
PROF ANDRÉ DU PISANI

Historical Background
André du Pisani was born on 15 January 1949 in Windhoek, Namibia. He earned his bachelor’s degree from Stellenbosch University in South Africa in 1971 and honours’ in politics from Stellenbosch in 1972. He later earned a Master’s degree in politics from Stellenbosch in 1975. From 1975-76, André was a research student at the London School of Economics. In 1988, he earned his Ph.D. in politics from the University of Cape Town. From 1995-96, he did post-doctoral research through the Global Security Fellows Initiative at the University of Cambridge in the United Kingdom. During the course of his career, Prof. du Pisani has undertaken extensive research, and published prolifically, on Namibia’s political history. He has a renowned interest in Namibia’s political history, particularly Namibia’s political transition. It is these interests which are reflected in this collection, part of which has been donated to UNAM.

He is now a consultant to SADC, and also Professor of Politics at the Department of Political and Administrative Studies at the University of Namibia.

THE COLLECTION
Summary
The collection, with some documents going as far back as 1935, is mostly concentrated on the 1960s, 1970s up to Namibia’s independence. It comprises of many official publications of the South African Government, newspaper cuttings, conference papers, periodicals and journal articles referring to aspects of Namibia in pre-independence period. It holds an extensive collection of academic papers on Namibian history and aspects relating to the struggle for independence. The collection pays a special focus on Namibia’s unique international legal status, and the activities of the various internal political parties (DTA, SWAPO, SWAPO-Democrats, SWANU, FCN, UNITAG, Republican, Namibia National Front, United Party,) in the independence process, particularly the Multi-Party Conference, the Transitional Government, the role of the United Nations, Resolution 435, and the lead-up campaign to the independence elections of 1989. Gathered together for the student of Namibian political history, is an irreplaceable collection of party manifestos, declarations, principles, and standpoints on burning issues of the time. The collection also has a tape recording of speeches given by various politicians of the Transitional Government as well as election posters of the parties, flags and other small items used by the parties during campaign.

The collection is mainly in English but also contains some documents in Afrikaans and German. The descriptions have been done in the language that the document is made of.
The collection consists of 60 boxes or 15 cubic feet of documents.

**Arrangement of documents**
In most cases the original arrangement as provided by Prof. du Pisani was maintained, especially where he was putting together documents covering the same broad subject, e.g. documents relating to the Multi-Party Conference were kept together. Thus, most subject files are listed under MISCELLANEOUS as they could not fall under a specific class e.g. REPORTS or MINUTES. However, where files did not refer to any specific subject theme, these were entered under the various classes to which they would fall e.g. ARTICLES, NEWSPAPER CUTTINGS, CORRESPONDENCE etc. (See summary of classes list).

All the articles from each folder are listed individually because each folder has a broad and general theme not a specific one. Thus, individual listing of each article was done, though unusual, in order to allow easy access to specific articles and topics.

**References**
PA 2 (Private Archives 2) – this is the reference to the whole du Pisani collection.

From there, each class of records has a sub-number, e.g. 1 – Correspondence; 2 – Articles; 3 – Constitutional Assembly Papers etc.

Thus, to order the third file from the class ‘Articles’, one would order PA 2/2/3.

In some cases there are further sub-numbers to the list.

**The Papers**
Donated to UNAM by Prof. du Pisani in 1994.

**Processed**
Finding aid prepared by Violet Matangira in December 2009.
DESCRIPTION OF ARCHIVES

SUMMARY OF SERIES

1. CORRESPONDENCE
2. ARTICLES
3. CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY DEBATES
4. MAPS
5. NEWSPAPER CUTTINGS
6. PUBLICATIONS
7. PRESS RELEASES & STATEMENTS
8. REPORTS
9. MISCELLNEOUS (SUBJECT FILES)
DESCRIPTION OF ARCHIVES

PA 2/1  CORRESPONDENCE

1  André du Pisani – general on the Namibian issue; to and from Mburura Kerina on Namibia, and writings on the Namibian issue; from and to publishers on manuscripts for publications; stalemate over UN Plan for Namibia: 1978 – 1989

Includes text of telegram addressed to Secretary-General of the United Nations by the Parliamentary Representative of the President of UNITA copied to the Prime Minister of South Africa; letters from South Africa Foreign Minister, RF Botha to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the question of the proposed consultations in Geneva on South West Africa/Namibia; and letter from the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the South Africa Prime Minister.

PA 2/2  ARTICLES

   - On the Simmonstown Agreement by Dr HJ Simons (2 copies)
   - ‘Techniques of domination: South Africa’s colonialism’ by unknown
   - ‘German South West Africa: 1904-1914 (The settlers’ attempts to achieve social supremacy and the social disintegration of the territory)’ by Helmut Bley
   - ‘South West Africa: The case for international action’ by the Conference Steering Committee
   - ‘The development of the South West African economy’ by Sean Gervasi
   - Speech by Olof Palme, Swedish Minister for Communication, and Chairman of the Conference.
   - ‘South West Africa: The economic relationship with South Africa’ by Robert B. Sutcliffe
   - ‘The vulnerability of the South African economy’ by Sean Gervasi
   - ‘South West Africa: The defence position’ by Richard Gott
   - ‘German South West Africa: 1904-1914 (The settlers’ attempts to achieve supremacy and the social disintegration of the territory’ by Helmut Bley
   - ‘Education in South West Africa: policy and results’ by Marcia Kennedy McGill (2 copies)
PA 2/2/1 ARTICLES (Cont.)
- The blacks to the wall: the condition of the Africans in the mandated territory of South West Africa’ by Robert L. Bradford
- ‘South West Africa: the condition of the people’ by Joe Rogaly
- ‘The development of the South West African economy’ by Sean Gervasi
- ‘South West African origins of the “Sacred Trust” by Roger Louis D. Phil
- ‘The labour force’ by Charles Kiraisa
- ‘The land theft’ by Zedekia Ngavirua
- ‘Socio-economic aspects of the Odentaal Report: An analysis’ by Absolom L. Vilakazi

PA 2/2:

Various articles in one folder: 1969 - 1980
- ‘Some aspects of animal husbandry in Kavango’ by André du Pisani, 1978
- ‘The internal situation in South West Africa’ by Bryan O’linn, 1973
- ‘South West Africa and the United Nations’. South African Letter addressed to the UN Secretary-General, Jan 1976
- ‘South West Africa/Namibia: A Symposium’ by JD van der Vyver, John Gugard and JHP Serfontein, 1976
- ‘South West Africa/Namibia: Review of the international dispute’ by Marinus Wiechers, 1973
PA 2/2/2 ARTICLES (Cont.)

- ‘South West Africa/Namibia: Review of the international dispute’ by John Dugard, 1973
- ‘The labour situation in South West Africa’ by John Kane-Berman, 1973
- ‘The internal situation in South West Africa’ by Clemens Kapuuo, 1973
- ‘Kan SWA Slaag?’ by André du Pisani, 1979
- ‘Namibia old and new’ by Gerhard Totemeyer, 1978
- ‘Terror in Namibia?’ by unknown, 1978
- ‘How the British government is stealing Namibia’s uranium’ by Alun Roberts, 1979
- ‘Volledige Konsep-kostitusie vir Suidwes-Afrika/Namibie waaroordie Blanke kiesers van Suidwes-Afrika/Namibie op 17 Mei 1977 moet stem’
- ‘White Blacks: the new elites?: A study of selected aspects of modernization of the Rehoboth people, Namibia’ by Brunhilde Helm, 1979
- ‘A pottery cache from the Bethanie district, South West Africa’ by L Jacobson, 1977
- ‘Dama settlement and subsistence along the Ugab valley, South West Africa (Namibia)’ by E. du Pisani, 1978
- ‘SWA/Namibia: political continuity and change (1915-1978) by André du Pisani, n.d.
- ‘Regional integration and development in Africa: lessons from the East African Community’ by John Ravenhill, 1979
- Population census, South West Africa, 1978
- ‘South Africa: dilemmas of evolutionary change’ by Slabeert, F van Z and J Opland, 1980
- Comment ‘South Africa and the world: which way now?’ by André du Pisani, n.d.
- ‘South Africa’s decision on Namibia — a case of midwife suffering from cognitive dissonance?’ by André du Pisani, 1978
PA 2/2/2 ARTICLES (Cont.)
- ‘Namibia, Iran-Iraq and Grenada considered UNIFIL Mandate extended’, 1983
- ‘Ons Kerk in die Politieke van Suidwes-Afrika’ by Dr MM Nieuwoudt, 1979
- ‘Ciskei: Economics and politics of dependence in a South African homeland’ by Croom Helm, 1980
- Orientation training for public servants/employees in South West Africa, 1977
- Political developments in non-independent territories: Constitutional and political progress, 1980
- Finale Konsep – Aavaar deur die staatkundige be raad op 13/3/77
- ‘The church and independence in Namibia’ by WA Saayman, 1978
- ‘Some factors affecting local acceptance of a UN Force: A pilot report from Cyprus’ by Malvern Lumsden, 1972

