

THE DU PISANI COLLECTION: 1935 – 1991

PROF ANDRÉ DU PISANI

Biographical Note

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 **MISCELLANEOUS (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
- 2 André du Pisani – general: 1978 – 1980
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

- 1 Papers presented to the **International Conference on South West Africa**: 1966 Mar. (21 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:

- 2 Various articles in one folder: 1969 - 1980
- 'Some aspects of animal husbandry in Kavango' by André du Pisani, 1978
 - 'A document for the history of African Nationalism: A Frelimo "White Paper" by Dr Eduardo C. Mondlane (1920-1969), 1969
 - 'A look at African Literature in the Portuguese Language' by Joan E Collemacine, 1977
 - 'Afrikanerdom – sulla soglia del – laager: motive della rigidità del regime razziale sudafricano' by Emanuele Russo, 1977
 - 'SWA/Namibia: problem en beleidskeuses verbonde aan politieke oorgang' by André du Pisani. Occasional Paper, The South African Institute of International Affairs, Dec 1979
 - 'Namibia since Geneva' by André du Pisani. Occasional Paper, The South African Institute of International Affairs, Nov 1981
 - 'The internal situation in South West Africa' by Bryan O'linn, 1973
 - 'The future of South West Africa/Namibia: A Symposium' by John Barratt, Willie Breytenbach, Gerhard Totemeyer, Lucas de Vries. Occasional Paper, The South African Institute of International Affairs, Aug 1977
 - "'Namibia and human rights": A report on the Dakar Conference and its implications for the South West Africa Issue and Détente' by John Dugard, 1976
 - '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 Kapuuu, 1973
- 'The South African Government's response to the UN Secretary-General's report on the implementation of the Western proposal: the Government's statement of 20 September 1978 and an analysis' by André du Pisani, 1978
- 'Kan SWA Slaag?' by André du Pisani, 1979
- 'Namibia old and new' by Gerhard Totemeyer, 1978
- 'The Namibian Predicament: A study in the pathology of change' by André du Pisani, n.d.
- '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 waaroor die 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
- 'Archeological significance of trace element – analysis of South West African Potsherds' by GJ Boule, M Peisach and L Jacobson, 1979
- '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
- 'What Robert Mugabe said about S Africa' Sunday Times, 27 July 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.)

- 'Text of revised proposals on SWA', Windhoek Observer, 19 Dec 1981
- '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
- 'Rhodesian elections – OAU's attitude, and security problems', Africa Research Bulletin, Mar 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.
 - 'Self-determination in African politics' by WJ Breytenbach – comments by Andre du Pisani, n.d.
 - 'Self-determination in African politics' by WJ Breytenbach, 1978
 - '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
 - 'A survey of the diplomatic efforts to reach an internationally acceptable solution to the Namibian problem in 1980 – an overview' by André du Pisani, n.d.
 - '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
- 'Partible inheritance and politics: A study of land tenure in Rehoboth, Namibia' by Patrick Pearson, n.d.
- 'The shooting Uitenhage, 1985: The context and interpretation of violence' by Robert J Thorton, 1988
- '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
- 'African liberation armies: the Mozambican experience' by Annette Seegers, n.d.
- '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 lection conundrum' from Africa Confidential, 1979
- 'The limits of diplomacy: the case of Namibia' by Clarence G Redekop, 1979-80
- '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-Afrika' by WS Barnard, 1982
- 'Black workers oppose disinvestment' from the South African Foundation News, 1984

PA 2/2:

- 4 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 Terme 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
- 'Das Ende der Ein-Parteien-Herrschaft?' – Reinhart Kobler/Henning Melber, 1991
 - 'Namibia: Policy at the crossroads' – an address to the Pretoria Branch of the South African Institute of International Affairs, by Sean Cleary, 1987
 - 'Mediation in Southern Africa: Exploring the future' by André du Pisani, n.d.
 - 'Namibia since Geneva' by André du Pisani, Occasional Paper, The South African Institute of International Affairs, 1981
 - 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.
 - 'Perestroika im Suden Afrikas – Namibia wird unabhängig' by Heribert Weiland, n.d.
 - 'People in power' by Peter Kenny, 1990
 - 'The South African intervention in Angola 1975-76' by Robin Hallett, 1978
 - '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.)

- Annee Africaine 1990-1991 – ‘La Namibie independante: La Reconciliation Nationale A L’épreuve’ by R Dreyer, 1991
- ‘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
- ‘The future of South West Africa/Namibia – a symposium’ by John Barratt, Willie Breytenbach, Gerhard Totemeyer, and Lucas Vries, Occasional paper. The South African Institute of International Affairs, 1977
- ‘Aspekte einer Entwicklungsstrategie Namibias’ von Henning Melber and Gesamthochschule Kassel, 1990
- ‘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
- ‘The United Nations and Namibia: an overview (1946-1990) by Ronald Dreyer, 1991
- The Resolution 435 election in Namibia: Format and outcome, n.d.
- ‘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
- ‘Namibia: stop-gap government’, n.d.

