. I know that there is disappointment. We hope we will not leave like this next time.  
Thank you Mr President, Thank you Mr Administrator-General and thank you fellow Namibians.

OFFICIAL SWAPO DELEGATION PRESENT AT LUSAKA TALKS:

10 - 13 MAY 1984

1. Sam Nujoma
2. Hendrik Witbooi
3. Nathanael G Maxidilli
4. Herman Toivo Ja Toivo
5. Moses Garoëb
6. Theo Ben Gurirab
7. Hidipo Hamutenya
8. Richard Kapelwa
9. Dr Earnest Tjiriange
10. Kapuka Nauyala
11. Dr Libertine Amathila
12. Victor Mangwiyah
13. Bartholomeus Karuaera
14. Nico Bessinger
15. Philip Therije
16. Josua Hoebeb
17. Hans Röhr
18. Justus Garoëb
19. Samson Gobbs
20. Rehabeam Uazukuani
21. Charlie Hartung
22. Hage J Geingob
23. Anton Lubowski
24. Chief Munjuku II
25. Pastoor Frederick
26. Aaron Shihepo