PA 2/2:
3 Various articles with no specific theme: 1977 - 1991
- ‘Washington stops fighting itself over South Africa’ by Simon Barber, 1989
- Kommentaar op “Self-determination in African politics” by Dr GS Labuschagne, n.d.
- ‘Prospects for a settlement in Namibia: a note on South Africa’s perceptions towards Namibian decolonization and independence’ by André du Pisani, 1980
- Published: Strategy Research – Confidential Report, vol. 1, Nov. 1977
- SWA/Namibia: the politics of fragmentation’ by André du Pisani, 1978
- ‘Namibia: on Brinkmanship, conflict and self-interest – the collapse of the UN-plan’ by André du Pisani, n.d.
- ‘Namibia – some reflections on scenario generation’ by André du Pisani, n.d.
- ‘The issue of Namibian independence’ by Valentino J Belfiglio, 1979
PA 2/2/3 ARTICLES (Cont.)

- ‘Aspekte van identiteitsvorming en – verandering onder die Wambo van Suidwes-Afrika’ Deur JS Malan, 1989
- ‘The “consultation” of the people of South West Africa’, 1973
- ‘Some aspects relating to medical beliefs and health behavior in a black urban setting’ by Etienne du Pisani, 1988
- ‘National political and economic prospects’ by Karl Magyar and André du Pisani (first draft), n.d.
- ‘Racial reconciliation in southern Africa’ by Jeffrey Herbst, 1989
- ‘South Africa as a force for regional instability or instability, development, mass violence’ by Carol Rae Hansen, 1985
- ‘Patterns of crisis management’ by Michael Brecher and Patrick James, 1988
- Proposal – on an institute for the study and resolution of conflict – progress report, 1989
- ‘The legitimation crisis of the South African state’ by Kogila Moodley, 1986
- ‘Bargaining about bargaining – Inducing the self-negating prediction in deeply divided societies – the case of South Africa’ by Pirre du Toit, 1989
- ‘South Africa and SADCC: into the 1990s’, by André du Pisani, 1989
- ‘Quelques reflexions concernant les premises et les buts du dialogue des cultures dans les relations Nord-sud’ par Ronald Dreyer, 1991
- ‘Namibia since Geneva’ by André du Pisani, n.d.
- ‘South Africa won’t budge on Namibia’s Issues in Southern Africa’ by Anirudha Gupta, 1978
- ‘The decline of the Western demarche’ by Godwin Matatu, 1978
- ‘New development in South West Africa’ by Clemens Amelunxen, 1974
- MNR Dirk Mudge: Kombat: 5/5/1977
- ‘Uniting and disruptive forces in political organizations in Namibia’ by Gerhard Totemeyer, n.d.
- ‘South West Africa: A race against time’ by Christopher Muhlemann
- ‘Turnhalle – Baie bereik, maar veelom te bereik’ by Dr W Bruckner de Villeiers
PA 2/2/3 ARTICLES (Cont.)
- ‘SADCC: A post-Nkomati evaluation’ by Gavin Maarsdorp, 1984
- ‘The Rhodesian elections April 1979’ by David Willers, [1979]
- ‘Zimbabwe: the election conundrum’ from Africa Confidential, 1979
- ‘Namibia’s development: a third world perspective’ by Prof. KP Magyar, [1986]
- ‘Namibia: development problems in a transitional context’ by Prof KP Magyar, n.d.
- ‘US seeks release of South African labor leaders’ by Yaro Bihun, n.d.
- Background briefing by senior state department official on US relations with South Africa, 1985
- ‘SWAPO ignored warnings and paid heavy price’ [Operation Boswilger], from Paratus, Aug 1985
- ‘Contract labour in South Africa’ by John Kane-Bermann, 1972
- ‘Die Geografie van ‘n revolusionere oorlog SWAPO in Suidwes-Afrka’ by WS Barnard, 1982

PA 2/2:

Various articles with no specific theme: 1950 - 1990
- SWA/Namibia: Rudimentary Fact(s) & Figures by André du Pisani, n.d.
- Hunt for dissidents (Zimbabwe) in Africa no. 109, Sept 1980
- Sudliches Afrika, from Africa Post, Feb 1979
- Wir warden die Macht nicht teilen – Spiegel – Interview mit SWAPO-Chef Sam Nujoma, 31 July 1978
- Namibia: Nach der Wahl..Was dann?, from Africa Post, Mar 1978
- Fur die demikratische Zukunft Namibias, from Africa Post, Oct 1978
- Suidwesafrika/Namibia
- Die veerigtinde en Bevindindinge vam die komitee Ingestel in Term van artikel 3 (3) (a)van Proklamasie
- ‘Repercussions: Zambia, Rhodesia and South West Africa’ by Prof. B Cockram
- 23rd Regular Session of the United Nations General assembly (1968), April 1969
- Notes and comments – the legal status of Walvis Bay, from the South African Yearbook of International Law, vol. 2, 1976
PA 2/2/4 ARTICLES (Cont.)

- Documents on Walvis Bay
- ‘Political origins of the NIEO’ by Richard E Bissell
- South West Africa (Namibia): a human tapestry, n.d.
- ‘The use of consensus at the Constitutional Conference in South West Africa’ by A Paul Hare and Max von Broembsen, 1979
- ‘Walvis Bay: South Africa, Namibia and the question of sovereignty’ by Graham Evans, from *International Affairs*, vol. 66, no. 3, 1990
- ‘To where? Transitional strategies’ by Ignacy Sachs, 1979
- South West Africa – its history, racial composition and constitutional position by Dr Conradie, 1950
- Die rol van Owambo in die staatkundise toekoms van Suidwes-Afrika, 1976
- Church and society within the Southern African context “Has the church any meaningful role to play in society today? – a political scientist view by Gerhard Totemeyer, 1982

PA 2/2:

5 Various articles with no specific theme: 1976 - 1991
- ‘Namibia: Policy at the crossroads’ – an address to the Pretoria Branch of the South African Institute of International Affairs, by Sean Cleary, 1987
- Untitled document – [Constitution of Namibia] (English & Afrikaans versions)
- ‘Namibia/South Africa relations since independence’ by Graham Evans, 1991
- ‘Namibia: The state of the struggle’ by Reginald Herbold Green, n.d.
- ‘People in power’ by Peter Kenny, 1990
- ‘White SWA group calls for pressure on SA’ from the *Citizen*, 1987
- ‘Cuba and Angola’ by Gillian Gunn, 1987
- ‘The Choice: Namibia peace plan 435 or society under siege’ by Brian O’linn, 1987
- ‘South Africa in Namibia – the stalemate of politics’ by André du Pisani, n.d.
**PA 2/2/5 ARTICLES (Cont.)**