PA 2/2:

6 Various: 1974 – 1982

Including:

- ‘Namibia: from incorporation to controlled change’ by André du Pisani
- ‘N Kritiese Beoordeling van SWAPO se beoogde Bestel’ by Pirre Nel, 1980
- ‘Zimbabwe 1980: Politicisation through armed struggle and electoral mobilization’ by Martyn Gregory, 1981

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.
- 'Constitutional change in South Africa' – proceeding of a Conference on Constitutional Models and Constitutional Change in South Africa, University of Natal, 1978
- '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)
- "African realities' by Kenneth Adelman, 1980
- Voorgesteelde Konstitusionele Ontwikkelinge in SWA/Namibie
- 'Dominance, dependence and modernization, with specific reference to Southern Africa' by André du Pisani, n.d.
- 'Colonial rulers and ruled in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1884-1966: a framework for comparative study' by Richard Dale, 1976
- '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
- 'Konstitusionele 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.
- 'Labour consciousness and the 1971-72 contract workers strike in Namibia' by Richard Moorsom, 1979
- '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
- 'The ambiguities of self-determination for South West Africa 1918-1939: A concept or a symbol of decolonization?' by Richard Dale, 1974
- 'Reflections on the role of ethnicity in the politics of Namibia' by Andre du Pisani, n.d.
- 'Political change in Namibia' by André du Pisani, 1977

PA 2/2:

7 Various: 1973 – 1980

Including:

- 'The Namibian predicament: a study in the pathology of change' by André du Pisani, n.d.
- 'On interpreting the history of Afrikaner political thinking: some problems and issues' by André du Toit, 1979
- 'Independence and beyond – Namibia's future in perspective' by Thomas Wolfgang H, n.d.
- Die aard, Wese en Toekomsttuge Ontwikkeling van die Akademie vir Terstiere 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-Afrka-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:

8 Various: 1977 – 1984

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
- 'The Soviet Union in Sub-Saharan Africa: Past achievements and future prospects' by Robert Schrire, n.d.
- '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
- 'The struggle for Zimbabwe – The Chimurenga war' by David Martin and Phyllis Johnson, 1981
- '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
- 'Self-determination in African politics' by André du Pisani, n.d.
- '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
- 'Die Oorwinningsteken en die Bygelowige Opvattinge Daaroor', n.d.
- '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
- 'SWA/Namibie – problem en Beleidskeuskes Verbonde aan politieke oorgang' by André du Pisani, 1979
- '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.
- 'SWA/Namibia: rudimentary Facts and Figures' by 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.
- 'On Law and Politics – review of the international dispute on Namibia' 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:

- 9 Various: 1950 – 1991
Including:
- 'South Africa: the struggle intensifies' by Bernard Magubane, 1986
 - 'Race and Counter-Revolution: South Africa's 'Total Strategy' by Philip Frankel, 1981
 - 'Angola: ideology and pragmatism in foreign policy' by Oye Ogunbadejo, 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
- 'The Mozambique National Resistance Movement (RENAMO): A study in the destruction of an African country' by Margaret Hall, n.d.
- 'South West Africa/Namibia: where do we go from here' – proceedings of the seminar. Occasional Paper. The South African Institute of International Affairs, 1981
- 'Angola: left, right and wrong' by Gerald J Bender, 1981
- 'Popular resistance in Namibia, 1920-25' by Tony Emmett, 1984
- '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
- 'Teure Freunde – Zum Staatsbesuch von Angolas Staatspräsident in der DDR' by Johannes Kuppe, 1981
- '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 different elements of the Southern African conflict' by Colin Legum, 1981
- 'The spectre of a free Namibia' from New Statesman, 1981
- 'Vorstellung des projects "Norddeutsche Namibiana' von Werner Hillebrecht, 1981
- 'SWA/Namibia Wohin?' by Dr Erick Leistner

PA 2/2/9 ARTICLES (Cont.)

- 'The Anglo-American proposal and the Lancaster Agreements: A comparative analysis' by Prof. A Bolaji Akinyemi, n.d.
- 'Namibia: the independence maze' from Africa Confidential, 1981
- 'The prospects for an independent Namibia' by Stanley Uys, 1981
- 'The political, economic and social dynamics shaping developments in South and Southern Africa' – An assessment of the region prepared for the Henry J Kaiser Family Foundation by the South African Institute for International Affairs, n.d.
- Erste Schritte einer Demokratie – Regierungssystem und Regierungsbildung im neuen Namibia', 1991
- 'Die Turen des Lernes für alle offen – problem der Entkolonisierung im Erziehungswesen Namibias', 1991
- 'SWA/Namibia: Diplomatic Review (January 1981 - August 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

- 1 SWA/Namibia. Debates of the Constitutional Assembly: 1979 Jan 23 – Feb 9;
Mar 1 – 5. Volumes 2, 3 and 4 (bound). NB. Volume 1 not included.
 - 1 Volume 2
 - 2 Volume 3
 - 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 Odentaal 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
Includes article 'The South West Africa question' by JD Rheinallt Jones, 1949.
- 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.)

- 3 1982 Dec 11 – 31
 - 4 1981 Oct 8 – Dec 31
 - 5 1981 July 8 – Oct 3
 - 6 1981 Mar 18 – July 8
 - 7 1981 Jan 1 – Mar 17
 - 8 On statement by the Minister of Defence, Gen Magnus Malan: 1981 Aug 12
 - 9 1980 July 21 – Sept 10
 - 10 1980 Nov 1 – Dec 30
 - 11 1980 June 4 – July 18
 - 12 1980 Mar 21 – June 3
 - 13 1979 Sept 7 – 1980 Mar 20
 - 14 1979 Feb 28 – 11Sept 7
 - 15 Press releases: 1977 – 1980
 - 16 From various newspapers: 1989
-
- 18 Various newspapers, general theme not established: 1970's
 - 19 Various newspapers: [1970s – 1990s]
Includes articles mostly by André du Pisani and periodicals with articles on Namibia

PA 2/6 PUBLICATIONS

- 1 Official Gazettes of South West Africa/Official Koerant van Suidwes-Afrika: 1986 - 1987
Nos. 5270 – 5305: 1986
Nos. 5306 – 5329; 5332 – 5350: 1987
Nos. 80 – 87; No. 89: 1987 (Whites)
- 2 Government Gazette of the Republic of Namibia: 1990 – 1992
Includes Quarterly Returns Oct-Dec 1990, Apr-Dec 1991
- 3 The Namibian Review: Nos. 15-32: 1978 – 1987
Namibian Review Publications: Nos. 1-2, 4-6: 1983 – 1989
Africa Confidential: Vol. 24, Nos. 24, 25: 1983 (Photocopies of articles)
- 4 Official Gazette of South West Africa, Nos. 5351-5370, 5372-5404, 5406: 1987
Index to Official Gazette, Jan-June 1987
Official Gazettes: Whites, Nos. 88, 90-93: 1987

PA 2/6 PUBLICATIONS (Cont.)

- 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 Gazettes of South West Africa, Nos. 5078-5102, 5104-5132, 5134-5137, 5139-5143, 5145-5159: 1985
Official Gazette: index April-June: 1985
- 7 Official Gazette of South West Africa, Nos. 5501, 5503-5507, 5510-5519, 5522-5545, 5549-5553, 5569-5615, 5619-5622, 5624, 5635-5639, 5672, 5674, 5682, 5690, 5707, 5709: 1988 – 1989
Official Gazette index: 1988 Jan-Mar, Apr-June, July-Sept.
Official Gazette: Whites, Nos. 110-116, 131: 1988 – 1989
- 8 Various: 1981 – 1985
Journal of Contemporary African Studies, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1982
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'
The Windhoek Advertiser, March 1981 'The Geneva Conference on SWA/Namibia: Success or failure?'
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
 - On the Economic Front, No.2, June 1980, No. 4, July 1981
 - Die Ekonomie van SWA/Namibie: Probleme, Toekomsmoontlinhede en Vereiste Beleismaatreels, Januarie 1978
 - Scandinavian Institute of African Studies Research Report No. 58 'From Suidwesafrika to Namibia: The Political Economy of Transition' by Reginald Herbold Green, 1981
 - SWA/Namibia Budget 1983-1984, Budget Speech, 1983
 - 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.)

- Africa Institute of South Africa Bulletin, No. 11 & 12 1981, 'SWA/Namibia's Economic problems views in Africa context'
- Afrika-Instituut van suid-afrika bulletin, No. 5, 1984, 'Waarheen mik Robert Mugabe?'
- Kontak (Enok publication), Okt. 1982 – Des. 1986 incomplete)
- Finance Week, Oct 16-22 ,1980
- Investment in SWA/Namibia
- A Survey. Supplement to Financial Mail, July 22, 1983 'Namibia'
- Statistical/Economic Review, 1982, 1983, 1984/85, 1987
- Conference Paper 'Namibia's economy in transition to independence' by Prof. WH Thomas
- Namibia Brief, No. 4, 1986, No. 6, 1987
- Enok FNDC Jaaroorisig Annual Review

PA 2/6:

- 10 Official Gazettes of South West Africa: 1984 – 1985
- 11 Official Gazettes of South West Africa: 1987 – 1988
- 12 Official Gazettes of South West Africa: 1988 – 1989
- 13 Official Gazettes of South West Africa: 1989 – 1990
- 14 Official Gazettes of South West Africa: 1990
- 15 Financial Mail Special Survey (South West Africa): 1965 Aug 20
Includes article from Optima, "South West Africa after the judgement", Sept 1964.
- 16 Official Gazettes of South West Africa: 1989 Oct – 1990 Jan
- 17 Official Gazettes of South West Africa: Sept 1981; 1982
- 18 Official Gazettes of South West Africa: 1986 May – Oct
- 19 Official Gazettes of South West Africa: 1985 Nov – 1986 May
- 20 Official Gazettes of South West Africa: 1982 – 1984
- 21 ADK "Informations": 1978 – 1988 (Irregular copies)
- 22 Various: 19xx – 19xx
 - International Affairs Bulletin, vol. 2, no. 2, 1978
 - University of Pretoria Institute for Strategic Studies, No. 7, Nov 1980
 - Kuba Se Inmenging in Angola: Verdigsel en Waarheid, Dr Henning von Lowis van Menar
 - SWAPO's design for South West Africa/Namibia, Dr Henning von Lowis of Menar, 1983
 - SWA/Namibia Survey, June 1980
 - SADK Nuursbrief/Mitteilungen, No. 46, 1979
 - Face of Namibia, published by SWA/Namibia Information Service
 - Oss-Duitsland se Offensief in die Derde Wereld, Ian Greig

PA 2/6/22 PUBLICATIONS (Cont.)

- 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
- Multilateral co-operation in southern Africa, 1983. A report by the Multilateral Development Council of Ministers, South Africa, 1983
- South West Africa, Statement by Dr Muller in the United Nations Security Council, 1971
- 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
- ISSUP Strategic Review, 'Die Aanslag Teen Suid-Afrika Indirikte Strategie Feite-Oorssig, 1980 Journal of Contemporary African Studies, vol. 1, no.2, 1982
- Die Wereld in Oenskou, Maandblad vir Aktuele Internasionale Aangeleenthede, 1978

PA 2/6:

- 23 Various magazines (with articles on Namibia): [1977 – 1988]
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
- Etemba, Omaruru, SWA
- Mass rally to honour the Sharpeville Day, 21 March, n.d.
- Windhoek Onderwyyyskollege – Kunsuitstalling, 11 Mei 1979
- Q 'Ghetto' in South Africa (on Soweto)
- 1987 SWA Safaris
- Interessengemeinschaft Deutschsprachiger Suidwester (Organisation of the German speaking Southwesters)
- 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

PA 2/6:

- 25 Amtsblatt fur Suiwesafrika, 1 Apr 1877, Republic of South Africa Government Gazette (Staatskoerant van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika), 12 Oct 1979, 12 Sept 1979, 14 Sept 1979 Official Gazette of South West Africa, 22 May 1989.
- 26 Various including: 1978 - 1989
- IDAF Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa – 'Protests sweep Namibia: students and workers unite', no. 78, Sept-Oct 1988
 - IDAF Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa – 'Namibia freedom talks', no. 79, Nov-Dec 1988
 - IDAF Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa – 'Namibia independence – threats of South African disruption', no. 80, Mar-Apr 1989
 - Namibiabrief, Feb 1991

PA 2/6/26 PUBLICATIONS (Cont.)

- Market South East – Trade and investment in Eastern and Southern Africa – ‘doing the Walvis Bay shuffle’, Oct 1991
- Deurbraak, Dec 1978
- Museum News, Sept 1978
- Africa Institute of South Africa Bulletin, Family Planning – Transkei – Development problems, 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'.
- 28 Various magazines (with articles on Namibia): 1977, 1978, 1986 & 1988-1991
Including NewAfrica; The New Nation; Die Suid-Afrikaanse Weekiesing '89; the Point; Deurbraak; 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-Afrikaanse Namibia die volgende skof; Peace & Security; Rekord; Africa Economic Digest; Namibia Towards Nationhood; and Namibia Brief.
- 29 Various: 1976 – 1983
Includes Focus, South African Digest, News Mitteilungen Nuus, South West Africa Today, Times of Namibia, Africa Insight, To The Point, Unisa Bulletin, Namibia Bulletin, Armed Forces, Deurbraak, UNISA Alumnus, On Reckord, Rossing, China and the liberation of Portuguese Africa, Moscow, Havana and the MPLA takeover of Angola, Soviet Strategy Towards Southern Africa, and Namibia/SWA Prospectus
- 30 Government Gazette of the Republic of South Africa 1969, 1977, & 1980; Official Gazette of South West Africa, 1977: 1969 – 1980
- 31 Various: 1964 – 1999
Includes SWA/Namibia, Africa Bulletin, Optima, IDAF Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa, Front File, PHC in Action (A quarterly newsletter on Health Issues in Namibia), Finance Week, European Union Special Newsletter of the European Commission in Windhoek, Bricks Community Project Year Report (1989-1991), What mining means to SWA/Namibia, Commonwealth Currents, Measuring the gap: female education in Sub-Saharan Africa, Topic – where does a young nation place its priorities?- In Namibia, one stated goal is the best education system possible, Africa's Gem, Namibia Brief, This is South West Africa, The Namib Bulletin, Rekord, The Point, Africa Insight,