- ‘South African security forces in Namibia: unwitting agents of social revolution’ by John Seiler, 1988
- ‘One Namibia – one nation – implikationen des SWAPO-Wahlsiegs fur die Zukunft Namibias’ by Heribert Weiland, 1990
- ‘Namibia: a class act?’ by Chris Tapscott, 1991
- ‘Policymaking by the people...never did a national conference involve so many and air so much’ by Tom Minney, 1991
- ‘Nation-building in Namibia’ by Prof. Gerhard Totemeyer, 1989
- ‘The political geography of an exclave: Walvis Bay’ by WS Barnard, 1987
- ‘Détente or aggression – South Africa’s policy in Southern Africa with special emphasis on Namibia’ by Gerhard Totemeyer, 1985
- ‘Namibia’s second year of independence’ by William A Lindeke, 1992
- ‘Namibia: The constitutional path to freedom’ by John Hatchard and Peter Slinn, 1990
- ‘Namibia: the journey home is just beginning’, 1989
- ‘The legal status of Walvis Bay ‘ from South African Yearbook of International Law, 1976

**PA 2/2:**


Including:

- ‘Namibia: from incorporation to controlled change’ by André du Pisani
- ‘N Kritiese Beoordeling van SWAPO se beoogde Bestel’ by Pirre Nel, 1980
PA 2/2/6 ARTICLES (Cont.)
- ‘Die Stigting van ‘N Konfederasie van state in Suider-Afrika’ by Kantoor van die Eerste Minister, 1982
- ‘Namibia – some reflections on scenario generation’ by André du Pisani, n.d.
- ‘On interpreting the history of Afrikaner political thinking: some problems and issues’ by André du Toit, 1979
- ‘On the question “How ought the world to be organized?” Is not taken seriously in international relations’ by Mervyn Frost, n.d.
- ‘The impact of Zimbabwe’s independence on South Africa’s position in the Southern African region’ by GC Olivier, n.d. (2 drafts)
- Voorgesteelde Konstitusionele Ontwikkelinge in SWA/Namibie
- ‘Dominance, dependence and modernization, with specific reference to Southern Africa’ by André du Pisani, n.d.
- ‘Ethnicity and the problem of national integration in Africa: a bibliographical survey’ by Pierre Hugo and André du Pisani, 1978
- ‘The Namibian liberation struggle – the black cause and white obligation’ by Gerhard Totemeyer, 1980
- ‘South Africa after Vorster’ by MT Arnheim, 1979
- ‘Regionalisation’ by André du Pisani, 1982
- ‘Konstitutionele veranderinge’ from Bulletin, 1980
- ‘Which way is South Africa going?’ by GM Carter, 1980
- ‘South Africa – the West’s Achilles Heel’ by the Bow Group Standing Committee, n.d.
- ‘Namibia – Suidwest ist rentable’, 1980
- ‘Namibia: On brinkmanship, Conflict and Self-Interest – the collapse of the UN-Plan’ by André du Pisani, n.d.
- ‘Role of the UN Council for Namibia’ by Dr SC Saxena, 1978
- 'Confederal Association of States or Federation? – a future political dispensation for South and Southern Africa: theoretical perspectives for South African party politics’ by TD Venter, 1976
**PA 2/2/6 ARTICLES (Cont.)**

- ‘Defeated with blindness or murdered independence’ by Franz Josef Straub, 1978
- ‘Political attitudes and opinions among the Wambo of SWA/Namibia’ by Prof JS Malan, n.d.
- SWA/Namibie scenario – enkele gedadtes, n.d.
- ‘Uniting and disruptive forces in political organizations in Namibia’ by Gerhard Totemeyer, 1979
- ‘Political groupings in Namibia – their role and chances’ by GKH Totemeyer, 1978
- ‘Reflections on the role of ethnicity in the politics of Namibia’ by André du Pisani, n.d.
- ‘Political change in Namibia’ by André du Pisani, 1977

**PA 2/2:**

7 Various: 1973 – 1980

Including:

- ‘On interpreting the history of Afrikaner political thinking: some problems and issues’ by André du Toit, 1979
- Die aard, Wese en Toekomstige Ontwikkeling van die Akademie vir Terstriere Onderways van SWA/Namibie, n.d.
- Openbare Finansies en Die Sakeweheld in SWA/Namibie, n.d.
- ‘United States reiterates support for the independence of Namibia and Zimbabwe at Maputo Conference’, 1977
- ‘Die Arbeidsituasie in Suidwes-Africa’ deur Rauha Voipio, 1973
- ‘Urbanisation in Africa’ by Joan Vincent, 1976
- ‘Suidwes-Afrika-saak en die volkereg’ by AC Cilliers, 1971
- ‘Catching game in South West Africa’ by JM Hofmeyer, n.d.
- ‘Ornithological research in South West Africa’ by RAC Jenses
PA 2/2/7 ARTICLES (Cont.)
- ‘Independence and beyond: Namibia’s future in perspective’ by Wolfgang H Thomas, 1980
- ‘Die rol van Owambo in die staatkundige toekoms van Suidwes-Afrika, by GKH Totemeyer, 1976
- Constitutional development in SWA/Namibia – the Turnhalle to the Council of Ministers, n.d.
- ‘The potential role of political parties in the development of South West Africa’ by GHK Totemeyer, 1976
- ‘Political parties in SWA/Namibia’ by Clive Cowley, 1978
- ‘Underdevelopment and class formation in Ovamboland, 1945-1951’ by WG Clarence-Smith and R Moorsom, 1975
- ‘Notes on some Herero genealogies’ by I Schapera, 1979
- ‘Angola: Diplomatic jigsaw’ from Africa Confidential, July 1978
- ‘Zimbabwe’s Southern African setting’ by James Barber, 1980
- ‘Consensus vs. majority vote: A laboratory experiment’ by A Paul Hare, 1979
- ‘Political scenarios and their economic implications’ by Richard Hodder-Williams, 1980
- ‘The South West African Peoples’ Organisation (SWAPO)’ by Ian Greig, 1979
- ‘Africa: Secretary Vance discusses Namibia with South African Officials’, Department of State Bulletin (USA), 1978
- ‘The nascence of the new Namibia’ by Robert I Rotberg, 1978
- ‘Zimbabwe and Namibia: Decolonization and change’ by André du Pisani, n.d.

PA 2/2:
Including:
- ‘Enter the twilight of corporate rule’ by André du Pisani, n.d.
- ‘Dimensions of militarization: separate development, state structures and the rise of the military in South Africa’ by Annette Seegers, 1984
- ‘Dependency theory in Southern Africa: some aspects of migrant labour’ by JFdev Graaff, 1982
PA 2/2/8 ARTICLES (Cont.)

- ‘The state of international theory: the Machiavelli option’ by Michael R Sinclair, 1982
- ‘The setting of South Africa’s foreign policy before Zimbabwe’ by Deon Geldenhuys
- ‘Namibia: scenarios for change’ by André du Pisani, n.d.
- Comment on ‘Interdependence and counter-revolution: the advent of Zimbabwe and South Africa’s “Total Strategy”’ by Philip Frankel, 1980
- ‘Conflict in the South’ by I William Zartman, 1979
- ‘Namibia old and new’ by Gerhard Totemeyer, 1978
- ‘On interpreting the history of Afrikaner political thinking: some problems and issues’ by André du Toit, 1979
- ‘South Africa’s decision on Namibia – A case of a midwife suffering from cognitive dissonance?’ by André du Pisani, 1978
- ‘South Africa after Vorster’ by Arnheim, MT, 1979
- ‘Urban politics – some key components’ by André du Pisani, n.d.
- ‘Prospects for a settlement in Namibia: A note on South Africa’s perceptions towards Namibian decolonization and independence’ by André du Pisani, 1980
- ‘Andrea Shipanga – leader of the SWAPO-Democrats; by unknown, n.d.
- ‘Lastige vrae oor Geheime Meningspeiling’, 1979
- ‘Oorwegings vir Toelating en Heryoelating van Honneursstudente in die Departement Staatsleer en Publieke Administrasie’
- ‘An analysis of South Africa’s decision on Namibia’ by André du Pisani, n.d.
- ‘Which way is South Africa going?’ by Gwendolen Carter, 1980
- ‘Constitutional change in South Africa’ by John Benyon, 1978
- ‘SWA/Namibia: The politics of fragmentation’ by André du Pisani, 1978
- ‘Political change in Namibia’ by Andre du Pisani, 1977
- ‘Die Turnahalle – simbool van Werlike Dekolonisasie?’ by Andre du Pisani, 1977
- ‘South Africa: dilemmas of evolutionary change’ by Slabbert, F and Opland, J (eds), 1980
PA 2/2/8 ARTICLES (Cont.)