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.

PA 2/6:

32 Africa Report (12 volumes): 1970 - 1971

PA 2/7 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]

- 3 The Transitional Government of National Unity: The Road Ahead – Programme of Action for 1987 – statement from the Traditional Government of National Unity; and opening van Sessie van Nasionale Vergadering op Dinsdag, 24 Februarie 1987 Deur Adnistrateur-Generaal, Advokaat Louis Pienaar: 1987

- 4 Various: 1978 – 1989
Includes:
 - Mchenry’s September 9 Congressional Testimony on Namibia (1980)
 - Senator Tsongas on US African Policy (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)
 - Vrystelling: Sondag Middernag – Die Knyssna-Olifante (1981)
 - 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)
- Remarks made by Ambassador Barton in the United Nations Security Council on Namibia (as representative of Canada) (1978)
- Text of statement made by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance of the United States of America to the United Nations Security Council (1978)
- Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting, London – Communiqué (1977)
- 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
 - 2 Verslag van die Kommissie van Odersoek Na Die Gebeure in die Windhoek-Lokasie Gedurende Die Nag Van 10 Op 11 Desember 1959 en Na die Regstreekse Wat Daartoe Aanleiding Gegee Het: 1960
 - 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

PA 2/8 REPORTS (Cont.)

- 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
- 6 Report of the South West Africa Native Labourers Commission, 1945-'48: 1948
- 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 Uitsaaikorporasie
 - 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
 - Saaknr. K6/89: Pastoor Izak Fredericks en Appolus Jagger (DTA)
 - Case no. K25/89: Josiah Pineas and Paulus Ndume vs. SWAPOL
 - Case no. 17/89: Boniface Likando & others vs. DTA and Station Commander of SWAPOL, 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 Angola
 - 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 (Belangebbende Party)
 - Saaknr. K67/89: Elizabeth Shafondino (Klaer) en Simeon Wilhelm
 - Saaknr. K57/89: Josef Thomas (Klaer) en Gobabis Munisipaliteit
 - Case no. K153/89: Incidents of violence and intimidation in Katutura on Tuesday 26 September 1989.
 - Case no. K19/89: Biniface Likando on behalf of SWAPO and SADF/SWATF
- 8 United Nations Council for Namibia – General Assembly – on Namibia: 1949 – 1976
- 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.
- 12 Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour matters in South West Africa/Namibia, Part 1 – Summary of Recommendations: 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
- 3 **United States Information Services – International Communication Agency** – on Africa and Southern African issues (addresses, statements, interviews, reports: 1981 - 1984
- 4 **Various documents:** 1976 – 1977
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 Beraad letterhead; DTA Grondwet, Staatkundige Beraad grondwetlike beginsels, verklaring 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
Includes also Report of the Committee on South West Africa to the General Assembly map of SWA; International Court of Justice Advisory opinion, 1950; 'New light on South West Africa' by Gordon Laurie (African Studies Quarterly Journal, 1964); Financial Mail Special Survey on Namibia, 1965.
- 6 'The mandated territory of South West Africa': 1947
- 7 From the UN background paper No. 48: 1949
- 8 **Multi Party Conference and the Transitional Government of National Unity:** 1984 – 1986
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

PA 2/9/8/1 MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)

- 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 Katjuongua regards the Transitional Government as possibly the most important development in the country's constitutional history. (In Afrikaans)
- Text of an address by the SA Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador KRJ von Schirnding, to the Security Council on 10 June 1985, on the Namibian independence issue.
- 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 Katjuongua, 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.
- Namibia Report, vol. 1, No. 1-3, Apr-Nov 1985 by André du Pisani.
- Manuscript by André du Pisani 'Namibia: a new transitional government', 1985 (2 versions)
- Die beskerming van menseregte (The protection of human rights) by F Jariretundu Kozonguizi, 27 Mar 1986. (Regering van Nasionale eeheid, vol. ¼)
- 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)
- Response to the Cabinet to the Aide Memoire of the Administrator General of 30 July 1987. Focuses on the elections issue, 11 Aug 1987