- ‘Coloured – a profile of two million South Africans’ by Humen en Rousseau, 1974
- ‘Reflections on the role of ethnicity in the politics of Namibia’ by André du Pisani, n.d.
- ‘Ethnicity and the problem of national integration’ by Pirre Hugo and André du Pisani, n.d.
- ‘Urban politics – some key components’ by André du Pisani, n.d.
- ‘Dominance, Dependence and Modernisation, with specific reference to Southern Africa’ by André du Pisani, n.d.
- ‘Some implications of SWAPO’s constitutional proposals’ by André du Pisani (handwritten), n.d.
- ‘Interest groups in the South African political process’ by Peter Harris (handwritten), n.d.
- ‘Toespraak Deur Sy Edele JC Heunis, Minister van Vervoerwese, by die opening van die Verleffing van die Walvisbaai-Swakopmundspoorlyn op 14 Junie 1980
- ‘The nascence of the new Namibia’ by Robert I Rotberg, 1978
- ‘South Africa in the world of 1979: problems, options and choices’, 1979
- ‘South Africa – political scenario in the next five years’ by André du Pisani, n.d.

PA 2/2:


Including:
- ‘South Africa: the struggle intensifies’ by Bernard Magubane, 1986
- ‘Angola: ideology and pragmatism in foreign policy’ by Oye Ogunbbadejo, 1981
- The war the world forgot –‘SOFer in Angola, Part I’ from Soldier o Fortune, 1981
PA 2/2/9 ARTICLES (Cont.)
- ‘Poker um Suidwesafrika’ by Adolf Brinkman, (includes interview with Daniel Tjongarero, 1982
- ‘Zimbabwe: retrospect and prospect’ by Douglas G Anglin, 1980
- ‘Namibia and nuclear proliferation’ by AW Singham, 1981
- ‘Angola: another strain on the western alliance’ by David Watt, 1981
- ‘Soviet coercive diplomacy: Saudi Arabia’ by Peter Vanneman and Martin James, 1981
- ‘The thorns of Portuguese revolution’ by Kenneth Maxwell, 1976
- Interview with Olusegun Obasanjo, From Africa Report, 1988
- ‘Angola: left, right and wrong’ by Gerald J Bender, 1981
- ‘South West Africa: Its history, racial composition and constitutional position’ by DG Conradie, 1950
- ‘The role of new states in the region: The Namibian example’ by André du Pisani, n.d.
- ‘South West Africa’ by HP Rossi, 1961
- ‘Executive interference in the legal process in Namibia’ by David Smuts, 1985
- ‘Silence is not golden’ by John Dugard, 1982
- ‘The role of regional policy in South Africa’ by Trevor Bell, 1986
- ‘East Germany and Southern Africa’ by Christopher Coker, 1980
- ‘Rumours of rain: Namibia’s post-independence experience’ by André du Pisani, 1991
- ‘Toward a state of siege?’ by John Seiler, 1983
- ‘The spectre of a free Namibia’ from New Statesman, 1981
- ‘SWA/Namibia Wohin?’ by Dr Erick Leistner
**PA 2/2/9 ARTICLES (Cont.)**
- ‘Namibia: the independence maze’ from *Africa Confidential*, 1981
- ‘The prospects for an independent Namibia’ by Stanley Uys, 1981
- ‘Namibia: the prize and the price of independence – renewed negotiations on the future of Namibia have created an atmosphere of euphoria in the West, but victory for SWAPO still looks a long way off’, 1982
- ‘The journey begins’ by Fanual Tjingaete, nd.

**PA 2/3 CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY DEBATES**


- Volume 2
- Volume 3
- Volume 4

**PA 2/4 MAPS**

1 Namibia: 1958 – 1959
8 maps in one folder:
- Natural environment
- Natural environment vegetation
- Facilities for development – railways, road, motor services, power
- Present development
- Total population by districts
PA 2/4/1 MAPS (Cont.)
- White population by districts
- Increase of white population 1946-1960 by districts
- Development regions

PA 2/5  NEWSPAPER CUTTINGS
On Namibia and the Namibian issue from various newspapers and other publications.

1  From The Cape times, The Star and The Mail: 1948, 1966
   Includes Press Digest No. 42, 3 Nov 1966 ‘This week in brief’
2  1964 – 1965
3  1962 – 1965
4  1965 – 1966
5  1960 – 1965
6  The Odentaaal Plan: 1964 – 1965
   Includes articles on this and on South West Africa in general.
7  1964 – 1965
   Includes handwritten ‘notes on South West Africa’ and ‘what can UN do?’ by André du Pisani?
8  1960
   Includes handwritten notes by André du Pisani? Commenting on what Prof. Wellington had written
9  1961 – 1963
10 1959 – 1961
11 1961
12 1962 – 1963
13 1962 – 1964
   Includes article ‘South West Africa and UN’ by Julius Lewin
14 1952
15 1964
   Includes drafts of articles for publication.
16 1962 – 1964
17  ‘Namibia Defence’ – on Namibia war articles, mostly from the Financial Mail: 1977 - 1979. (Original order maintained even though it is not chronological, and each folder given its own reference even though some where originally bound together)
   1  1982 Jan 1 – Sept 10
   2  1982 Sept 11 – Dec 9
PA 2/5/17 NEWSPAPER CUTTINGS (Cont.)

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<td>1981 July 8 – Oct 3</td>
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<td>1981 Mar 18 – July 8</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>1981 Jan 1 – Mar 17</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>On statement by the Minister of Defence, Gen Magnus Malan: 1981 Aug 12</td>
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<td>1980 July 21 – Sept 10</td>
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<td>1980 June 4 – July 18</td>
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<td>1979 Sept 7 – 1980 Mar 20</td>
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<td>1979 Feb 28 – 11 Sept 7</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>From various newspapers: 1989</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Various newspapers, general theme not established: 1970’s</td>
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<td>Various newspapers: [1970s – 1990s]</td>
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<td>Includes articles mostly by André du Pisani and periodicals with articles on Namibia</td>
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PA 2/6 PUBLICATIONS

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<td></td>
<td>Nos. 5270 – 5305: 1986</td>
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<td>Nos. 80 – 87; No. 89: 1987 (Whites)</td>
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<td>Official Gazette of South West Africa, Nos. 5351-5370, 5372-5404, 5406: 1987</td>
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<td>Index to Official Gazette, Jan-June 1987</td>
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<td>Official Gazettes: Whites, Nos. 88, 90-93: 1987</td>
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| 5    | Official Gazettes of South West Africa, Nos. 5035-5072, 5074-5077: 1985  
Official gazettes: Whites, Nos. 56-62: 1985 |
| 6    | Official gazettes: Whites, Nos. 63-69: 1985  
Official Gazette: index April-June: 1985 |
The South African Foundation News, 4 issues, 1982-1984  
The Center Magazine, Mar/Apr 1983  
South African Digest, 5 issues, 1978-1984  
Supplement to SA Digest, 6 Feb 1981 ‘Meeting on South West Africa/Namibia in Geneva 7-14 January 1981’  
Caprivi Special, Apr 1985 ‘MPC Proposals on the issue of the independence of South West Africa/Namibia’ |
| 9    | Various: 1978 – 1987  
- Aan die Ekonomiese Front, NR. 1, April 1980; NR. 4, Julie 1981  
- Die Ekonomies van SWA/Namibie: Probleme, Toekomsmoontlinhede en Vereiste Beleismaatreels, Januarie 1978  
- Mining Brief: SWA/Namibia, 1980  
- Facts on Rossing  
- Seven Years of Economic Development in SWA by the FNDC (1978-1985) |
### PA 2/6/9 PUBLICATIONS (Cont.)

- *Kontak* (Enok publication), Okt. 1982 – Des. 1986 incomplete
- *Investment in SWA/Namibia*
- Conference Paper ‘Namibia’s economy in transition to independence’ by Prof. WH Thomas
- *Namibia Brief*, No. 4, 1986, No. 6, 1987
- *Enok FNDC Jaaroorsig Annual Review*

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<td>Official Gazettes of South West Africa:</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Financial Mail Special Survey (South West Africa):</td>
<td>1965 Aug 20</td>
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<td>Includes article from <em>Optima</em>, “South West Africa after the judgement”, Sept 1964.</td>
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<td>Official Gazettes of South West Africa:</td>
<td>1986 May – Oct</td>
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<td>ADK “Informations”:</td>
<td>1978 – 1988 (Irregular copies)</td>
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<td>Various:</td>
<td>19xx – 19xx</td>
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<td>- <em>University of Pretoria Institute for Strategic Studies</em>, No. 7, Nov 1980</td>
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<td>- <em>Kuba Se Inmenging in Angola: Verdigsel en Waarheid</em>, Dr Henning von Lowis van Menar</td>
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<td>- SWAPO’s design for South West Africa/Namibia, Dr Henning von Lowis of Menar, 1983</td>
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<td>- SWA/Namibia Survey, June 1980</td>
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<td>- <em>SADK Nuursbrief/Mitteilungen</em>, No. 46, 1979</td>
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<td>- <em>Face of Namibia</em>, published by SWA/Namibia Information Service</td>
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<td>- Oss-Duitsland se Offensief in die Derde Wereld, Ian Greig</td>
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- Cuba’s intervention in Angola: Fable and Truth, Dr Henning von Lowis of Menar
- SWA/Namibia: Stability and progress, published by SWA/Namibia Information Service
- Die Nasionale Kankerverening van SWA/Namibie
- Dritte Welt Information , 1978 and Tages Anzeiger Magazin, 1983 (in plastic folder with information on Namibia)
- Wie objektiv Amnesty International?
- Doctoral dissertations on Southern Africa (brochure)
- Will Namibia’s fate be democracy or Marxism? By Peter D Hannaford
- The division of nature conservation and tourism – SWA- Administration: The how, what and wherefore
- Accessory to murder? – documentation on communist terrorism against black and white in Rhodesia and South West Africa and its support by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Social Democratic Party.
- ISSUP Strategic Review, ‘Enkele Politieke en Strategiese Probleme in Afrika. (Some political and strategic problems in Africa), 1979
- Die Wereld in Oenskou, Maandblad vir Aktuele Internasionale Aangeleenthede, 1978

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Including the Times of Namibia, the Frontline, the Record, the Deurbraak, the Namibia Brief, the Point, Namibia Bulletin, Armed Forces, Newsweek, Deurbraak, Der Spiegel, Paratus, and many more.

24 Various brochures, pamphlets, flyers and promotional papers: 1979 – 1983
- Declaration of Human Rights, Die Universele verklaring van Menseregte (brochure)
- Foundation for Democracy in Namibia- proportional representation: a chance to make every vote count (brochure)
- SWA/Namibia Today by SWA/Namibia information Service, 1979
- ISSA Informationsstelle Sudliches Afrika, 1977
- NPP 435 & The Road Ahead, 9-11 Sept [19?]
- Wie Verkoop Nou Vir Rehoboth, n.d.
- SWA vir die Wolwe? nd.
**PA 2/6/24 PUBLICATIONS (Cont.)**

- Tourism in SWA/Namibia – PROSWA Namibia Foundation
- South West Africa Tourist Guide
- PROSWA Namibia Foundation
- Ettemba, Omaruru, SWA
- Mass rally to honour the Sharpeville Day, 21 March, n.d.
- Windhoek Onderwyyskollege – Kunsuitstalling, 11 Mei 1979
- Q ‘Ghetto’ in South Africa (on Soweto)
- 1987 SWA Safaris
- Interessengemeinschaft Deutschprachiger Suidwester (Organisation of the German speaking Southwesterners
- The Ministers’ Council of SWA/Namibia, 1980
- Programme Action Against Apartheid
- INFOPEP (Information to the People) no. 3 – Extracts from the Press Conference Held by the Administrator-General on 9 March 1983
- INFOPEP (Information to the People) no. 4 – The Denton Report: SWAPO and Communism
- Das Wie, Was und Warum
- Die nasionale Party in Suid-Afrika en Suidwes, 1979
- Verbreekte beloftes oor Suidwes-Afrika
- Wie moet u glo? Wat moet u glo?
- 3 cartoon posters
- PROSWA Namibia Foundation – Tourism in SWA/Namibia
- PROSWA Namibia Foundation – Mining in SWA/Namibia
- ADK – What one should know about South West Africa
- Population Census – South West Africa

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<td>Various including: 1978 - 1989</td>
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<td>- Namibiabrief, Feb 1991</td>
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PA 2/6/26 PUBLICATIONS (Cont.)

- Deurbraak, Dec 1978
- Museum News, Sept 1978

PA 2/6:

27 Namibia Information kit: [1980’s]
Tourist and promotional information, including Labour Relations in SWA/Namibia First assessment report, 1981; SWA/Namibia budget 1984-85; modern Owambo brochure; ‘The West German debate on South Africa’s political alternatives’.

Including NewAfrica; The New Nation; Die Suid-Afrkaan Veekiesing ’89; the Point; Deubraak; Paratus; Namibie Suidwes-Afrika Algemene inligting 1986; Namibie Die Ekonomie; FNDC – Bridge to the Future. Enok – Brug Na Die Toekoms; Africa News; de Minimis; The Economist; Action on Namibia; Insig; Die Suid-Afrikaan Namibia die volgende skof; Peace & Security; Rekord; Africa Economic Digest; Namibia Towards Nationhood; and Namibia Brief.


31 Various: 1964 – 1999
PA 2/6/31 PUBLICATIONS (Cont.)
The Future of South West Africa – an open discussion, Geographical Magazine (Disputed Namibia), The Seiler Report (Southern African Issues in American Politics), and Turnhalle.

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PRESS RELEASES & STATEMENTS

1 International Court of Justice. Request for advisory opinion, South West Africa. Statement submitted by the Government of the Republic of South Africa: 1970
4 bound volumes
1 Volume 1
2 Volume 2
3 Volume 3 ???
4 Volume 4 ???

2 United States Information Service – on Namibia: [1985]


Includes:
- Mchenry’s September 9 Congressional Testimony on Namibia (1980)
- Vice-President Mondale’s address to State Banquet in Lagos, Nigeria (1980)
- Canadian Embassy in Pretoria – unclassified communiqués [on Namibia] (1978)
- Press statement by His Excellency the Administrator-General at Windhoek (1979) (In Afrikaans)
- Ambassador MCHenry’s speech to Cape Town Press Club [On Namibia] (1978)
PA 2/7/4 PRESS RELEASES & STATEMENTS (Cont.)
- An Intervention by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Don Jamieson, to the Special Session of the United Nations General assembly on Namibia, New York (1978)
- Text of statement made by Secretary of State Cyprus Vance of the United States of America to the United Nations Security Council (1978)
- Press statement issued by Mishake Albert Muyongo [1980]
- UNTAG SRSG Press Conference, Ongwediva, Namibia, 1989
- La Mere Du President Du SWAPO A Ete Harcelee Parr La Police Koevoet En Namibie, 1987

PA 2/8 REPORTS

1 Government of the Union of South Africa:
   1 South West Africa Survey published by Dept of Foreign Affairs: 1967
   2 The Administration of South West Africa for the Year 1946: 1947
   3 To the Council of the League of Nations concerning the Administration of South West Africa for the year 1939: 1940

2 Commissions of Inquiry: 1935 - 1964
   1 The Financial Relations between the Union and South West Africa 1951: 1952
   3 South West Africa Commission: 1936
   4 The economic and financial relations between the Union of South Africa and the Mandated Territory of South West Africa: 1935
   5 Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs 1962-1963: 1964

3 United Nations: 1957 - 1959
   1 Special report on the Committee on South West Africa: 1957
   2 Report of the Sub-committee on Legal Questions to the Committee on South West Africa: 1959 Aug 31
4 New light on South West Africa – some extracts from and comments on the Odentaaal Report by Gordon Laurie (3 copies): 1964

5 Stad Windhoek Jaarverslag. Verslag van Sy Edelagbare die Burgemeester raadslid JJ Botha vir die Burgerlike Jaar geeindig: 1972 Mar 13


7 The Commission for the prevention and combating of intimidation and election malpractices, in the territory of South West Africa/Namibia: 1989

Verbatim reports, in the case of:

1 Cases:
- Case no. 3/89: John JKN Rohr (Chairman of the Namibian Christian Democratic Party, NCDP) and South West Africa Broadcasting Corporation, SWABC
- Case no. K48/89 (Katima Mulilo): GK Mwilima and Corporal Kale MaNTTa (UNTAG)
- SAARKNR K175/89: Gideon Gabriel Moronga (Klaer) teen Michael Krafft
- Case no. K115/89(Katima Mulilo): Boniface Likando and Mpoo Mukandu
- Case no. K2/89: on the article in the Namibian ‘Scores injured in swoop on SWAPO meeting: police open fire’.
- Address by Acting Judge Bryan O’linn, Chairman of the Commission for the prevention and combating of intimidation and election malpractices.