PA 2/9/8:

- 2 Proclamations, Acts and Bills: 1985 – 1986
 - Proclamation no. R. 101, 17 June 1985: Establishment and powers of legislative and executive authority for territory South West Africa.
 - 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)
- National Labour Council Act, 1986 (Act no. 9, 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
- ADK 'Informations' – 2/1982; 3/1983; 4/1982; 1/1983; 1/1985; 2/1985
 - Africa Institute Bulletin – vol. 25, no. 2, 1985, p. 13-15 (SWA/Namibia: prospects for nationhood, by Herwig Rudolph)
 - 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)
 - Africa Institute Bulletin, vol. 25, nos. 6/7, 1985, p. 77-79 (self-government for SWA/Namibia)
 - Africa Institute Bulletin, vol. 25. Nos. 6/7, 1985, p. 79-81 (SWA/Namibia: a new start)
 - 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)

PA 2/9/8 MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)

- 4 Audiocassette – messages by Cabinet Ministers broadcast on Radio SWA:
1985 July 17

PA 2/9:

9 **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
- The National Party of South West Africa. Programme of principles, 1966. In Afrikaans, German and English, n.d.
- The National Party of South West Africa. The Constitutional Conference: the road to peace. In Afrikaans, German and English, n.d.
- 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?
- Resolusie 435: die Nasionale Party van Suidwes Afrika se standpunt (Resolution 435: the National Party of SWA's viewpoint). Edited version of a speech by A Brinkman, Deputy Chairman of the NP of SWA given on 6 Feb 1982.
- 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 – DTA: the difference. Election brochure, 1978.
- AKTUR – DTA: die Unterschiede (The differences). Election brochure, 1978.
- AKTUIR Die keuse (The Choice) Election brochure, 1978.
- 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?
- AKTUR. Die Wahl (The choice). Election brochure, 1978.
- Two press clippings from Die Republikein, 20 July 1979.
- 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.
- HNP Openbare vergadering, Skousaal. Windhoek, Doenderdag, 6 Nov 1980. Spreker: Mnr. JA Marais (HNP). Public meeting, Show Hall, Windhoek. Thursday, 6 Nov. 1980. Speaker: Mr JA Marais.

PA 2/9/9 MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)

- Pionerspark. Election brochure, 1980.
- Wie moet namens Blankes praat? (Who will speak on behalf of the Whites?) Election brochure, 1980.
- What the HNP stands for. Election brochure, 1980.
- Die nuwe aanslag op Suidwes-Afrika (The new onslaught on South West Africa). Information brochure, 1981.
- Verwerp VVO-besluit 435 (reject UN resolution 435). Poster (**Flier**), 1981.

PA 2/9:

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 Patriotiese Front van Namibie. Verkiesingmanifes, 1989 (Election manifesto)
- Election poster NDF, 1989
- NDF Bulletin, 16 May 1989

11 **SWAPO – Democrats – various documents: 1978 – 1980**

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 Grundsatzklärung (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).
Official publications relating to discussions on South West Africa at the UN, 1948-1952; accounts/estimates of revenue to be collected and of expenditure/Auditor-General's report, 1942-1952; Explanatory memorandum on SWA Affairs Amendment, 1949-1951; statement of united Party position on SWA in light of the Hague Judgement, 1950; and report of the Health Commission, 1946.
- 13 **Namibia National Front** [*Namibia Dossier No. 4*]: 1975 – 1980, 1989
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.
 - Namibian News Bulletin: international edition, vol. 12, 1975
 - Namibian News Bulletin: international edition, vol. 13, 1975
 - National Independence Party - NIP Congress Programme, 25 Dec 1976
 - Federal Party Nuusbrief 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 (?)
- Amptelike opening van die Iste kongres van die Federale Party van Suidwes-Afrika deur Adv. Bryan O'Linn (Official opening of the 1st congress of the Federal Party by Adv. Bryan O'Linn), 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
- Toespraak – Publieke vergadering: Windhoek, Maandag, 9 Mei 1977 deur Adv. Bryan O'linn (Speech – public meeting, Windhoek, Monday, 9 May 1977, by Adv. Bryan O'Linn – Windhoek, 9 May 1977)
- Toespraak – deur Adv. Bryan O'Linn - Khomasdal, 19 Mei 1977 Fundamentele mense-regte (Speech by Adv. Bryan O'Linn, Khomasdal, 19 May 1977. Fundamental human rights)
- 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 dier 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
- The Namibian National Front and the December elections, 1978 (Information Brochure)
- National Front. Policy Manifesto and alternatives, 1978
- Additional memorandum of the Namibia National Front, 1978(?)
- Federal Party Nuusbrief, no. 4, 1978
- NNF Press Release, 19 June 1978
- Federal Party. Colossal political fraud, 1979(?)
- Federal Party. The National Assembly: participation or not? (In English and Afrikaans), 1979
- Federal Party. The future of SWA/Namibia: a basis for discussion....In Afrikaans, English and German, 1979