2 Cases:
- Case no. K16/89: Boniface Likando and Swapol
- Saaknr: K7/89: on article in the Namibian ‘Police get shirty’.
- Saaknr. K46/89: Patrick Lombo en Suidwes-Afrikaanse Uitsaikorporasie
- Saaknr: 59 & 60/89: Departement Verdedingsadmistrasie vs. Namibian
- Saaknr: K70/89: Kamukoshi vs. F Nambili
- Case no. K114/89: Simasiku Samuel, David N’dolena Maringa, Christopher Kwenani and DTA Organisers
- Case no. K25/89: Josiah Pineas and Paulus Ndume vs. SWAPOL
- Case no. 17/89: Boniface Likando & others vs. DTA and Station Commander of SWAPO, Caprivi
- Case no. K20/89: B Likando & AG Visser and Administrator-General
- Saarknr. K1/89: AN Haushiko & 3 ander en Johannes Thimende
- Case no. K49/89: A Simataa vs. SWAPO & others
- Case no. K47/89: Emma Kambangula and Nahas Angula
- Case no. K43/89: DS Muluti vs. MM Kabula
PA 2/8/7/2 REPORTS (Cont.)
- Case no. 23/89 (Katima Mulilo): Boniface Likando and Department of Transport
- Case no. K52/89: E Appolus vs. H. Olivier & 5 others
- Saaknr. K58.89: Saltius Paulus en Theofilus Muunyanga en Nicolaas Johannes van der Merwe
- Saaknr. K82/89: Titus Moses (Klaer) en DTA (Belangebende Party)
- Saaknr. K67/89: Elizabeth Shafondino (Klaer) en Simeon Wilhelm
- Saaknr. K57/89: Josef Thomas (Klaer) en Gobabis Munisipaliteit
- Case no. K19/89: Biniface Likando on behalf of SWAPO and SADF/SWATF


9 A US policy toward South Africa – The Report of the Secretary of State’s Advisory Committee on South Africa: 1987 Jan

10 Soviet, East German and Cuban involvement in fomenting terrorism in Southern Africa – Report of the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Security and Terrorism to the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate Ninety-seventh Congress: 1982 Nov

11 Report of the Secretary-General Waldheim on the implementation of the Five’s Settlement Proposal on Namibia: n.d.


13 South West Africa/Namibia: the road to independence – progress report: 1982
PA 2/9

MISCELLANEOUS
1942 - 1992

1 Various documents on negotiations on the Namibian question; USA Government; United Nations; SA Government, and the Western Five on Namibia: 1978 – 1985
Includes documents from the South African Institute of International Affairs relating to Namibia; the Angolan position; correspondence; press briefings, releases & statements; speeches; and articles on Namibia.

2 Documentation on UN Pre-Implementation Meeting on Namibia, Geneva, January 7-14, 1981: 1981


SWANU seminar paper, press releases and statements (why SWANU differs with SWAPO); Policy manifesto of the Federal Party of SWA; Die Etniese Samestelling van Die Volke van SWA (1975); copies of articles from Africa Confidential (on Namibia, SWAPO dissidents), handwritten notes by unknown on Staatkundige Beraa letterhead; DTA Grondwet, Staatkundige Beraad grondwetlike beginsels, verlaring deur ELK, statement by D. Tjongarero, statements by Republikeinse Party, Federal Party symposium papers, symposium van Nasionale Onafhanklike Party, lesing deur Dr Budack.

5 Mainly United Nations General Assembly documents on Namibia: 1958 – 1964

6 ‘The mandated territory of South West Africa’: 1947

7 From the UN background paper No. 48: 1949

The following were all part of one folder which has been split into 3:
1 Documents: 1984 - 1987
   - House of Assembly Debates, 31 Jan 1984, on the Multi Party Conference
   - The Windhoek Declaration of Basic Principles, 24 Feb 1984
   - Die Windhoek Verklaring van Basiese Beginsels, 24 Feb 1984
- Handves van Fundamentele Regte en Doelstelling (Charter of Fundamental Rights and objectives)
- Voorstelle tot die onafhankliheidsvraagstuk vir SWA/Namibie (Proposals on the independence issue of SWA/Namibia) Mar 1985
- Aide memoire handed to the Ambassadors of Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States, Cape Town, 18 Apr 1985
- SWA Broadcasting Corporation. News Bulletin, 10 June 1985 – Moses Katjiuongua regards the Transitional Government as possibly the most important development in the country’s constitutional history. (In Afrikaans)
- Inauguration of the Transitional Government, 17 June 1985. Speeches by the South African Prime Minister PW Botha and by Administrator General van Niekerk, as well as schedules and programmes.
- An official description of portfolios held in the Cabinet of the Transitional Government. Also brief biographical sketches (Curriculum Vitae) of David Bezuidenhout, Hans Diergaardt, Moses Katjiuongua, Jariretundu Kozonguizi, Andrew Matjila, Dirk Mudge, Andreas Shipanga, Eben van Zijl and the appointed Administrator General Louis Pienaar.
- Messages by the new cabinet members, as broadcast on 18 June 1985.
- Manuscript entitled ‘The world at loggerheads’ by Chief KI Riruako.
- Die beskerming van menseregte (The protection of human rights) by F Jariretundu Kozonguizi, 27 Mar 1986. (Regering van Nasionale eeheid, vol. ¾)
- Inhuldigingstoespraak deur die Voorsitter van die Kabinet (Inaugural speech by the Chairman of the Cabinet), David Bezuidenhout, 17 June 1986, (Regering van Nasionale Eeheid, vol. 1/3)

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- Constitutional Council Bill, 1985
- Appropriation Act, 1985 (Act no. q of 1985)
- Constitutional Council Amendment Act, 1985 (Act no. 19 of 1985)
PA 2/9/8/2 MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)
- Rehoboth Investment and Development Corporation Loans Act, 1985 (Act no. 24 of 1985)
- Residence of certain persons in South west Africa Regulation act, 1985 (Act no. 33 of 1985)
- Constitutional Council Amendment Act, 1986 (Act no. 7 of 1986)
- Proclamation of the commencement of the conditions of Employment Act, 1986 (No. AG 2226, 1986)
- Appropriation Act, 1986 (Act no. 17 of 1986)
- Appropriation Ordinance, 1986 of the Legislative Assembly of the Namas (Ordinance no. 2 of 1986)
- Appropriation Ordinance, 1986 of the Legislative Assembly of the Hereros (Ordinance no. 2 of 1986)
- Appropriation Ordinance, 1986 of the Legislative Assembly of the Coloureds (Ordinance no. 2 of 1986)
- Appropriation Ordinance, 1986 of the Legislative Assembly of the Tswanas (Ordinance no. 2 of 1986)