PA 2/9/13 MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)

- Federal Party. Our role on the road to independence and thereafter. In Afrikaans, English and German, 1979(?)
- NNF News: advertisement. Supplement to the Windhoek Observer, 7 April 1979
- Federal Party. Press statement, 14 July 1979
- Namibia National Front News, No. 14 August 1979
- Namibia National Front News, No. 15 September 1979
- Namibia National Front News, No. 16 October 1979
- Namibia National Front News, No. 17 November 1979
- Namibia National Front News, No. 18 December 1979
- Namibia National Front Questionnaire, 1980(?)
- Namibia National Front News, No. 19 January 1980
- Namibia National Front News, No. 20 February 1980
- Namibia National Front News, No. 21 March 1980
- Program en beleid van die nuwe party – 4e konsep (Programme and policy of the new party – 4th draft), 1980
- Die federale Party: standpunte en prioriteite (The Federal Party: viewpoints and priorities). Die Republieken, 18 April 1980
- NNF Namibia National Front. Die NNF en mense-regte (The NNF and human rights), 11989(?)
- NNF Namibia Front. Wat is die NNF (What is the NNF?). Election brochure, 1989
- NNF. Programme and policy. In English and Afrikaans, 1989
- NNF Namibia National Front. 'n Boodskap aan die mense van Namibia (A message to the people of Namibia), 1989
- What is the NNF? 23 May 1989
- Die NNF en vroue-regte (The NNF and women's rights), 12 October 1989
- On the date of the ceasefire – issued by NNF, n.d.

PA 2/9:

14 **DTA and the Republican Party** [*Namibia Dossier Vol. 2*]: 1976 – 1989

Contents:

- Staatskundige Beraad, SWA News, August 1976
- Interim government and independence for South West Africa, 1977. Information brochure.
- SWA/Namibia. Republican Party. Grondwet (Constitution), 1977
- Turnhalle-beraad: Suidwes-Afrika/Namibie: van wit bewind na swart meerderheidsregering (Turnhalle-consultation: from white reign to black majority rule). Brochure compiled by Boeswa (Beweging vir die Behoud van die Onverbreekbare Eeheid tussen die Republiek en Suidwes-Afrika), 1977
- 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

PA 2/9/14 MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)

1977), compiled by Boerswa (Beweging vir die Behoud van die Onverbreekbare Eenheid tussen die Republiek en Suidwes-Afrika).

- Die eerste openbaare toesaak deur Mnr. Dirk Mudge as leier van die Republikeinse Party van Suidwes-Afrika, Woensdag 5 Oktober 1977 in Windhoek (The first public speech by Mr. Dirj Mudge as leader of the Republican Party of South West Africa, Wednesday 5 October 1977 in Windhoek), October 1977
- Republican Party of SWA. Nuursbrief (news letter), November 1977
- Republican Party. Dirk Mudge replies. Election brochure in Afrikaans, German and English, October 1977
- DTA sticker, n.d.
- DTA sticker: I vote for freedom, n.d.
- DTA manifesto, n.d.
- SWA/Namibia. Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. Political alliance. Information brochure, 1977
- DTA: Alliance out of the Turnhalle. Election brochure. Available in English, Afrikaans and German, 1980? (see p. 203 for Afrikaans version)
- SWAPO: werklikheid or spook? (SWAPO: reality or phantom?). Election brochure, 1978
- DTA: the only people's movement in Africa Unity – the foundation of stability. Election poster, 1978?
- DTA 5 Nov 1977 – 5 Nov 1978. Poster. Reverse: DTA beleid (DTA policy)
- Press release by DTA Executive pertaining to the death of its President Chief Clemens Kapuuo, 23 March 1978
- Program vir die teraarde-bestelling van die ontslape Herero-leier Chief Clemens Mutuurunge Kapuuo, 1923-1978 (Programme for the funeral of the late Herero leader.
- 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
- Grondwetgewende Vergadering van SWA/Namibie. Vrydag, 2 Februarie 1979. Kenning van voorstelle. (Constituent Assembly of SWA/Namibia. Friday, 2 February 1978
- DTA se benadering van die onderwys (DTA's approach to education). Die Republieken, 13 and 14 June 1979
- Nege vrae oor Suidwes (Nine questions on South West) Die Republikein, 26-27 Sept 1979, 7-9 Oct 1979
- "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

PA 2/9/14 MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)