PA 2/9/8:
3 Journals and other publications: 1982 – 1986
- Die Republikein – 28 Mar 1985 (article on Multi Party Conference)
- Paratus, May 1985 (Joint Monitoring Commission: background information)
- Africa Now, May 1985, p. 25 (Namibia: Pretoria getting together a UDI deal)
- Washington Report on Africa, vol. III, no. 16, 1 June 1985, p. 63-64. (interim government to get 100% control)
- Pretoria News, 15 June 1985 (Mixed feelings in US on Angola vote)
- Pretoria News, 15 June (Others say...)
- Sunday Times, 16 June 1985 (A volkfest, but there’s apathy on the streets)
- Die Republikein, 9 July 1985 (Pad na erkenning loop deur Osire)
- Leadership SA, vol. 5, no. 2, 1986, p. 35-41 (Coming of age, by Sean Cleary)
- US Dept of State Bulletin, May 1986, p. 45 (South Africa’s proposal on Namibia and Angola)
Audiocassette – messages by Cabinet Ministers broadcast on Radio SWA: 1985 July 17

**National Party, Aktur and ACN Herstigte Nasionale Party** ([Namibia Dossier vol.3])

One folder with the following documents:
- Konstitusie of Gronswet (Constitution), n.d.
- The National Party of South West Africa Constitution, 1966
- Suidwes Afrika: woelinge op pad na onafhanklikheid (South West Africa: turbulence on the way to independence, 1978?)
- Stembus toe met die NP! (To the polling booth with the NP!). Compiled by Frans V Zyl, 1979.
- Nine questions about South West! 1980?
- Ons taak en roeping in Suidwes-Afrika: wat is u bydrae? (Our task and destiny in South West Africa: what is your contribution?). Based on a speech by KWF Pretorius, Leader of the National Party of SWA on 6 Feb 1982.
- ACTUR manifest: principles for a constitution as accepted by Turnhalle, April 1978.
- Leef en laat leef (Live and let live). AKTUR is...Election brochure, 1978?
- ACTUR’s reaction in regard to the Contact Group’s proposed principles concerning the Constituent Assembly and the constitution for an independent Namibia, 1981?
- ACTUR’s reaction to the ‘Text of revised constitutional proposals’ of the Western Contact Group received on 17 Dec 1981.
- Call by the Chairman of the CAN! This is how we deal with 435! (Action Christian National). Windhoek Advertiser, 19 May 1989.
**PA 2/9/9 MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)**

- Wie moet namens Blankes praat? (Who will speak on behalf of the Whites?) Election brochure, 1980.
- Verwerp VVO-besluit 435 (reject UN resolution 435). Poster (Flier), 1981.

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10 **South West Africa National Union (SWANU)** [*Namibia Dossier vol. 5*]: 1985 – 1989

Contents:

- Sun Visor: vote NPF, n.d.
- SWANU News, vol. 10, no. 6, 15 May 1985
- SWANU News, vol. 10, no. 7, 4 May 1985
- SWANU News, vol. 10, no. 8, 17 June 1985
- SWANU News, vol. 10, no. 9, July 1985
- SWANU News, 5 July 1985
- SWANU new offices announcement, 1 Aug 1985
- Nasionale Patriotiese Front van Namibie. Election brochure, 1989
- Nasionale Patriotise Front van Namibie. Verkiesingmanifes, 1989 (Election manifesto)
- Election poster NDF, 1989
- NDF Bulletin, 16 May 1989


Programme and policy; manifesto; press releases; constitution; articles; statements and messages.

- Programme and policy, n.d.
- Programme and policy, abridged version, n.d.
- Manifesto, 1978
- Press release, 1 May 1978
- Press release, 8 June 1978
- Press release, 21 Sept 1978
- Totemeyer, Gerhard – SWAPO (N) en SWAPO (D) – fronts en simpatiseerders (SWAPO (N) and SWAPO (D) – fronts and sympathizers). *Woord en Daard*, October 1978
- The Shatotwa fiasco – a big lie, 11 Oct 1978
- SWAPO Democrats basic documents: Constitution, Programme and Policy, 27 Nov 1978
- SWAPO Democrats Grundsatzerklarung (German version of basic documents), 27 Nov 1978
PA 2/9/11 MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)
- Die Stem van SWAPO-D (The voice of SWAPO-D), no. 1, 1 Jan 1979
- Press statement, 5 Jan 1979
- Press statement, 28 Feb 1979
- Press statement, 3 May 1979
- The Voice of SWAPO-D, no. 4, 5 June 1979
- The building and basis of unity, 6 Aug 1979
- The Voice of SWAPO-D, no. 5, 9 Aug 1979
- Press statement, 4 Oct 1979
- New Year message to the people of Namibia from the President of the SWAPO Democrats, 31 Aug 1979
- 1 July 1980 – the darkest day for Namibia, 1980
- The Voice of SWAPO-D, no. 6, 9 Jan 1980
- The Voice of SWAPO-D, 22 April 1980
- The Voice of SWAPO-D, no. 9, May 1980
- The Voice of SWAPO-D, no. 10, June/July 1980
- Press statement, 13 Aug 1980
- Press statement, 8 Sept 1980

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12 United Party documents: 1942 – 1951
(Documents collected by the United Party).

The Namibia National Front comprising the Damara Council, the Federal Party, the Mbanderu Council, the National Independence Party (NIP), the South West Africa National Union, and the Progressive Party of Namibia. Contents:
- Resolusie 435 – u eie keuse (Resolution 435 – your own choice), n.d.
- The National Front of SWA (Namibia) Policy Document (Preamble, Covenant of agreed common aims, principles and policy, Administrative Charter). In English and Afrikaans; two slightly different versions, n.d.
- Broad outlines for fair and credible elections and referenda, n.d.
- Federal Party Nuusbrieft no. 2: ’n Ontleding van die jongste dramatiese gebeure (An analysis of the latest dramatic occurrences) 27 October 1977
PA 2/9/13 MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)

- Namibia National Front Information brochure, 1977 (?)
- Federal Party: Deurbraak: Ontlending van die belangrikste besluite op ons eerste kongres (Federal Party: an analysis of the most important resolutions taken at our first congress), 1977 (?)
- Proposals for the procedure of the Constituent Assembly 1977 (?)
- A survey of the political scenario, 1977 (?)
- Federal Party. Proposals submitted to Western delegations, 1977 (?)
- Federal Party. Member of the Namibian National Front. The politics of Namibia/SWA. In English and Afrikaans
- John Kirkpatrick. Public meeting, Windhoek, 9 May 1977
- NNF – Press conference, 23 November 1977
- Federal Party. Member of the Namibia National Front (NNF). In Afrikaans, English and German, 1978(?)
- Die Federale Party stel die saak vir heroorweging duer die NNF van deelname aan die Nasionale Vergadering (The Federal Party puts the case for reconsideration by the NNF of participation in the National Assembly), 1978(?)
- Policy Declaration of the Namibia National Front (NNF), 1978
- Comments on the Proposal of the Five Western Powers for a Settlement of the Namibian situation, 1978
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- Namibia National Front News, No. 18 December 1979
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- NNF. Programme and policy. In English and Afrikaans, 1989
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- On the date of the ceasefire – issued by NNF, n.d.


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- Volledige konsep konstitusie vir SWA/Namibie waaroor die Blanke kiessers van SWA/Namibie op 17 Mei 1977 moet stem (Complete draft Constitution for SWA/Namibia which will be put to the White voters of SWA/Namibia on 17 May
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- DTA: the only people’s movement in Africa Unity – the foundation of stability. Election poster, 1978?
- Press release by DTA Executive pertaining to the death of its President Chief Clemens Kapuuo, 23 March 1978
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- Clemens Mutuurunge Kapuuo, 1923-1978, 23 March 1978
- Contents of the message that the DTA sent to the Hon. Prime Minister (unofficial translation), 20 October 1978
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- “n Stem vir ware Vryheid (A voice for genuine freedom). Reverse: Namibia is DTA – DTA is Namibia. Election poster, 1980
- 3 Jaar met die DTA (# years with DTA), 1980

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- Answers – election brochure, compiled by the Leader of the NP, D Mudge, 1980. In Afrikaans, German and English.
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- Alliansie uit die Turnhalle (Alliance out of the Turnhalle). Election brochure, 1980? (See p. 143 for English version)
- RP Public meeting, 10 November 1980. Poster.
- RP. Verkiesing van lede van die Wetgewende Vergadering van die Blankes (Election of members of the Legislative Assembly for Whites), 11-13 Nov 1980.
- So kan u stem (In this way you can vote). Election brochure and RP sticker, 1980.
- RP Election brochure, 1980 (Geagte kieser....)
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- Die Republiksiene Party met ‘n beleid wat slag (The Republican Party with a policy which can succeed), Aug 1980.
- Studente en kinders van Namibia (Students and children of Namibia). Election brochure, n.d.
- DTA. Socio-economic policy for Namibia, n.d.
- DTA table of political parties, 1989?
- Onderwys vir ‘n onafhanklike Namibie (Education for an independent Namibia), 1989?
- Towards true freedom with DTA of Namibia, 1989?
- DTA perverklaring: Onkunde of bedrog? SWAPO se verkiesings-manifes (Press statement: ignorance or deceit? SWAPO’s election manifesto), 1989?
- Namibia, is jou toekoms veilig? (Namibia, is your future secure? Election manifesto, 1989?
- SWAPO hel (SWAPO hell), 1989?

PA 2/9:

15 UN documents including Resolutions 431 and 432; Vance statement; Waldeheim report; original western proposals. The file also includes the following:
- list of political parties in Namibia/SWA showing leaders and the main support groups
PA 2/9/15 MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)
- article on impact of Zimbabwe independence on Namibia with comparison of the Zimbabwe and Namibia situations
- Dr Owen’s address to the South African Institute for International Affairs (1979)
- (US) Ambassador Mchenry’s statement concerning Namibia (1979)
- Pik Botha’s protest to UN on SWAPO (Newspaper cutting)
- RF Botha (SA Foreign Minister)’s interview on the question of Walvis Bay (1980)
- Prime Minister’s reply to DTA message (1978)
- PM Voster’s statement on SWA (1978)
- Statement delivered to the General assembly by JA Eksteem, South Africa’s acting Permanent Representative to the UN (1979)
- To the Point, vol. 7, no. 36, (1978) with articles ‘Shipanga tells why he is disillusioned with SWAPO’ and ‘Vital Security Council decision on SWA/Namibia’

PA 2/9:

16 Various documents with no specific theme: [1977 – 1982]
- International Conference in support of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, Maputo, Mozambique. Pamphlet, 16-21 May 1977
- The dangers of the National Constitutional Plan – and why you should say “No” to it. Pamphlet (English and Afrikaans)
- ‘Namibia: Crucible of a Nation’ by Bryan Hodgson, from Readers Digest, vol. 122, Feb 1983
- Political Science Association of South Africa, Conference programme and registration form, 1981
- Times of Namibia, vol. 1, No. 3, Aug 1977
- Times of Namibia, vol. 1, No. 2, July 1977
PA 2/9/16 MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)

- Africa Insight, vol. 11, no. 2, 1981
- Namibia: Uber die Strategie Sudafrikas von Robert von Lucius
- ‘Namibia: the search for alternatives’ by André du Pisani
- ‘Namibia since Geneva’ by André du Pisani
- ‘Greater Namibianisation needed – Political Scientist’, article in the Windhoek Advertiser, 23 Sept 1981
- ‘Namibia: the quest for legitimacy’ by André du Pisani
- ‘South Africa: A new military role in Southern Africa 1969-82’ by Christopher Coker
- Toespraak Gelewer Deur Sy Edele Dr Gvn Viljoen, Minister van Nasionale Opvoeding by Geleentheid van die Openingsrede: Kongres van die Insituut van Stadklerke van Suidelike Afrika op 10 Junie 1981
- Challenges of the ’80s
- Letter to André du Pisani from Laurens Swanepoll, 2 Junie 1982
- Secret plans after election, 1981
- Die Stryder. Soet is die stryd vir die strider, April 1981
- The United States and South Africa: Continuity or change? SAIIA Symposium, July 1981
- Senator Nancy Kassebaum on American African policies. Background briefing No. 11, 1981
- ‘Diergaardt not concerned about Summers-Kerina link’, article in the Windhoek Advertiser, 4 Sept 1981
- SWAPLAN: Planning for improved space utilization in Natal schools, Nov 1980
- Private Sector Bulletin, May 1981
- Konserwatisne – Dr F Ackron
- Letter to André du Pisani from Dr DJ van Vuuren ‘Politieke Alternatiewe vir Suider-Afrika’, 2 July 1982
- ‘On law and politics – review of the international dispute over Namibia’ by André du Pisani
PA 2/9/16 MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)

- Foreign powers and Africa. Second International Outlook Conference programme, 6-7 Sept 1982
- Private Sector Foundation Bulletin, no. 2, July 1981
- ‘Kalangula: trying to break out of the “Muzorewa mould”, RDM 24 Feb 1982
- ‘Namibia’s economy in transition to independence – a workshop paper’, by Prof. Wolfgang H Thomas
- ‘The legal status of SWA – review of the international dispute’ by André du Pisani
- Africa leaders – Government changes (1979-1980)
- Southern Africa: facts and figures
- Letter to JS Kirkpatrick from David P Wadman (Zimbabwe) on constitutional changes, 1 Oct 1981
- ‘Suidwes ‘n saak van “Lewe of selfmoord” by Dr Verwoerd
- Report of the National Chairman HF Oppenheimer, to the Biennial meeting of the National Executive Council, 26 Feb 1982
- Folder also includes various newspaper cuttings, handwritten notes and untitled documents.

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Includes:
- Several handwritten notes by André du Pisani
- Variations on migration rates: the Ovambo case, by RJ Gordon
- Namibia and the sanctions controversy
- List of political parties, February 1981
- Ecumenical Movement for the Advancement of National Goodwill (EMANG) – record of meeting held in Johannesburg, 1986
- ‘The legacy of Frederick and Adam Opperman’ by E du Pisani, 1984
- Die Ligdraer Ned Geref Kerk Pretoria-Oosterlig, 1989
- ‘Sources of poison for hunting weapons’


19 Various documents including handwritten notes by André du Pisani; policy and aims brochure of the Democratic Party; anti-SWAPO pamphlet ‘Terror and death is the way of the leaders of SWAPO and their communist comrades’ by anonymous: n.d.

PA 2/9 MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)

21 Various documents: n.d.
Includes several handwritten notes; untitled documents; Turnhalle Getorpebeer; Foreign companies investing in Namibia; Die Pretorius Politieke Studiegroep Konstitusie; United Nations resolutions directly concerning South Africa – check list (1963); election in Namibia.

  1 Volume I
  2 Volume II
  3 Volume III
  4 Volume IV
  5 Volume V
  6 Volume VI
  7 Volume VII
  8 Volume VIII
  9 Volume IX

  1 Volume X
  2 Supplement to the Counter-Memorial filed by the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

  1 Volume I
  2 Volume II
  3 Volume III
  4 Volume IV
  5 Volume V
  6 Volume VI
  7 Volume VII
  8 Volume VIII
  9 Volume IX
  10 Volume X
  11 Volume XI
12 Volume XII

PA 2/9/22:
4 Application Instituting Proceedings filed in the Registry of the Court (International Court of Justice) on 4 November 1960 – South West Africa Case (Ethiopia vs. Union of South Africa); articles ‘South West Africa Cases: The legal consequences in the event of a decision of the International Court of Justice against South Africa’ by Iain MacGibbon and ‘ South West Africa: The case for International Action’ by the Conference steering Committee presented to the International Court of Justice.

PA 2/9:
23 South West Africa and the United Nations – South African letter addressed to the UN Secretary-General: 1976 Jan 27 (2 copies)

24 Political Party ephemera – DTA, SWAPO, FCN, UNTAG: [1989]
- Flag – DTA
- Flag – FCN
- 3 Flags (paper) - ?
- Cap – DTA
- Caps (paper) – DTA (22)
- Rectangular Stickers – DTA (18)
- Round Stickers – DTA (4); SWAPO (1 piece with 3 small stickers)
- Party Brooch – DTA (2), UNTAG (2), FCN (2), SWAPO (3)
- Matches – DTA (2boxes)
- Party Sweets/Lollipops - DTA (2)
- Party pamphlets, flyers – DTA (5), SWA virdie Wolwe? by JF Strauss