- Answers – election brochure, compiled by the Leader of the NP, D Mudge, 1980. In Afrikaans, German and English.
- Waarskuwing! (Warning!). Brochure on educational policy. Published by the Republican Party, n.d.
- Guarantees – election brochure in Afrikaans, German and English, 1980. Only English version
- So mislei Aktur sy mense (In this way Aktir misleads its followers). Die Republikein, 15 Jan 1980.
- Alliansie uit die Turnhalle (Alliance out of the Turnhalle). Election brochure, 1980? (See p. 143 for English version)
- Die DTA & menseregte (The DTA & human rights), 1980.
- 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....)
- Die mees kritieke verkiesing in ons geskiedenis, 11-13 Nov 1980 (The most crucial election in our history, 11-13 Nov 1980).
- RP – Mnr. KPE Wolff. I'm staying – and you? 1980 (Election brochure).
- Die Republikiense 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?
- Demokrasie - vrye ekonomie (Democracy – free economy). 1st anniversary poster 1978.

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)
- News release by Defence Headquarters, Pretoria (1980)
- 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
 - 'What do we think? A survey of white opinion on foreign policy issues' by Deon Geldenhuys. Occasional Paper. The South African Institute of International Affairs, Nov. 1982
 - 'Namibia since Geneva' by André du Pisani. Occasional Paper. The South African Institute of International Affairs, Nov 1981
 - 'A Review of the diplomatic efforts of the Western group on Namibia, 1976-1980' by André du Pisani. Occasional Paper. The South African Institute of International Affairs, Nov 1980 (2 copies)
 - SWA/Namibie: Probleme en Beleidskeuses verbonde aan politieke oorgang' by André du Pisani. Occasional Paper. The South African Institute of International Affairs, Dec 1979
 - 'The Namibian dilemma: Factors preventing a Settlement' by John Barratt. Occasional Paper. The South African Institute of International Affairs, Sept 1982

PA 2/9/16 MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)

- 'South West Africa/Namibia: The South African Government's response to the UN Secretary's report on the implementation of the Western Proposal. The Government's statement of 20 September 1978 and an analysis' by André du Pisani. The South African Institute of International Affairs, Oct 1978.
- 'The development of Africa and the role of outside powers' by RF Botha. Occasional Paper. The South African Institute of International Affairs, Nov 1982
- 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
- 'Peacekeeping in Southern Africa: The United Nations in Namibia' by Christopher Coker, 1981 Alderman Kenneth's African Realities
- 'Greater Namibianisation needed – Political Scientist', article in the Windhoek Advertiser, 23 Sept 1981
- 'Are they reading upside-down?', article in the Pretoria News, 20 Mar 1981
- 'Namibia: the quest for legitimacy' by Andre 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 Andre du Pisani from Dr DJ van Vuuren 'Politieke Alternatiewe vir Suider-Afrika', 2 July 1982
- 'Buthelezi & Inkatha: the truth exposed' published by the South African First Campaign, n.d.
- '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.

PA 2/9:

- 17 Various documents: 1981 – 1989
Includes:
- Several handwritten notes by André du Pisani
 - Variations on migration rates: the Ovambo case, by RJ Gordon
 - Namibia and the sanctions controversy
 - Papers on the Research Conference – The Dynamics of change in Southern Africa, Harare, 29 May – 3 June 1989
 - 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'
- 18 Republic of South Africa Geological Survey – Stratigraphy of South Africa Handbook 8. Part 1: Lithostratigraphy of the Republic of South Africa, South West Africa/Namibia and the Republics of Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Venda: 1980
- 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.
- 20 Various - mainly elections 1989 and other documents: 1985 – 1992

PA 2/9 MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)

- 21 Various documents: n.d.
Includes several handwritten notes; untitled documents; Turnhalle
Getorpedeer; Foreign companies investing in Namibia; Die Pretorius Politieke
Studiegroep Konstitusie; United Nations resolutions directly concerning South Africa –
check list (1963); election in Namibia.
- 22 International Court of Justice – counter memorials: 1963 – 1966
- 1 South West Africa Cases (Ethiopia and Liberia v. The Republic of South Africa).
Counter-Memorial Filed by the Government of the Republic of South Africa,
Vols. I – IX: 1963
- 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
- 2 South West Africa Cases (Ethiopia and Liberia v. The Republic of South Africa).
Counter-Memorial Filed by the Government of the Republic of South Africa:
1963
- 1 Volume X
 - 2 Supplement to the Counter-Memorial filed by the Government of the
Republic of South Africa.
- 3 Pleadings, Oral Arguments, Documents – South West Africa Cases (Ethiopia v.
South Africa; Liberia v. South Africa). Vols. I –XII: 1966
- 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

PA 2/9/22/3 MISCELLANEOUS (Cont.)

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 vir die Wolwe? by JF Strauss
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